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DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN NGOs: CASE STUDIES OF LAND AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT LEGISLATION

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INTRODUCTION

Gender has nowadays become one of the major ways to classify population in societies. Much as it may look natural, there is more into it than the sexual divide that exists between men and women. There is a big imbalance in many aspects when it comes to men and women that has been created not by nature but by social constructions; unfortunately the tilt has in many cases been against women. Statisticians – whether from the World Bank, national governments or locally-based NGOs use this classification in order to highlight the extent to which the sexual divide one belongs to can be advantageous or disadvantageous in relation to access to resources, division of labour, participation in politics, and so on. As most of us are aware, the female gender has been disadvantaged in most aspects. However, women have decided to organize and address the situation. They have now realized that they have been victims of unjust socio-political systems and that there has to be a fight back.

The 1975 World Women Conference in Mexico, followed by others in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1990) and Beijing (1995) are symptomatic of the effort that women have decided to put into the attempt to regain their rights. The Mexico meeting set minimum targets to be attained in five years in areas of securing equal access to such important resources as education, political participation, employment opportunities, and access to health services, housing and so on. In the second Women Conference the important Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted and most UN member countries (165 out of 189) are now signatories. In the meeting participants raised issues like the need for measures to make sure that women have right to possess property, right to inheritance, right to child custody and so on. In the third conference participants acknowledged the fact that the push for gender equality was then recognized all over and that the effort should be to set strategies for the realization of this equality. Key in these strategies was the call for national governments to amend constitutional clauses that went against the interests of women, or add some that would guarantee their rights. The fourth meeting in Beijing refocused the effort on the concept of gender itself, noting that societies need to be restructured to do

away with the constructions that have, finally led to gender differences and imbalance in general. The message was that women should take their position is society as equal partners, not second rate participants. In this meeting areas of critical concern were also listed. These included women and poverty, education and training, employment opportunities, violence against women, women and armed conflict, women trafficking etc. There are other for a used by women internationally and national level as well. Other than those and the usual political platforms that can be used, women have also used the non-government channels to try and remedy the situation.

In the developing world, however, the processes towards the targets identified in these fora are still at a low profile compared to their developed countries counterparts. In these countries, the rural women are still far behind as compared to their urban folks. Even between the urban women, there are divides by levels of education, income, and levels of participation in governmental matters. Studies have indicated that even within the rural womenfolk there are differences (Whitehead, 1992: 57; Bujra, 1986: 117 at a general level, and for Tanzania see for example, Mascarenhas and Mbilinyi, 1983: 25). In the developing world, and Africa in particular, gender inequality is entrenched in the patriachal systems in which masculinity is contrasted with femininity and confer the former superiority, especially in decision making. As it is, decision makers are usually the power holders. Women have, therefore, been subjected to a subordinate position in many societies as far as power distribution is concerned. This will have affected all other aspects including division of labour and the distribution of resources. Not only that, in these societies, the body of a woman has also been an object for use and of abuse. If one looks at the status of women with regard to such variables as the procedure for the institutionalize marriage, power within marriage, control of sexuality and fertility, control of wealth and income, employment opportunities and education, one finds that women in societies are extremely disadvantaged. If we take the first variable of institutionalization of marriage, ideas that pertain in some African societies that wife battering is a deserved punishment meted on the wife by the husband – and never the other way round – is but one of examples of this gender imbalance.

Women have always been the disadvantaged when it comes to political power, whichever level one would want to analyze. As noted earlier, politics is concerned with resource allocation. Missing out in this process implies a lot. And, politics is not a phenomenon of the recent past. In African societies also, there has been politics for as long as two or more human beings cooperated to carry out an endeavour. Further in African societies simple routinized processes like initiations, dances, folk tales etc., would indicate types of power and authority distribution, as well as participation levels between men and women, in any particular society. In this paper, we are looking at the development of women NGOs in Tanzania. We shall briefly look at the history of NGOs, and women NGOs in particular, and explore how they have been active in two areas – the land issue and sexual harassment.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN TANZANIA: WOMEN NGOs

The Pre-Colonial Civil Society

Much of the gender imbalance that we discussed above was existing when the colonialists came to Tanganyika. There can be many institutions, which might have perpetuated this in these societies but here we shall mention three. First was the family. The family, seen as a unit of production, was differently constructed in the many ethnic groups Tanzania has but the most common set up was that of a man, wife, and children. Society was organized such that women were disadvantaged. This situation was realized through the use of the institutions of family, in which the typical structure was a household or a clan with a hierarchy with a male head. Below the head were the dependents and these were again arranged such that the male dependents were above all female dependents in that hierarchy (see for example, Henn, 1984: 3). In many societies, male children were also considered superior to their sisters. Even resources were inequitably distributed among children of the same family, a carry over which is seen today in the way decisions are made as to who can use family resources to get education, health service and so on. In some communities women were seen as assets as far as production was concerned; as such a man could marry as many wives as he could, not

because of the love he had for them but because of the economic productivity potential they had. So the more women one had the higher the potential for wealth.

Second was slavery. Slavery as a mode of production initiated the process of exploitation leading to the creation of classes in societies. Local slavery practices – as contrasted to the slavery within the trans-oceanic slave trade – preferred women slaves to men because they were cheaper and they were much more easily controlled. Women, therefore, became subjects of a brutal system in which their role was primarily to produce what they would not own, and work as housemaids. The third institution is marriage. As already mentioned, in many African societies, marriage is an institution that confers privileges and responsibilities to the spouses; in most cases the relationships that ensue are of a superordinate-subordinate nature. The woman is usually the one on the inferior side of the balance. Some practices like dowry paying bring about feelings of one (the payer) owning the other (wife), a relationship that is later reflected in many aspects in the family.

The Colonial Period

Colonial rule had a profound impact on the lives of the people found in the territories occupied by the colonialists. Of importance in this situation was the impact of colonial economic policies on the way the colonized household and kinship relations functioned. The main change in the economic sphere was the reorganization of the economy – into a cash economy, and of a capitalist nature. There was, therefore, the introduction of cash crops. This kind of an economy led to the new division of labour in communities. Men and women were playing quite different roles in the livelihood of the communities. For instance, in some areas men had to leave their home areas and migrate to the plantation and mining sites, as well as look for employment in urban areas. The women left behind had to adjust into doing some of the things that men used to do in the pre-colonial framework. But of most importance was the attempt by men to be the cash custodians, as cash was the new means of exchange.

