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Widows, land rights and women's empowerment

“Who will own the kitchen”?

- findings from the Kilimanjaro region, Tanzania

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ABBREVIATION LIST

KWIECO - Kilimanjaro Women Information Exchange and Consultancy Organization

LGA - Local government authorities

MOKICCO - Mount Kilimanjaro Children Care Organisation

SDG - Sustainable Development Goal

TAWIA - Tanzania Widows Association

TAWLA - Tanzania Women Lawyers Association

VA - Village Assembly

VC - Village Council

ABSTRACT

Women around the world are constantly being denied their land rights due to discriminatory practices. Widowed women are particularly at risk. This prevents advancing women's empowerment and women's equal opportunities for participation and leadership at all levels of decision making processes. Through a qualitative case study within the Chagga community in Kilimanjaro, Tanzania, this thesis' aim is to understand how widows perceive their land rights, what challenges and opportunities they face in accessing their land rights, and why, and to what extent widows participate in local government decision-making processes in land management. The findings reveal the nuanced ways in which widows perceive their right to land, transcending mere ownership to a more holistic view that encompasses cultural, social, and economic dimensions. Delving into the challenges and opportunities of accessing land rights, the study showed that while the widows exhibited remarkable negotiation skills and resilience, obstacles such as limited knowledge of land laws and familial responsibilities were obvious. Chagga widows' participation in local government decision-making processes in land management reveals a complex landscape shaped by limited knowledge of land laws, challenges in attending local government meetings, and varying degrees of women's representation in local leadership positions.

Keywords: Widows, Tanzania, land rights, women's empowerment, local government, participation

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1. INTRODUCTION

“In many parts of the world, full participation in society – including the ability to earn an income – is still dependent on owning (or having the rights to) land. With few paths to land ownership, many women in these areas are effectively excluded from key decision-making processes” (IFAD, 2020).

Women around the world are constantly being denied their land rights due to discriminatory practices and violence. Worldwide, less than 20% of all landowners are women. In Tanzania, more than 80% of women are involved in agricultural activities but only 33% of them own their land. Widowed women experience a higher degree of being discriminated against through illegal evictions by in-laws and being denied inheritance (Halonen, 2023). This hinders the world to achieve the United Nations (UN) 2030 Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 of achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls and ensuring women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life (UN, 2015).

Other scholars have put a lot effort into researching and advising for legislative changes in Tanzania (Ezer, 2006), and although that is an essential part of solving the problem of discriminatory land laws, understanding land struggles is only partly about disseminate the legal framework, however, just as important, is the ethnographic study of individual land disputes and conflicts, and how land fits into the everyday business of struggles for resources (Jackson, 2003). Such studies have been done in other geographical contexts, South Asia heavily represented (Agarwal, 1994, 1997, 2003a, 2003b, Jejeebhoy, 1997) in Africa (Yngstrom, 2002, Dery, 2016, Kingwill, 2016, Peters, 2019), in East Africa (Mackenzie, 1995, Verma 2001, 2007, Abwunza, 1995, Andersson Djurfeldt 2021) and in Tanzania (Dancer, 2015, Ewald & Mhamba, 2019, Ezer, 2006, Fairley, 2013, Genicot & Hernández-de-Benito, 2019, Kironde 2009, Moyo, 2017, Opoku 2017) in other regions than the northern, Kilimanjaro region, and the country's large Chagga ethnic group except for Carr’s (2004) study which focused on Chagga women’s land attachment. There is a need to further understand the subordinate role of Chagga women, in particular widows and their land rights despite the country's progressive legal framework which should protect and empower this group from discrimination.

2. AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Through a qualitative case study, this thesis' aim is to understand how Chagga widows perceive their right to land, and how widow's challenged access to land can be explained by Kabeer's empowerment concept. There is a tendency in previous research (Agarwal, 1994, 1997) to assume that land ownership ensures women's empowerment but that idea has been contested in more recent quantitative research (Jackson, 2003 and Hasanbasri et.al, 2022) which shows that only looking at land ownership excludes other rights, such as decision-making rights. Therefore, this thesis aims to answer the following research questions;

1. How do Chagga widows perceive their right to access land?
2. What challenges and opportunities are Chagga widows facing in accessing their land rights, and why?
3. To what extent can Chagga widows participate in local government decision-making processes in land management?

3. BACKGROUND

This section begins with giving a brief background of land rights and access in sub-Saharan Africa and then narrows down to the context and geographical focus of this thesis; Tanzania and the Kilimanjaro region. This section also explains the role of local land governance in Tanzania.

3.1 Land rights and access in sub-Saharan Africa

For both men and women, land in sub-Saharan Africa, is an important resource which has multiple purposes and values. Land is not only important for agriculture, production and livelihood purposes, land also has a big symbolic and spiritual purpose, such as being a place where families bury their loved ones. When studying land rights through a gendered lens, an important note is that a piece of land's meanings and its values vary depending on where it is being studied and the research must take into account the socio-economical, political, cultural, geographical and environmental differences. This is explored in Ritu Verma's comparative study of land rights in Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and Rwanda (Verma, 2007).

In sub-Saharan African low-income countries, there is limited previous research of the discrepancy between land ownership and land rights. In a recent World Bank (2022) cross-country report, land research in this region has proven to be limited to research on land ownership defined as individual names connected to a title or certificate. The report showed that self-reported female landowners continuously do not access full decision-making and land rights (Hasanbasri, et.al., 2022). In sub-Saharan Africa, land access is often based on user rights in contrast to individual ownership because land is an asset/commodity commonly held in trust by the state or community leaders (Andersson Djurfeldt, 2020).

Statutory laws in sub-Saharan African countries do not exist separately from customary laws. In contrast, statutory and customary land rights exist alongside each other and therefore provide an opportunity to overlap legal domains (Mackenzie, 1995:18). Due to the overlapping legal domains, each country and each community needs to be carefully explored to understand different rules, how administrative bodies govern those rules and how they are applied to the different genders. Due to changing political-economic and socio-cultural contexts and because customary laws are oral in nature, they also tend to be patriarchal, privileging men and limiting women to equal opportunities for land rights (Verma, 2007).

Customary tenure systems may also provide varying rights to, for example, sell and rent out land, use as collateral, invest and harvest from the land, depending on gender and other factors. In Tanzania, documentation of land ownership is still rare in rural areas. It can therefore be misleading to look only at individual land ownership, to understand land rights. In the World Bank report, disaggregated, cross-country data is provided from Ethiopia, Malawi and Tanzania over the period of 2016 - 2020. The survey distinguished landowners into three categories: (1) owners with mostly exclusive transfer rights, (2) owners with mostly joint transfer rights, and (3) owners with no/limited transfer rights. In Tanzania, 77 % of self-reported female landowners did not have the right to bequeath their land, in Malawi 60% of the same group did not have the right to use their land as collateral although being more likely to be landowners compared to Tanzanian women. The findings reveal that female landowners in Tanzania and Malawi more heavily represent category (3) (World Bank, 2022).

3.2 Land rights and access in Tanzania

Women's control over land remains limited in Tanzania. According to research by the Tanzanian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), only 33% of women and 47% of men own agricultural land. 9% of women and 30% of men have sole ownership of land. Lastly, 25% of women and 7% of men have joint land ownership. Women who do own land, own smaller areas than land owned by men (UN Women, 2023).

In Tanzania, all land is public land and held in trust by the president. The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania recognises the equal right to own and access land for all citizens. The national land policy adopted in 1995 led to the development of the Land Act (1999), revised in 2019, and the Village Land Act (1999) (USAID, 2016). The Land Act's full description for granted rights of occupancy is outside the scope of this thesis; they are discussed below only as they relate to customary land holding practices. In practice, claiming individual land rights as a rural woman in Tanzania are entrenched in the community they belong to by social arrangements such as marriage or to which family or group they are born into. Therefore, a woman's access to land in such patrilineal systems are highly dependent on their social relationships with their i) fathers (Kingwill, 2016), as they can temporarily allocate their land to their unmarried, divorced or widowed daughters; ii) their husbands by accessing their husband's lineage or iii) their sons if they do not remarry (Peters, 2019). Even with formalized, individualized land rights, land may be held as family land rather than titled as individual land (Andersson Djurfeldt, 2020).

3.3 Land access among widows in Tanzania

When we speak about women and land rights, it is important not to treat them as a homogeneous group as land rights changes over time within and between groups and places depending on human capacities, knowledge and skills, and power relations based on gender, ethnicity, class, locality, nationality (Rocheleau, et.al, 1996), marital status, age and migrant status. These are all factors which need to be considered when investigating discriminating land rights systems (Andersson Djurfeldt, 2020). This thesis will have a particular focus on widows. Women's dependence on male relatives to access land shows their vulnerability when the marriage institution shatters, which is the case for widows. In Tanzania, reforming laws of inheritance and succession, including codified (written down) customary laws, remains an obstacle for the legislature and has been left almost untouched. The legal

pluralism is critical to consider. In the case of Tanzania, the statutory and customary laws coexistence means that the 1999 Village Land Act does recognize customary land rights through the Customary Right of Occupancy (Kironde, 2009; Fairley, 2013).

Dancer (2017) provides two explanations to the reason for the constraint to integrate gender equality into African inheritance law reform. The first are the neoliberal economic drivers for African land law reform founded during the 1990s and the second one is the socio-political power relations concerning land inheritance (Dancer, 2017).

3.4 Acquiring land in Tanzania

There are various ways of acquiring land in Tanzania. Inheriting land is one of the most common ways. Usually, inherent land has strong ties to the generations of a family, limiting the power of an individual to allocate or sell land. Inheritance can be done through lineal descent, a will or through religious costumes. The Land Acts allows village governments to allocate village land and distribute it to its female and male citizens. This practice is closely associated with the 1960's African socialism, *Ujamaa*, which Tanzania's first president Julius Kambarage Nyerere promoted. Purchasing or leasing land as an individual or married couple is another way of acquiring land as well as through e.g. cultivation or land clearance, to improve the land in order to adverse possession. In the case where married couples have acquired matrimonial property jointly, they have shared rights of that property (Dancer, 2017).

3.5 Changing patterns?

Land continues to be a difficult commodity to distribute equally between men and women in Tanzania, despite progressive land laws. Unequal inheritance customs as found in most patrilineal land systems, reproduce power imbalances between spouses and family members depending on their gender. Women who own land independently disrupt these power imbalances within and outside her marriage (Dancer, 2017).

The more educated people are and the more employment opportunities there are for a society's population, the more likely it is for people to migrate and to consider selling or leasing their land. Dancer argues that this can create windows of opportunities for women and widows in the future (Dancer, 2017). There are tendencies of changing patterns regarding

women's possibilities of inheritance because of these factors. Dancer conducted fieldwork in Arusha, Tanzania between 2009 and 2010. She found that a few parents made the decision to give some land to their daughters in case their marriage would not last, or to secure themselves to be taken care of by their daughter when the parents got old. The conclusion she made is that customary law follows social change (ibid, 2015).

