



# Land Governance in an Interconnected World

ANNUAL WORLD BANK CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY  
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## **INTRODUCING WOLTS: ACTION-ORIENTED RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S LAND TENURE SECURITY IN MONGOLIA AND TANZANIA**

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## **Abstract**

Pastoralist communities in mineral-rich areas of Mongolia and Tanzania have been the focus of the first two years of the Women's Land Tenure Security (WOLTS) project, a long-term action-oriented global research project. The first part of this paper outlines the distinct approach and rigorous methodology that WOLTS has developed and applied, using multiple site visits and different research methods to triangulate and validate findings. The second part of the paper presents key findings from the fieldwork in four communities in Mongolia and Tanzania so far, drawing out common themes such as the need for better access to information and more inclusive decision-making in the management of local land and natural resources. As pastoralist communities in many developing countries face increasing pressures from mining, WOLTS' early conclusions underline the importance of in-depth understanding of gendered social relations and property rights, in order to improve gender equity in governance of tenure.

## **Key Words:**

Gender, mining, pastoralism, governance of tenure, participatory research



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## INTRODUCTION

Two years ago we embarked on a long-term action-oriented strategic research project on Women's Land Tenure Security (WOLTS), with three key objectives:

- to establish a stronger evidence base on threats to women's land tenure security;
- to strengthen the capacity of communities, NGOs/CSOs and local governments to protect and secure women's land rights in the face of these threats; and
- to see tangible improvements in women's land tenure security in the communities and countries reached by the project, and wider sharing and dissemination of lessons learned.

The WOLTS project has started with a study in Mongolia and Tanzania that focuses on pastoralist communities in mineral-rich areas of both countries. The research team have carried out fieldwork in four communities affected by mining investments, looking at the intersection of gender and land relations in different pastoralist and mining contexts and developing a methodology for continuing community engagement.

This paper focuses on the outcomes of these past two years of the project, as the first stage of the pilot study draws to a close. It brings out some of the key findings on the intersection of mining, pastoralism, gender and land in each of the communities and then brings together some overall conclusions for each country. Our paper draws heavily on the detailed findings as set out in WOLTS Research Report No.1, *Gender, Land and Mining in Mongolia* (Daley et al, 2018), and WOLTS Research Report No. 2, *Gender, Mining and Pastoralism in Tanzania* (Daley et al, forthcoming).

## STUDY COUNTRIES AND COMMUNITIES

Tanzania and Mongolia are both countries with a long history and tradition of nomadic pastoralism, as well as countries whose mineral wealth is of significant economic importance. In both countries gender equality is enshrined in constitutions and formal laws, with women allowed to own/possess/use/apply for/register land individually or jointly with men. However, issues of gender equality play out differently within each country.

In Mongolia, official reports describe a broadly gender-equal society, with women being highly educated and frequently in formal employment. However, gender issues at the household level, particularly in more



traditional pastoral communities, play out around household roles and responsibilities, domestic violence and sexual exploitation, as well as in the context of widespread alcoholism and corruption. In Tanzania, gender issues are much more evident with significant disparities between women and men in nearly every aspect of life.

The WOLTS study deliberately selected contrasting communities in both Tanzania and Mongolia. Within both countries the two communities are of a similar ethnic and religious composition; however, each is affected to a different extent by mining, and there are differences in terms of livelihood opportunities and patterns of grazing. The four communities are Bornuur and Dalanjargalan soums in Mongolia and Mundarara and Naisinyai villages in Tanzania.

#### THE WOLTS APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

The WOLTS project has developed and applied a distinct approach and rigorous methodology during its pilot phase. This emphasises formal working partnerships with national civil society organisations in both Mongolia and Tanzania, providing training and capacity building and enabling them to engage directly in research and to collaborate in developing tools to protect and strengthen land rights of women and vulnerable groups on the ground.

The WOLTS approach has also been designed to stimulate discussion and debate within the communities that are the focus of the research, including through developing a long-term methodology in pursuit of real change at the community level. This has involved multiple site visits over the past two years, using different techniques and research tools to triangulate and validate findings.

Fieldwork in Mongolia took place between April and November 2016, including initial field visits, a baseline survey and a participatory fieldwork phase. The findings were validated during follow-up visits between June and August 2017 and a multi-stakeholder workshop in October 2017. The same fieldwork process took place in Tanzania between June 2016 and February 2017, with the findings validated during follow-up visits in July and August 2017 and a multi-stakeholder workshop in November 2017.

