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Promoting Women's Access to Politics and Decision Making: the role of TGNP and other advocacy groups in the 2000 General elections.

Miranda Johnson
Loyola University Chicago, Law School, mjohnson11@luc.edu

Aggripina Mosha
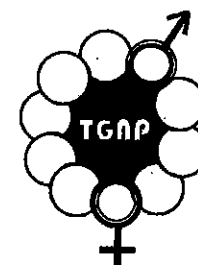
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TANZANIA GENDER NETWORKING PROGRAMME (TGNP)

Promoting Women's Access to Politics and Decision-making:

The role of TGNP and Other Advocacy Groups in the 2000 General Elections

Aggripina Mosha &
Miranda Johnson

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Table of Content

Abbreviations

AGSC	Annual Gender Studies Conference
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Party of Democracy and Development)
EISA	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
FemAct	Feminist Activism Coalition
GAD	Gender and Development
GENDOR	Gender Network of Dodoma Region
IGN	Intermediary Gender Network
KWIECO	Kilimanjaro Women Information Exchange Consultancy Organisation
LHRC	Legal and Human Rights Centre
MP	Member of Parliament
NCCR	National Convention on Construction and Reform
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PFA	(Beijing) Platform for Action
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women's Association
TAWLA	Tanzania Association of Women's Lawyers
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party
UMD	Union of Multi-Party Democracy
UWT	Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (United Women of Tanzania)
WID	Women in Development
WLAC	Women Legal Aid Centre

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The Purpose of this Publication

Increasingly, civil society organisations are becoming a powerful force in influencing positive changes throughout the Eastern and Southern African Region. Most countries in the region are undergoing rapid changes, often adopting new economic strategies, political systems and governance structures in response to both internal and external social, political and economic pressures. These include: Structural Adjustment, Multi-Partyism, Trade Liberalisation and others; most of which are donor driven and hastily introduced with little regard to the opinions of the vast majority of people and their social impact. It is within this context, that civil society organisation, and NGOs in particular, have curved their space and played a role as independent watchdogs of the government and as change agents in their own right.

This book profiles the role of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) and the Feminist Activism Coalition (FemAct), a coalition of gender equality and human rights advocacy NGOs in Tanzania, in their efforts to influence positive changes in the political and decision-making structures from a class and gender perspective, during the 2000 General Elections. To achieve the above objective, a three tier strategy was adopted: promoting women's access into leadership and decision-making positions in order to reduce the significant gender gap between men and women in parliament and local governments in Tanzania; raising public awareness on their civic rights and the importance of bridging the gender gaps in electoral positions, as well as lobbying political parties, the Electoral Commission and the electoral candidates to incorporate a gender equality criteria in the electoral processes, structures and practice. Key political structures, such as the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and political parties, were also lobbied to become more gender responsive.

Specifically, this book documents initiatives taken since 1995 by TGNP in collaboration with other gender equality and human rights advocacy organisations to network and form issue based coalitions aimed at influencing political processes to adopt gender equality and marginalised people's perspectives. Through such networks and coalitions, the capacity of potential women leaders were enhanced in areas such as lobbying and advocacy skills, gender analysis, organising and collective decision-making; campaigning and campaign management; assertiveness, fundraising etc. Civic education was provided, especially at the local levels, which had an impact of empowering communities (and especially women) to identify and analyse local problems with class and gender lenses so as to recognise the importance of having more quality and gender balanced leadership at all levels. Moreover, through this process, the gender analysis and organising capacities of TGNP and its collaborating partners operating both at district and national levels was enhanced. This enabled them to more effectively support women aspirants to acquire the necessary skills and confidence to participate as contestants and make effective contributions to the debates in local councils and parliament.

The political empowerment process as well as its background and context provide important lessons and insights into means through which advocacy NGOs can harness their capacities to influence positive change towards social transformation with a gender perspective. It also provides insights into the various struggles that continue to constrain women in Tanzania and the Southern African Region in participating in, and influencing structures of political power and decision making in order to inform the work of activists seeking to challenge such barriers. The book seeks also to broaden the notion of the 'political' to include civil society and grassroots activism and the potential power of the electorate which is yet to be sufficiently harnessed to challenge political structures and governance systems that continue to marginalize some groups within society. In so doing, the book contributes to current discussions on the nature of democracies being built in Eastern and Southern Africa that extend beyond the discourse on multi-party politics to recognise the critical role that civil society, and in particular gender and women's organisations, play in enhancing and nurturing democracy.

