

Female Migration and Control Over Resources in Tanzania: A Case of Parakuyo Maasai Women in Coast Region

Lulu Elizabeth¹³

ABSTRACT

This paper examined female migration and control over resources in Tanzania. The main objective was to investigate how migration has influenced access to and control over resources among Maasai women. The study was conducted in Dar es Salaam city and in Bagamoyo District in the Coast Region. Coast Region was selected because the respondents (Maasai women) who were found in the city mentioned it as their home areas (place of origin). The study selected purposively eighteen (18) wards in the city and four (4) wards in the rural areas. Respondents were obtained by interviewing all those who were found in business areas. Snowball technique was used by moving from one group to the next until the desired number of 400 respondents was attained. The findings showed that major economic activities in rural areas were livestock keeping alongside with crop cultivation and some petty businesses. In the City, the main economic activities were petty businesses where goods like traditional medicine, beaded jewellery, earrings, tobacco and beads were sold in combination. The determinants of migration for Maasai women were both pull and push factors like reduction of livestock due to diseases and drought, culminating to difficulties in earning income in the rural areas, the demand for Maasai goods and presence of friends and relatives in the city. The study concluded that migration of Maasai women to the city enabled them to access and control resources in their families. The study recommended that migrant Maasai women in the city be assisted to improve the quality of their goods so as to increase their incomes. Local Government Authority should ensure security in the informal sector particularly for women and protect their goods. In the rural areas, more efforts should be done by the government and NGOs to help Maasai practice dairy cattle so as to get more milk and money for their family upkeep. Also there should be interventions of entrepreneurship training in rural areas for rural females who are doing petty businesses by ensuring convenient places to conduct their businesses.

Introduction

The post-independence period experienced an increased rate of rural-urban migration of Maasai pastoralist due to droughts, land degradation land alienations, poor performance of the agricultural sector in rural areas, environmental and social factors like conflicts at the household and community levels and searching for employment opportunities (McCabe, 2003; May, 2004; Homewood, *et. al.*, 2009). These changes in economic conditions and poor environmental conditions in rural areas forced Maasai women to break traditional restrictions by migrating to urban areas (Mbonile, 2005). The study by UN (2010) showed that women are increasingly moving to urban areas as independent migrants in three distinguished categories such as those who are moving to urban areas independently as young unmarried women with little formal education and work as domestic servants; educated young unmarried women in search for commensurate employment; and as separated, divorced as well as widowed women, whose position is precarious in patriarchal societies (Blumberg, 2005; Gulger and Ludwar, 1995).

Maasai depend on livestock as their major means of livelihood (Elliot and Mearns, 2003). They own land communally for livestock production (Coast, 2003). However, their traditional grazing lands have been shrinking due to other development purposes such as establishment of state farms, government policies of nationalization, land alienation for National Parks and invasion of agricultural communities in the Maasai land (McCabe, 2003). The resulting land pressure coupled with prolonged droughts and animal

diseases compel the Maasai pastoralists to adjust themselves by migrating to other better watered places in semi-arid areas or to urban areas and cities (Mbonile, 2005; May, 2002). Others have remained home and adopted subsistence agriculture while others conduct petty businesses in nearby towns at their home areas (Coast, 2006).

As a whole women in pastoral societies are less able than pastoral men to participate in decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods (Blumberg, 2005). A study by Mayoux (2009), for example, showed that women do not control resources in most Sub-Saharan Africa. This is mainly due to the inherited patriarchal system where men are the main decision-makers about use and control of available resources in society. Yet, in Maasai community, it is women who are responsible for all domestic tasks. A great deal of their time is spent tending animals such as goats and sheep around the homestead (Nkoitoi, 2005). They also collect water and fodder for sick animals and have extensive knowledge concerning animal health (Desta and Coppock, 2004). In spite of many challenges they face, they are obliged to find ways to ensure that the households' basic needs are met and succeed in retaining a 'pastoral' system (Birch and Shuria, 2008).

In many African traditional societies, women are subjected to specific constraints due to gender inequalities, and such constraints shape results they obtain (Goodman, 2002). The constraints most frequently identified are lack of access to and control of available resources like livestock, credit and land, poverty, marginalization, discriminatory as well as inadequate laws, lack of decision-making power, unjust and unfair cultural practices including heavy workload and above all, lack of education (Conserve Africa Foundation, 2008; De la Briere, *et al.*, 2002). Women can benefit from their own income generation activities through means of raising money. According to Bravo-Baumann (2000), economic factors are the basis for change because with a greater economic independence, self-confidence and possibilities of rising socio-economic patterns, movement of people increases from time to time and from one point to another.

Female migration is a common phenomenon among the Maasai and it has occurred for several decades (Bee, *et al.*, 2002). Studies conducted by May (2002) and Msinde (2006) about migration of Maasai revealed that there has been an increase of Maasai men and women in Dar es Salaam city. In the past, the most common pattern of migration among Maasai was rural to rural migration where men moved with animals to areas with better pasture for their livestock and left behind their wives with animals that cannot move (Nagol, 2006). Such type of migration removed women from livestock economy and allowed them to migrate to urban areas and city centres where they were engaged in different economic activities apart from livestock keeping (Msinde, 2006).

Rural to urban migration has occurred among Maasai women for some time now, yet it is contribution to enable women to have access to and control over resources at their families and in the society is not well investigated. The ability of Maasai women to use incomes they generated in the city is also not established. The study therefore, examined how migration of Maasai women has improved their access to and control of resources in their families.

Women constitute over half of the world population, perform two-thirds of the work, and receive only one-tenth of the world's income and less than 1% of the world's property (UNFPA, 2005).

The findings of the study are expected to shed more light on women's access to and control over resources because several studies have shown that women are generally marginalized and they do not own productive assets (for example, Krishna, 2003; UNFPA, 2005; Hausmann, *et al.*, 2006). Achieving women's empowerment with respect to access and control of resources is fundamental for achieving development since women are the majority in the population of Tanzania (URT, 2003). Due to their dual roles of production and reproduction, their enhanced access and control over resources will not only empower them but will also benefit the whole society. Moreover, the study provides information on how migration can elevate women's control over resources as a fundamental process to women's economic security, social and legal status and sometimes their survival. Thus, it will translate to lower poverty rates, faster economic growth and less corruption. The study was in line with millennium Development Goals (goal number three) which advocates promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women.