Our baseline survey was conducted in August 2016 in Mongolia and from August to October 2016 in Tanzania, with 10% of households in each community. Approximately 80% of the survey sample was generated by random sampling and 20% was generated by specific targeting of female-headed



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households.<sup>1</sup> This method was used to boost the total number of female-headed households surveyed so as to help uncover critical gender issues for vulnerable groups. Data from the additional female-headed households were only included in comparative analysis of male- and female-headed households and male and female respondents, and not in all the general baseline analysis.

Our participatory fieldwork phase took place in November 2016 in Mongolia, including 14 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 11 individual biographic interviews (BIs) in each community, and in February 2017 in Tanzania, including 13 FGDs and 12 BIs in each community.<sup>2</sup> Different types of social groups and individuals were specifically sought out for these discussions and interviews, so as to reflect different characteristics and issues that we considered worth exploring further after analysing our baseline results (e.g. widows, miners, (monogamously / polygamously) married men and women, etc.). FGDs were structured around standard participatory exercises, including natural resource and migration mapping, seasonal labour analysis, and stakeholder analysis and institution mapping. BIs followed structured

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<sup>1</sup> In Mongolia: in Bornuur the baseline included 142 households, of which 111 were randomly sampled and 31 were additional female-headed households; in Dalanjargalan it included 93 households, of which 74 were randomly sampled and 19 were additional female-headed households. Thus 78% of the total survey sample in Bornuur and 80% in Dalanjargalan was randomly sampled (including 82 male- and 29 female-headed households in Bornuur and 57 male- and 17 female-headed households in Dalanjargalan) while 22% in Bornuur and 20% in Dalanjargalan comprised deliberately targeted female-headed households. In Tanzania: in Mundarara the baseline included 71 households, of which 57 were randomly sampled and 14 were additional female-headed households; in Naisinyai it included 125 households, of which 103 were randomly sampled and 22 were additional female-headed households. Thus 80% of the total survey sample in Mundarara and 82% in Naisinyai was randomly sampled (including 50 male- and 7 female-headed households in Mundarara and 97 male- and 6 female-headed households in Naisinyai) while 20% in Mundarara and 18% in Naisinyai comprised deliberately targeted female-headed households.

<sup>2</sup> The participatory fieldwork in Mongolia involved over 102 people in Bornuur and over 94 people in Dalanjargalan, and in Tanzania it involved over 92 people in Mundarara and over 104 people in Naisinyai.



question guides that were tailored to the circumstances of the individual being interviewed in order to help us learn about people's lives and livelihoods and the ways both gender relations and access to different resources have changed since their childhoods. Our research also included interviews with local government officials and representatives of some of the mining companies and organisations in the four communities.

The WOLTS approach and methodology have been further discussed in our poster presentation at the 2017 World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty (Daley and Driscoll, 2017).

## BACKGROUND TO MONGOLIA COMMUNITIES

Mongolia has a long history and tradition of nomadic pastoralism that has survived both the socialist period and the democratic transition. Key minerals found in Mongolia are gold, fluorspar, zinc, iron ore, silver and lead, and there is a lot of mining at all scales countrywide. Gender equality is enshrined in the Constitution and in formal laws, with women allowed to own, apply for and register land individually or jointly with their families. Our two WOLTS pilot communities share a similar ethnic and religious make-up, mainly Khalkha and Buddhist, and both contain relatively youthful populations and women who are on average better educated than men. However, there are contrasts between them in terms of patterns of grazing, the scale and extent of mining, and types and depths of linkages with the wider Mongolian economy.

Bornuur soum is located in Tuv aimag, 115 km north-northwest of Ulaanbaatar. Its total land area is 114,687 ha, of which approximately 36,000 ha is forested, 68,000 ha is pastureland, and 8,100 ha is cropland. As at 3 March 2015, 18 mining licences had been granted in the soum – six for production and 12 for exploration. Bornuur's main mineral resource is gold. Bornuur soum is made up of four baghs, two of them more urbanised and two more rural, where most herders live. The total population of the soum as at 4 August 2016 was 5,059 people, living in 1,404 households.

Dalanjargalan soum is located in Dornogovi aimag, in the Gobi Desert, 288 km south-southeast of Ulaanbaatar. Its total land area is 404,590 ha, which is mainly desert-steppe pastureland. The Trans-Siberian Railway passes through the soum and 44,000 ha of the Ikh Nart Nature Reserve lies within its territory. As at 6 April 2016, 90 mining licences had been granted in the soum – 42 for production and 48 for exploration. Dalanjargalan's main mineral resources are coal, fluorspar, construction materials and



iron, along with semi-precious stones (chalcedony). Dalanjargalan soum consists of five bags, two of them physically smaller and more urbanised and three much larger and more rural. The total population of the soum as at 28 July 2016 was 2,641 people living in 916 households.