3.6 Women in local land governance in Tanzania

The two Land Acts provide responsibilities to local government bodies to ensure women's land access and ownership through various mechanisms. The local government bodies (created under the Local Government (District) Authorities Act, 1982) consist of the Village Councils (VC) and Village Assemblies (VA). These decentralized bodies are responsible for, among other duties, managing village land¹ and providing conflict resolution in the case of land conflicts. The VC is the village's executive body, which consists of a group of 15-25 democratically elected members of a single village. The village council is accountable to the village assembly and land management decisions. A minimum of one-fourth of the VC's members should be women and half of the VC members should be present when making decisions. The VA, a village's highest decision-making body, includes all villagers above the age of 18 and they meet every quarter (Sutz et. al, 2019).

Despite the existence of these legal frameworks and gender quotas, ensuring a gender-inclusive implementation of these Acts has proven to not always be successful in rural areas, where women are still not included and participating in decision making forums regarding land administration and land conflicts resolution mechanisms. This often derives from a lack of adequate knowledge of land administration processes, lack of financial and technical capacities, and discriminatory social and cultural norms. These factors prevent women from active participation and gaining mandate in these bodies which affects their ability to secure their right to make decisions (Nchimbi, 2021).

Patriarchal social norms influencing most Tanzanians' lives, decide what women are expected to do and how they are expected to act. This appears in all of the society's dimensions, from the unpaid work they are expected to do at home, to how active and vocal they can be in other spaces of a society. Because of these expectations growing from patriarchal social norms and

¹Land occupied and used by rural communities is classified as 'village land'.

values, women tend to spend limited time participating in local governance institutions such as village assemblies and village councils. Local government authorities (LGA) in Tanzania are established from the village upwards by the Local Government (District Authorities) Act of 1982 (LGDA). Despite Tanzania's land and local government laws, ensuring women's representation, women are rarely represented in an efficient way. While they are often excluded from community land dealings, and despite the presence of a few women in these meetings, it is not rare that their opinions are not taken into account or that men's opinions are favored (Kisambu, 2016).

Box 1. Governance bodies at village level in Tanzania

The village assembly is composed of all villagers who are ordinarily resident in the village and are over the age of 18. The assembly meets on a quarterly basis. This is the highest decision-making body in the village (LGDA, sections 55, 103 and 141).

The village council comprises 25 members, with a minimum of 8 women. Council members are elected by the village assembly. The required quorum is half the members of the council. The council regulates its own procedures.

Committees of the village council are established by the village council for efficient and effective discharge of its mandate. Examples include committees on land use planning, social welfare, HIV/AIDS, etc. (Kisambu, 2016)

4. CASE STUDY AREA

This case study derives from fieldwork conducted in Marangu and Machame, two villages located in the Kilimanjaro region in the United Republic of Tanzania. Both villages are located on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro and are home to two of the main gates which tourists use to climb Africa's highest mountain. Due to the rainy season during the fieldwork period, Marangu and Machame were greener than ever. The weather changed quickly from shining sun to heavy rains. The smaller muddy roads, packed with stones, follow bigger tarmac roads. Kilimanjaro is home to *miti wa madizi* (banana trees), coffee plantations and plenty of waterfalls. The top of Mount Kilimanjaro can be spotted during clear days, while on other days it is hiding behind clouds. The study is done among the 'Wachagga', one of the larger ethnic groups in the country. The population in most Wachagga communities surrounding the mountain, is among the most well educated in the country, regarded as one of

the most entrepreneurial tribes and is predominantly a Christian community (Ewald & Mhamba, 2019). They are also known to be very attached to their land, and it is difficult to purchase land on the mountain because of the patrilineal inheritance system, preserving the land within the family clans. The family land plots called *kihambas* have historically been the Wachagga's main source of income through agriculture, and inherited from one generation to another, exclusively to male family members (Shoup, 2011).

The traditional rationale among the Chagga tribe in northern Tanzania, is that women will marry and thereby will have access to her husband's plot and is therefore not eligible to inherit land from her father (Dancer, 2017; Andersson Djurfeldt, 2020), in order to exclude strangers from family land. However, the Law of Marriage Act of 1971, section 114, contradicts the Land Acts by stating that wives are not considered as members of the family for land-holding purposes. In the case of widowhood, widows within the Chagga tribe have a choice to marry one of the deceased husband's male relatives (Carr, 2004). Unless a widow is appointed as the administrator of her husband's land, she is left to obey what her husband's family decides (Dancer, 2017). If she chooses not to remarry within her husband's family, she can only acquire occupational rights on his land through her children's (usually sons') inherent land (Carr, 2004). Previous research testify on widows being chased away from their deceased husbands land and properties if they do not comply with their in-laws' demands. In some cases they are also accused of witchcraft causing the death of their husbands (Ezer, 2006).

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents previous research related to women and widow's land rights. This chapter is not limited to research on widows but focuses on the gender imbalances previously recorded, which decides the right one holds or does not hold over land. The aim of this chapter is to situate this thesis in related research fields, building up to the chosen theory in which the thesis analysis will depart from. This chapter begins with an explanation about the conflicting research on the importance of land ownership and continues with explaining common barriers which limit women's and widow's right to land rights, the role of local institutions in ensuring access to land rights for women and widow's and women's recorded resistance.

5.1 Conflicting research on the importance of land ownership

Bina Agarwal has done extensive research on women land rights in south Asia and concludes that women's individual land ownership has positive effects on their welfare, agricultural productivity, economical and social empowerment. She argues that individualized ownership affects women's bargaining power inside and outside the household and therefore contributes to greater independence in case of divorce or widowhood (Agarwal, 1994, 1997, 2003a,b). If this is applicable to all geographical contexts and women of all classes, ages, ethnicity and social status is something which Jackson (2003) questions. She further points out that "a woman holding independent title to land certainly has the potential of strengthening her position in a range of social relations, but this also depends on the extent to which she can secure cultural interpretation of this ownership as legitimate and appropriate" (Jackson, 2003:23). Jackson does realize women's exclusion from land inheritance and land ownership but argues that women's positioning comparatively to men is of great difference. "Land is good for poor men so it must be good for poor women" (Jackson, 2003:457), is an assumption she questions. Poor women have different property relations than poor men and that must be acknowledged (Jackson, 2003). Connecting back to Peters' (2019) point made on the importance of functioning social relationships despite a woman's legal land right, means that social controversy or disapproval on her land title may bring other disadvantages needed to be taken into account. These disadvantages can be the actual process of acquiring land or the indirect constraints it brings to other individuals close to the women such as brothers or sons, all which can make land ownership not worth prioritizing (Jackson, 2003). A concluding remark made by Jackson is the assumption which Agarwal makes on assets, such as land, being the ultimate proof of status and thereby transforming into power. She asks "Why should what defines men's status and power also define women's?" (Jackson, 2003:475).

5.2 Barriers limiting women's land rights

"Access, control and ownership of natural resources such as land are negotiated within and between the household, and therefore, gender and household relations are a focal point through which relations of production are studied" (Verma, 2007:2). Isaac Dery's (2016) research on land rights in Ghana, like Verma (2007), also refers to the importance of social relationships, manipulation and resistance as an indicator of to what degree a rural woman can access and own land and how it can change over time. Current customary systems are not

structured to favor African rural women to access land equally. He also found that land ownership and access to land differed between women and classes. Land access was more secure for married women and widows with children. Ghanaian widows with children were found to be allocated a small piece of their late husband's land to farm on, with the argument that she takes care of his children, in particular if they were male children. Women with weak negotiating power failed first in the struggle to access land. It was found that giving women access to land translated into a "threat to men's masculinities", because that was assumed to allow women to take control of men's power to make decisions. In Yngstrom's research (2002) on land rights in Dodoma, Tanzania, widows were similarly found to generally hold land in trust for their sons.

Women and men have different access to various legal (by court precedent or statutory law) and de facto (by practice/custom) claims to land and its resources due to economic, political and ecological power structures between genders, according to the feminist political ecology theory (Elmhirst, 2011). Generally, especially in Africa and Asia contexts, women are far more often associated with customary resource rights while men benefit from the statutory legal rights. This gendered benchmark leaves women's tenure security especially vulnerable. As a result of the often coexisting statutory and customary laws, the customary gendered division of resources is unequally distributed among men and women due to gendered and unequal customary rights. These gendered customary rights become particularly visible through marriage and inheritance laws. It is important to distinguish rights to own and rights to use resources. Ownership is gendered in the sense that men generally acquire ownership rights more often than women. On the other hand, women tend to acquire rights to use the resources owned by men. Those deciding who can own and who can use resources are also gendered. Elderly men are, in many patriarchal cultures, in a position to not only own but also decide to allocate their resources to less powerful members of a society. Women often have to settle with their rights being embedded within men's rights, allocated by male-dominated institutions, such as lineages and local committees (ibid).

5.3 Gendered responsibilities

At the community and household levels, gendered responsibilities can be more clearly distinguished than on a macro level. These gendered responsibilities over resources refer to who has the responsibility to decide what inputs or products to produce for home use and

who manage and maintain the resources. Women have relatively more responsibilities over resource management and procurement than they have formal rights, alongside limited economic and political influence. Women therefore can neither decide on the sustainability of a resource nor the quality of the environment (Rocheleau, et.al, 1996).

5.4 Gendered violence

Previous research done in Katavi, Kigoma and Mwanza, three regions in Tanzania, shows that women own little property independently of their husbands which puts them at risk in case of e.g. widowhood (Genicot & Hernández-de-Benito, 2019). Regina Opoku (2017) explored women-to-women violence where women were found to establish domination and power over others, usually younger women, in the patriarchal communities of the north-western lake zones of Tanzania. Three traditional practices; female genital cutting (FGC), widow cleansing rituals and woman-to-woman marriage were the study's focus and found that women responsible for the violence did not realize their involvement as reproducing violence because of the society's demand of sustaining cultural and traditional beliefs. This was further reproduced by a culture of silence. The study also found that "where the customary laws violated the rights of the women, the state laws fall short to provide the mechanism for the resolutions of the conflict that arose between the norms of the studied sociocultural practices and the human rights norms" (Opuko, 2017:7).