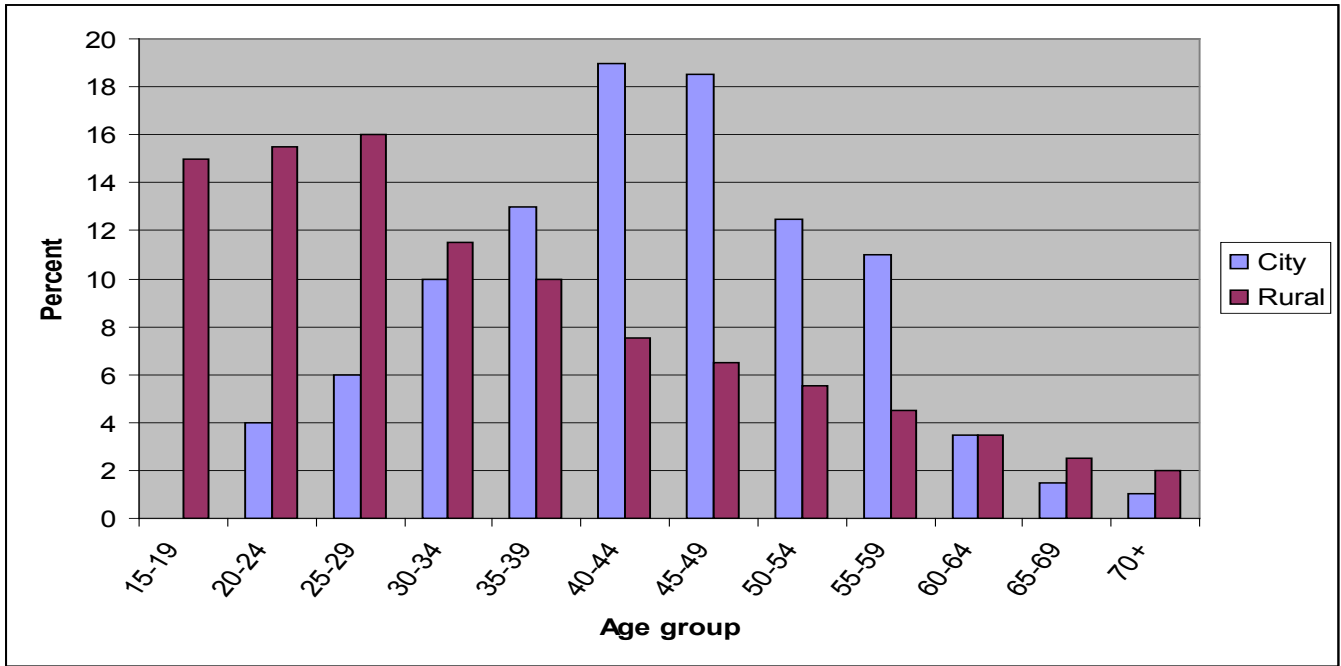
Methodology

The study was conducted in Dar es Salaam city and Coast region in Bagamoyo District. The selection of the study areas was based on the fact that Dar es Salaam is a major city of the country, and so it is the major commercial and industrial centre, therefore, it attracts large numbers of migrants from different parts of the country. The city has also a high population composed of different population groups with diverse needs thereby acting as a catalyst for potential migrants to involve themselves in various informal sectors. Moreover, the relatively good transport system to Dar es Salaam makes it a suitable area for migration where many rural areas are accessible to it. Coast Region, in particular, Bagamoyo District was selected because the majority of Maasai women who were doing business in the city originated from there. However, it should be noted that Maasai pastoralists were originally from Arusha and Manyara Regions, but have migrated to other regions including Coast due to lack of pastureland in their home areas caused mainly by drought, invasion of agricultural communities into their pastureland, and government policies of alienation of pastoral land for national parks, tourist activities and game reserves (Markakis, 2004).

The sample size was 400 respondents, 200 in each area of study. Selection of the wards of the study was done purposefully in consultation with Ward Executive Officers as well as street Chairpersons in the respective areas. The selection of the respondents in those areas was done using the snow ball techniques since there was no sampling frame to guide selection of an appropriate sample, because Migrant Maasai women who were doing businesses were scattered in small groups in different locations. All those who were found in those areas were interviewed because their number was manageable. This is in line with Kothari (2004) who argues that snowball sampling technique is often used in hidden populations, which are difficult for researchers to identify or access. The study also collected views from a few Maasai men found in the study sites and who were willing to be interviewed. Selection of key informants like Ward or Village Executive Officers and Community Development Officers in the area of origin was done purposively due to virtue of their official positions.

The study collected data from the respondents regarding their demographic characteristics, major economic activities in both areas of study, reasons for migration, resources ownership at family level among men and women; resources added to the family by migrant Maasai women; independent ownership of resources by migrant Maasai women; Control over resources by Maasai women in their families; involvement in decision making over the resources in their families and community. Migrant women's freedom to spend own income; Changes brought by Maasai women migrants in their community; Information was also sought from them on the perceptions of the community on migration of Maasai women. Both primary and secondary data were collected. Primary data were collected from Maasai women who were doing business and those who are not doing business using structured questionnaire and interview guide. Maasai men were also interviewed. The same approach was used to collect data from the key informants identified by the study. FGD were carried out in each area of study, four groups were formed two in each area of study, one for Maasai women and another one for Maasai men. Each group of migrant Maasai women had ten (10) participants, while the group of men consisted of eight (8) members. The groups for women were formed by selecting respondents who were willing to be interviewed among those who were found in the business areas, while the male group was formed by selecting those who were found around migrant Maasai women business areas in the city.

Discussion of Results



Demographic profile of the respondents

Age of respondents

Age and sex are major determinants for migration that is, people of middle ages have the tendency of migrating more than young children or elderly population (Coast, 2006). Also males tend to migrate more than women (Adepujo, 2009). Moreover, in many societies, the issues of access to and control over resources also depend on an individual's age (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The demographic profile of the respondents in terms of age is as summarized in Figure 1

The results showed that about 46.5 percent were aged below 30 years. They were young married women who could not migrate since they had a role of reproduction and taking care of their young children as well as other domestic chores. Those who were between 30-49 years constituted 35.5 percent and the rest (18.0%) were 50 years and above. This observation is similar to that made by UNFPA (2007) where it was observed that women in their forties were able to migrate more readily than women in their late 20s or 30s. This is because their family ties have weakened after their children have grown up and also they may be widowed or divorced.