About the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP)

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) has been operational since 1993, during which time it has built itself into an active member of the gender equality advocacy and progressive civil society movement in the country and beyond. Its main concern is, the attainment of social gender transformation towards equality and social justice as well as women's empowerment at all levels. Through its overall approach of enhancing strategic linkages, networking and coalition building among civil society organisations, TGNP has made a substantial contribution towards harnessing a critical mass of an organised civil society with the capacity to critically reflect and stimulate public debate, activism and collective action on pertinent social/gender and development issues. TGNP also engages with, and lobbies key actors in public institutions to mainstream gender in policies and governance structures at all levels: from community to national policy-making and legislative frameworks. TGNP also undertakes to inform the public and influence debate and social discourse on issues of gender and social transformation by generating and disseminating critical information, some of which is used for capacity building and as lobbying and advocacy instrument.

In its work, TGNP espouses animation philosophy and methodology. This translates into a variety of participative processes, namely capacity and coalition building, outreach and networking, lobbying and advocacy and critical action research within a social gender analysis framework. TGNP links and networks with more than 300 NGOs and CBOs in the country through civic education programmes, seminars, conferences, and many other forums aimed at building empowerment skills in gender analysis, coalition building, networking, lobby and advocacy. TGNP has been building community gender networks through its Intermediary Gender Networks (IGNs), which link district NGOs and Community Based Organisations to activities that enhance their capacity in organising for collective action and sharing information. Among the major advocacy campaigns carried out by TGNP in collaboration with other coalition members is the Gender Budget Initiative (GBI) (since mid-1997). The aim of GBI is to promote a national budgeting process that would not only take into account the needs of marginalized groups, particularly women and young people, but also create space for their participation in setting budgetary priorities and monitoring budget implementation.

About the Feminist Activism Coalition (FemAct)

TGNP has been working towards utilising its own programmes as well as those of other pressure groups to forge collective action for change. This strategy of coalition building is a vital strategy for effective lobbying and organising. This activity involves working with actors of varied capacities, activities, backgrounds and locales to promote change. It allows the coalition members to articulate and own the lobbying agenda and thus assume active joint roles in the whole process while they remain autonomous in their various individual mandates and identities.

In order to catalyse the creation of an effective coalition of activists working on the gender equality and women's empowerment, TGNP initiated a meeting in 1996 of 15 progressive civil society organisations in Tanzania. These organisations decided there was a need to create an on-going loose coalition that would serve as an activist body to promote social justice, specifically focusing on gender equality and human rights issues. It is this body which eventually became known as the Feminist Activists Coalition (FemAct), now comprising of over 25 active NGOs located throughout the country. TGNP serves as the convenor and secretariat of the coalition.

FemAct to date has planned and organised advocacy campaigns on a variety of pertinent issues in Tanzania, such as land reform, violence against women, constitutional reform, NGO policy and equitable allocation of national resources.

Why Women in Decision-making?

> Real democratic politics must address issues of redressing imbalances, inequalities, relations of domination, exploitation, etc. Democracy as a mode of politics is historically a process of dealing with/resolving differences and overcoming obstacles to the attainment of non-arbitrary forms of societal organization-the actual goal of human activities. Therefore, it must be linked to the question of social justice, the only sure guarantee of peace and development (Chachage, 2001).

As an advocacy organisation concerned with the attainment of gender equality and social justice as well as women's empowerment, TGNP and FemAct understand that increasing the number of women in political and decision making structures will not in itself bring about gender equality but it is a crucial first step, because changing the gender balance in decision making bodies challenges the current status which is male biased and patriarchal.