## OVERVIEW OF KEY FINDINGS FROM MONGOLIA

In Mongolia, in both communities, conflicts over different land uses were seen to have increased since socialist times, especially between mining and herding, and among herders themselves. The impact of mining on land resources was particularly felt with increasing land scarcity, concentration and environmental degradation. These pressures had a greater negative effect on more vulnerable households, including female-headed households, youth and the unemployed, as well as certain categories of men. Given strong social norms that see herding as an activity for traditional male-headed family units, female-headed households were more vulnerable to losing access to pasture and more likely to struggle with the physical workload of herding.

Overall in the Mongolian case studies there was a general desire for local government to be more proactive in monitoring mining companies to ensure that land is rehabilitated and that the local environment, people's health, and local herders' tenure rights to pastureland are protected well. There was also a clear need to find ways to share information on mining and land more widely.

## FINDINGS FROM BORNUUR

Since Mongolia's transition to democracy in 1990, rapid urbanisation, land privatisation and degradation of pastureland have led to some people in Bornuur giving up traditional nomadic herding and becoming intensive or semi-intensive livestock farmers, and sometimes also crop farmers, cultivating medium-sized fodder plantations as well as vegetable plots. Many of our surveyed households in Bornuur engaged in both herding and crop farming and/or had a household member in formal employment, and it seemed during our fieldwork that almost every household in the soum also had at least one member who had engaged or was still engaging in artisanal mining, nowadays mostly young, unemployed men. An East German mining company operated in Bornuur from approximately 1979 to 1990 and since its closure the high levels of gold deposits in Bornuur have attracted other corporate investments as well as artisanal





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miners. One company (Gun Bilegt) operated between 1998 and 2012 and another (Centerra Gold) between 2003 and 2016, but it was unclear what corporate mining operations there would be in Bornuur in future due to as yet unresolved issues around the implementation of the 2009 Law to Prohibit Mineral Exploration and Mining Operations at Headwaters of Rivers, Protected Zones of Water Reservoirs, and Forested Areas (the ‘Long Name Law’).

Many people claimed that mining had not brought any benefits or work opportunities to Bornuur, but instead had just destroyed the local environment, increasing pressures on land. Growing alcoholism was a problem among male miners, and health problems were reported to be prevalent among both current and former miners, including deaths from lung diseases. As part of efforts to find solutions for the growing social and environmental problems attributable to artisanal gold mining in its earlier boom years, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation’s Sustainable Artisanal Mining Project helped to establish the first umbrella organisation of artisanal miners in Mongolia in Bornuur in 2008, and a framework for the legalisation of artisanal mining was established in 2010 through amendments to the 2006 Minerals Law and the 2002 Land Law.

Women were mostly in charge of housekeeping, whereas men did most of the more physically challenging and outdoors work. However, there was a strong sense of complementarity, with many activities undertaken by household members together. Both women and men appeared to work hard, but women’s time and work burdens were greater than men’s because of childcare and household chores. Women also tended to deal with bank loans and land certification, but land documents were generally issued in men’s names. Even though men were regarded traditionally as heads of their household, women seemed to have a strong role in household decision-making, with either the woman taking most decisions or the couple doing so together – except about the slaughtering and sale of livestock where decisions were usually taken just by men. Women generally also managed household funds and tended to be the ones who attended bagh and soum meetings, although the most powerful political positions were occupied by men.

Our fieldwork in Bornuur revealed many conflicts over land and natural resources in the soum, including a general increase in conflicts over different land uses since the former socialist times. These conflicts arose from the interplay of different changes taking place in the soum. Immigration into Bornuur was perceived to have contributed to land pressures, including land scarcity, land concentration, the development of a land market in non-residential land, and environmental degradation. The rapid socio-economic and environmental changes taking place in Bornuur against the backdrop of these pressures





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seemed to have had a bigger and more negative effect on poorer and more vulnerable people, including female-headed households and the young and unemployed, as they faced the most difficulties in accessing land and participating in local land management.