The movement of men from their traditional settlements to new settlements – including urban areas – gave them an advantage over women in terms of learning more about the world, how to organize, and even getting some elementary training in various fields. The type of civil society that existed before the coming of the colonialists was, therefore, undergoing some transformation. It is no wonder that the first (between men and women) to start engaging in civil organizations were men. With the coming of the cash economy three areas manifested themselves as the centre of economic activity and it is in these areas that first civil organizations were to emerge from:

- there were areas where *peasant production* was allowed, like Kilimanjaro and it was men who were in control;
- there was an emerging *working class* (urban areas, mining areas) which was overwhelmingly male ;
- there was emerging also an *elite* of some kind comprising business community and the few employees in white collar jobs.

From the three areas of economic activity above, emerged civil organizations for addressing issues pertinent to these areas. We shall mention the main ones only. First, there were the cooperative societies which peasants used to push for their economic interests. Some formed unions which later became very powerful, like the Nyanza Cooperative Union and Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU). Second there was the labour movement, the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL), which organized workers for collective bargaining. The elites (especially those of African descent) formed the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) as a social organization but later turned political ending up being a political party. These civil organizations were created and controlled by men for the interests of themselves. What we can say is that there were not many civil organizations during the colonial period mainly because the colonial state discouraged them.

Independence and After

Immediately after independence the state had to take steps to make sure that there was stability in the country. This was done through creation and consolidation of organs of control and governance. Unfortunately, in these moves, it was the civil society that was

being stifled. The state went for creation of several institutions for purposes of governance and control. First, the change from the Westminster model to the executive presidential system put at centre stage the presidency. The presidency was given extensive powers by the republican constitution of 1962 as well as the interim constitution of 1965. Secondly, it is important to note here that the 1965 constitution also turned Tanzania into a single party state meaning that no other political parties were expected nor were they allowed to rise from the civil society. Not only that but with the movement to the centre by the party meant that the parliament was losing power to the party (Tordoff, 1977: 235-39). Thirdly, the devised process of electing representatives within the single-party framework was aimed at legitimizing the government in power in that for the President the voters were given a chance to say "no" to the only candidate picked by the party. For MPs there was a choice in that two candidates from the same party were on offer. Fourthly, the creation of the Permanent Commission of Enquiry in 1965 was aimed at, among other things, the control of the bureaucracy (McAuslan et al., 1966: 502*).* It was to check any abuses of power. There were other moves aimed at making sure that the state had control over the civil society. In 1965 the party state that had emerged then directed that organization of groups in the country should be done under the only political party. This implied further restriction of formation and free operation of civil organizations.

The creation and consolidation of institutions of control and governance indicate considerable internal restructuring within the government and the party. The party was to a large extent very successful in that it survived all these changed as a cohesive and effective institution, and one that had seemingly a tight grip on the state and on all political activities in the country (Mallya, 1994: 150). Of significance also is the move by the party to be deeply involved in the recruitment of army personnel after the mutinies of 1964; apparently the army was also put under some kind control (Bienen, 1972: 216-225).

The strengthening of the regime's control over civil society called for changes in the economic and social spheres as well. The government, through its regulative capability clamped down on the workers movement with the disbanding of the Tanganyika

Federation of Labour (TFL) in 1964 and the creation of its replacement – the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA). This was to mark the end of free trade union autonomy in Tanzania fro the following three decades (Berg-Schlosser and Siegler, 1990: 79; also Potholm, 1970: 157). The same extension of control was attempted at the cooperative movement. The restructuring of the economy was to come after 1966 when the institutions of control and governance were already in place and were functioning adequately.

According to Kiondo (1999: 8), developments in the political sphere negatively affected the development of the civil society. As such he notes that in between 1961 and the late 1970s, only seven NGOs were formed. The result of this was the government's ability to exercise power over the society with minimal limits and control from the civil society (Meena: 1997: 34). Briefly therefore, between 1961 when Tanganyika got her independence and mid-1980s when liberalization of the economy of politics thereafter, very few NGOs were formed because of the restrictive policies pursued by the state.

Women Organization and Organizations in Tanzania up to 1986

As noted above, women were disadvantaged from the way society was organized from the pre-colonial period, through the colonial period and even after independence. In general one can say that women were excluded from politics; politics was the domain for men. A few women organizations were formed and they were mainly for the support of members husbands in the execution of government assignments rather than addressing women problems and issues. These organizations include Women's Service League, Mothers Union, Asian Women Association, African Welfare Association and Tanganyika Council for Women (URT, 1988: 55). As one can imagine, these were not peasant women organizations but for the wives of the elite that existed in Tanganyika during the colonial period.

When Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was formed in 1954 as an independence movement, it realized that it would need the women if it were to succeed. In 1955 a women's section was established within TANU under the leadership of the late

Bibi Titi Mohamed (see Geiger, 1996: 465, for example). The section was charged with several tasks including that of mobilizing women (and men) to join the party, bring Tanganyikans together for the cause of the struggle for independence, and fund raising for the independence struggle. Given the women numbers, TANU's mass base was greatly boosted by the participation and membership of women.

After Independence, TANU decided that all women should have one unifying organization. The *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanganyika* (UWT) was formed with the president as its patron. The main objectives of the UWT were, among others:-

- to unite all women of Tanganyika under one organization,
- to foster the development of women in respect of economic, political, cultural, educational and health matters,
- to work with the TANU and the government,
- to fight for and maintain respect and justice for women of Tanganyika, Africa and the world at large; and to collaborate with all women organizations in the world whose policies and objectives were similar to its own (UWT, 1962).