Marital status of the Respondents

Marital status is an important factor in decision-making to migrate as well as in ownership and control of resources at family level (Hodgson, 200a). Also, family instability is one of the root causes of migration in many families and of less access to and control of family resources at societies and nations as a whole (UNFPA, 2005; NBS and Macro, 2005 UNICEF, 2006 ;). The general findings showed that 57.0 percent of all the respondents were in marital unions. The proportion of widowed was 32.0 percent and those who were divorcees were 6.5 percent, while separated were 4.5 percent. The significantly low percent of women who were widows and the high percent of married women should not be taken as a reflection of marriage pattern for the Maasai. Rather, it is caused by use of equal proportions of migrants and non-migrant women, where the former constitute more widows than the latter. The study found that 53 percent of migrant respondents and 11.5 percent of rural Maasai women were widowed as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Marital status of Maasai women

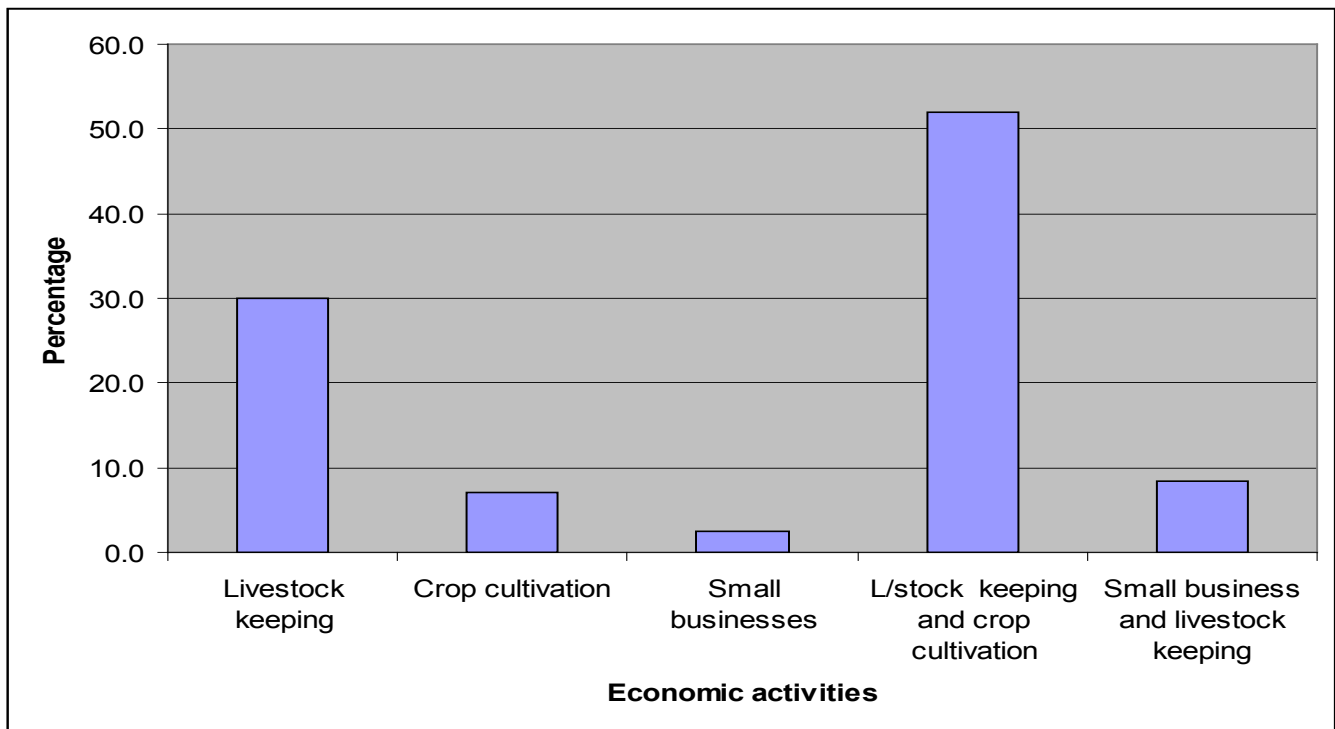
Marital status	Migrant women n=200		Rural women n=200		Total	
	Respondents	Percent	Respondents	Percent	Respondents	%
Single	-	-	-	-	-	-
Married	70	35.0	158	79.0	228	57.0
Widowed	106	53.0	23	11.5	129	32.0
Divorced	14	7.0	11	5.5	25	6.5
Separated	10	5.0	8	4.0	18	4.5
Total	200	100	200	100.0	400	100

Source: Maasai women survey (2011).

Education Level

Education empowers individuals in decision-making and liberates people from shackles of nature, including poverty and other social, economic, political and environmental aspects (UNICEF, 2007) Education empowers women to make decisions for their betterment and that of their families (World Bank, 2005). The general findings in Figure 2 indicate that three quarters (75.0%) had no formal education, meaning that they were illiterate. Those who had attended primary education without completing it were about 9.8 percent and those who completed it were about 11.2 percent. Only a small (4.0%) proportion had completed secondary education (Ordinary Level).

Figure 2: Level of education of Maasai women



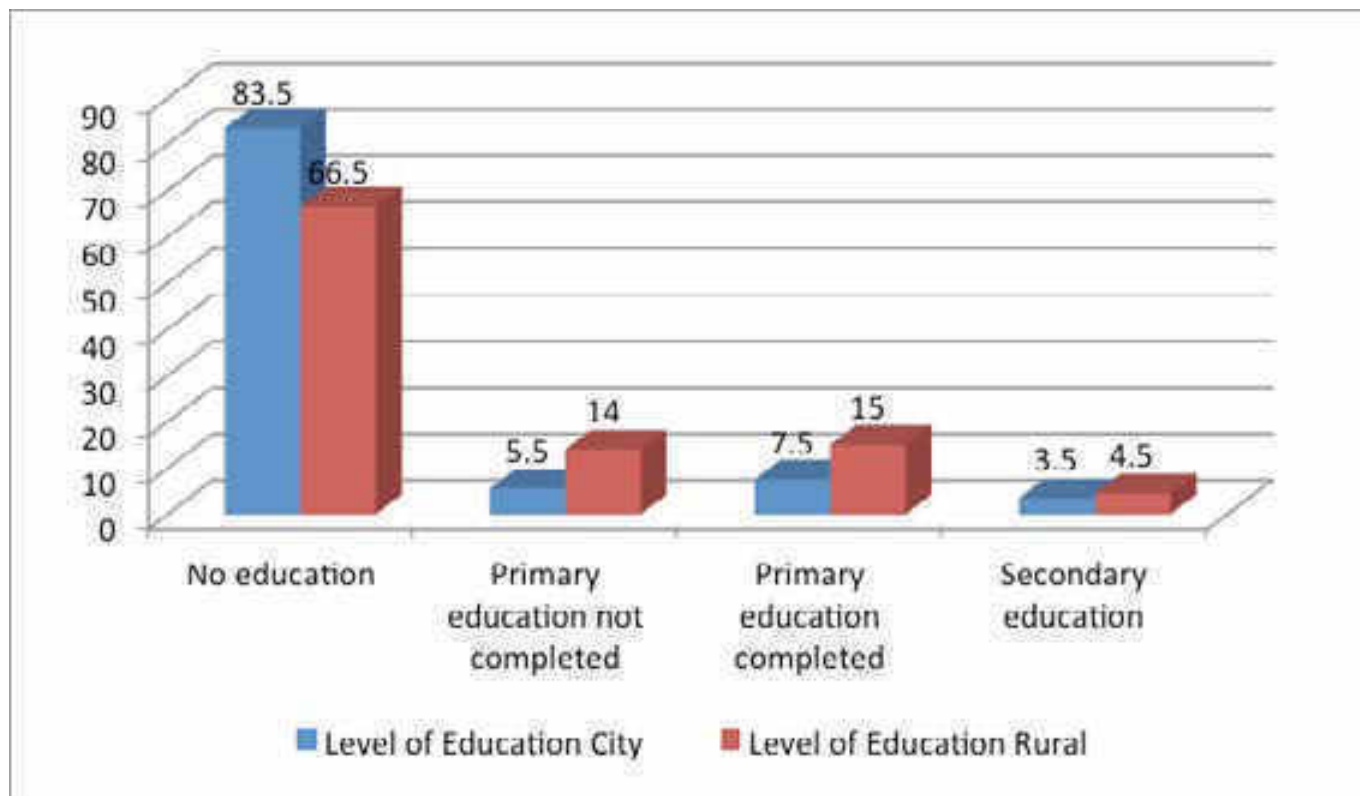
Source: Maasai women study survey (2011).