5.5 Role of local institutions

Despite gender equal laws, patrilineal practices still affect women's access and right to own land. Both female and male village leaders have non-gender neutral views, and are therefore likely to reinforce traditional patrilineal land inheritance practices (Genicot & Hernández-de-Benito, 2019). Despite enforced gender quotas, power relations between men and women still exist in social norms and values of what is appropriate for a woman to do or say, whether she is holding a leadership position or not. This makes it difficult to assume that women in such positions automatically can protect other women's rights (Yngstrom, 2002). When a woman contests her land rights, other obstacles remain including access to local government institutions and courts. Economically vulnerable women might not have access to sufficient financial resources and household obligations can limit them from accessing those institutions. Due to high levels of corruption in these areas, *zawadi* (gifts) required to

initiate and finalize their court cases, can also be a huge obstacle to obtaining justice under statutory law, something their in-laws can more easily facilitate (Verma, 2001).

5.6 Women's resistance

Women's resistance, contestation, negotiation and bargaining skills exist in patriarchal contexts all around the world, not the least when it comes to controlling and securing land access and usage (Verma, 2007). Previous research has presented many creative ways which women manoeuvre land rights through back-door resistance by, for example, acting in submissive ways in public while taking more of a dominant role in private spaces to secure livelihood for themselves and family members (Abwunza, 1995, Mackenzie, 1995, Verma, 2001). "Hence, any study that investigates research issues that are highly sensitive, such as gender struggles over land must also be able to differentiate and analyze differences in public and hidden/private transcripts" (Verma, 2001) [...] "as well as problematize patriarchy beyond a monolithic conception of men's dominance (Kandiyoti, 1988:274).

6. THEORETICAL CONCEPT

This chapter presents the theoretical concept applied in the thesis. It begins with providing an explanatory overview of Naila Kabeer's concept of women's empowerment, which is conceptualized through three interrelated dimensions.

6.1 Kabeer's concept on Women's Empowerment

Naila Kabeer defines women's empowerment as "the *process* by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1999:438). To further define strategic life choices, Kabeer makes a conscious distinction between *first-* and *second-order choices* as "not all choices are equally relevant to the definition of power" (Kabeer, 1999:437) and "some choices have greater significance than others in terms of their consequences for people's lives" (ibid). First-order choices are those choices which have greater impact on one's life, such as the choice of livelihood. The first-order choices which in turn impacts the second-order, less consequential choices one makes, are choices affecting the level of quality of one's life rather than the basic needs (Kabeer, 1999). Kabeer's paper aims to reflect on the policy-makers' infinite aspiration and methods to measure women's empowerment. Kabeer states that "*however, not everyone accepts that empowerment can be*

clearly defined, let alone measured. For many feminists, the value of the concept lies precisely in its 'fuzziness' (Kabeer, 1999:436).

6.2 Kabeer’s three interrelated dimensions of empowerment

Kabeer (1999) conceptualizes women’s empowerment through a three-dimensional framework. The three dimensions include *resources* as part of the preconditions to empowerment, *agency* as an aspect of the process of empowerment, and *achievement* as the well-being outcomes of being empowered. In this paper, the nature of the research questions do not aim to measure the three dimensions of empowerment in the context of land rights among Chagga widows, it rather uses the dimensions as an operational framework to understand the collected data. The next three sections below will describe the three dimensions in more detail.

resources ... <i>pre-conditions</i>	agency <i>process</i>	achievements <i>well-being outcomes</i>
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6.3 Resources

Resources, the pre-conditions of empowerment, exist in different societal institutions such as in the family, the broader community or at the market and they are embedded in different social relationships. Resources are not defined mainly as economic resources but also social and human resources, which contributes to a person's ability to make choices. Resources can be both material allocations but also future expectations and claims of resources. Access to resources determines the norms and rules linked to them and thereby also who gets to make the distribution decisions of those resources. The concept of ‘control’, having a say about the resource, has been frequently used to operationalize the choice of accessing a certain resource. Despite this; access, ownership, entitlement and control are at times used interchangeably in previous literature (Kabeer:1999).

6.4 Agency

Agency, the process, is defined as the ability to define one's goals and act upon them, including the purpose and motivation behind defining those goals. Decision-making,

negotiating, deception, resistance and manipulation are multiple ways to operationalize the *sense* of agency or “power within”. Drawing from Amartya Sen’s distinction between positive and negative freedom (Sen, 1985), Kabeer makes a distinction between positive and negative power. One’s capacity to determine their own goals and the choices that come with them, even in situations where external factors oppose those goals, is the definition of positive power or “power to”. However, if positive power overrules other people’s ability to exercise their choice to define their goals and act upon them by threatening or being violent, then that becomes negative power or “power over” (Kabeer, 1999).

Kabeer operationalizes the agency dimension by focusing on decision-making. In this dimension of power, the power between men and women comes in different levels of distributions. Decision-making is typically measured on the responses of what specific decisions women tend to make or not make, and in what capacity. Are decisions made individually, in the family, in the community or in a political sphere? (Kabeer, 1999). Typical decisions assigned to e.g. women in India were found to be centered around food purchase, what to do if their child fell ill, decisions regarding children's education etc. (Jejeebhoy, 1997). Certain decision-making responsibilities have proven to be allocated to women because of their capacity as mothers, wives, daughters and so on while decisions such as market transactions tend to be assigned to men. Kabeer also makes the notion of the state of absence of any explicit agency as ‘non-decision-making’. “*The norms and rules governing social behavior tend to ensure that certain outcomes are reproduced without any apparent exercise of agency*” (Kabeer, 1999:438).

6.5 Achievements

The third dimension of Kabeer’s empowerment framework is *achievements* which refers to the well-being outcomes one enjoys through resources and agency. When deep-rooted constraints are the reason for one failing to achieve to make a strategic life choice, it manifests disempowerment. “As far as empowerment is concerned, we are interested in possible inequalities in people's capacity to make choices rather than in differences in the choices they make” (Kabeer, 1999:439).

The process of becoming an empowered woman is however determined by their specific, engendered local contexts. These contexts either allow or constrain women to access,

negotiate and make strategic life choices (Kabeer, 2019). Gendered injustices are usually “embedded in the social relationships that define their identities and give meaning to their lives without at the same time negating or undermining these relationships” (Kabeer, 2011:503). Certain social arrangements are therefore not necessarily considered to be unjust (ibid:503), depending on the context. Consequently, the fight for justice must come first after injustice has been made recognized. Being exposed to alternative forms of life can be the pathway for women to recognize injustice. Social relationships grounded in patriarchal structures which are undermining women's full potential can therefore be exposed, assessed and enhance women to visualize a more equal society. This is the background to how Kabeer conceptualizes the pathways of empowerment. By awareness raising, “a process of learning, reflection, action, experience, observation, and analysis, reflective forms of practice generally absent in lives that were dominated by the struggle for survival” (Kabeer, 2011:511).

7. METHODOLOGY

The following section will introduce the research design, data collection and its challenges and sampling strategies. Thereafter, discussions on ethical considerations, positionality and reflexivity, the study’s limitations and the thematic data analysis which this study has applied to collect and analyze the data, will be addressed.

7.1 Research design

A qualitative case study design has been carried out to study widows' land ownership perception, who are excluded from owning land despite legal frameworks in place to ensure such rights, and to what extent they are included in local decision-making processes and how that relates to the empowerment theory. Rather than quantifying the existence of the phenomenon, this study seeks to explain and thereby understand the complexity of land rights (Flick, 2006). Therefore the research topic requires a deep analysis which a qualitative case study can provide compared to other research designs (Yin, 2014).

The exemplifying case study on Chagga widows in the Kilimanjaro region aims to provide an understanding on why widows’ land rights are disrespected despite existing progressive land laws acknowledging women’s right to own land. The research design allowed for additional variables of interest to be identified than existing research and theories could provide prior to

the data collection. Multiple sources of evidence, through triangulation, was required (Bryman, 2012). This will be further addressed below.

7.2 Data collection

To ensure validity and reliability, it is important to be transparent about the research design, data collection and analysis process (Brink, H. I. L, 1993). The data collection basing the thesis' findings contains primary data and secondary data. The primary data collection was conducted through semi-structured interviews (SSIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) (See Appendix G: List of SSIs and FGDs) along with ethnographic field notes on observations made, informal conversations with villagers and participatory narrative walks. This took place between Thursday the 10th and Thursday the 17th of February 2022 (with an exception of Sunday the 13th) in Marangu and then Machame. This was my third visit to Marangu since August 2019 and my first time visiting Machame.

Arriving in Marangu, me and my translator met with Rhoda Shao, commonly known as “Mama Mkulima”, which is also the name of the wholestore that she and her husband run in the center of Marangu. She is a family member of a Tanzanian family I know very well, who originate from Marangu themselves. She is very well known in the area and is also very active in the community, contributing to a number of less fortunate children with education and food for widows. Through her network, we were connected to widows and other individuals who are involved in widows' wellbeing. I was welcomed as a guest and Mrs. Shao had arranged everything for me; a place to stay, a place to eat and foremost, eligible interviewees. Her friend Steven Betsaita, residing in Marangu since 2020 but originating from the coastal region Mtwara, became another important person. He is the manager of the new Sun Marangu Retreat Home where I stayed at, about 15 minutes walk from Marangu Mtoni (the village center where Mama Mkulima's shop is located and where we met every morning). Apart from taking on a huge responsibility of coordinating my days there together with Mrs. Shao, Steven invited me for dinner every night. The dinners played an important part, as it allowed for informal discussions and reflections of my days while cooking local food.

The choice of SSI offered me the possibility to ask in-depth, open-ended and follow-up questions on the chosen topic. In total, 13 individual interviews were conducted with widows,

another set of 4 individual interviews were conducted with local leaders and a total of two FGDs, the first one consisting of 4 widows and the second one with 6 widows. The individual interviews took between 35 and 80 minutes while the FGDs took about 90 minutes each.

My contact person, Emmanuel Francis Mrema, has a Land and Real Estate Consultancy firm which hosted me during my research in Tanzania. He is also working as a lecturer at the Department of Land Management and Valuation at Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam. He originates from the Kilimanjaro region himself which has been helpful in planning and conducting my research. When the initial interview guides had been created, he gave me relevant feedback. For example, one of the comments made was to change one of the widow's introduction questions from "*How old are you?*" into "*What is your age range?*". Originating from the geographical area himself, he explained that women are sometimes not comfortable with revealing, or do not know their exact age and I therefore changed the question accordingly. Two pilot interviews were conducted on the first day of fieldwork to test the interview guide. Some questions were later added such as "*Did your husband leave a will?*" and "*How big is this land?*". The interview guide was later edited and finalized, to make it as accurate to the context and participants as possible. The finalized interview guide (Appendix A) contained a combination of broad and narrow questions and work at an optimal level of understanding.