With the accession to a single party state in 1965 it was declared that all political activities in Tanzania should be organized under the (only political) party. The result was that the so-called mass organizations (Youth, Parents, Cooperatives, Workers and Women) were turned into party affiliates when. The implication is, as far as we are concerned in this paper, that UWT was *not an independent* civil society organization. The objectives that it was given clearly show this. And, even worse are the objectives it assumed after the merger of TANU and ASP to form CCM in 1977. In this year, the women organizations in the defunct two parties formed one strong organization in the name of *Jumuiya ya Wanawake Tanzania*. It however, retained the same abbreviation – UWT. Some of its objectives were:-

- to unite all Tanzania women through which the policy of socialism and self-reliance and party policies regarding women's liberation could be spread and interpreted to the Tanzanian women
- to cooperate and lead all women in various activities concerning family welfare, development, defence, culture, and many others;
- to unite all women mentally and practically under the leadership of the party, to maintain the policy of socialism and self-reliance;
- to defend and promote equality and dignity of the whole nation;

- to liberate all women of Tanzania from oppression and from all traditional beliefs and values that deny them development and of the nation as a whole;
- to coordinate with other organizations under the party to foster national development;
- to maintain mutual relationship with other African women and the rest of the world for the common struggle of their liberation and the struggle against imperialism and all kinds of exploitation (UWT, 1978).

The close link between the party and the organization can clearly be seen in the objectives. The UWT was under strict control of the party as to who becomes a leader, what to do and how to do it and so on. It was not an independent civil organization.

Liberalization and NGOs

The economic decline that was witnessed in the late 1970s and mid-1980s had some kind of positive effect on the livelihood of the Tanzanian civil society. The citizens finally realized that, the policy deliberations that the state could be the producer and provider of nearly all services was, indeed, a myth. There was some kind of urgency in society that there was need to reorganize and try to do something to fill the gap that the weak (economically) government could not fill. This could be done through civil organizations. As such from 1986 on many development-oriented NGOs were established. The liberalization of the economy allowed this and the citizens took the opportunity. After the 1992 liberalization of politics, many more NGOs were formed. Kiondo (1992) notes that NGOs started to be formed in all spheres – social, economic, and political. These included professional associations, community based organizations, cultural associations and so on. Others were with specific objectives like those of advocacy. It is under this category that many women NGOs were established, such as the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), and so on. It is no wonder that NGOs were on the increase in the 1990s.

Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania (BAWATA)

The reintroduction of multiparty politics in Tanzania in 1992 led to the formation of other political parties than CCM. All the new parties had their women wing of some kind. This eroded the UWT's claim over the representational role of all Tanzania women. As such women as a group was now fragmented – at least theoretically as we cannot claim that

the UWT was a truly unifying women organization. Also the Presidential Commission on Single or Multiparty System in Tanzania had recommended that the state should let the mass organizations go from its control (URT, 1992: para 386). UWT opted to remain under the CCM though. With this situation where UWT was no longer the unifying organization for Tanzanian women, a need for one such organization was imminent. This was much so because women's problems were likely not to be addressed in the fragmented and divided organizations that emerged with the introduction of multiparty politics. It is on this footing that a conference was organized in July 1994 at the University of Dar es Salaam to discuss the position of women in the new political setting. It was decided that a free non-governmental organization in the name of Women Council of Tanzania (Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania – BAWATA) be formed. The following year on May 16th 1995 BAWATA was registered by the Registrar of Societies.

BAWATA's objectives were spelt out in Article 4 of its constitution. These include:

- to liberate the women from all forms of gender exploitation, oppression, discrimination and degradation and to condemn the same;
- to work as an institution or a forum on behalf of women and through which they will be able to initiate and further their targets and interests in all aspects of social life;
- to unite all women without regard to their religious, colour, age, creed, status, levels of education or authority, political parties, ideology or any other thing so as to strengthen their efforts in the struggle for protecting their rights and equality;
- to mobilize all women for purposes of giving them leadership whereby they will effectively be participating in the bringing about economic and social development;
- to educate women on their basic rights and duties in the society;
- to maintain women's respect;
- to foster women's participation and implementing of various national projects; and
- ***to make a follow-up on law reforms***, particularly on the area affecting women acticities. (BAWATA, 1995) [emphasis author's].

BAWATA did not last long though. After its mobilization activities in the 1995 elections and other such work, the government started a barrage of accusations that, among others, it was run like a political party, it did not submit its annual accounts to the relevant authority, etc. The government de-registered it in June 30th 1997 on the general claim that it failed to comply with the provisions of the Societies Ordinance Cap 337 of 1954. For the purposes of this paper we need not go into the politics that went into the state-

BAWATA saga but there will be a mention of BAWATA when we discuss the cases of land and sexual harassment. BAWATA was one of the women organizations that emerged after the liberalization of politics in Tanzania and one that had a serious agenda as its objectives indicate. It was specifically meant for women issues (specifically looking at inequalities in various aspects), and so on. Let us now turn to the contribution of women NGOs to the two pieces of legislation – the land act and the sexual harassment act.

WOMEN AND NEW POLICIES: LAND AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Developments in the economy and politics led to changes in land utilization, a thing that led to the government to appoint a commission – the Shivji Commission – in 1991 to look into land matters and recommend to the government on how to address the issues therein. A catalogue of problems as far as land ownership and utilization was presented by the commission, and thereby recommended the formation of a National Land Policy.
The Commission noted in its report that there are many problems as far as land matters are concerned. These include

- improperly designed land allocation procedures and institutions,
- demarcation problems due to low capacity,
- the distraction of socio-economic and political systems by the villagization process,
- land grabbing by speculators and investors,
- infringement into alienated lands,
- inaccessible and inefficient land dispute settlement machinery, and
- gender imbalance

A Note on Gender Imbalance

There was noticed gender inequality and biases against women when it comes to land ownership, and particularly under the customary system. The system was such that it rendered land inaccessible to women. There were also discriminatory inheritance laws embedded in custom and culture. Daughters and widows suffered most. Specifically, the following problems were at the core of this issue:

- Disposal of land by men without consultation with and regard to the interests of their spouses and children;
- Lack of participation of women in the distribution of the fruits of their labour on the land;
- Lack of rights in the distribution of land in case of divorce or separation; and
- Lack of rights of women to inherit land on the death of their male spouses.

These are also reinforced by the fact that 80% of rural communities in Tanzania are patrilineal – succession is reckoned down the male line.