Economic Activities in areas of Origin

The leading economic activity in rural areas was livestock keeping along with crop production as mentioned by 52 percent of the respondents, whereas livestock keeping alone as a practice was mentioned by 30 percent of the respondents. Small businesses along with livestock keeping were mentioned by 8.5

percent of the respondents, while crop cultivation alone was mentioned by 7 percent and those engaged in small businesses alone were very few, only 2.5 percent. This indicates that Maasai societies are nowadays engaged in other economic activities along with livestock keeping instead of only livestock related activities as it used to be in the past. This finding is similar to that from a study by Black (2004) who revealed that in the period of drought and food shortage, women and children are more affected than men. Figure 3 show the summary

Figure 3: Economic activities in the areas of origin



Source: Maasai women survey (2011).

Determinants of migration among Maasai women.

Both push and pull factors of migration at areas of origin and that of destination were found to be contributing. Push factors as shown in Table 2 include; poverty and economic hardship caused by poor climatic conditions (24%), prolonged drought (22.5 %), and animal diseases as well as death (39.5%), and marriages (14%).

Table 2: Reasons for Migration

Push factors at the areas of origin	Respondents	Percent
Poverty and hardship	48	24.0
Prolonged drought caused by poor climatic conditions	45	22.5
Animal diseases and death	79	39.5
Marriages	28	14.0
Total	200	100

Source: Maasai women survey (2011).

Pull factors as mentioned by the respondents revolved on demand for Maasai goods, presence of friends and relatives in the city, proximity to the city and generally, good transport network.

Migrants Economic Activities in the City

The main activities conducted by the migrant Maasai women in the city were selling beaded jewellery, traditional medicines and tobacco. The activities were mostly conducted in combinations of three or two items and a few were involved in selling only one type of goods (Table 3).

Table 3: Business Types of Migrant Maasai Women in the City

Business Type	Respondents	Percent
Selling beaded jewellery, traditional medicine and tobacco	78	39.0
Selling traditional medicine and beaded jewellery	38	19.0
Selling tobacco and beaded jewellery	26	13.0
Traditional medicine and tobacco	20	10.0
Traditional medicine only	24	12.0
Beaded Jewellery only	14	7.0
Total	200	100

Source: Maasai women survey (2011).

It is observed that about 39 percent of respondents were involved in all three types of goods; namely, making and selling decorative hand-made beaded jewellery including necklaces, earrings and headbands as well as traditional medicine and tobacco. Another 19 percent had a combination of two types of goods they were selling traditional medicine and beaded jewellery, whereas 13 percent were selling tobacco and beaded jewellery and 10 percent were selling traditional medicine and tobacco. The proportion that was involved in selling one item only was 19 percent in total, whereas 12 percent were selling traditional medicine and 7 percent were selling beaded jewellery. None of them was selling tobacco only. This is because tobacco has a very low price and has fewer customers than other items. Also it was not available all the time because it was usually brought to them by non Maasai people who take long time to supply.

The study established that income generated by migrant Maasai women in Dar es Salaam city varied between individuals and by business location (Table 4) and it ranged from those getting 20,000 to 30,000 Tshs to those getting over 51,000 Tshs per week. About 38.5 percent got 41,000-50,000 Tshs per week, whereas 32.5 percent had incomes between 31,000 and 40,000 Tshs per week. Those getting between 20,000 and 30,000 Tshs per week were 23.0 percent and only 6 percent got more than 51,000/ Tshs per week (Table.4).

Table 4: Weekly Income of Maasai Women in the City

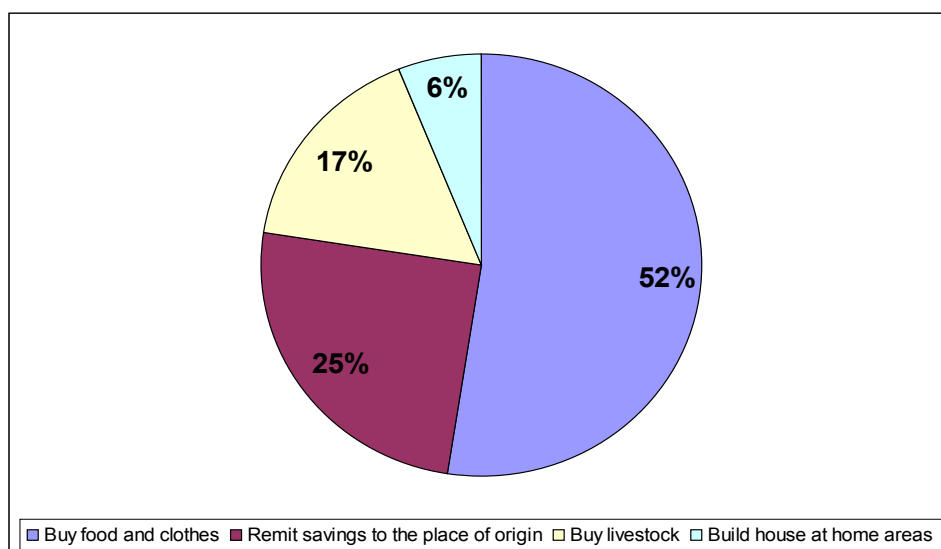
Income per week (Tshs)	Respondents	Percent
20,000-30,000	46	23.0
31,000-40,000	65	32.5
41,000,50,000	77	38.5
51,000 and above	12	6
Total	200	100

Source: Maasai women survey (2011).