However, a truly gender conscious and responsive parliament and local councils are the ultimate goal of this initiative; that is, representative organs that are interested, willing and able to "interpret and exercise their democratic function from the point of view of gender equality and social justice". This will manifest itself in the manner in which the parliament and local councils are "responsive to change and transformation of its internal structures and procedures so as to accommodate and facilitate gender equality and social transformation; and the institutional culture and its attendant ethics and behaviour, and how these impact on social interaction within the parliament, between parliamentarians and the rest of society. Ultimately in its oversight role, the parliament will ensure that it holds the government accountable to exhibit the same level of integrity on these values and ethics (Kitunga and Mosha, 2001).

Strategies taken to empower women politically prior to and after the civic and general elections of 1995 and 2000 included: training and capacity building for all potential women leaders, regardless of party affiliation, so that they form a critical mass of women in politics and decision-making, with the assumptions that despite the constraining political environment, some will also be strategic allies of feminist activists in their quest to influence political structures to adopt transformative policies and political decisions.

Content of the Book

This book is divided into five sections. The Introductory Section outlines the theme, purpose and significance of this publication. Section two provides an overview of the status of gender balance and women's position in society in general and in national politics in particular; whereby different factors providing opportunities and constraints to women's involvement in politics are explored. The section also discusses a variety of regional and international agreements the Government of Tanzania is party to; which promote gender equality in decision-making compared to the actual implementation of these commitments.

Section Three takes the reader through history from pre-independence until today with a focus on women and men's participation in politics and political decision-making in Tanzania. In essence therefore, Sections Two and Three provide a background and context to the state of gender inequality and actions taken over time by women themselves and others to redress the situation; though it does not claim to address in much depth the complexity of the gender equality dynamics throughout history. Rather it simply contextualises the 2000 general elections within a historical perspective.

Section Four provides an overview of TGNP's activities in connection with the first multi-party election in 1995. This is relevant in order to enable the reader to appreciate the rationale for TGNP's action related to the 2000 General Elections. Subsequently, Section Five gives a detailed overview of activities undertaken by TGNP and FemAct during the 2000 elections, while in Section Six, a gender analysis of the elections is made. Finally Section Seven, discusses the advantages and disadvantages of Tanzania's system of special seats for women in parliament and local government with highlights on the lessons learned. Section Eight points at the way forward.

CHAPTER 2

Conceptual and Theoretical Discourse on Women's Access to Politics and Decision-making

Over the past 20 to 25 years, there has been a significant body of analysis and research that has informed discourse in relation to women's access to politics and decision-making positions in various locales throughout the world and Eastern and Southern Africa in particular. Such source materials are products of the women's movement in Tanzania and beyond; and have been produced by independent activists, researchers and scholars individually and collectively.

Importance of Gender Balance in Politics and Decision-making

Literature shows that there has been a lot of reflection regarding the importance of increasing the numbers of women in political office. Thenjiwe Mtintso (1999), Secretary General of the African National Congress (ANC) argues for example that,

> "Something is definitely wrong with a system that claims to be just and based on the will of the people and yet excludes the majority of the people in decision-making... about themselves and their societies. The under representation of women in parliament prevents and subverts the notion of equal rights as well as undermines the commitment to equality and participatory democracy."

Several arguments raised centre around demographics, human rights and justice, women's interests, perspectives and values and social transformation. The demographic argument posits that, women make up more than 51% of the population in most countries; and their absence from positions of power and decision-making means that decisions that affect the country are made by people representing less than half of that population. In this regard, it is argued that, government policies and programmes at all levels would be more appropriate and effective if they include the perspectives of the women, men and young people because ultimately those decisions will have impact on each of these groups. The human rights and justice-oriented argument calls for equal representation of men and women in politics and decision making as a democratic principal. Within this view point, exclusion of a particular social group or its denial of adequate representation is a barrier to the achievement of true democracy. The third major line of thought stresses the different values and perspectives that women bring to political office, arguing that due to differential socialisation based on differential roles men and women play in society, women politicians are more likely to be receptive to policies oriented towards social provisioning, including health care and education. This argument posits also that women are best placed to articulate their own needs and concerns, and that these cannot be sufficiently represented by men (Lowe-Morna, 2000:14).