While the Land Act was a government initiative the Sexual Harassment Act was primarily a civil society initiative. Despite government efforts taken since independence towards gender equality it seems most government officials were not aware of the magnitude and scope of violence against women and children in Tanzania, let alone the general public[1]. This is attested by the fact that it took tremendous efforts by Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) and other women organizations to sensitize and educate the public before the policy and the law could be enacted. Data presented by TAMWA and other women organizations concerning the extent of the problem showed the need for the adoption of new policy. TAMWA showed that existing laws were out of touch and inadequate to address all types of violence against women and children. Concepts related to violence against women and children have a wider meaning than they used to be. As such they need to be redefined to suit new developments.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT, LAND ISSUE AND CIVIL SOCIETY: AN ANALYSIS

Raising Awareness:

The sexual harassment and land pieces of legislation are examples that show citizens have engaged in a protracted struggle for effective participation in the policy process despite the long exclusion they had experienced in policy making. Sexual harassment act was largely a product of women organizations struggle for women rights. It was the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) which led a campaign for the reduction

[1] Such efforts include allowing women to attend higher education against the Musoma Resolution, allocating special seats for women in the parliament, and the establishment of the Ministry for Community Development, Women Affairs and Children are some of the efforts.

of violence against women. TAMWA conducted a survey in 1990, which revealed the scope and magnitude of the problem. The survey showed that out of each case reported nine cases went unreported. The survey also revealed that six out of ten women have experienced violence in one form or another. The magnitude of the problem is escalated by the patriarchal culture as well as ignorance of most women about the protection against battery, sexual harassment, and intimidation and insults, that law grants them. TAMWA used to write stories and articles on violence and discrimination against women and children in its magazine *Sauti ya Siti*. It also released booklets and conducted some community outreach programs to raise society awareness on the seriousness of the problem. Workshops and seminars where signatories and victims of violence participated were also used by TAMWA to educate people from various walks of life about the magnitude of the problem. TAMWA efforts paid off when other organizations such as Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA) and the Medical Women Association of Tanzania (MEWATA) joined the effort.

The government adopted the National Land Policy in 1995. This policy was, among other things, a result of the recommendation of the Land Commission led by Professor Shivji. One among the major recommendations of the Land Commission was the need to have a national debate on Land Policy. In other words, a National Land Policy must be based on citizens concerns, which can largely be drawn from a national debate. Contrary to this recommendation the state came up with a Land Policy in 1995. This policy continued to reflect top down policy-making style. Given the environment that led to the adoption of that policy, individuals and organizations with interest in that policy started to debate on this particular policy. A year after the policy was published, the government came up with the draft of the Land Bill draft. Among the very active organizations were women NGOs as we shall discuss them below.

Several civil organizations started to actively engage in land issue following the August 1996 Land Bill. The debate on the Land Bill was based on two major interests. The *first group,* which included HAKI Ardhi, University of Dare-es-Salaam Academic Staff Assembly (UDASA), SAHIBA, The Pastoralists Indigenous Non Governmental

Organizations (PINGOS) FORUM, WRDP, Ilaramatak Lorkonerei, Inyuat-e-Maa, Kipoc-Barbaig, Aigwanak Trust, and Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) called for the national debate on Land Bill. This group demanded the elevation of policy debate from exclusion and private to more inclusive and public. In fact, the group demanded a national debate on the Land Bill where all people would be given the right to air their views. According to this group, this was important, as land is a resource that more than 90 percent of Tanzanian depend on for their livelihood. As such it would have been fair to involve the public in that debate.

The *second group* was led by women organizations, and which is of interest in this paper. Their major concern was more of the marginalized interests of women in the Land Policy than a national debate on Land Bill. Below is a discussion in which we show the women groups that took part in the campaign for a better deal for women in the Land Act.

The Gender-Land Task Force (GLTF) and The Sixty Member Committee

At first the government seemed not to care about the noise of civil organizations. It went ahead and issued a Land Bill draft in August 1996 with the hope of enacting it into a law by the end of that year or early 1997. In reaction, women organizations and groups met and formed Gender Land Task Force (GLTF). The GLTF was formed as a result of a consultative women workshop on the draft Land Bill for the Basic Land Act held from the 3rd –5th March, 1997 at the Russian Cultural Centre in Dar es Salaam. The workshop was facilitated by the Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA).[2] The Task Force was supposed to lead women struggle for their rights to be included in the Land Law. More specifically, GLTF was supposed to make a close follow up of the recommendations from the workshop to increase the chances of being included in the final draft of the Land Bill and subsequently in the Land Act itself.

[2] The idea of the workshop came from the Tanzania Women Council (BAWATA) which had written a project proposal and the Royal Netherlands Embassy, agreed to support them. Actually there was already a written contract entered between BAWATA and the Royal Netherlands Embassy through a project "Lobbying and Advocacy Campaign for Promoting the Passing of Gender Progressive Basic Land Act by Parliament and the Government. Unfortunately before BAWATA could implement this program the Government suspended it from performing any activity. BAWATA had to contract the program to TAWLA to take responsibility of convening the workshop (Slaa,1999)

Like in the land act, in the sexual harassment legislation, women organizations also formed a committee to coordinate their efforts under the leadership of TAMWA. A Sixty Member Committee against sexual harassment, domestic violence and discrimination against women and children (Sixty Member Committee) was formed in 1991. The committee provided legal aid to victims. It also ran a counseling center and a rehabilitation programs to victims of domestic and sexual violence. The committee also dealt with discrimination of women in the work place. It also developed a plan of action for educating women about their rights and sensitizing society on violence against women and children. It is important to note that in both cases TAMWA and TAWLA have been instrumental actors

INFLUENCING PUBLIC POLICY: THE STRATEGIES EMPLOYED

While in the struggle to influence the land legislation all organizations that participated in the workshop became members of the task force and each organization was assigned specific task, in the sexual harassment case, all organizations that participated formed a sixty-member committee which was subdivided into four sub-committees. The following strategies were used in order to influence decision makers.

- ***Media Advocacy***

Both the GLTF and the Sixty Member Committee made use of the media to make sure that as many as possible stakeholders were aware of the impending Land Act and the magnitude of the violence against women and children respectively. TAMWA, which is women NGO in the media provided the necessary expertise and access to the Media. While in the land issue TAMWA was given the task of using the media to publicize the cause, in the sexual harassment case it was the central organization. All media available were used including radio, television and newspapers.

- ***Review of the Bill***

For the Land Act the second step was to make sure that the proposals in the bill were understood. Those provisions that were against the rights of women were identified and a

challenge was prepared. In the sexual harassment policy the focus was to review existing laws such as the Marriage Act and the Sexual Offences Act with the view to educate the society as well as to reveal weaknesses in these legislations. In both cases, the Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA) provided the expertise needed. Unlike in the case of the Land Act where women and other civil society organizations participated after the draft bill was released by the government, in the Sexual Offences Act women organizations participated in the actual draft of the bill.