Narrative walks is a participatory research method which came to add great value to my data collection. The walks were offered, but not always executed, to all 13 individual interviews held with widows which all were conducted on their respective land. After a few introductory interview questions, the widows were asked if they were comfortable to take us around and explore their plot. It was a voluntary walk and the widow could decide herself whether or not she wanted to take us around. The idea was to shift the narrative from me and my translator to the widow at an early stage of the interview, giving the widows the authority to tell us what she wanted to share, unlike the traditional way of interviewing where only the interviewer makes decisions on what to talk about. The narrative walks allowed for stories to be told and spatial details of the plot to be detected, such as land borders, graves, crops and building constructions, creating context-based empirical linking of 'what you see' with 'what you hear' (Silverman, 2005). Narrative walks required good weather conditions, therefore a few walks could only be conducted after the interview because of seasonal rains.

Two sets of FDGs were conducted. The choice of conducting FDGs with widows centered around the idea that group discussions could bring up additional, more analytical perspectives which do not arise in the SSIs. Feelings of uncertainty of what to say or how to explain one's point of view could prevent women in SSIs from elaborating on certain questions asked. On the contrary, SSIs provided the opportunity to women to disclose sensitive information among women who could not express such personal experiences in other women's presence. The FDGs consisted of new groups of widows, none of whom participated in the SSIs. The size of the focus groups accounted for possible drop-outs, so called "no-shows" (Bryman, 2012). If one or two participants did not show up, a sufficient number of four participants were still sufficient.

To further triangulate and validate my data collection, additional secondary data has been collected through online desk-top searches in various databases such as LUB Search, Google Scholar, policy briefs and national legislative documents. The previous literature section in this thesis has intentionally covered research done in other countries and continents to include "cross-case analysis and comparisons across data from different groups of participants, and cross checking with documentary evidence and published literature" (Roberts, et. al., 2006:44)

7.3 Challenges during data collection

There were multiple structural, technical and individual challenges during the scheduled data collection period. Firstly, interactions with Tanzanian government institutions require time well in advance and a challenge we came across before even entering the field. To be allowed to proceed with the data collection, a letter of introduction had to be authorized by the District Council in Moshi District where Marangu belongs, and a separate one authorized by Hai District, where Machame belongs. That process was delayed several weeks, postponing the data collection almost a full month. However, it was a necessary process to go through, giving eligibility and accountability to the research project.

Another challenge was to conduct interviews with a translator. My translator, Doreen Minja, is a former student of my supervisor and resides in Moshi Town. She has a Bachelor Degree in Land Management from Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam, is a native Kiswahili speaker

and fluent in English, and belongs to the Chagga tribe herself. Because of the main group of interviewees being women, it was important that I had a female translator to limit the power dynamics between us. After the first two pilot interviews, my translator and I had a feedback session where we identified areas of improvement in our own interviewing and translating skills. Some of them were to let the interviewees speak without being interrupted, allow for time of reflective silence and avoid comparing or mentioning prior interviewees' names or responses in other interview settings. This was important to ensure confidentiality and that no assumptions were made by the translator. In this research, the translator's impacts on the data collection has been taken into account (Flick, 2014). All interviews were held in Kiswahili, except with one village elder who spoke English. The rest of the interviews were translated into English by the translator simultaneously. This has to some extent had an effect on the translated answers I received due to inevitable interpretations, conclusions and summaries by the translator. However, because all interviews have been recorded with informed written or oral consent, a few sequences were translated a second time afterwards to verify or add to the initial translations.

During the group discussions, the main challenge was to keep the discussions on topic, because sometimes they tended to float into other topics. It was also a struggle to ensure everyone's opportunity to speak and join the discussion. This can be explained by unknown power structures within the group which we were not aware of. This can also have influenced what some women decide to share and not (Bryman, 2012).

7.4 Sampling strategies

The interviewed widows were initially chosen through purposive sampling with the criteria of having to be a rural widow living in Machame or Marangu, living on her deceased husband's agricultural land (Bryman, 2012:201). This non-random sampling strategy was applied to access the necessary information to answer the research questions (Etikan et. al, 2016). The delays of receiving the letter of permission to enter the field, issued separately by Moshi District (Marangu) and Hai District (Machame), forced us to start immediately with the area which was issued first. In this case, that was Marangu. After spending 5 days, conducting 10 individual interviews with widows and 4 interviews with local leaders, no new relevant data arose. During these days, Hai District has issued our permission, and we spent the last day conducting three more individual interviews with widows in Machame to see if a change of

location (although still in the Chagga community) could bring up additional new, relevant information. After finalizing the interviews in Machame, I could comfortably confirm data saturation (Bryman, 2012:421).

Elitistic involvement in sampling widows has been limited by involving various individuals and actors, reducing the issue of gatekeepers and biasness (Scheyvens, 2014:172). In Marangu, Rhoda Shao “Mama Mkulima”, along with the management of the Marangu based charity organization Mount Kilimanjaro Children Care Organisation (MOKICCO) and the leader of a local women’s group were all involved in connecting me with individual widows. In Machame, Mercy Shayo who is the regional coordinator of Tanzania Widows Association (TAWIA) in Kilimanjaro, was our contact person who connected us to a social worker who facilitated our visit in Machame and referred us to the three widows we met there.

Tanzania Widows Association (TAWIA), is an Tanzanian NGO working with legal empowerment and assistance exclusively to widows. Mount Kilimanjaro Children Care Organisation (MOKICCO) is a Marangu based charity organization funded and run by the Swedish priest Carl-Erik Sahlberg and his wife Overa Sahlberg. Since his passing in November 2021, Overa has been running the place. They provide foster homes to children in need and support widows with building houses and facilitating a widows self help group. The group meets once a week at MOKICCO, have their own savings group and run a business selling popcorn after Sunday service.

To further combat the possible bias of depending a lot on gatekeepers, I stayed in Marangu for some time prior and after the scheduled data collection, in order to further familiarize myself with the surroundings, the inhabitants and the social hierarchy, as I had only visited the area for a number of short periods of time before. This enabled me to interact with women and widows directly and other actors in my search for identifying interviewees.

7.5 Ethical considerations

My study has strictly followed *LUMID Ethical Guidelines for Fieldwork*, carefully set out guidelines special for this Master’s Programme. Four general requirements for data collection consist of the 1) information requirement, 2) the consent requirement, 3) the confidentiality requirement and 4) the use requirement (LUMID, 2013). Prior to the interviews, all

participants were informed of their participation rights through a consent form (Appendix E & F). They were asked to sign the consent form in their preferred language (English or Kiswahili), only after the completed interviews, giving them the opportunity to withdraw at any time. The consent form included information about the study, the assurance of confidentiality, possible anonymity and it being voluntary. It also consisted of a choice of the interview to be recorded, a choice of being anonymous and/or directly quoted, along with my personal contact information (Scheyvens, 2014:164). Lastly, the choice of semi-structured open questions offered the participants the possibility to answer with the information that they were only comfortable with sharing. The audio-recorded interviews on my personal iPhone were immediately transferred to my personal password-protected online storage on my computer and deleted off my phone. Because some interviewees have given their verbal consent, the audios remained on my online storage for until after the examination of this thesis. All of the approached interviewees gave their consent to participate in the study. Some of them gave their oral consent due to either not being comfortable giving written consent or because they were illiterate. All interviewees chose not to be anonymous, however, they will remain anonymous in this thesis.

7.6 Positionality and reflexivity

Having lived and traveled shorter periods of time in Tanzania since 2014, I am able to speak and understand basic Kiswahili, which along with English, is one of the national languages. My many visits in Tanzania prior to this fieldwork has allowed me to familiarize myself with local customs such as greeting traditions, dress codes and informal social rules. To some extent, it gave me an advantage in interactions with the local communities as speaking some of the national language is usually much appreciated. Tanzania is although not to be generalized, as different tribes and geographical areas have different norms and customs. Since I have mostly lived and traveled in the southern and coastal parts of Tanzania, my knowledge of particular norms and customs in the northern regions are comparatively limited.

The obvious unbalanced power relation between me, my translator and the interviewees have been taken into great consideration before and during data collection as well as during the data analysis. Being an “outsider” as the researcher, me and my translator’s backgrounds, appearances, gender, ethnicities, ages and personalities are all factors determining the power

relation between us and the interviewees which can have had an influence in what they chose to share with us, affecting the reliability of the research (Scheyvens, 2014:7). As described above, the choice of translator had a few criterias such as her being female and belonging to the Chagga tribe. I intentionally wanted to avoid my translator to originate from either Marangu or Machame, as I did not want any interviewee to feel uncomfortable disclosing information to another, or the same, clan member as them which could put them in risk of conflict. Apart from those criterias, I had little control on limiting my translator's reflexivity and positionality (Hammett et.al., 2015). As for myself, coming from the Global North into a post-colonial environment, reflecting on my positionality was highly important. Additionally, constructing research questions from a feminist approach in the context of an academic Global North-institution have been considered throughout the process, as my values as a woman and feminist can be very different from values of women originating elsewhere (Ferguson, 2014). What gender equality is to me, can greatly differ from what gender equality means to others in other contexts and have an impact on the responses and reflections given during the interviews.

7.7 Thematic analysis

The analysis process has followed a systematic approach. After interviewing and recording the interviews, the work of transcribing them began shortly after the intense days of fieldwork while the ethnographic notes were taken simultaneously during interviews, focus groups and narrative walks. I used Office Word Online's transcription tool and completed the missing gaps manually. As proposed by Coffey and Atkinson (1996), I read the data all at once to get a general perception of what story the data told. This first exercise allowed me to validate or invalidate assumptions I had made during the data collection period. Thereafter, I read all the transcripts in more detail. I took short notes which constituted the first phase of coding and categorizing the data. The data offered new insights, allowing for a combined deductive and inductive thematic analysis approach. The codes were categorized under the three theoretical concepts of resources, agency and achievements, to enable me to produce an accurate, reliable analysis (Roberts et.al, 2006). New themes also grew out of the data without theoretical preconceptions due to the study's combined deductive and inductive approach (Bryman, 2012). The analysis process continued to move back and forward between generating and searching for broader themes and more narrow codes and when identified, some were removed or adjusted throughout the analytical process as proposed by Braun &

Clarke (2006). As more and more data was analyzed, I coded the remaining data using the existing themes and codes rather than developing new ones (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Patton 2002).

7.8 Limitations

My presence in the field and the power imbalance it carries, as explained in section 7.5 *Ethical considerations*, has inevitably affected the data collection and should be taken into consideration by the reader. Furthermore, given the nature of my thesis' aim, I have been forced to re-evaluate my own ideas and values. McGarvey's (2007) poses the rhetorical question "*If I object when a widow is disinherited because land must only pass to a male relative, am I crossing the boundary of cultural rights?*" (McGarvey 2007:1). I have intentionally carried this question with me during the whole data collection and writing period to limit the biases of the analysis of the thesis.