Activists, such as Thenjiwe, have criticised many of the above arguments on the grounds that women are not a monolithic group, and that they do not necessarily share a common perspective; and that blindly advancing women into political office without challenging the patriarchal foundations of political structures will not necessarily create change. She argues that all of the above perspectives should be contextualised within a broader framework of transformation; which recognises and challenges the systemic problems and structural inequalities that constrain access and participation of marginalized groups, particularly women, in decision making bodies (Mtintso, 1999:37). TGNP and its partners shares Thenjiwe's perspective. It is from this perspective therefore that its work seeks not only to address women's access to politics but also to transform politics to be broad based and gender sensitive. In this sense, transforming politics starts with a deep understanding of the underlying factors that inhibit the realisation of gender balance in politics and decision-making; and based on this understanding, engaging in systematic and strategic actions which challenge and seek to remove those inhibiting factors and promote social justice.

Constraints Facing Women's Involvement in Politics in Tanzania

In Tanzania, like in other countries in Africa, politics remains fundamentally a male domain. The imbalanced position between men and women in politics mirrors, to an even more exaggerated degree, power relations between men and women in society as a whole. Most countries in the African region, including Tanzania, are dominated by a patriarchal system that perpetuates unequal access and control over decision-making and resources at all levels, starting at the household level.

> "Under the prevailing social and cultural environment, women, both as individuals and as members of their constituencies are yet to be empowered enough to own basic resources at par with men. Their freedom of speech and association is still infringed upon without legal protection, especially where they are married under customary practice with a bride price fully paid. Their very right to exist is under threat due to domestic violence, killing of old women accused of witchcraft and maternal mortality due to insufficient medical care." — Demere Kitunga, TGNP, 1999

In *The Gender Profile of Tanzania*, published in 1993 by TGNP, an attempt was made to holistically analyse the economic, political and social position of women and outline the various constraints facing them vis-à-vis men in Tanzanian society. The collectively developed 'Conceptual Framework for gender analysis and action' featured therein illustrates the hierarchy of gender inequalities. Its premise is that the basic cause of women's disadvantaged position in society is social gender relations of production and reproduction that are perpetuated through political, ideological, economic and cultural structures. These interplay with resource ownership, control and distribution through formal and non-formal institutions and economic systems to have a multiplicity of causalities at various levels (TGNP, 1993:14).

Fundamentally, a patriarchal system operates in Tanzania, like in other countries, whereby the majority of women perform the bulk of the labour in society while they do not have decision-making power over the means of production and utilisation of the fruits of their labour (Mukangara and Koda, 1997:16). Consequently, women are often pre-occupied with activities to cater for the daily needs for sustenance of the family at the cost of achieving their 'strategic needs,' such as political and economic empowerment. Furthermore, the system perpetuates socio-economic inequalities among women and men, girls and boys within society with the result of enhancing class division between rich and poor, educated and non-educated, urban and rural etc. This means that a certain privileged class, mainly dominated by men and a few (token) women, have the monopoly of power and decision-making on all important matters of welfare and development of all people.

The barriers to women's access to and control over power can be classified into three categories: political, socio-economic and cultural/ psychological (adapted from Shvedova, 1998):

Socio-Economic Barriers

Women's disadvantaged socio-economic status in Tanzania is a major barrier to their ability to access political decision-making positions, especially because money has been used as an accepted and central instrument during election campaigns. Due to the prevailing social structure, whereby women's multiple roles, and limited access to independent resources and the artificial distinction between the public and private spheres, where

A woman and her children evicted from her family home by the brother of her deceased husband

women's domain is seen to be primarily within the household and men's to be outside the home, have together made in less likely for women to venture into political life than it is for men. Women's access to economic resources and control of the products of their labour has been worsened by the trends of a globalising economy, where the competition is high, requiring quality and large-scale production. This has disadvantaged small-scale producers in developing countries, particularly those in rural areas among which women form the majority. Even among women who are relatively well off, the resources they control are often mainly consumed by the family, meaning that there is rarely any surplus to spare to accommodate political ambitions (Ngaiza, 1999; AGSC Report, 1999; Kiondo, 1999).