- ***Parliamentary Lobbying***

For the case of the Land bill parliamentary lobbying was done by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). A group of women had to go to Dodoma during the parliamentary session to speak to the legislators about the weaknesses of the Act from women's point of view. TAMWA and other civil organizations which participated in the sexual harassment case organized a symposium for parliamentarians which was broadcasted live by Radio Tanzania Dar-es-Salaam with the objective of raising awareness and energizing them to take steps against gender violence as well as violence against children. They also provided information to individual legislators particularly women MPs for the purpose of equipping them with data for the parliamentary debate.

- ***Community Outreach***.

Sensitization of the wider community via other means than the media was also used as a strategy. In the Land Policy, the organizations that were charged with this task included Tanzania Home Economics Association (TAHEA), SUWATA - Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), National Organization for Children Welfare and Human Relief (NOCHU), Women Advancement Trust (WAT). For the sexual harassment legislation TAMWA and the like organized workshops and seminars targeted sections of the public including members of the judiciary, religious leaders and police officers. TAMWA ensured all workshops and seminars received wide media coverage. The women groups interested in the Sexual Harassment issues also visited schools and colleges, villages in Shinyanga, Mara and Kilimanjaro, work places, religious organizations, women groups, etc., with the goal of collecting information regarding violence against women and

children as well as educating people about the problem and their rights. Theatre arts, posters, pamphlet,s etc., were also used to sensitize the public about the problem.

- ***General Support and Getting Interested***

Though some women organizations did not participate in the establishment of GLTF and the Sixty-Member Committee, they nevertheless supported and encouraging those who were on the forefront to carry on with the struggle. These include Institute of Development Studies Women Study Group, Muslim Women, and WAWATA did not actively participate in the process, they showed interest in what was going on.

- ***Seminars and Workshops***

Dissemination of the successes scored and hitches that were encountered was done through the strategies above as well as through briefings in seminars and workshops. The resource persons would come from the participating organizations as well as GLTF and the Sixty-Member Committee for the Land and Sexual Harassment Acts respectively. For the sexual harassment legislation surviving victims of gender violence were also invited to some of these workshops where they narrated the crimes committed against them. Government officials were also invited to these workshops.

Concerns Raised by the Gender Land Task Force

a) *Customary Law and Gender Land Issues*.

- GLTF observed that most customary laws are patriarchal in nature. They are inclined to grant land ownership rights to men at the expense of women. Most customary laws deny women inheritance rights. They grant rights to men who in most cases are head of clans and family. This is so despite the fact that women are the daily managers and users of land. Similarly, all land reforms which have been adopted since independent are biased in favour of men (GLTF, 1998).
- GLTF also took to task the Shivji Commission Report on Land. The Commission recommended the continuation of Customary Laws of land inheritance as most of the people interviewed by the commission were of that opinion. Contrary to this view,

GLTF argued that the continuation of customary laws of land inheritance was detrimental to women land interests. GLTF wanted the three modalities of land ownership – individual, family and clan ownership, be subjected to public debate and a gender-balanced solution be sought. This is necessary because it is very difficult for women to inherit land under customary law.

- Moreover GLTF saw sections 3(a), 20, 23, 62, and 67 of the Land Bill as perpetuating the male dominance in land ownership. To this view, these sections needed to go beyond recognition of women land rights to granting them. Recognition alone did not give, women their rights. Land ownership has made women life as widows, divorcees, and at old age uncertain and has put their survival at the mercy of their adult children and relatives. To solve this problem, GLTF called for the Bill to state categorically women land rights
- GLTF also suggested that the Village Council should deal with all matters pertaining to village land ownership rather than families or clans. According to GLTF it is very difficult for family and clans to grant land ownership to women. GLTF also observed that though, section 20 of the Land Bill elevates the stipulations of the customary law concerned with land inheritance to the national level. It did not explicitly address the issue of gender imbalance embodied in that law. They wanted this section to explicitly state ways in which customary law would address the issues of women inheritance as far as land is concerned. They also suggested that family land should include land owned by single parent families including families headed by women.

b) *Land Ownership, Registration and Gender***.**

- Part V of the Land Bill, which deals with rights and incidents of land occupation and part VI of the Land Bill, that focuses on granted rights of occupancy showed the government intended to allow individual ownership of land. This was an important step toward granting equal opportunity to men and women to own land. However, it is important that in all monogamy families husband and wife's names appear on the land title. In cases of polygamous marriages land registration certificate should show the names of a man and all women. This will give them confidence and also it will

help reduce exploitation of the first wife by subsequent wives. The law should also show how land will be distributed after divorce.

c) *Women Representations in Land Organs/Bodies*.

- GLTF commended the Bill for stating explicitly the minimum number of women required in each land organ. Sections 18, 233, and 236 are cases in point. However, sections 232 and 234, which focused on land issue in the High Court and Primary Courts respectively, did not state explicitly the number of women required in these organs when determining land issues. GLTF called for women to be represented in authoritative organs dealing with land issues such as courts and not only on peripheral organizations. The Bill should have considered equal representation.

d) *Youth and Land Issues*

- GTLF observed that the Land Bill does not address the youth (age 18-35) and their relation to land issues. To this view, the Bill had not taken into consideration the Youth Development Policy. The GLTF suggested that the Land Bill should allow youth to own land regardless of their gender. It should have stated categorically that land would not be given to youth on gender basis. The bill should have also made sure that this group is represented in all organs/bodies dealing with land issue.
- GLTF recognized that land is a resource, which must be used for the benefit of all people regardless of their gender orientations and age. Land must be used for the development of all sectors of the society without discrimination. Thus, it is important for government to educate people about the Land Bill, and gender and land issue. It is also important for all citizens to debate on Land Bill most Tanzanians depend on land for their livelihood.