Another limitation this thesis has faced is the appropriate scope. The thesis does not aim to investigate the Tanzanian legal framework of land rights. The Land Acts' and the Marriage Act's full explanation for granted rights of occupancy is outside the scope of this thesis; they are discussed only as they relate to customary land holding practices and women/widows as background information to inform the research questions. Furthermore, the time limitations of the thesis' data collection period did not allow for more in-depth individual interviews with the widows as I did not want to take up too much of their valuable time.

Lastly, I had been invited and planned to attend and observe a village assembly meeting in Ashira, Marangu, to observe to what extent women and identified widows participated in village meeting settings. Unfortunately, the village assembly meeting was postponed due to a funeral and I missed the opportunity.

8. ANALYSIS

This section will present the analysis of the thesis' findings. It is following the structure of the three research questions, starting with understanding how the widows' perceive their land rights. Only data from FGD and SSIs with widows will be used for this reason. Thereafter, the second research question aims to answer what challenges and opportunities Chagga

widows are facing in accessing their land rights, and why. This will be examined through the lens of the theoretical concept of the three dimensions of women's empowerment. To understand this research question, a broader set of data, including SSIs with community elders and secondary data will be used. Lastly, this section's last part aims to analyze to what extent widows can participate in local government decision-making processes in land management. Data extracted from FDGs and SSIs with widows, local government leaders and secondary data will inform this question.

8.1 Chagga widows' perception of land rights

This section will present the analysis of the thesis' findings, starting with understanding the widows' own perceptions of their land rights in their Chagga communities. Among the data, three different themes could be identified: Land ownership vs. access to land, Land guardians on behalf of children and Land as a source of income and connection to their husband.

8.1.1 Land ownership or access to land?

A persistent, notable trend in the SSIs and in FGD 2, was that when the widows were simply asked if they own the land they live on, a majority of them said yes (Interview 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 14, FDG 2). The question was strategically asked as one of the first questions, after the narrative walks on their land were completed, but before more details to the relationship the widows had to the land were disclosed.

“After the death of my husband, I am the owner right now. The land is practically mine right now” (Interview 1).

Following the question whether or not the widows own their land, they were asked if they hold a legal document stating that they are the acknowledged owner of this land. One of the widows, representing similar answers of the majority of the interviewed widows, a 58-year old living on the plot where she first lived together with her late husband, answered that she does not hold a legal document which states that she is the legal owner of the property.

“No, I do not have a legal document. We have not been given (Interview 16).

Her answer, representative to most of the widows' interviews, indicates that there is a lack of understanding what the difference is between *land ownership* and *access* to land. On the question whether she wishes to have a document which states that she is the owner of the plot she answers yes. Moreover, the widow's answer indicates that she expects to be given such a document. The answers varied among all the interviewed widows as discussed below.

8.1.2 Land guardians on behalf of children

A group that departed from that trend of answering “Yes” to the question if they own their land, was FGD 1. When the question was asked, and after some deliberation, they answered as a group and explained that they do not own their land and added that “*The land is for the children*” (FGD 1). A distinguished attribute of FGD 1 compared to other widows interviewed, was that they were older, ranging from 52 - 70 years old which could, to some extent, explain their reasoning being from an older generation where land ownership has not been acknowledged to be an indicator of inequality between genders.

“I am OK with my situation where I’m staying because I plant maize and beans. Maybe, if I could get something, like a capital to graze animals, I could change the situation of the house because now it’s just made of wood. I could renovate the house to be made out of brick blocks maybe.” (Widow, FGD 1)

Other common reasons of why widows expressed that they are “okay” with their land rights, despite them not being the legal owners of their land, were explained by the widows when they expressed their roles of solely being guardians of the land on behalf of their children. “*I am okay with my place, it is a small one, but I am going to provide the plot to my two children and one of my grandsons.*” (Widow, FGD 1). “*It’s not my wish to own this land. The land is for the sons*” (Interview 8). “*I am here to protect it [the land] for my three children*” (Interview 14). This is not a new phenomenon and has been identified in previous research both in Tanzania (Carr, 2004) and across the continent (Dery, 2016, Yngstrom, 2002).

To further investigate the widow's own perception of their and women's land rights in general, they were asked what happens if one of their girl children do not get married and therefore do not get access to any land through a husband's clan. One widow explained that “*traditionally, she's not supposed to inherit*” (Interview 8). Another widow said that “*before,*

giving a girl child was not possible. But right now, they will be given. In such a case, it is my opinion that when that girl marries, she won't keep it. I would only give to the unmarried" (FGD 2). This tendency of reproduced injustice between women will be further discussed in a later section.

8.1.3 Land as a source of income and connection to their husband

Generally, the information collected during the narrative walks with the majority of the individual interviews with the widows were what the widow grew on the plot, which animals she kept, where the land boundaries were, where her husband was buried and other income-generating activities e.g. such as small shops. Widows with smaller plots were harder to convince to do narrative walks as they did not see the point of showing their small plot which could be seen from the interview seating arrangements. Widows with larger plots were more eager to walk around. Apparent in many of the interviews was the widow's wish to be close to their husbands and to be buried next to them. During the narrative walks conducted on the land with the majority of the widows participating, the areas of where their husbands were buried were frequently pointed out. *"We are happy to be here. We want to be buried close to our husbands. We have given the land to our children already"* (FGD 1).

8.2 Chagga widows challenges and opportunities in accessing land rights

This section aims to understand Chagga widows challenges and opportunities in accessing land rights in relation to the three dimensions of women empowerment; resources, agency and achievement.

8.2.1 Resources

Accessing resources

Defining resources is typically not easy, particularly not when looking at women's access to resources. Right to land as a resource is often distinguished between different categories of land rights. A common assumption made is that women who have a greater ability to enjoy certain degrees of land rights, automatically exercise those rights. But solely looking at accessing certain resources as the only indicator of empowerment without investigating the *"pathways by which such 'access' translates into agency and achievement"* (Kabeer, 1999:443), fails to prove women's de facto rather than de jure entitlements. This raises the question of how deep rooted structures and legitimized customs and beliefs of who is entitled

to have access to resources blend with the legal framework which might in some cases, contradict the customary rights on individual and systemic levels.

Defining land as only an economic resource would be wrong in this context. What is consistently recurring in the collected data, is the perception that land belongs to the family and in extension - the clan (Shoup, 2011). Mentioned earlier is the deep rooted conviction that while people live and die, the land remains as constant and shall therefore be inherent to the blood-related children of the young generation. Based on the widow's perceptions of their land rights described above, land in Kilimanjaro is proven to be equally a social, common, resource as it is an economic, individual, resource. It is clear in the majority of the interviews with the widows, that they do not necessarily see their lack of *land ownership* as unjust. As discussed earlier, ownership is only one of many land rights. This can be explained through Jackson's (2003) argument that securing cultural interpretation of accessing a resource is critical to claim that, in this case, the individual land title could strengthen and empower women.

Controlling resources

As described earlier, 'controlling' the resource has been frequently used to operationalize the choice of accessing a certain resource. This should not be confused with how the agency dimension is operationalized, e.i decision-making, referring to the *sense*, or the "power within".

All the widows were asked how they use their land (live on it, build on it, plant on it, harvest, have a *duka* (shop) on it, etc.). Depending on the size of the land, the widows had more or less amount of banana trees, avocado trees, coffee plantations, cows, chicken and pigs. One of them had several buildings on her plot which were all rented out and used as shops. Among the interviewed widows, she had one of the biggest plots, covering almost 2 acres full of the above mentioned trees and animals. She had almost full control over her land but said she cannot sell it (Interview 3). Another 41-year old widow declined doing a narrative walk because the land was very small. She said that she is not allowed to plant anything on the land, that it is only land to grow banana trees. She was the only widow who originated from outside the Wachagga tribe as she is Maasai herself. She has two adult children who live in the simple home on the land, while she lives with the neighbors. However, she cooks, cleans

and takes care of her late husband's land which after his death, belongs to the children (Interview 2). She therefore has very distinct secondary control over the land, through the children's inheritance.

The interviewed 78-year old male clan elder from Ashira, Marangu, belonging to the Lyimo clan, explained that he has been in different local leadership roles for the past two decades, both as a Village Executive Officer (VEO) and as a village chairman. For the past three years, he has been the VC's elected Chairman of the Resolution Committee and Chairman of Land Tribunals. The clan member himself is the only son out of 12 children and has inherited all 6 acres of land which his father left him. The chairman has two sons and two daughters and explained that he has given his daughters land because of the amount of land he has. *"They're my children. God has made them women. I gave them because I've got a lot of land. I am the only son of a family of 12 people. 11 are girls and I am the only son, so I've got 6 acres!"* (Interview 11). Connecting back to Dancer's (2017) fieldwork in Arusha, Tanzania, where she found that a few parents made the decision to give some land to their daughters, the clan elder does show tendencies of similar changing social norms. Given his respected position in the community, this is positive. Furthermore, when asked about his opinions on widow's land rights, he answers *"My opinion is that a widow has all the rights as her late husband [...] they developed it together. They built a house, planted bananas and grew coffee. It's her right."* (Interview 11). Meanwhile, he also said that if he would be asked to solve a land dispute between in-laws and a widow, he would treat it against the Chagga customs, with the condition that there is a written will. However, the clan elder made sure to point out that *"women are wealthier than us [men] nowadays"* (Interview 11) which, like Dery's (2016) study in Ghana, can still indicate that there is some degree of resentment and "threat to men's masculinity".

In an joint interview with the 50+ year old male *Mwenyekiti wa kitongoji* (Chairman of the neighborhood) for Maou in Ashira, Marangu and the 30+ year old female VEO for Ashira, Marangu, the chairman said that *"it's not okay for a woman not to own the land when the husband dies because they were one body when they married each other, so it is supposed to be the widow's plot when the husband dies"* (Interview 13a). It is assumed that the local village leaders show support of women's land claims, in order to also ensure their own credibility as whether it is being a clan elder, VEO or village chairman.

8.2.2 Agency

Practicing agency

Agency, the process, is defined by Kabeer (1999) as the ability to define one's goals and act upon them, including the purpose and motivation behind defining those goals. This includes the process of decision-making, negotiating, deception, resistance and manipulation or as she states; the *sense* of “power within”. The following section will showcase a few of those processes described by the interviewed widows. As discussed earlier, the interviewed widows do not necessarily see their lack of *land ownership* as unjust. This notion could also be explained by an action of “non-decision-making” (Kabeer, 1999) agency power, previously described as the reproduction of certain social behavior due to existing norms and rules. Widow’s reluctance to claim ownership to their late husband’s land, or their unwillingness to remarry (none of the interviewed widow’s had remarried nor wished to remarry), could to a certain extent be explained as their way of negotiating power. This to protect the land for their children and therefore also for their compliance to secondary claims to resources as a form of social protection (Kabeer, 1999).