Although there have been improvements in girls' ability to access primary school education at par with boys', the numbers drop progressively at secondary and higher institutions of learning. This is due to several institutional and social factors; in particular, disproportionate time spent by girls assisting with household chores, negative attitudes towards girls education which result in a number of psychosocial factors that end up discouraging girls from higher education at par with boys, including early marriage and pregnancy. In general, the introduction of cost sharing measures in education has affected girls more than boys due to societal preference for educating the latter.

As a result of a lower base of education as well as gender stereotypes about positions suitable for women, women tend to be disadvantaged within the informal and formal sectors of employment and are frequently in lower and more poorly paid positions when compared to men (Mukangara and Koda, 1997). This situation has been exacerbated by the retrenchments due to privatisation, which has enhanced the reliance of the majority of men, women and youth on obtaining income from the informal sector, where incomes tend to be lower and less reliable and life more uncertain. This has contributed to the rise of a small class of professionals, an 'elite', which is dominated by men but includes a few women as well; While the majority of Tanzanians, women, men and youth, remain disempowered and disenfranchised, affecting the political landscape and the access to political positions of most citizens.

Cultural and Psychological Barriers

One other major barrier to women's access to leadership positions in Tanzania stems from the prevailing cultural norms and traditions, some of which are western values imported through colonialism such as notions that distinguish between the public and private spheres, the former for men and the latter for women. They include: associating men with politics and de-valuing characteristics associated with women's leadership style, such as nurturing, consultation, volunteerism, and mobilising. Within most contemporary cultures in Tanzania, both patrilineal and matrilineal, social, economic and political leadership and power has been the domain of male elders, thus excluding young people and women from public office and representation in formal decision making organs. Within this context, women are often relegated to supportive and non-public roles. Women's mobility and freedom of movement is also curtailed as they are assumed to be under the patronage of male relations (fathers, husbands or brothers). This is a major constraint when one has to campaign for elections, particularly in public rallies, door-to-door canvassing and informal strategising and campaigning (Meena, 1997); especially given that this notion permeates the collective psychology of the crowds which women politicians have to address. Some traditions, such as bride price, reinforce the notion of women's subordination to men, allowing men to claim power and ownership of women and to influence their decisions, including their choice to enter into politics.

Fundamentally, the patriarchal system and male domination has been internalised by both men and women through the socialisation process and has been accepted as the way of life. The existence of few role models of women in leadership and politics and stereotyped images in the mass media have reinforced this perception and serve to contribute to women's lack of confidence regarding their suitability for leadership.

Political Barriers

Political life in Tanzania, including political parties and government bodies, remain dominated by a "masculine model" that makes it difficult for women and other disadvantaged groups to succeed. Tanzania, like most countries formerly colonised by the British uses a 'First-past-the-post' electoral system, whereby one candidate per constituency is elected in a 'winner takes all' model. This system, as opposed to a proportional representation system, makes it even more difficult for women to be elected due to the cultural bias in favour of men as leaders and the difficulties women face in obtaining sufficient resources to campaign for elections. Tanzania, however, practises an affirmative action system of special seats for women in parliament and local government, which is enshrined in the Constitution. This system (has its advantages and disadvantages), which will be explored in subsequent sections provides an additional vehicle to obtain entry into political office in recognition of the fact that very few women have hitherto been able to win constituency seats.

Political parties are one of the major stumbling blocks impairing the access of women and other disadvantaged groups to public office, particularly those with limited personal resources and alternative perspectives. Most of the political parties and other institutions that facilitate entry into politics in Tanzania tend to be dominated by a few often charismatic leaders, primarily men, and their leadership systems and structures are not conducive for outsiders

to enter. For many of the political parties, their top leadership has not changed since inception, with the implication that there is a lack of internal democracy within the parties. Very few of the parties have instituted any type of affirmative action for women or youth candidates. Many of the parties offer limited moral, institutional or material support to their candidates, especially if they do not quite 'belong' and most women happen to belong to this category of contestants.

Lack of a wide-spread and thorough gender-sensitive civic and voter education programme for the public, especially for women and other marginalised groups, has also had a negative bearing on women's entry into political power (Shvedova, 1998; Kiondo, 1999). There is insufficient civic education provided within formal structures and adult education. As a result, many citizens, particularly those with lower levels of education, tend to be ill-informed regarding their responsibilities and rights within a democracy and the electoral process. This makes it more likely that they will fall prey to corruption ridden politics and gender stereotypes rather than surveying the candidates to choose a leader most suitable to represent and advance their interests in government.