Concerns Raised by TAMWA

a) The magnitude of the violence against women and children is not well understood by the public including politicians, government and religious leaders. Official statistics in this area are not reliable. The fact that most women are not aware of

their rights and process involved in demanding their rights as social stigma involved on women attempting to take legal action against their spouses increases the magnitude of the problem.

b) Existing laws including the 1971 Marriage Act and Sexual Offences Act are out-dated and they do not adequately address issues related to violence against women and children. In areas where these laws touch some of these issues the punishment is too light to scare people from committing those crimes.

c) Gender discrimination and sexual harassment at work places have reached a stage where some people see it as a normal phenomenon.

d) Lack of institutional arrangement to provide counseling and legal aid to the victims makes them continue to live in abusive relationship because they feel that they don't have an alternative.

The National Land Forum (NALAF) and The 1996 Land Bill

It has to be recalled that the government intended to pass the bills, a year after the National Land Policy was published in August 1995. The draft "Land Bill", which the government claims to be just a draft proposal for a new Land Law attracted attention of so many civil organizations and individuals concerned with 'rights' of the poor in general and land rights in particular. In May 1997 all individuals, groups and organizations, with interest on Land Policy met in Dar-Es-Salaam for two days to forge a common strategy. This consultative meeting identified some of the weakness of the land policy. The meeting formed a National Land Forum (NALAF) and secretariat called National Committee for Land (KATAA[3]) to stimulate and coordinate the debate, disseminate information, educate and explain the land bill. NALAF passed a Land Declaration, which highlights the weaknesses of the Bill and provides alternative suggestions/solutions. The Land Declaration had general and specific comments.

In terms of *general comments* the NALAF observed that the Land Bill was rooted in privatization of national resources and foreign investment promotion policies. The Bill was

[3] KATAA stands for Kamati ya Taifa ya Ardhi

drafted by a foreigner who knew little about land issues in Tanzania. Citizen's needs, aspirations and views were not taken care by either the Land Policy or the Bill. It was, therefore, important for citizens to participate in the Land Bill debate.. Moreover, the NALAF observed that the Bill discriminates against women, pastoralists, hunters, youth and small-scale farmers. It also observed that the Bill embodied cumbersome bureaucratic procedures, on matters of land administration, ownership and land conflict resolution, that are undemocratic, unfair, and unnecessarily expensive particularly to the poor. To this view, these procedures and regulations were seen as fertile grounds for unnecessary decision delays and corruption.

Concerning specific observations the NALAF raised eight issues:

- NALAF questioned the vesting of all land in the President as a trustee for and on behalf of all citizens of Tanzania. This meant that the government and not the people through their representative organs have the final say about land issues. The Forum proposed the establishment of new organ that will deal with national land.

- The second issue was categorization of land. The Bill put land into three categories general land, village land and reserved land and it give the president authority to transfer land from one category to another. The concern here was that the Bill gave the President and those to whom he delegated powers, power to re-categorize village land for the purpose of giving it to investors without the consent of villagers concerned.
- The third and fourth concerns were related. They focused on accountability and bureaucratic procedures of land administration. According to the Forum, the Bill vested enormous power on the Commissioner for Land on all matters of land administration, land and plots allocation, re-categorization of village land and land conflict resolution. According to the Forum, procedures associated with these processes are undemocratic and they create room for unfair practices such as favoritism, nepotism and corruption.
- The fifth and sixth issues are also related. They focus on land for foreigners and the "confiscation" of village land. The NALAF was of the opinion that the Bill allows foreigners easy access to all categories of land. It observed that most

villagers/Tanzanians couldn't compete with (rich) foreigners for land. For that matter, the Bill should impose certain restrictions for the purpose of protecting village land.

- The seventh concern was that the Bill puts great emphasis on land title. It did not define limits for the title. Moreover, it did not show how women and children land ownership and usage rights are protected.
- The eighth issue was that the bill discriminated against women particularly women among pastoralists and small-scale farmers. The Bill allowed a man whose name appears on the title to sell or lease family land without the consent of other members of the family (adult men & women). The Bill did not give equal opportunity for men and women on issues pertaining to land administration. Neither did it give equal representation to women on organs/bodies dealing with resolution of land conflict.

Following the Land Declaration, NALAF throughout 1997-1998 organized meetings, seminars and workshops to debate the proposed bill. Organizations with interest on land policy, particularly women groups engaged in intensive lobbying to the policy makers. They organized seminars and workshops with government officials and members of parliaments. The 1997/98 debate led to the issuance of the second Land Bill draft by government in September 1998. It is important to note that issues raised by both groups (NALAF and GLTF) following the first draft Bill were critical to the state. The demand for the elevation of policy debate from private to public had serious implication to the state-civil society and state-investors relationships. While donors and the government were pro-investors, civic groups were pro-common man interests. This put the state in dilemma. Allowing people to debate on the policy and influence policy outputs and outcome, could jeopardize investors' interest in Tanzania as a potential area for their capital. At the same time preventing citizens to debate the Land policy undermines democratic norms which the state has publicly declared its commitment to especially during this time of "good governance". Besides, the state was not sure of what would be people's reaction to the Land Bill. Furthermore, The elevation of the debate would imply a shift of policy debate from private (as it used to be under single party regime) to public which means the re-distribution of policy-making power the issue that the state was not willing to do.

On the *women rights issue* the state had limited choice as well. Donors and the international community are pro-gender equality and the female gender has been "defended" now and then when it comes to participation in national issues. Donors have come to advocate for and encourage the enactment of gender sensitive laws. Donors have also encouraged developing countries to open their borders for international capital. The interests of international capital and those of the female gender as far as the land issue in Tanzania is concerned were not congruent. The choice had to be made though, and the donors chose to stand by the sidelines and wait for the outcome of the national debate on the land law. The law did not, however, thwart all interests of the investors in that some loopholes have been identified which foreigners can use to acquire land from villagers and other general lands.

With regards to sexual harassment legislation, the state and donors all had the same interest as that of the civil organizations. That explains why it was possible for TAMWA to invite even the President to be a guest of honor in one of the functions organized to advance the women cause. Violence against women and children are against human rights embedded in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania as well as against conditions for foreign aid. However, this is not to say that it was an easy task for TAMWA and other organizations to go through that policy making process.