Women-to-women violence

In Marangu and Machame, most widows do not live alone. They live together with their in-laws, their children, their grandchildren and other extended family members. One of the widows we visited lived in a small wooden house, right next to the road connecting her to her neighbors’ house. On the other side of the road was a smaller wooden house with a couple of chickens and her outside kitchen. Just when we had introduced ourselves and started with the introduction questions, another older woman came down the slope while speaking on the phone. When she passed close by our seating arrangement, she stopped, sat down and handed the phone to the widow we had just started interviewing. As land is inherited within the family clan, neighbors are often in-laws. The two women exchanged a couple of words while the translator and I silently discussed whether or not to proceed if the older woman was planning to stay, which could discourage the widow from speaking freely. The widow turned to us and said that the older woman is her mother-in-law and she is also a widow. When being asked if she was planning to stay, she gave us a nod. This put us in a rather ethically, complicated situation as both women were eager to speak to us. We decided to proceed with both widows attending. Following the interview, I pointed at the house across the road, asking if it was the younger widow’s house as well. She nodded and I asked if I could have a

look. We crossed the narrow road together and I asked her a couple of questions concerning the house in my limited Swahili. Moving further away from my translator, who chatted with the mother-in-law, the younger widow turned her back against them and spoke in a lower voice. I picked up a few things from what she said and understood that she was not pleased with her mother-in-law and what she had shared with us. I told her to wait and let us speak with her more as her mother in-law went back to her own house, which was a big cement house only 50 meters away from the small wooden house where her daughter-in-law lived with her children. We decided to walk back to the main road together to collect more information from the daughter-in-law. While on the main road speaking to the widow about how her mother-in-law mistreats her and waiting for our transport to arrive, the mother-in-law showed up again. She returned again with the phone, insisting that there is a technical problem for her daughter in-law to solve. After a few minutes, she left again. The widow then said that her mother-in-law is controlling her and that it is not a good relationship between the two of them as portrayed by her mother-in-law.

My mother-in-law has everything because she gets support from her children. It's not like she said in the interview, that she has nothing. Her children are paying her bills, giving her pocket money and they are paying for her hospital fees. I do not get any despite my in-laws being well off. They are not supporting me. My mother-in-law actually came by so she may know what we're trying to do, if I am receiving any help or anything. She's like a spy. (Interview 8a)

In the following discussion, the widow explained how she is not allowed by her mother-in-law to build herself a more sustainable house made out of bricks, instead of her current wooden one. She also argued that her wooden tray, which she used to sell carrots on at the local market, was destroyed by her mother-in-law and that when her husband died, the in-laws tried to chase her away.

I do not have the right to do anything on this plot, like building a more sustainable house. I am restricted. After the death of my husband, they complained saying I killed my husband. They have tried to chase me off the land. (Interview 8a)

This can be explained by Kabeer's definition of *negative power*, or "power over"; when people's ability to define their own goals and act upon them is being threatened or is being exposed to violence. Kabeer explains it with women internalizing their own lesser worth in society which leads them to discriminate against other women (Kabeer, 1999) and that the discrimination concept moves beyond men's dominance (Kandiyoti, 1988).

8.2.3 Achievements

Acquire land rights

Kabeer's "*understanding that women's empowerment is about the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability*" (Kabeer, 1999:435) is represented in interview 3 and one widow in FGD 2, who both have been in legal processes to obtain rights to their land. The following section will describe their situations and show how structural gender imbalances in even basic achievements such as adequate shelter and choice of livelihood, derive from underlying inequalities capabilities.

One the first few interviews (3) conducted was with a widow who lived in Marangu Mtoni (town center, where the market is). Before the official interview started, we conducted a narrative walk around the plot. The woman was pleased to take us around. She laughed and nodded when the translator and I said that it looked like a big plot. She estimated that the plot is about 2 acres. We asked if she could take us around the land borders, as they could not be seen through all the banana plantations. She showed us her 16 pigs and the three buildings which she built after her husband died. She rents out one of the buildings to Mama Mkulima. The buildings contain businesses such as a storage, a bar, a shop, a mechanic. During the walk, she showed us the construction of a gate leading up to her house. Before returning to her main house, she showed us a smaller house which contains a kitchen and chickens. She explained that she cooks lunch for Mama Mkulima's staff everyday who works at the wholestore a couple of hundred meters from her house.

She is a 60+ year old woman and a widow, living in a big house which is well decorated and taken care of. On the TV-bench she has pictures enframed of her four children, one boy and three girls, and grand-children. Her children are all adults and one goes to university. With her in her house stays 6 children who are not biologically her children but she takes care of them. She explained that she became a widow in 1998. As with many of the interviewed

widows, she answers “Yes” on the question if she owns the land. When asked if she has a written document confirming this, she excused herself to go look for it. She came back and explained that in fact, her land “*is just for inheriting, so she cannot get such a document.*” She continued to explain that the document she has is kept somewhere safe, outside of the house and is in fact;

“a letter from the clan elders showing that I was married here. I got into some trouble when my husband died. My husband's relatives chased me out of this place. The marriage was a customary marriage, not a church marriage and no paper. That is why they did not consider it a marriage. So the letter only shows that I was chased out of here. The chairman of the village at that time wrote this letter to show that he witnessed the day I was chased out of this land and that he confirmed our marriage.”

(Interview 3)

It is not entirely clear if she refers to the clan elders or the chairman of the village council or if that indeed was the same person at the time. Later she also explained that she was chased off the land while her husband was still alive and that it was her husband, “*under the influence of his relatives*” who chased her and her children off the land. The reason behind this was because “*I only had girl children, the boy was not my husband's*” and it was while she and her children were living at her parents house when the husband suddenly died.

After the death of my husband I came back to this plot, and my in-laws were bothering me because I am a woman and I was the one who was left with this land. They wanted to take this land away from me. But I went to the District Court of Moshi and fought for this land and it was returned to me. (Interview 3)

She left the room again and returned with a document issued by the village government, dated 2001 and written in English. It states that her brother in-laws were charged with criminal trespass and violence. She explained that she started the case with the land tribunals, but they failed. The primary court failed as well and then she went to the district court where they ruled her case. Furthermore, she explained that her brother got her in contact with “*a woman called Mama Minde who promotes women's rights. She has an organization called KWIECO who helped me.*” (Interview 3).

On the question if her own experience influence her willingness to advise other women to claim their land rights as well, she answers;

"Yes. In fact, by the time I got this court order, a lot of things changed in this village. For those women who were in similar situations, men stopped underestimating the power of those women because of my court order. People who did not treat women nicely, they started treating them nicely knowing that there are consequences. I will advise other women" (Interview 3)

A group of 6 widows aged between 35 and 57 years, participated in the second FGD conducted. The discussion took place at MOKICCO, the Marangu-based charity organization which offers support to orphans and widows. The discussions began with how their experience has been since becoming widows. They all agreed that it has not been easy and one of the widows attested to experiencing harassment from her in-laws wanting to chase her off the land although she confirmed that she is still living on the land.

My husband's family wanted me to go away from that place. They did not even want to bury my husband at the plot that we had but somewhere else. They even held the funeral meeting² at my mother-in-law's place instead of our plot (FGD 2).

Another widow from the group raised her hand and said that she and her children were chased off of her husband's land when he passed away and now she lives back at her parents' plot and her children are staying with her brothers. She said that the in-laws argued that they could not provide for her and her children and that the children would not inherit the land. *"My brothers said that God is going to give us livelihood later"* (FGD 2).

² Funeral meetings are usually held at the deceased person's land with family members and elders attending, prior to the funeral, where discussion about inheritance takes place. The VEO in Ashira, Marangu (Interview 13) explains that *"In Chagga land, when a person dies, three days later they are having a meeting to discuss everything which the person has left behind. When the in-laws discuss properties, they might say "I'll take this, I'll take that" before the widow hands out a will. They will be ashamed if the husband has already left everything for his wife. In that case, they will be on bad terms with the wife. They already know they cannot do anything about it, change the will or take over the properties. The only way now is they decide to stay away from the woman. Not to listen to her, not helping her. Just because they are not left with anything due to the written document preventing them."*

Another widow in FGD 2 also said that she had been chased off her husband's land when he died but that she refused to leave and took legal actions.

After the loss of my husband, they chased me out but I didn't go away. I stayed, even when my house I was living in broke. The heavy rain ruined the house, it was an accident. But nobody helped me. So the pastor and Overa Sandberg of MOKICCO, helped me to rebuild the house with three rooms. But I was supposed to provide education for my kids. MOKICCO are the ones who have supported me. But not my husband's family. I was mistreated. I have three kids, but the oldest son is from my husband's first wife. He's old enough and works somewhere else. We love each other. The second child is in Form 2 and the last born is in Standard 6. After the house renovation, I am still mistreated up until now. They bother me every time (FGD 2).

She explained that when the in-laws opposed the new construction of the house, she involved the clan elders and the *Dawati la Jinisia* (Gender Desk) at the Moshi Police Station to get advice on whether or not she could claim rights to the new construction on the land. When they confirmed this, she went to the clan elder, followed by the primary court in Himo and then to the district court in Moshi where she showed her marriage certificate as proof and the issue was resolved. When she was asked if there was any more local institution which could help her get legal advice and solve the dispute in Marangu, she said that it was a village council member who advised her to approach the gender desk. The other widows shouted "They [village council] don't help!" (FGD 2).

Kabeer addresses the relational dimension of empowerment where she highlights the expansions of social relationships and the sharing of life stories and experiences as important dimensions of empowerment (Kabeer, 2011. p. 513). I argue that the widow groups facilitated by MOKICCO are excellent examples of that and gave rich information during the data collection. Their weekly gatherings prevent the widows from being isolated in their homes and responsibilities.

The widow (Interview 3) and the widow in FGD 2 both managed to get a letter of recognition from the village council and a court ruling, and as such were appointed to be the administrator of their husbands' land. Without it, they would be left to obey what their

husband's family decides (Dancer, 2017). Although the two widows have no land title (ownership) to their name, they were able to use the land (pre-condition), their agency (deciding to proceed to court) to end up with well-being outcomes (land rights, except the possibility to sell). One of them (Interview 3) even has enough to take care of six children who are not her biological children.