The results from the study revealed a broad range of uses of incomes generated in the city; effected through remittances or through actual visits and payment of cash for various services and goods. In other

words, all respondents' remitted money and the majority were also using their money in other forms in their areas of origin. It was revealed that in addition to remittances, the incomes were used directly by migrant Maasai women to repair or build houses; meet basic household needs, buy livestock and farm inputs, and, buy pieces of land for investment (Figure 4). More than half (52%) of the respondents used their income for buying food and other domestic goods including paying for school expenses for their families in rural areas. Others (25.0 %) were able to remit savings to their places of origin, while 17 percent of the respondents managed to buy livestock, especially goats and sheep. A small proportion (6.0 %) of the respondents said that they built better houses and/or bought pieces of land for investment at home areas.

Figure 4: Use of income generated in the City by migrant Maasai women



Source: Maasai women survey (2011).

4.6 Resources owned by Maasai community at household level

The study establish from respondents the assets (resources) owned by their families other than those traditionally owned by women such as poultry, donkeys, milk and milk products as a starting point towards understanding women's access to and control over them. The focus, therefore, was on the ownership of cattle, small livestock, farms, better houses and plots of land for investment. It also focused on ownership of other items like bicycles, radios and cell phones to mention a few. The respondents were asked to list the resources owned by their families and their responses are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: Resources owned at family level

Resources owned	Migrants n=200		Rural n=200		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Cattle	178	89.0	183	91.0	361	90.3
Small livestock	175	87.5	166	83.0	341	85.3
Items like radio, cell phones and bicycles	158	79.0	86	43.0	244	61.0
Land/ farm	102	51	76	38.0	182	44.5
land for investment	36	18	18	9.0	54	13.5
Better houses	38	19	10	5.0	48	12.0

Source: Maasai women study survey, 2011

The results in Table 5 shows that resources that were owned by the respondents' families include cattle reported by 90.3% of respondents, small livestock like goats and sheep reported by 85.3%, other items like motorbike bicycle, radios and cell phones reported by 61%, farms reported by 44.5%, plots of land for family investment reported by 13.5% and better houses reported by 12.0%. In general, most families own several of these assets in combination. For example, a family may own cattle, small livestock, farm, bicycle, and cell phones at the same time. However, cattle and small livestock were resources owned by the majority, each reported by over 85 Percent, whereas plots for investment and better houses were reported by only a few, less than 15 percent of the respondents. Such high percentages of ownership of other items like cell phones, motorbike, bicycles and radio sets reflect an increase in the contribution of migrant Maasai women to family resources. It can also be an indicator of increased wealth among families with migrant women particularly those households owning modern houses.

A comparison between migrant and the rural Maasai women on the resources owned at family level showed slight variations. In general, migrants' families owned more resources than rural families expect for livestock. For example, 89% of migrant's households owned cattle compared to 91% of rural households who also owned cattle. In all other aspects there were large proportions of migrant Maasai women who reported ownership of various resources at family level compared to their rural counterparts. The largest difference was in ownership of items like radios and cell phones. This was reported by 79% and 43% of migrant and rural women respondents respectively. Another observation with large difference was that of better houses reported by 19% and 5% of migrant and rural Maasai women respectively. These areas with larger difference may be a reflection of increasing modernisation among migrant Maasai women as well as an indication of their contribution to family resources. It can also be an indicator of increased wealth among families with migrant women particularly those households owning modern houses.

Discussion with people whose households owned better houses showed that migrant Maasai women (widowed and divorced) built better houses than rural women. This is because they were not under the custodian of men and thus, they were able to decide on how to use their incomes. They also had better incomes than their colleagues in the rural areas and they were able to make decisions on how to use their income independently. According to respondents, the majority of those who were married especially in rural areas did not build better houses because they were not independent in the use of money. Another observation is that traditionally, it is women's responsibility to build traditional houses. It means that when women get money, it is more likely for them to build a better house than men, thereby changing the traditions of small, temporary houses they used to build when living in environments of gradual movements with their livestock.

Resources Added to the Family by Migrant Maasai Women

As a whole, the study wanted to establish whether or not migrant Maasai women through doing businesses added any of the tangible resources to their families. The aim was to evaluate their contribution to family property and the extent to which such contributions enhanced their position in controlling family resources. The assumption was that their contribution would have changed the state of control over resources that were available in the family. Their response in Table 5 shows that in general, more than half (53%) of the respondents had added something to the family property. Comparison of the two groups showed that 86 percent of migrant Maasai women contributed more to family property compared to only 22 percent of rural respondents who did so. On the other hand, majority (78%) of rural Maasai women did not add property to their families unlike 14 percent of migrant Maasai women.

The study revealed that more women who have migrated had added resources to the families compared to those who have not yet migrated. In so doing, they gain more income than their colleagues in the rural areas and therefore can become active contributors to the economy of the family. This implies that migration to the city gave them an opportunity to involve in the businesses and obtained income which they used to buy some resources to their families. In so doing, they became active contributors to their families' economy hence increasing their access to and control over resources.

Table 6: Contribution made to the family resources by Maasai women

Contribution	Migrants n=200		Rural n=200		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Contributed	172	86.0	44	22.0	212	53.0
Not contributed	28	14.0	156	78.0	188	47.0
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100

Source: Maasai women study survey, 2011

The items added by migrant Maasai women to the family property were cattle, small livestock, farms, and plots of land for investment, better houses and items like radios, cell phones and bicycles. Table 6 presents a list of items that the respondents had added to family property. The data showed that close to three quarters (74%) of respondents bought items like cell phones and radio sets, whereas 73 percent reported to have added small livestock. slightly more than half (52%) of respondents added cattle to their families. Other (23%) respondents mentioned to have purchased farms. The proportion that mentioned to have built modern houses or contributed to the building of better houses costs was 15.5 percent. Those who were able to purchase pieces of land for family investment were 11 percent of respondents. It was also observed that almost all Maasai women who were involved in businesses added more than one resource to their families. This indicates that migration enabled them to contribute to family resources.

When contributions were compared between migrant and rural Maasai women, significant differentials were revealed. In general, migrant Maasai women had a higher contribution in terms of all types of tangible resources to family resources. Table 7 shows that more than half (52%) of migrant respondents added cattle to their families when compared to 11.0 percent of rural respondents. About 73 percent of migrant and 24 percent of rural respondents reported to have added small livestock, whereas 74 percent of migrant respondents and 16 percent of rural respondents stated to have bought items like bicycles, radios and cell phones. Others (23%) of migrant respondents and 7 percent of rural respondents mentioned to have purchased farms. The proportion that mentioned to have built modern houses or contributed to the building of better houses costs was 15.5 percent and 3 percent for migrant and rural respondents respectively. Those who were able to purchase pieces of land for family investment were 11 percent and 3.5 percent for migrant and rural respondents, respectively. The study also found out that women have also contributed to their families through income that accrued through the sales from the businesses they are conducting. It was also observed that almost all migrant Maasai women who were involved in business have added more than one resource to their families.