THE 1998 SEXUAL OFFENCE SPECIAL PROVISIONS BILL AND THE LAND BILL: CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS' RESPONSE

Regarding the Sexual Offences Special Provisions draft bill, there were no significant reaction from civil organization because they were fully involved in the policy process and so the bill mirrored almost all what they wanted. To the contrary, the Land bill met a lot of resistance from civil organizations interested in land issues. The 1998 Land Bill had taken care of some of the recommendations of NALAF and the Gender Land Task Force. However, many of the suggestions addressed in this second draft were those related to gender. Women groups raised the following concerns from the 1998 Land Bills.

a) Principles of Land Policy

The first issue came from section 3(2) of Village Land Act. This section states that the "… right of every adult woman to acquire, hold use, deal with and transmit … of a will … shall be to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions as the right of any adult man." The group recommended this section and said that it should be preferred to that of Section 3(2) of the Land Act as it include the phrase "Operation of a will". The second concern came from section 3 (3) of Village Land Act. This section deals with either spouse acquiring an interest in land in their own name and for their own occupation and use. That interest in land belongs exclusively to the spouse who acquired it, and shall not under any circumstances be regarded as part of the property of the other spouse.

According to the women groups this section contradicts section 161 (2) of the Land Act, which protects a spouse who has contributed to the productivity, upkeep, and improvement of land . . . that spouse is deemed to have acquired an interest in land in the nature of a joint occupancy. The section contradicts also S. 114 of the Law of Marriage Act, 1971. According to this view, therefore, section 3(3) of the Village Land Act should be deleted.

b) The Application of Customary Law

Section 20 of the Village Land Act explain about the law applicable to groups of persons, non-village organizations or a person occupying land under a "customary right of occupancy". It states that, in case of a person alleging that he/she is entitled to succeed to or otherwise occupy that land on the death of or permanent incapacity of a person occupying land, or on another matter affecting land held under customary right of occupancy, the applicable law shall be Customary Law. To the GLTF, this section means that if a woman alleges that she has the right to succeed to (inherit) or occupy the land upon the death of a father or a husband, or, if her husband, brother is incapacitated, or for any other matter, Customary Law will be used to decide her fate. Accordingly, therefore, existing Customary Laws, including the Customary Law Declaration Order 1963 deny women rights to land inheritance.

Furthermore, the law provides for Customary Laws to be used in all matters of dispute settlement, and these laws are the ones which most of the tribes 80% in Tanzania apply (patrilineal societies). These customs deny women to inherit/own land. Section 53 (3) of the Village Land Act, also section 60 (1) put emphasis on the application of Customary Laws.

GLTF observed that it is difficult for "Elders" to adjudicate by using customary land law, but at the same time try to do justice to women. This is because by doing justice to women they will contradict customary law. The question remains whether it is possible for the elders to do away with their custom? GLTF proposed that the decisions of the elders, which are not legally binding, should be abandoned and instead, the Ward Tribunal, which is already established and is in the court system take its functions. Such a system will also minimize confusion to the people and wastage of time. If this is difficult then customs, which deny women the right to own land, including the Customary Law Declaration Order, 1963 should be repealed. Or since section 61 (4) (a) of the Village Land Act states that the Elders Council will be issued with guidance on mediation by the authority of the Chief Justice, then these guidance/rules be the only in use.

c) Composition of and Representation in Land Organs

GTLF observed that the National Land Advisory Council whose members are appointed by the Minister is a very important Council. Section 17 (1) of the Land Act provides eleven as the maximum number of members of this Council. Section 17(1) of Land Act vests power to the President to appoint the Chairperson of the council. Section 17(2) of the Land Act, calls for the Minister to ensure "fair balance" of the women and men in appointing members to the council. GLTF observed that the word "fair" is a subjective test. The word fair does not mean equal. Therefore, the Minister can appoint only two women out of the total of seven or four out of eleven. Moreover the GLTF also noted with concern section 60 (2) of the Village Land Act which states that Elders Council shall consists of a maximum of seven members and at least two shall be women. Section 53 (2), of the Village Adjudication Committee, which has a maximum of nine members, and at least three are women also became a concern for the GLTF.

The Gender-Land Task Force therefore observed that women are not given equal representation in organs dealing with land through out the Bills. In most cases the Bills required at least one third of members in land organs be women. For purposes of equal representation, the GLTF proposed that the number of women in those organs be 50%. This would help women particularly when voting makes decisions. Otherwise there would be no point of voting on any issue of women's interest since women are already the minority. In this respect, there should be even numbers of people in those organs, 8, 6, 12**,** etc. The parliament was able to deliberate the Bill in 1998; it received Presidential accent early 1999.

THE OUTCOMES

The enactment of Sexual Offence Special Provisions Act of 1998 and the Land Act of 1999 are the most significant achievement of the activities of civil organizations. Citizens' struggle for participation in the policy process paid off in these two pieces of legislation. The achievement is more significant in the Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act than in the Land Act. This is particularly because the former was initiated by women organizations under the leadership of TAMWA while the later was civil society reaction to the government draft bill. In Fact the Sexual Harassment policy is the first serious and systematic civic organizations' attempt to initiate a policy and pursue it to its logical conclusion. This was a challenge to the myth established under single party regime that only the party/government were capable of initiating policy. Moreover, because this policy was primarily a product of women struggle the draft bill included most of the suggestions women groups were advancing (TAMWA Annual Report, 1998).

With regards to the Land Act women groups witnessed a number of successes. Women efforts led to a number of adjustments to the Bill which otherwise would have not. In fact GLTF was more pleased with changes, which appeared in the 1998 Land Bill than NALAF. In GLTF opinion they had a cause to celebrate. Women MPs who celebrated on the day the bills were passed also echoed the view of GLTF. To them putting gender

on the agenda of the Land Bill debate is a significant achievement. They also see they were successful in making the government feel the pressure of organized civil organizations for the first time in many years, making it delay the rushing of the bill to parliament as it expected.

Another outcome was that there was a slight shift in government attitude toward civil organizations. Senior officials from respective ministries including Principal Secretaries as well as commissioners, attended meetings organized by the GLTF as well as the Sixty-Member Committee and answered questions from participants. This was not a common phenomenon in the past decades. The most common thing was for government to either to remain silent or declare its position through public media.

The Land Act, which the parliament passed in January 1999, had accommodated some of the Task Force's recommendations. GLTF is of the opinion that the new pieces of legislation are "gender sensitive". What remains to be done satisfactorily is the issue with regard to the customary law practices, which the law does not specify whether they would be used or not. Customary practices and law discriminate on the basis of gender. The last concern is the representation of women in bodies and committees, which according to GLTF is not enough. In its 1998 Annual Report TAMWA is of the opinion that the Act has addressed most issues raised by the Sixty-Member Committee including giving legal meaning the key concepts used in expressing violence against women and children.