We heard reports that there were no more housing plots available for allocation in the soum centre and no more vegetable plots in Bornuur's irrigated farm area, but that people with money could now purchase or rent land for different purposes. There has been a rise in land certification, as well as increased privatisation of, and disputes over, the soum's haymaking areas – despite efforts by the soum government at resolution. Formal land ownership was widely perceived to be highly unequal, with a few rich individuals said to be holding (possessing or renting) large tracts of land for tourism camps, mining sites, haymaking and crop farming, and with poorer people unable to obtain any property titles, possession certificates or use contracts. The process of applying for different types of registered land was often seen as cumbersome, time-consuming and difficult to understand. It also seemed to be very difficult for young people to acquire new winter camps, as there were no more unallocated areas available. Further, while most older people had winter campsites that were recorded in the soum cadastre map, many did not actually have a possession certificate. Summer campsites were set up in the same place each year, where people had customary use rights.

While mining has created new opportunities for people in the soum since the 1990s, artisanal mining remains tarnished by illegality and problems around health and alcoholism. However, the use of harmful chemicals has reduced since 2010 and artisanal mining has become more organised and less violent. At the same time, the interactions between local citizens and large mining companies have been very poor, with local people often seeming to be uninformed about companies' operations in the soum. Mining activities and the growing tourism industry in Bornuur have also had negative effects on water quality and quantity, which was a particular worry for herders. While for some herders life has improved in the last decades as they have been able to establish permanent houses and become semi-intensive or intensive livestock and crop farmers, for the majority relying on traditional nomadic pastoralism life overall has become more difficult. The increasing privatisation of different types of land has led to fences springing up all over the soum's pastureland, challenging longstanding patterns of communal and shared use, and the remaining pastureland was perceived to have become heavily degraded at the same time as human and livestock populations have increased. All of these developments, as well as the pull of urban life, have caused young people to become disillusioned with herding and seek employment in the capital city, leaving older adults behind in the countryside.



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While in a well-functioning herder household women's and men's roles were seen to complement each other and women seemed to hold relatively important powers over household decision-making and finances, we found several cases of women in Bornuur descending into tenure insecurity and poverty on widowhood. Although divorce was uncommon, it might also pose problems for women, given the prevalence of land certification in the sole name of the (male) household head. Both women and men did not perceive there to be any discrimination by gender with regard to formal land allocation processes, only by wealth/poverty, and many women reported owning housing plots (and, to a lesser extent, small vegetable plots). However, access to pastureland was still traditionally negotiated by men, and female-headed households often struggled to maintain their access rights to pastures, summer camps and hay fields, and often lost out in disputes with other households; the rights of widows to these types of land were notably not well-respected. Furthermore, female-headed households were unable to shoulder the heavy workload and/or were unwilling to take on 'male' tasks in the presence of strong social norms that positioned herding as an activity for traditional male-headed family units. All these difficulties for female-headed households were exacerbated in the current context of high male mortality and morbidity as a result of mining, as well as the increasing overall land scarcity, concentration and degradation.

## FINDINGS FROM DALANJARGALAN

Life in Dalanjargalan appeared to have changed quite dramatically over the past 20 years, from being a mainly traditional herding society to one that has witnessed a period of rapid social change linked to a mining and industrial boom. The two main livelihoods in Dalanjargalan were herding and formal employment, and the soum included both longstanding citizens with traditional pastoralist roots and newer arrivals who were more connected to the wider economy through their jobs. Involvement in mining, particularly artisanal mining, was also very common, but crop farming was of limited significance to local livelihoods. As in Bornuur, men in Dalanjargalan were in charge of physically strenuous outdoor activities, whereas women were responsible for taking care of the work inside the house or ger. Women were reported to be actively involved in household decision-making, but inter-family discussions about access to pasture and water sources were generally held only among men. These traditional divisions of labour made it very difficult for women to engage in herding without male support, and male-headed households were more likely to be reliant on herding than female-headed households for their livelihoods.



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Mining in Dalanjargalan includes large-, medium- and small-scale coal and fluorspar production, plus iron and construction materials mining, illegal artisanal fluorspar and semi-precious stone mining, and a cement factory, fluorspar processing factory and more. The last two decades have seen a huge mining boom in the soum. At first only a few illegal miners sold fluorspar to Chinese traders, from around 1996, but the number soon reached several thousand as unemployed people from all over Mongolia were drawn by this income-earning opportunity to Dalanjargalan. Small and medium-sized companies started coming to Dalanjargalan from around 1997 and in 1998 the large-scale Mongolian company, Mongol Alt Corporation (MAK), began its coal mining operations in the soum. Official data suggest a total area held under mining licences of 19% of Dalanjargalan's territory.