Constraints and barriers such as these that impede women's access to politics and decision-making exist not only in Tanzania but also in Africa and the rest of the world. In response to the sidelining of women within formal institutional structures, advocacy related non-governmental organisations and gender activists have been organising, and continue to organise with the aim to influence tranformation of these structures and systems of governance so that gender equality and women's empowerment is realised. The pressure they have exerted to their governments and regional and international institutions has resulted in a number of steps taken to address some of the gender gaps in leadership and decision-making. However, a lot still remains to be done.

International and Regional Instruments for the Promotion of Access to Women in Politics

Based on various lobbying efforts, an international and regional consensus has been reached regarding the importance of women's access to and participation in politics and decision making at all levels as well as the need for their representation in formal decision making bodies to reach at least the ratio of 1:3 (Lowe-Morna, 2000:14). This consensus has been concretised through a number of regional and international conventions that outline key issues for governments and other actors to address in order to achieve gender equality, equity and empowerment of women in all sectors. Many of these conventions have been acceded by the Government of Tanzania, demonstrating a political will to enhance the status of women and other marginalized groups. These conventions and agreements serve as instruments for advocacy and awareness raising on gender equality and women's advancement issues for activist NGOs. Some of the key international conventions, agreements and protocols to which Tanzania is party include the following:

CEDAW

The Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) makes an unequivocal call to the member states when it mandates that:

> Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political life and shall ensure to women on equal term with men, the right to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government.

This document stresses the importance of the creation of an enabling environment for promoting women into political and other decision-making positions.

Beijing Platform for Action

The question of gender balance was carried further in the Beijing Platform for Action when a specific call was made that:

> Governments should take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making by creating a gender balance in government and administration by integrating women into political parties, increasing women's capacity to participate in decision- making and leadership and increasing women's participation in the electoral process and political activities.

The Beijing Platform for Action (PfA) further makes reference to the "removal of all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social cultural and political decision making." This means that the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the

work place and in the wider national policies (BfA 1995). Number 7 of the 12 Critical Areas of Concern in the PFA calls upon all concerned to "take strategic action to address inequality between men and women in sharing power and decision-making at all level".

SADC Declaration on Gender and Development

On 8 September 1997 in a Summit in Blantyre, Malawi, the SADC Heads of State, including President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, signed the SADC Gender and Development Declaration. This declaration reinforced their commitment to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Article H of this Declaration reads: "We COMMIT ourselves and our respective countries to, inter alia - ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least **30% target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005.**"

Tanzania's Progress in Implementing Regional and International Commitments

Although acceding to these documents demonstrates good intent by the Government of Tanzania to effect the requirements contained therein, Tanzania's response to such commitments has been at a snail's pace. Domestically the Constitution and the laws have not been harmonised to properly integrate the provisions of these instruments. For this reason among others, girls and women in Tanzania still lag behind in every sector, including their participation in structures of power and decision-making (Mukangara and Koda, 1997). For example, although some positive efforts have been made, women's representation in electoral offices and other structures of decision making and governance continue to remain far below 30%.

Some of the notable efforts include: the Sexual Offences Special Provision Act, enacted in 1998 following an advocacy campaign lead by a coalition of NGOs in collaboration with the Ministry for Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWAC), which provides for harsh penalties for sexual related offences including violence against women and children. In addition, the Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999 provided women with the same rights to own land as men within statutory law. The act also mandates that there be 50/50 representation of women and men within local land

management committees. In the Constitution review of 2000, the government also included 'sex' in the non-discrimination clause in relation to employment as well as increasing the number of special seats for women in parliament and local councils.