In conclusion, the exploration of Chagga widows' challenges and opportunities in accessing land rights reveals the complexities of women's empowerment within the dimensions of resources, agency, and achievement. The widows' narratives underscore the need for a holistic understanding of empowerment that goes beyond the range of conventional interpretations of ownership as argued by Jackson (2003) and require the need to take the interplay of cultural, legal, and social factors into consideration. The challenges include understanding what accessing and controlling resources means in the specific context of Kilimanjaro and a bundle of land rights as well as understanding the economic and (patriarchal) social values there are. Knowing if someone is practicing their agency requires a lot of interpretation, which results in a big challenge considering the power imbalance between the researcher and the researched context, however, the widows showed a lot of negotiating skills in order to access and control their deceased husband's land despite the resistance from in-laws. Finally, acquiring land rights were achievements proven by two widows and shows that opportunities are there for widows to enjoy their land rights, with combined support from local government institutions such as VC, the police' gender desk and NGOs.

8.3 Chagga widows participation in local government

This section aims to better understand Chagga widows participation in local government decision-making processes in land management.

8.3.1 Knowledge of land laws

All widows were asked if they were aware of any land laws. This question was strategically posed at the end of every interview, assuming that the more or less hour long interviews about land and their relationship, access and usage of their land, would give them confidence to reflect on this question. All interviewed widows answered "No" to this question and many of them asked to have the question repeated and explained as to what land laws there are to

be aware of. To many, it was a difficult and even embarrassing question to have to answer. One widow elaborated by saying *“I’m not aware of any land laws. The only thing I know is that closer to the river, which is part of our land, we’re not allowed to cut any tree there without consent”* (Interview 7). The limited knowledge widows had about their land rights and what legal rights they had in case of land disputes was mainly obtained through the Moshi-based NGO KWIECO rather than by local government institutions as described earlier (Interview 3).

8.3.2 Participation in local government decision-making institutions

All widows were asked if they attend local government decision-making institutions such as the village assembly meetings, a governing body for any villager above the age of 18. One of the widows in FGD 2 explained that *“According to our situation, it’s not often that we attend. Like everyone has a sick child, right? So we cannot all attend when we don’t have time”* (FDG 2). In an informal conversation with Mrs. Shao “Mama Mkulima”, she said that she does not attend VA meetings because she thinks it’s corrupt. She says even if people attend, their opinions do not matter. If they do not attend, the village will come to your house and take something such as monetary contribution or a hen. Because they want to report a high number of attendance to the district. This resonates with Verma (2001) and Yngstrom (2002) findings.

8.3.3 Women’s representation in local leadership positions

Although female representation in VC and committees of the VCs, e.g. land dispute resolution committees is mandatory according to the Land Acts, and are there to ensure female representation on local decision-making, Yngstrom (2002) reported that *“women elected to these Councils are unlikely to demonstrate particular support for women’s land claims”* (Yngstrom, 2002:34). All widows were asked if they have any leadership role in the community. Only two widows said that they were *balози* which can be translated into ambassadors (Interview 5 & 16). It means that they are representing 10 households around their plot. One widow said that she is a retired teacher (Interview 6) and another one that she is a Sunday school teacher in her church (Interview 9) which to a certain extent is being a leader. None of the interviewed widows were or had earlier been elected into any local VCs or land committees. Apart from the interviewed widows, Ashira, Marangu’s VEO reported that out of the 25 VC members, 5 were women and two of them widows and that they were

elected by the VA after they had become widows (Interview 13). On the question if the interview widows would want to be in such leadership positions, one 35-year old widow explained “*I can’t because my children still depend on me*” (Widow 14) “*I have too many responsibilities here at home*” (Interview 7).

During an interview with a female Village Extension Officer (Agriculture) and Acting Village Executive Officer (VEO)³ in Mshiri, Marangu, the VEO pointed at one of the village office’s walls showing a list of the 25 VC members. 9 out of the 25 members were women, which is consistent with the minimum requirement of 8 women (see Box 1. Governance bodies at village level in Tanzania). She also reported that Mshiri has a land dispute committee consisting of two men and two women. None of the VC members or the land committee’s female members are widows. The 78 year old clan leader, Chairman of Village Resolution Committee and Chairman of Land Tribunal in Ashira, Marangu, said that the women he has on his committees do not contribute much to the work but rather complain. “*They say ‘I’ve been here for two hours, I have not worked at home. I’ve wasted my time.’*” (Interview 11).

8.3.4 Trust in local government institutions

When asked where they will go if they have a land dispute, most widows refer to “clan leaders”, elders who belong to their late husband's family. Those who responded differently were the two widows who had legally fought for their land rights. The widow (3) said that if she would face any issues today, she would return to KWIECO, the Moshi-based NGO, who helped her the first time, however, she feels that in her current status, she will not face any more problems regarding her land.

In the interview with the *Mwenyekiti wa kitongoji* (Chairman of the neighborhood) for Maou in Ashira, Marangu and the VEO for Ashira, Marangu (Interview 13), they raised the issue of corruption when the village government is pulled into land disputes. The chairman shared a story of a widow whose brother-in-law and pastor used fake documents and bribes to access his deceased brother's land in Ashira, Marangu, a challenge previously recorded by Verma (2001) as well.

³ VEOs are not elected by the villagers but appointed by the President.

There is a case of the pastor and his sister-in-law. He stole her land. He had fake documents of that area and she had true documents of that area. He took the land and built, planted crops. The woman shared her case with the VC and even met with the district council herself. The pastor bribed the government officials, and until today she has not got her land rights. (Interview 13a).

Meanwhile, the VEO in Mshiri, Marangu had a different perception and said that “*here in Marangu, in Mshiri, there is no problem of widows being chased away from their land. There is no problem with that*” (Interview 12).

To conclude, Chagga widows' participation in local government decision-making processes in land management reveals a complex landscape shaped by limited knowledge of land laws among both widows and local government leaders, challenges in attending local government meetings, and varying degrees of women's representation in local leadership positions. Highlighted are the practical barriers Chagga widows face in attending meetings or thrive to be in a local leadership position. Constraints such as familial responsibilities and lack of trust within these institutions limit widows' active participation.

9. CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to understand how Chagga widows perceive their right to land, and how widow's challenged access to land can be explained by Kabeer's empowerment concept by answering three research questions. How do Chagga widows perceive their right to access land?; What challenges and opportunities are Chagga widows facing in accessing their land rights, and why and lastly; to what extent can Chagga widows participate in local government decision-making processes in land management? Through the comprehensive thematic analysis of Chagga widow's SSIs and FGDs, several key themes emerged in the attempt to understand how they perceive their land. The findings included dynamic understanding of the land ownership and access, the importance of their guardianship roles, and the emotional connection between widows and their land.

The thesis sheds light on the transformative potential of empowerment within a dynamic and evolving sociocultural context. The exploration of Chagga widows' challenges and opportunities in accessing land rights reveals the complexities of women's empowerment

within the dimensions of resources, agency, and achievement. It highlights the necessity for context-specific approaches that bridge the gap between legal provisions and cultural practices, while fostering support networks that amplify widows' agency and challenge gender norms. Basing this analysis of women's disempowerment solely on the achievements or failure of acquiring land rights would be misleading.

Lastly, it was found the importance of addressing these multifaceted challenges to facilitate meaningful participation of Chagga widows in decision-making processes related to land management. By recognizing and addressing the barriers that restrict their engagement, policymakers, stakeholders and future research should aim towards creating a more inclusive and empowering environment for widows in similar contexts, ultimately contributing to ensuring timely implementation of gender-inclusive land governance practices, ensuring that widows have equal opportunities to participate in land governance and acquire leadership positions within local institutions and thereby enhance women's rights in the Chagga community and beyond.

To achieve this, local formal and informal leaders across sectors and community levels, need to be jointly educated in order to implement the Land Acts in a gender-sensitive way. To enhance widows' empowerment and meaningful participation, efforts should focus on improving legal literacy, addressing barriers to attendance at local government meetings, promoting gender-inclusive leadership, and strengthening the transparency and accountability of local institutions. By addressing these challenges, a more inclusive and equitable decision-making process can be fostered, ultimately leading to better outcomes for Chagga widows in land management.

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11. APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview guide widows (individual)

INTERVIEW GUIDE: Widows (individual)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Are you originating from this area /village?• Where do you live?• Which is your age range? 20-35, 35-45, 45-60 or above 60• When did you become a widow?• Do you have children? How many? Girls or boys? Of what age?
<p><i>Narrative walk</i></p> <p>Do you live on this piece of land? If yes, since when? Would you like to take me on a walk on this land and tell me a little bit about it?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How big (acre) is this land?• Do you own your land? If not, who does?• Do you use this land (live, plant, harvest, have a duka)?• Do you aspire to own this land? If not - why?• What prohibits you from owning land?• Are you aware of any land laws? If yes, which one and how do you think they apply to you and your situation?
<p><i>THEME 1: How do Chagga widows perceive their right to own and access land?</i></p>
<p><i>Recognizing rights</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Do you have the right to use and/or own the land you live on?• Do you know if you have a legal right to use and/or own the land you live on?• Does your family (husband's family) allow you to own/use this land?• Does your community (neighbors, friends) allow you to own/use this land?
<p><i>Securing rights</i></p>

- Did your ability to own/use this land change when your husband died? If yes, how and why?
- Can you decide to invest (e.g. build) on your land?

Rights in time

- For how long have you had access/owned this plot?

Rights with conditions

- Can you access/own this land independently? If not, why?
- Are there any conditions you have to fulfill to own/use this land?

THEME 2: To what extent are Chagga widows included in local decision-making forums?

- Is ownership (or land use) a precondition for participation in formal decision making?
- What practices or strategies do you apply to influence decision making? Can it be done via others – such as male family/household members?
- Do you engage in local government meetings, such as the village assembly? If not - why not? If yes - how often do you participate and in what matters?
- Are you aware of which institution to go to if you are facing conflicts over this land? If yes, where?
- Have you gotten help from the local government to solve any issue related to land? If yes, how was that experience?

Appendix B: Interview guide widows (FGD)

INTERVIEW GUIDE: Widows (FGD)

- How has it been to become a widow?
- What are your main struggles?
- What does the land you live on mean to you?
- Is it important to you to own your land?