Conflicts and disputes over land and natural resources in the soum seemed to have increased with the development of the local mining sector from the late 1990s, both between miners and herders and among herders themselves. Participants in our fieldwork were almost unanimous in their view that mining has substantially contributed to pastureland degradation and the increasing scarcity of clean water. People shared concerns about social and health effects of mining, such as lack of local employment opportunities with mining companies and unhealthy working conditions due to dust, as well as environmental concerns, including the creation of many uncontrolled roads, reduction in quantity and quality of surface and underground water levels, and deep holes made by mining operations that cause livestock death. Both illegal artisanal miners and mining companies of all sizes were generally held in low regard, with mining seen to have done little for the community. Lack of information and awareness about the activities of mining companies and (illegal) artisanal miners contributed to these concerns, and we detected a general desire for the local government to take a more proactive role in consulting local people and monitoring mining companies to ensure that mining land is rehabilitated, and that the local environment and local herders' tenure rights to the pastureland are well protected. On the other hand, local people had benefited from markets for their meat, vegetables, shops and services from mining workers and factory employees, and there were some jobs in mining for local people too.

The main types of land subject to formal land allocation processes in Dalanjargalan were housing plots, under ownership rights, for those living in the two urban baghs, and winter and spring camps, under possession rights, for those living in the three rural baghs. As in Bornuur, it was women who tended to do the work to apply for land and obtain land titles and possession certificates, but in most cases the documents were titled in a man's name. The formal process of applying for land was very complicated and time-consuming, especially for remote-living herder households, and some people felt that not



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everyone was treated equally. The land allocation process appeared in general to be more inaccessible and complicated for winter and spring camps than for housing plots, with sometimes several families claiming ownership over one campsite and female-headed herder households particularly affected because they were not taken as seriously in the male-dominated herder environment.

The expansion of mining in Dalanjargalan has created a perceived shortage of good quality pasture and disputes over pastureland have become commonplace. Coupled with the formalisation of land tenure through allocation of private rights to housing plots and winter and spring camps, practices such as fencing have started to increase while seasonal movement has simultaneously reduced. In the rural baghs it seemed that most families either stayed in their winter camps year round, or moved only very nearby, in order to guard and protect their rights to the pasture around their campsites. This trend towards more settled lifestyles puts further pressure on the sustainability of local pastureland. Thus although winter and spring camp titling (under possession certificates) was intended to help secure the tenure rights of herders over pastureland in areas where their families had had campsites and customary pasture rights for generations, disputes over land have in fact stimulated fears among some herders about losing their land or being left without any titled camps. This has reinforced the trend towards less movement and contributed to newly unfolding changes in traditional land management practices whose full effects are not yet clear.

The changing social and economic context of life in Dalanjargalan has also contributed to changing patterns in pastoral lifestyles and in gender relations within households and the community. Changes in pastoralist land management away from traditional nomadic migration and towards fencing private areas of pastureland have coincided with changes at the household level between men and women in herder families. We saw this most obviously in the case of ‘split families’, with many couples living separately for much of the year in order to support their children’s education. Women who stay in the soum centre with their children have gained opportunities to become more informed and increase their independence, in some cases taking advantage of new employment and trading opportunities, while the men who stay behind in the winter camps have to engage in domestic work as well as dealing with the increasing challenges of herding. Even though this new lifestyle brings certain opportunities to the whole family, for example by having a base in the soum centre from which to more easily follow up land applications and link into markets, its full effects have yet to be seen. In addition, there was the rise in ‘fake’ divorces – where a husband and wife register as citizens in two different soums so that the divorced woman could apply for land in a neighbouring soum to help the household increase its overall access to pastureland (by



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increasing the area around the campsites over which it had exclusive grazing rights). This was providing women with access to land in their own name, but might also put strains on the relationship and lead to a real break-up.

Nevertheless, within marriages there appeared to be a lot of trust between spouses, who were working hard to manage the household enterprise in the more challenging economic environment than many of them had grown up with and worked in during socialist times. However, there were clearly also still ways in which women in general, and certain women (and men) in particular, appeared to be disadvantaged.

## OVERALL CONCLUSIONS FROM MONGOLIA

Bornuur and Dalanjargalan differ in various ways. Bornuur is much closer to Ulaanbaatar than Dalanjargalan and livelihoods were more diverse, with crop farming having played a large role in the local economy from socialist times. Dalanjargalan is much more of a traditional herding community, but the scale of mining activities (and related industrial development) was much larger and appeared to pose a greater threat to herders' livelihoods.