Table 7: Resources added to family property by Maasai women

Resources added	Migrant Maasai women n=200		Rural Maasai women n=200		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cattle	104	52.0	22	11.0	126	31.5
Small livestock	146	73.0	48	24.0	194	48.5
Other items	148	74.0	32	16.0	180	45.0
Farms	46	23.0	14	7.0	60	15.0
Better houses	31	15.5	6	3.0	37	9.2
Piece of land	22	11.0	7	3.5	29	7.5

Source: Maasai women Study Survey, 2010/2011

Resources/assets owned independently by Maasai women

This study wanted to establish from the respondents whether or not there were any assets or resources that they owned independently and whether or not they had power to dispose them either in paying for social obligations, selling or exchanging them. The results in Table 8 reveal that in general, some of the respondents owned assets/resources independently and were able to dispose them for any other family uses. Such resources included cattle, small livestock, plot of land, modern houses, farms, and other items like cell phones, radios and bicycles and kiosks. About 39 percent said that they owned items like cell phones; radio sets and bicycles, whereas 30.0 percent owned small livestock. The proportion that reported to own kiosks was 13 percent. A few others (9%) reported to own better houses, while 6 percent mentioned to own plots of land for investment. Those who reported to own farms accounted for 5 percent. A small proportion (4 %) reported to own cattle independently.

Table 8: Resources own independently by Maasai women

Resources/ assets own independently	Migrant Maasai women		Rural Maasai women		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Other Items	78	39	30	15	108	27.0
Small livestock	60	30	16	8	76	19.0
Kiosks	26	13	2	1	27	6.8
Better houses	18	9	2	1	20	5.0
Plot of land	12	6	6	3	18	4.5
Farms	10	5	3	1.5	13	3.3
Cattle	8	4	2	1	9	2.3

Source: Maasai women survey, 2011

A cross-examination of resources ownership between migrant and rural Maasai women was attempted and the results showed that there are slight differences. While 39 percent of migrant Maasai women own independently items like cell phones, radio and bicycles, the percentage for their colleagues in the rural areas who own the same resources was 15 percent. On the other hand, about 30 percent of migrant Maasai women own small livestock and only 8 percent of rural Maasai women own the same resources. Ownership of *kiosks* was 13 percent and 1 percent for migrant and rural Maasai women respectively (Table 8). The implication is that migrant Maasai women were better off in ownership over resources because they had more opportunities of getting money in the city. Thus, it implies that migration enabled them to own resources independently.

The study through in-depth interviews, further wanted to establish from the respondents whether they thought they would have been able to own resources independently if they did not migrate. In their responses, they said that it could have been difficult to have such ownership because the opportunities of making business in the rural areas are limited and traditions do not favour them. They admitted that the little earnings they got in their businesses enabled them make their families survive and saved little for investments. Some of them appreciated those who oriented them to such businesses. One divorced woman aged 45 at Mwenge had this to say,

“Before I migrated to the city, I was not able to own anything but after I have migrated I got some money that enabled me to build my own kiosk at home and a better house for my family. I thank my friend who advised me to come to the city for doing business. My life and that of my family has changed a lot due to this business.”

This indicates that in the rural areas there are fewer opportunities for women to get money which leads to less ownership over properties for women because they do not contribute to their family's property. This coincides with the study by Deere and Doss (2006) that women in many countries are far less likely than men to have ownership of productive assets. They may not receive the benefits of assets held by men, even when they live in the same house. This may be due to the fact that women are mainly family care takers thus are not assumed in the distribution of wealth.

During focus group discussions, married Maasai women reported that ownership of resources in rural areas is difficult because culture and traditions do not allow women to own resources because they belong to men. According to them, it is through migration whereby they generated income, which enabled them contribute in buying some livestock. Since then their husbands allowed them to own some resources like small livestock. Widowed Maasai women, on the other hand, reported that migration to the city gave them power to own resources in their families because they generated income that enabled them to contribute in buying some resources like plot of land.

Control over Resources by Maasai Women

In most societies women have limited access to and control over resources like credit and land. They do not hold assets under their own name to serve as collateral for credit thus facing problems in obtaining loans. Or they are simply not informed of business opportunities, training courses, advisory and other support services (ILO, 2005; ILO, 2009; Mayoux, 2009; ILO, 2012). Some women work hard but hand over all or part of their income to their husbands in order to avoid domestic tension (Kabeer, 2001). Studies by COHRE, 2007; UNGA, 2004; UNDP, 2008, showed that although women in many societies have contributed to family resources but they face greater obstacles in the control of such resources than men.

This study wanted to establish whether women have control over the resources available and those they have added to their families. In order to understand whether they have control over resources the respondents were asked whether they were able to sell any resources without the consent of the husband or family members. In their reply (Table 9), more than half (53%) of the respondents mentioned women have control and can sell livestock on their own while 18.5% reported to have no control over cattle and are not allowed to sell them in any way. About 13% of the respondents stated that women may decide to sell livestock but may be allowed or refused by husband. The remaining percent 14% of respondents mentioned that women must seek permission from men particularly elders or the elder son whenever they want to sell livestock.

A cross examination between migrant and rural Maasai women showed that about 18.5% of migrant and 56% of rural respondents reported to have no control over cattle and are not allowed to sell them while, 13% of migrants and 15% of rural respondents said that women may decide to sell livestock but may be allowed or refused by husband. The proportion that said to have control and can sell livestock on their own consent was 53.5% and 4% for migrant and rural Maasai women respectively. The remaining percent 14% of migrant and 25% of rural respondents mentioned that women must seek permission from men particularly elders or the elder son whenever they want to sell livestock.

Table 9: Control over resources by Maasai women through ability to sell

Responses	Migrant Maasai women (n = 200)		Rural Maasai women (n = 200)		Total N =400)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Cannot sell in any way	39	18.5	112	56.0	151	37.8
Can be allowed or refused by husband	26	13.0	30	15.0	56	14.0
Can sell but have to seek permission	28	14.0	50	25.0	78	20.0
Can sell on my own consent	107	53.5	8	4.0	115	28.2
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100

Source: Maasai women, survey, 2011

The results in Table 9 show that there were a larger percentage of migrant Maasai women who were able to sell resources than rural women because they purchased some resources and added to their families. Such resources allowed them to be involved in decision-making. In so doing, they were able to control resources. On the other hand, the less percentage of rural Maasai women respondents who were able to sell assets was caused by less contribution they made to their family resources. Therefore, it can be argued that migrant Maasai women had more control over resources rather than their colleagues who were in the rural areas because they were contributing more to their family resources in terms of material things and cash.