The delay in the enactment of the Land Law for more than two years and the way civil organizations initiated the Sexual Harassment policy show organized citizens are power to reckon with in the policy process. It also shows that the state can no longer ride high even in matters that are of deep concern on the part of the citizens. Moreover, the two processes equipped citizens with confidence, new strategies and experience of dealing with the state in the policy process. Below are things that have been learnt:-

- The government of Tanzania has been trying to formulate a National NGO Policy. Given the experience that the NGOs gained from the struggle in the land and sexual harassment policy and legislation, the reaction to this government move was even more interesting. The way individuals and NGOs reacted to the state-proposed National NGOs Policy (NNP) is an attest to this. In fact, when the state came up with its NNP proposal, NGOs quickly organized themselves, acquired a copy of the proposal and came up with an alternative proposal. This was one step beyond the struggle for the National Land Act. As this time civil organizations did not wait to debate government policy proposal. The proposal which civil organizations came up with provided a fertile ground for bargain and compromise. This was also a challenge to a belief that the state is the only institution having the capabilities of formulating policies. It showed that citizens and community-based organizations are also capable.
- Second, civil organizations were able to form coalitions and work together for their common good. The establishment of the Gender Land Task Force and the Sixty Member Committee attest to this. These processes have brought a number of civil organizations together and enabled them to create policy network in the policy process.
- Third, civil organizations have learnt how to use mass media, workshops, meetings, seminars, networks and coalitions to influence public policy. They have also learnt how to go public by reaching out to involve the general public in the policy debates rather than confining policy debates within elite circles. However, because in both cases women NGOs used TAMWA expertise to access and use the media it is doubtful whether individual organizations have gained a lot in media usage.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The land and sexual harassment issues in Tanzania opened a new page in the relationship between the state and the civil society in that there was an intense interaction that resulted in somewhat positive Land policy and Sexual Harassment policy as opposed to the government-tailored bills. While this is a welcome process as well as outcome, there are several possible developments that we might link to the whole process. Here we shall

mention a few. Firstly, as the government has seen the potential of civil organizations, it might take a stance that would make civil organizations operate with more difficulty, especially when it comes to sensitive (to those in power) issues. Already, as the struggle for the right land policy was on, the government was drafting an NGO policy without even inviting representatives from this sector. In the draft, the government proposed to tighten registration of NGOs as well as making them more accountable to the government. While the later is contrary to the rationale of operating NGO in the first place, analysts also saw it as a knee-jerk reaction by the government towards a potentially powerful NGO for women – Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania (BAWATA). This NGO was accused by the government of campaigning for the opposition in the 1995 general elections. The government banned it but there followed court action that led to the reinstatement of the NGO. What this demonstrates is that the government will go on trying to make the atmosphere for NGOs much more difficult to operate, or the government will try to co-opt some NGOs or powerful member of NGOs for its own interest. Already the office of the Vice President, under which registration of NGOs takes place has threatened to ban several NGOs for "having digressed from what they declared they would do". While it is true that many NGOs have failed to do what they intended to do, such an action as proposed by the office of the Vice President may be used to suppress some vital and viable NGOs.

Secondly, the way TAMWA and other civil organizations sensitized the society about the magnitude of violence against women and children in the country and their participation in the policy process as well as all changes that were made to the Land bill due inputs from civil organizations have proved that people's participation will always make a difference for the betterment of life in communities. The long held tradition of making policy and letting the communities participate at the implementation phase shows that a lot was being missed as policy input. Definitely, the missed input must have led to different policy outcome, and in most cases to the detriment of the targeted communities. What is indeed needed is bringing policy debates to the ordinary people because the way policy makers see societal problems can be quite different from the way the affected parties see them. When both positions are synthesized the output is likely to be of higher

quality, and one that responds to the actual needs of communities. However, it may be important also to note that the government may adopt a strategy of pushing many legislative pieces in parliament in a very short time making it difficult for all interested civil organizations to be able to follow. This was the case in 1999 and 2000 budget sessions when even the MPs themselves were unable to contribute enough to the bills. The excuse can always be financial – that there is not enough money to keep the parliamentarians in session for long.

Thirdly, states have always been very rigid as far as change is concerned. Indeed, policy makers fear radical changes and they would prefer incremental or no changes at all. Therefore, by participating in the Land policy as well as Sexual Harassment policy civil organizations have realized that the state is not willing to open the space for public debates without a push. In this regard, civil organizations have initiate and take up debates when they feel that the government, deliberately or not, exclude them. In the process (formal) inclusion can be the result as was the case with the land policy.

Fourthly, the collaboration that occurred between civil society organizations like HAKIARDHI, NALAF, PINGOS, KATAA, TAWLA, and TAMWA in the case of the land issue, and TAMWA, TAWLA, MEWATA and, TGNP in the sexual harassment issue show the way forward for the civil society; this type of cooperation and networking is what is needed in the future as far as civil organizations are concerned. They need cooperation. This does not only give them strength in terms of resources like expert personnel and finance, but also coverage becomes wider and therefore, increasing the legitimacy of the problem in the eyes of policy makers. They also bring together shared experience between the affected parties.

Lastly, it would seem that the civil organizations won at the level of policy. However, there is need for a concerted effort to make sure that what is entailed in the policy is implemented. It would make little sense if the “gains” that were made by the participating civil organizations will remain on paper only. There is need for a concerted effort to see to it that hurdles are overcome in the implementation of the policy. There is need to

transcend from rhetoric to action in such issues as resistance from traditionalists with regard to women owning and inheriting land as well as culturally sanctioned violence against women and children. There is need for women in particular and the society at large to be educated and encouraged to explore and know their rights as per the new policies. Politicians should be asked to speak openly about these changes in sexual harassment outlook, land ownership as well as land and women, children rights. And, the civil organizations that participated in the drafting of the Land Act, 1999 and the Sexual Offence Special Provisions Act, 1998 should not end there but make sure that the campaign goes on at the implementation level to make the policy a success. This will encourage other civil organizations to take on the state on policies that affect them.

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