Both soums have changed significantly with the transition from socialism to a market-based economy. As land has been privatised and is becoming scarcer, both fencing and fears of land loss have become more common in both communities, making seasonal nomadic movement more difficult. This reduction in movement, as well as general population and livestock increases, have in turn contributed to the perceived degradation of pastureland and to increased conflicts over pasture in both soums (and related conflicts over haymaking areas in Bornuur). Mining has exacerbated these problems, with its environmental impact much more pronounced in Dalanjargalan.

There appeared to be a major lack of information about mining licences and activities in both soums, and very limited engagement between mining companies and the local communities. Some local employment was created by mining companies, but in both soums people were more likely to be engaging in artisanal mining. In Bornuur, illegal artisanal mining peaked after the opening up of the economy, but in Dalanjargalan both legal (small-scale licensed) and illegal artisanal miners seemed to be causing bigger environmental problems at the time of our research. While legal artisanal gold and fluorspar mining was often done by household members together, the illegal picking of semi-precious stones was often done by



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women. In both communities, artisanal mining was considered to be a very dangerous activity and a last resort for those without other livelihood options.

In both soums, the transition from socialism to a market-based economy, as well as the growth of mining, had specific gendered consequences. While women appeared to hold considerable decision-making power both within their households and in their communities (also related to their generally higher levels of education), we found that traditional gendered norms were still very strong. Herding was generally considered to be a male task, thus making it very difficult for widows and divorced/separated women to continue to engage in it, and, as conflicts over pasture were increasing in both soums, the rights of female-headed herder households were less likely to be respected. At the same time, in both soums land was usually titled in the husband's name due to the perception that he is the head of the household, even though some women also held possession certificates or were included on joint certificates. In an era of increasing land scarcity, women without land titles may face considerable challenges upon widowhood or divorce. While divorce rates were still quite low in Bornuur, they were increasing in Dalanjargalan, for different reasons. While the common practice of 'split families' brought some advantages and opportunities to women, it was also seen to be putting family life under strain and leading to an increase in divorces. In addition, more and more herder households were obtaining 'fake' divorces, creating similar issues between couples from the strain of living apart.

Our research concluded that traditional nomadic pastoralism was increasingly threatened in both Bornuur and Dalanjargalan today. The general transition towards a market economy, the increase in mining operations in Dalanjargalan, and the increased competition over different land uses in Bornuur have all contributed to perceived pastureland degradation and decreasing movement of herders. In both soums, both internal and external threats therefore appear to have combined to make herders' livelihoods very precarious today. On one hand, in Bornuur, government policy did not seem to promote pastoralist lifestyles, preferring intensive livestock and crop farming instead, and large tracts of land seemed to have been allocated for farming, tourism and mining investments. On the other hand, the perception was that these largely outsider-driven investments have negatively affected the quality and quantity of pastureland, water and forest resources in the soum, as well as local people's health. In Dalanjargalan, the scale and extent of the growth in mining has combined with the (unintended) negative consequences of the formalisation of land tenure to result in major inter-linked changes both in traditional pastoralist lifestyles and in social and gender relations.





Herders have adapted in Bornuur by becoming semi-intensive livestock farmers and engaging in alternative income-generating activities (as also encouraged by government policy), while in Dalanjargalan families have developed a range of coping mechanisms, including living arrangements that seem unlikely to be socially sustainable in the long term. At the same time, many young people are not interested in herding anymore and move to Ulaanbaatar to seek employment, especially from Bornuur. While women may be better equipped to compete in the broader economy due to their higher levels of education, this may also contribute to male violence and alcoholism, as well as to relationship break-ups. Further, not just female-headed households but also young male herders and those men who live separately from their families must be considered as vulnerable groups in both soums today.

Questions remain about what positive livelihood options there are for vulnerable groups in both soums, given our fieldwork findings about the difficulties in gaining access to land for both herding and crop farming, the dangers of mining, and the persistence of social norms about traditional gender roles. Small businesses and formal employment stand out as important alternatives, but are unlikely to be viable for all.

Instead, broader solutions must be found in improved governance of tenure of land and natural resources. In Bornuur there is a clear need for greater participation by all people in decision-making about land and natural resources in general, and about pastureland in particular – including poorer people, and especially such vulnerable people as female herders and widows, as well as the sick and elderly poor – in order to protect these not insubstantial groups of Bornuur citizens from falling into long-term chronic poverty and tenure insecurity. Likewise, to address the many challenges around gender relations and mining in Dalanjargalan, it is important to find ways to share information more widely and increase all local people's involvement in the management and governance of land and natural resources, especially those poorer and more vulnerable people within the soum.