In a focus group discussion, the study revealed that widowed migrant Maasai women were having more power in controlling resources than others who are under the guardianship of men. They are not allowed to sell assets or property without consulting their husbands even though such asset belongs to them. These finding concurs with those by Makombe (2006) who asserts that women had to consult their husbands because otherwise it would not be proper in married life. Married females had control over their assets but this has no interference with matrimonial affairs. However, the majority of those who had migrated to the City were mainly without spouse thus were free and had less objection whatsoever to sell the assets and resources that they own. Thus migration has enabled them to have power over the resources. The study therefore revealed that migrant Maasai women have gained control over resources that they added to their families and those which exist before they started business.

The male focus group discussions in the City have the opinion that women were traditionally not allowed to sell livestock but nowadays they are able to do that. This is because those who have migrated to the cities and other urban centres are conducting petty businesses which gave them income that enabled them to purchased small livestock like goats and sheep. Therefore, they have control over such livestock and may decide to sell any time need arises. They accepted that migration have enabled women in Maasai society to have control over resources and able to sell it. Focus group discussions of migrant Maasai women in the City have the view that since they have migrated and were engaged in petty business in the city, they have changed their status in terms of control over resources because they use the income they generated to buy some resources like small livestock and others. Others have the view that their husbands and sons have allowed them to have control over available resources in the family like farm and livestock something which does not exist in the past. This indicates that migration

had given them power to control and sell resources in their families and society at large.

During group discussion one respondent in the City who was a widow had this to say regarding to ability to sell assets,

“I own a plot of land at home area and have a say over it. I can sell it any time need arises. My family members are not restricting me on the use of my assets.”

Decisions over the Use of Resources in Maasai Community

The study further wanted to establish who decides on the usage of resources in Maasai society. This question was asked in order to understand whether women have the power to decide on the exploitation of resources in their families. In their reply in the focus group discussions both in the city and rural areas the respondents said that traditionally men are decision makers in their families and society at large, however they stated that things are changing with time. According to the respondents women were rarely involved in decision making in the past. This has been observed during data collection in the households (*boma*) in rural areas where men were found at home the permission to talk to women was sought from them. What is surprising in these findings is that women themselves especially those who are in rural areas do not complain about the existing relationship in decision making on various issues in their families. They believe that it is normal and cultural for women to be obedient to men.

In the in-depth interview it was revealed that few Maasai women in the rural areas especially those who were doing small business were not satisfied with that culture of being sidelined in decisions that involve their lives and that of their children especially marriage of their daughters. They would wish to be the decision makers for issues that concern their own lives and that of their children. They argued that men are sometimes not fair in taking their interest into consideration. They have the opinion that their husbands sometimes marry-off their daughters at young ages to elderly wealthy men in order to get a large amount of bride price such as marriages are arranged by the elders without consulting the bride or her mother.

The study further revealed from the respondents that about 38.5 percent of respondents were involved in decision making whereas 61.5 percent were not. A comparison of two groups based on interviews showed that there were more migrant women 59.5 percent who are involved in decision making than those in rural areas (17.5%) as shown in Table 9. On the other hand, there were more women (82.5%) who were not involved in decision-making in rural areas than those in the city (40.5%). This implies that migration has given them power to participate in decisions made over resources in their families; especially those resulted from the incomes obtained through petty businesses.

Table 10: Maasai women involvement in decision making

Involvement in decision making	Migrant women		Rural women		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Involved	119	59.5	35	17.5	154	38.5
Not involved	81	40.5	165	82.5	246	61.5
Total	200	100	200	100.0	400	100

Source: Maasai women survey, (2011)

Women's Freedom to Spend Own Income

The study by Blumberg (2005) showed that with greater economic power women gain more say and freedom in household choices and tend to promote and spend their own money disproportionately on nutrition, health and education of their children. This study wanted to establish whether the respondents have freedom to spend their own income. The findings showed that 56.5 percent of the respondents had freedom in spending their own income followed by 35.0 percent who reported to have partial freedom. Those who had no freedom at all constituted 8.5 percent (Table 11).

Table 11: Maasai women freedom over the use of income

Freedom	Migrant Maasai women		Rural Maasai women		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Complete freedom	113	56.5	23	11.5	136	34.0
Somehow freedom	70	35.0	68	34.0	138	34.5
No freedom at all	17	8.5	109	54.5	126	31.5
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100

Source: Maasai women Study Survey, 2011

Cross-examination between migrant and rural respondents revealed that 56.5 percent of migrant Maasai women had freedom in spending own income followed by 35.0 percent who reported to have partial freedom. Those who had no freedom at all constituted 8.5 percent (Table 11). On the other hand, 54.5 percent of rural Maasai women reported to have no freedom at all, while 34 percent have partial freedom. The proportion that reported to have complete freedom over the use of income they generate was 11.5 percent. The implication of this is that migrant Maasai women have more freedom to use own income than rural Maasai women.

Changes Brought by Migration in the Maasai Community

Changes in Ownerships of Resources.

Ownership and control over assets such as land, livestock and housing provide direct and indirect benefits to individuals as well as households, including a secure place to live, the means for livelihood, protection during emergencies, and collateral for credit that can be used for investment or consumption (see also COHRE, 2007). The study by Barrett and Carter (2005) suggest that assets are important for reducing poverty, and cushioning risk as well as vulnerability from natural disasters, illnesses or financial crises. A study by Holtzman (2005) collected information on individual ownership of land, housing, livestock and other productive assets and revealed that most data on assets are collected at the household level, a pattern, which gives a misleading or partial picture of individual-level ownership patterns.

The study further wanted to establish from the respondents about ownership of resources before and after migration so as to understand if migration had brought about any changes in ownership of resources for women. The results in Table 7.18 show that 9 percent of migrant Maasai women had personally owned assets before migrating to the city. But 91 percent of migrants Maasai women were without ownership of assets before migrating and involved in petty business. This implies that only a minority of Maasai women had ownership over assets and resources before migration and involvement in the business. This coincides with a study by Deere and Doss (2006), which observed that women in many countries are far less likely than men to have ownership of productive assets. That may be due to the fact that women are mainly family care takers and thus, they are not assumed in wealth distribution.

Table 12: Ownership of Property and Assets Before and After Migration

Ownership	Before migration		After migration	
	Respondents	Percent	Respondents	Percent
Own	18	9	136	68.0
Not own	182	91	64	32.0
Total	200	100	200	100
χ^2 value	7.631			
P-Value	0.000			

Source: Maasai women study survey (2011).

Table 12 shows that 68 percent of migrant Maasai women owned assets and property after migration and after being engaged in petty business. On the other hand, 32 percent of migrant Maasai women were yet to own property. This implies that after migration the proportion that own assets has increased because they bought assets using their own income which gave them power to own assets. The chi-square test of association between ownership over resources and migration showed significant association between them ($\chi^2=7.631$, $p = 0.000$). This suggests that Maasai women who had migrated to the city and were doing businesses were more likely to have ownership over resources.