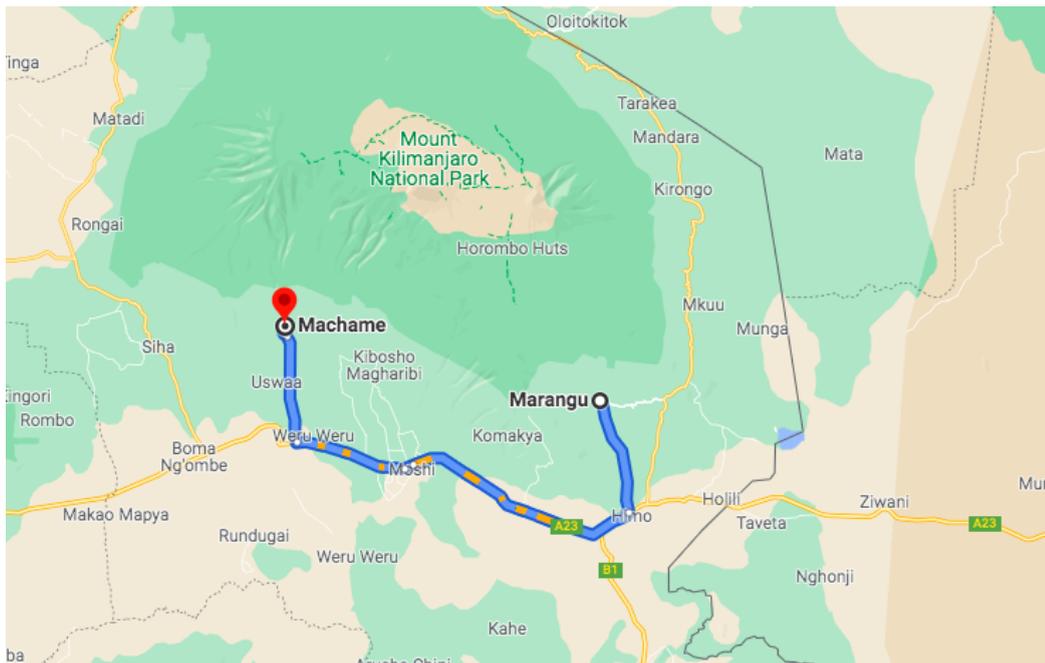
- What prohibits you from owning your land?
- What support system do you get from your in-laws?
- How involved are you in local government meetings?
- Do you have any local leadership position?
- Do you feel like the local government is a fair and transparent institution? Can you depend on the local government?
- Where would you go if you face any land issue?
- Are you aware of any land laws?

Appendix C: Interview guide local leaders

INTERVIEW GUIDE: Local leaders

- Does *Area X* have a Village Council?
- Explain the process of a widow allocating land. Can she own? Can she use?
- Is ownership a precondition for participating in local decision-making processes?
- Has any widow, of your knowledge, ever been elected to be a local leader?
- If widows do not hold formal land rights - what practices or strategies can they apply to influence decision - making?
- Can the local government of *Area X* allocate land for their widows? If yes, what does that process look like?
- Do you believe it's important for a widow to own land?

Appendix D: Picture of a map of Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania



Picture of a map pointing out Marangu (right) and Machame (left).

Appendix E: Consent form (English)

<i>CONSENT FORM</i>

Research Project: Master's Thesis - Widows, land rights and decision making - findings from Kilimanjaro region, Tanzania

Research investigator: Elin Johansson

Phone number: +255764188700

Email: elinjohansson.malmo@gmail.com

This is a consent form of your participation in a study on widows, land rights and decision making possibilities in the Kilimanjaro region, Tanzania. The research is being conducted as part of completing the Master's of Science degree in International Development and Management and it will be submitted as the final thesis at Lund University, Sweden.

This interview will be recorded, transcribed and used during the data analysis process. You may choose whether you would like your name disclosed or not. Should you choose to remain anonymous, then any interview extracts or direct quotes will be treated confidentially and be anonymised. This is done by changing your name and disguising details which may reveal your identity. Moreover, you have the right to request the transcribed interview text for verification before the thesis is submitted in mid-May 2022. By signing this form I, the research participant, agree that:

1. I am participating voluntarily in this research project. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without any consequences.
2. I understand that I will not receive any reimbursement for my participation.
3. I agree that my interview is being audio-recorded.
4. The transcribed interview or extracts from the interview may be used as described above.
5. The original recordings will be retained on a password-protected phone and only accessed by Elin Johansson, and destroyed after submitting the thesis to the university.

6. I have read the informed consent form.

7. I can request a copy of the transcript of my interview for verification.

8. I understand that I am free to contact Elin Johansson to seek further clarification and information at any time.

I consent to having my identity disclosed in the research: Yes No

I consent to being quoted in the research: Yes No

Signature of participant

Participant Name _____

Participant Signature _____

Signature of researcher

I, Elin Johansson, promise to adhere to the procedures described in this consent form.

Researcher's signature _____ Date _____

Appendix F: Consent form (Kiswahili)

FOMU YA RIDHAA YA UTAFITI

Mradi wa Utafiti: Tasnifu ya Uzamili - Wajane, haki zao za ardhi na kufanya maamuzi - matokeo kutoka mkoa wa Kilimanjaro, Tanzania

Jina la mtafiti: Elin Johansson

Namba ya simu: +255764188700

Barua pepe: elinjohansson.malmo@gmail.com

Hii ni fomu ya idhini ya ushiriki wako katika utafiti kuhusu wajane, haki za ardhi na uwezekano wao wa kufanya maamuzi katika mkoa wa Kilimanjaro, Tanzania. Utafiti huo unafanywa kama sehemu ya kukamilisha Shahada ya Uzamili ya Sayansi katika Maendeleo na Usimamizi wa Kimataifa na itawasilishwa kama tasnifu ya mwisho katika Chuo Kikuu cha Lund, Uswidi.

Mahojiano haya yatarekodiwa, kunukuliwa na kutumika wakati wa mchakato wa uchambuzi wa data. Unaweza kuchagua kama ungependa jina lako lifichuliwe au la. Ukichagua kutokujulikana jina lako, basi dondoo zozote za mahojiano au nukuu za moja kwa moja zitashughulikiwa kwa usiri na wewe kutokujulikana. Hii inafanywa kwa kubadilisha jina lako na kuficha maelezo ambayo yanaweza kufichua utambulisho wako. Zaidi ya hayo, una haki ya kuomba maandishi ya mahojiano yaliyonakiliwa ili kuthibitishwa kabla ya tasnifu kuwasilishwa katikati ya Mei 2022. Kwa kutia saini fomu hii mimi, mshiriki wa utafiti, nakubali kwamba:

1. Ninashiriki kwa hiari katika mradi huu wa utafiti. Ninaelewa kuwa ninaweza kujiondoa kwenye utafiti wakati wowote, bila matokeo yoyote.
2. Ninaelewa kuwa sitapokea fidia yoyote kwa ushiriki wangu.
3. Ninakubali kuwa mahojiano yangu yanarekodiwa kwa sauti.
4. Mahojiano yaliyonakiliwa au dondoo kutoka kwa mahojiano zinaweza kutumika kama ilivyoelezwa hapo juu.

5. Rekodi asili zitahifadhiwa kwenye simu iliyolindwa na neno la siri na kufikiwa na Elin Johansson pekee, na kuharibiwa baada ya kuwasilisha nadharia kwenye chuo kikuu.

6. Nimesoma fomu ya kibali cha taarifa.

7. Ninaweza kuomba nakala ya nakala ya mahojiano yangu ili kuthibitishwa.

8. Ninaelewa kuwa niko huru kuwasiliana na Elin Johansson ili kutafuta ufafanuzi na maelezo zaidi wakati wowote.

Ninakubali utambulisho wangu ufichuliwe katika utafiti:

Ndiyo Hapana

Ninakubali kunukuliwa katika utafiti:

Ndiyo Hapana

Sahihi ya mshiriki

Jina la Mshiriki _____

Sahihi ya Mshiriki _____

Sahihi ya Mtafiti

Mimi, Elin Johansson, naahidi kuzingatia taratibu zilizoлезwa katika fomu hii ya idhini.

Sahihi ya Mtafiti _____ Tarehe _____

Appendix G: List of SSIs and FGDs

	Gender	Who?	Age	Born	Live	Estimated land area (acres)	Local leadership position	Consent
Interview 1	Female	Widow	61	Mshiri, Marangu	Sengi, Marangu	-	-	Oral
Interview 2	Female	Widow	41	Arusha*	Arisi, Marangu	-	-	Written
Interview 3	Female	Widow	60 +	Samanga, Marangu	Ashira, Marangu	2 acre	-	Written
Interview 4	Female	Widow	41	Singida**	Mshiri, Marangu	1/4 acre	-	Oral
Interview 5	Female	Widow	75	Ashira, Marangu	Ashira, Marangu	1/4 acre	M/Balozi (head of 10 houses)	Written
Interview 6	Female	Widow	69	Old Moshiji***	Marangu	1/2 acre	Teacher	Written
Interview 7	Female	Widow	68	Kilema, Marangu	Arisi, Marangu	3/4 - 1/2 of an acre	-	Written
Interview 8a	Female	Widow	52	Rongi, Marangu	Arisi, Marangu	1/4 acre	-	Written
Interview 8b	Female	Widow (Mother in-law to above)	78	Arisi, Marangu	Arisi, Marangu	> 1/4 acre	-	Written
Interview 9	Female	Widow	64	Rengoni, Marangu	Rengoni, Marangu	1/2 acre	Used to be. Sunday School teacher in church	Written with addition (TV & radio)
Interview 10	Female	Widow	96	Rengoni, Marangu	Rengoni, Marangu	1 acre	-	Oral

				ngu	ngu			
Interview 11	Male	Clan elder Chariman of Village Resolution Comittee Chairman of Land Tribunal	70 +				Clan elder Chariman of Village Resolution Comittee Chairman of Land Tribunal	Oral
Interview 12	Female	Village Extension Officer (Agriculture) Act. as Village Executive Officer (VEO) Mshiri, Marangu	50 +				Village Extension Officer (Agriculture) Act. as Village Executive Officer (VEO) Mshiri, Marangu	Oral (kan få written om jag ber om det)
Interview 13a	Male	Mwenyekiti wa kitongoji (Chariman of the neighborhood) Maou, Ashira, Marangu	50 +				Mwenyekiti wa kitongoji (Chariman of the neighborhood) Maou, Ashira, Marangu	Oral
Interview 13b	Female	Village Executive Officer (VEO) Ashira, Marangu	30 +				Village Executive Officer (VEO) Ashira, Marangu	Oral
Interview 14	Female	Widow	35	Mkuu, Machame	Rembo, Machame	"It's small"	-	Written
Interview 15	Female	Widow	70	Rembo, Machame	Rembo, Machame	1/4 acre	-	Written with addition (TV & radio)
Interview	Female	Widow	58	Wari,	Rem	> 1/4	M/Balozi (head of 10	Written

16				Mach ame	bo, Mach ame	acre	houses)	
FDG 1	Female	Widow	70					Oral
FDG 1	Female	Widow	60					Oral
FDG 1	Female	Widow	72					Oral
FDG 1	Female	Widow	52					Written
FDG 2	Female	Widow	35 - 45					Written
FDG 2	Female	Widow	50					Written
FDG 2	Female	Widow	56					Written
FDG 2	Female	Widow	57					Written
FDG 2	Female	Widow	48					Written
FDG 2	Female	Widow	35					Written