## BACKGROUND TO TANZANIA COMMUNITIES

Tanzania is home to numerous pastoralist peoples, some of whom continue to pursue nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles. A wide range of minerals are found throughout the country, with mining of gold and gemstones (including diamond and Tanzanite) the most established, at eight large-scale and various medium- and small-scale mines nationwide, and nickel, coal, uranium, iron ore, copper, graphite and natural gas projects also being developed in recent years. Gender equality is enshrined in the Constitution



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and women have equal land rights to men under formal law. However, longstanding customary land tenure practices that treat men and women differently persist in some places. Our two WOLTS pilot communities both lie in the Rift Valley of northern Tanzania and both are affected by mining activities but with differences in scale and extent. In both, the main ethnic group is the Wamaasai, there are relatively youthful populations and women who are on average less well educated than men, and traditional gender norms and customary practices are strong.

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

Naisinyai village lies in Simanjiro district, Manyara region. The nearest medium-sized town is Mirerani, which borders Naisinyai immediately to the south; the Simanjiro district headquarters are based 145 km further south along a graded dirt road at the small town of Orkesemet. Naisinyai village centre is about 19 km along a new tarmac road from Kilimanjaro International Airport, which lies halfway between the towns of Moshi and Arusha. No precise data were available on the total land area of Naisinyai, although village leaders estimated it to be around 30 km<sup>2</sup>. The village's three main land uses are pastoralism, crop farming and mining. Parts of Naisinyai are included within the borders of the Mirerani Controlled Area, a 7 km by 2 km strip of land that is the only known source of Tanzanite gemstones in the world. According to the Arusha Zonal Mining Office as at 1 June 2016, 732 Primary Mining Licences had been granted in the Mirerani Controlled Area for small-scale mining of Tanzanite, of which around 180-200 were then active, and one large- (Tanzanite One) and two medium-scale Tanzanite mining companies (Tanzanite Africa and Kilimanjaro Mining) were also present in the village. Naisinyai contained three vitongoji; the



two nearest to Mirerani town were more densely populated while people in the third were much more spread out. This third kitongoji (Naepo) was in the process of changing its administrative status to become a village in its own right. Across Naisinyai, extended families commonly lived together in clusters of households, with several houses or huts built near one another, and many modern houses were visible. The total population of the village as at 9 August 2016 was 8,770 people living in 1,243 households.

## OVERVIEW OF KEY FINDINGS FROM TANZANIA

In Tanzania, increasing local pressures on land could be attributed to climate change, drought, population growth, and mining, which has led to conflicts over increasingly scarce pasture and water resources. Economic benefits from mining were apparent in both communities alongside negative social and environmental consequences. These negative effects disproportionately fell on women. In one of the communities, mining-related violence, rape and abuse have turned women's daily chores, such as collecting firewood, into very dangerous activities. Gender roles in both communities were slowly changing, with some women able to take on more activities outside the household, including small cash income-earning activities, as pastoralist men became more involved in mining and crop farming.

However, women were still generally not able to own land, livestock or other assets and often had to hand over any money they earned to their husbands. In both communities, educating women and men about land rights, providing leadership training to women, and assisting with group formation to help women gain access to land and livestock came up as possible solutions. There was also a desire expressed within the communities for the mining companies to work together with small-scale miners and the community as a whole to generate more opportunities for women and vulnerable people, and to hold the perpetrators of violence against women to account.

## FINDINGS FROM MUNDARARA

Mundarara village has expanded considerably in the last three to four decades from its origins as a very low-density pastoralist settlement with only a few boma dotted around the main ruby mining site in what is now the village centre. Almost all households appeared to engage in traditional Maasai pastoralism as



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

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

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



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as the gender-specific discrimination they face in accessing the rubble, which ranged from verbal abuse to direct violence in the accounts we heard during our fieldwork.

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

A Village Land Use Plan (VLUP) was established in Mundarara in 2012, in part intended to help support prevention of conflict between pastoralists and wildlife. Before Villagisation, land in Mundarara had been abundant and was largely regulated through customary land tenure arrangements. However, as the local population had grown, and as land had been seen to have increased in value, it had become much more difficult to get access to unoccupied areas and procedures had become more complex. Farmland and land for settlements were now governed by statutory regulations, while pastureland was jointly governed by the village government and the Ilaigwanak, the traditional Maasai council, under customary regulation and practice within the designated grazing areas within the VLUP. Concerns were raised about the slowness of the land allocation process, the need for regular follow up, and the particular difficulties for poorer people to get land. The growth in the number of farms and settlements, as well as the presence of mining companies, has also increased the distance people have to walk to reach grazing areas.