In focus group discussions, respondents in both study areas mentioned assets and resources that they acquired from their own businesses and that they did not have before. The type of assets and properties that were mentioned included small livestock like goats and sheep and donkeys, radio sets, cell phones and plots of land in un-surveyed areas at home land and some established small business premises famously known as *kiosks*. Thus, the study revealed that increment in ownership was higher for migrant Maasai women than rural Maasai women. This implies that migration enabled migrant Maasai women to own property.

Socio-Economic Changes Among Maasai through migration

The study revealed from in-depth interviews that there were various socio economic changes that occurred in Maasai community, socially and economically. For example, women are nowadays involved in activities like petty businesses, crop cultivation and migrations, while socially they ate normal foods like stiff porridge, rice, fish, fried potatoes (chips) and chicken, which in the past they were not traditionally consuming. Those who migrated to the City and other town centres adopted life styles that enabled them to survive in their new residences. This is because they got exposure through interactions with city/urban residences of different cultures. However, they maintained the way they dress (May, 2002)

The study further established that Maasai women brought some socio-economic changes in their ethnic group. For example, women improved farming activities at their home areas using incomes they got from their businesses. They hired labourers to work in their farms. In so doing, the yields increased and thus, they reduced food shortage in their families. This is a great impact because Maasai are culturally not crop cultivators. In the past, when domestic animals were abundant, they sold them or exchanged them with grains/food. But today, they have a few animals and have decided to cultivate land for food crops. The respondents regarded migration as the source of empowering their families' lives because those who migrated brought significant changes in Maasai livelihood both in terms of ownership and control over resources as well as assets.

This study further revealed that about a quarter (25 %) of the respondents from migrant Maasai women mentioned that women brought some changes in education for their children. Today, children are attending and completing schools unlike in the past whereby girls were stopped to continue with education and they were forced by their fathers or brothers to be married. That was because women were unable to pay for school requirements for their children. Migrant women also insisted to their daughters

to complete education before being married. They were able to do that because they were supported by village governments and other politicians like councillors. According to them, such politicians were very helpful when they reported issues of forced marriages to their daughters because they usually took action immediately. They acknowledged that several times, they helped their daughters not to be married before completing their education. They also made contributions to domestic needs, clothes, health expenses and other basic requirements for their families. One married woman aged 55 at Ilala Boma had this to say,

“My daughter was about to be married when she was 13 years due to pressure from her father and relatives but I resisted. I was assisted by the village government and the councillor to stop it. My daughter now has a qualification in education. She is a teacher. I see education as a priority because girls who go to school understand their rights. They have freedom to decide their own future including choice of their husbands. I have other two daughters who are now in secondary school where I am paying for their school fees and other requirements.”

Moreover, about 28 percent of the migrant Maasai women respondents said that the general status of women in Maasai community has changed due to contributions they made to their families in terms of cash and other goods. Women are now allowed to own resources like land and livestock as well increasing number of their children who complete education. Husbands nowadays recognise and acknowledge the contribution made by their wives in terms of family up keep and investments. This finding coincides with a study by IOM, 2005 that many migrant women seize the opportunity to buy land or real estate with their earnings. Many tend to remit more of their earnings than men, and exercise control of their household income by ensuring the remittances are spent on food, education and health expenses as well as clothes for the family back home.

Table 13: Changes Brought by Migrant Maasai Women

Changes in the society	Respondents	Percent
Involved in decision making	76	38.0
General status of women changed	56	28.0
Increased number of children who attended and completed schools	50	25.0
Bought livestock, Repair/build a better house	18	9.0
Total	200	100

Source: *Maasai women study Survey (2011).*

Furthermore, 38 percent of migrant mentioned that women who migrated to the City were more likely to be involved in decision-making in their families unlike those who remained behind. This is because they added some resources in their families and thus, they were respected. They also contribute in terms of cash and goods for the consumption of their families. According to respondents, those women are now part of decision-makers on issues concerning themselves and their children. Thus, migration brought some significant changes among Maasai women and family in general. A small proportion (6%) of migrant Maasai women mentioned that women brought about some changes in terms of building better houses in their home areas and were able to buy livestock.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This study investigated female migration and control over resources in Tanzania among Maasai women. The study was motivated by the fact that in recent years there are many Maasai women who have migrated to Dar es Salaam City and other urban centres and are doing business that generate income and see whether such income were empowering them in terms of access to and control over resources. The demographic and socio economic characteristics of the study population showed that in terms of age, the respondents generally ranged between 15 and 70 years old with those in the rural areas being relatively younger (15-34 years) than those who were in the city where the majority were in their middle ages (35-59). The marital status of the respondents showed that those in rural areas were mainly married, while a reasonable proportion of those in the city were mainly widows. The education level was also found to be slightly different from those in rural areas and those who had migrated to the city. That was in favour of those in the rural areas.

The major economic activities of the Maasai society in rural areas were livestock keeping alongside with crop cultivation. Crops were cultivated mainly for subsistence and the surplus, if any, was sold. Others conduct petty businesses in nearby towns and in weekly markets where they sold items like milk and its products, chicken and eggs and traditional ornamentals. The determinants of migration for Maasai women to the City, were found to be both push and pull factors. Push factors were poverty and economic hardships caused by poor climatic conditions, prolonged droughts, which led to the deaths of livestock and low income from economic activities in the rural areas. The pull factors included availability of markets in the City for the Maasai traditional goods, proximity coupled up with good transportation network, attraction by counter parts who had migrated into the City before and were doing business, presence of friends and relatives or husbands in the city who provided accommodation for new migrants in their arrival to the City before starting business and better income than with the areas of origin.

Finally, the findings revealed that migration enabled women to have access to and control over resources among their families and the community level. This has been possible due to contributions made in terms of resources such as cattle, goats as well as items like radios, cell phones and bicycles, to mention a few. They also contributed to improve their housing. Such contributions made them to be part of decision-making in their family resources and in so doing; they gained power to control resources. Therefore, the study concludes that migration of Maasai women has improved access to and control over resources among Maasai women. It has also contributed to the improvement of socio status through changing the livelihoods of their families, in particular and the society at large.

The study recommended that more efforts should be done by the government and non-governmental organizations to educate Maasai women to practice dairy cattle in their areas of origin. Creating water resources such as dams, wells; boreholes and harvesting rain water were possible in order to reduce shortage of water for both animals and human beings. Cattle dips may also be created to reduce animal diseases associated with pests. Women should also be educated on how to keep food (pasture) for animals when available during the rain seasons so that they can use them in the dry periods. Migrant women in Cities and urban centers need to be educated in their economic activities to improve the quality of their goods. This will attract more consumers and thus, increase income, and, in turn, remittances for buying family goods. (LGA) should consider the mushrooming of petty traders in the informal sector as important and necessary self-initiative groups that are producing incomes. Policy makers need to develop interventions of entrepreneur training in rural areas for rural females.

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