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

Overall, climate change and human population growth have both contributed to making pastoralist livelihoods in Mundarara less predictable than they used to be. The uptake of farming activities (despite



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the drought of the last few years) has coincided with land tenure becoming more formalised and land management more regulated. The establishment of a Land Use Plan has demarcated the areas set aside for pasture and thereby reduced the availability of land for the expansion of settlements and farming. At the same time, many people have started trying to diversify their livelihoods, and mining has provided one avenue for diversification – even though expansion of mining sites has also contributed to pressures on overall land availability in the village.

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

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

## FINDINGS FROM NAISINYAI

Naisinyai village has changed rapidly in the last few decades. As the only place in the world where the Tanzanite gemstone has been found, the Mirerani area has seen mining expand dramatically since the Tanzanian mining economy took off in the late 1990s. As a result, dense vegetation and pasture have been cleared both for mining itself and for the expansion of settlements, farms and infrastructure to accommodate the related influx of people into the local area, including migrant labourers from other parts of Tanzania. All these changes have taken place as Naisinyai itself has transitioned from being a purely pastoralist community to much more of an agro-pastoral community.





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

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

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



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some buildings had been maintained; these kinds of indirect benefits from mining were felt by both women and men.

Although the social effects of mining were clearly felt more strongly and negatively by women in Naisinyai, environmental effects appeared to have been felt equally by everyone. Our fieldwork revealed many grievances with both large-scale and small-scale miners, including the take-over and degradation of pastureland (including through many unfilled holes in the ground) and the worsening quality of water resources, and there were fears that more land would be allocated to mining. It was widely perceived that the development of mining and consequent population increases had drastically decreased forest cover and available pastureland in the village. As a result, only a very small patch of pasture now seemed to be left within Naisinyai village at the time of our research and it was only used by very few people, mostly women with young children who needed a regular milk supply so they had to keep their cattle close by. These women were allowed to pass between the mining sites to reach this grazing area, but it was a very dangerous undertaking because of the open pits and the high risk of being raped or abused in areas around the mines.

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

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



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not aware of their statutory rights. Even where women were aware of the law, it seemed that social norms prevented them from claiming their rights.

Mining has clearly contributed positively to the economic and infrastructural development of the local area and some individuals have amassed large amounts of wealth due to mining. However, it has also changed the nature of local pastoralism, as herders now have to migrate much further to access pasture and many people in Naisinyai have to keep their animals in other villages throughout the year. There have also been considerable negative social and environmental consequences of mining for people in Naisinyai, which in many instances have been borne disproportionately by women.

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

## OVERALL CONCLUSIONS FROM TANZANIA

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

Mining in both villages had brought only few (usually low-paid and precarious) jobs for men, but had contributed to opportunities for general livelihood diversification through a number of mining-related income-generating activities. While the left-over rubble from both medium-scale and small-scale



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operations tended to be sorted through by both men and women in Mundarara and by women (often widows) and unemployed young men in Naisinyai, it was bought (at low prices) by the (mostly) men who were engaged in trading the minerals, some of whom had become very wealthy as a result. At the same time, in both villages, women engaged in sorting through the rubble faced violence and abuse, but this seemed to be much more extreme in Naisinyai.

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

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

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



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Both our Tanzania case studies highlight the need for mining companies to engage more proactively with affected communities and expand corporate social responsibility measures. They also highlight the need for different land user groups (especially pastoralists, crop farmers, mining companies and small-scale miners) to come together with local governments to find solutions for the increased difficulties that challenge pastoralist livelihoods and for the increased land scarcity and pastureland degradation that affect the whole community. At the same time, we detected a need for women to be better represented in decision-making positions and to stand together in working with men in their communities to adapt long-standing gendered norms so as to protect and support women and address the difficulties all vulnerable people are facing in these mining-affected communities today.

## COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS SO FAR

A common theme in both countries was the need for greater participation by all people in the management of, governance and decision-making about land and natural resources. The need for people in all four communities to have better access to information and a forum to meet and discuss key land and natural resource issues in a participatory way was seen as a potential approach that could help to address the various issues that came up in the WOLTS fieldwork.

This has significance in the wider context of increasing pressures on land from a booming mining sector in many developing countries. The WOLTS research findings also underline the importance of understanding gendered social relations with respect to land, through in-depth and methodologically rigorous long-term research, in order to improve the overall gender-equitability of land management and governance of tenure.

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## FURTHER INFORMATION

<http://mokoro.co.uk/wolts>