However, the government is yet to promote a broad public debate on national cultural and cultural norms attuned to political tolerance and democracy; and to overhaul the patriarchal structures that discriminate against women with the aim of systematically bridging the gender gaps and gender disparities in policies, laws and social and political practices. For example, although statutory law has been changed to enable women to own land, customary and religious laws that consider men as owners and heirs to family property and other household resources of value are permitted to operate simultaneously. In addition, other systems and structures that serve to disenfranchise all citizens, men, women and youth, from land were not altered. In addition, gender-sensitive laws and provisions have frequently had limited results for a variety of reasons, including the slowness of relevant government authorities to make such laws operational and insufficient gender capacity on the part of implementing agents. In addition, laws of marriage and inheritance continue to discriminate against women.

It is in this regard that some of the commitments made by the government at national, regional and international level to promote political justice for women have had limited impact on the economic, political, and social empowerment of women. Inspite of the affirmative action, through which 15% of female MPs and 25% councillors get access to electoral positions; and a few token appointments (of women ministers, DCs, RCs, chairpersons of commissions and governing boards) participation of women in positions of decision-making and politics in Tanzania is still conspicuously dismal. To ensure that these commitments do not remain at the level of rhetoric, civil society organizations have played a vital role in highlighting the constraints hindering women's access to politics, building capacity of related government bodies to address these gaps and promoting these issues as issues of prime public and political concern.

CHAPTER 3

Background and Context to Women and Men's Participation in Political Decision-making in Tanzania

Tanzania's political decision-making structures have changed over time, which has affected the ways in which the public was involved in decision-making, as well as women's access to political decision-making positions. This history of women in Tanzania and elsewhere in Eastern and Southern Africa is lengthy and complex and has been dealt with in more detail by other authors (see Mbilinyi, undated; Coqueery-Vidrovitch, 1997; Amadiume, 1987 among others). This summary will attempt to bring out some of the relevant issues pertaining to women in political leadership.

Before Independence (Pre-1961)

Customarily, within pre-colonial Tanzania most communities were governed through chiefdoms, although the structures and systems of governance varied from one nationality to another. Within these structures, chiefs, mainly men, were the main decision-makers. In combination with community elders, again primarily men, decisions on important community issues were formally made by councils of elders. These councils deliberated such issues as production of crops, distribution of land, and expanding village infrastructure and security. However, customary social organisations offered space for various social groupings to organise along clan/age/profession/sex lines. Through such a social infrastructure, women had a certain level of influence on formal decision making structures. Some notable women also existed who had powers of decision-making within formal and informal community structures, including a few chiefs and clan leaders. Like in modern-day Tanzania, there were different classes of women in societies, some who were privileged and often exploiting other women and men; but the vast majority of women and men were commoners and often subjected to oppressive social relations as soon as class differentiation started to emerge (Mbilinyi, undated).

Over time, gender relations in Tanzania have been impacted by a variety of forces, among which are a series of in migrations, foreign conquest including political and cultural domination by external peoples such as the Arabs, Germans and British. These co-opted the patriarchal structures and undermined other traditional institutions which gave women powers in ritual, production and reproduction. For example, British colonial rule was premised on the understanding that women were subordinate to men and should be controlled by them. While colonial authorities were tasked to oversee African male labour, colonised men in turn were accountable for overseeing their women relatives (Geiger, 1997).

However, despite these phenomena, women remained active in community organising and were an essential part of the early political movements in Tanzania resisting colonial imperialism and building an independent and united Tanzania. Together with men, they were part and parcel of the nationalist struggles including "engaging in armed struggles like the Maji Maji movement, through boycott of taxation, protests or mass rallies, and later through formation of civil associations" (Meena, 1995). They were also active members of the Tanganyika African Union (TANU), the party that led to Political's Independence of Tanganyika. The TANU Women's Section, which was started in 1954, mobilised women members at a time when many men, particularly those formally employed, were nervous about being openly identified with the party. Women contributed in various ways to the national and regional independence movements. For example, in every area that Mwalimu Nyerere and other TANU leaders travelled, groups of women used their meagre independent resources to provide food and other forms of support to boost efforts of the party. Women also organised fundraising events to support TANU activities. Women's involvement in the party raised their consciousness not only to denounce colonial oppression but also they were able to defy restrictive gender roles in the society. TANU's philosophy stressing equality of all people, regardless of race, sex and religion was appealing to both men and women alike (Geiger, 1987).

Notable pioneer women political activists include Bibi Titi Mohamed, Lucy Lameck and Sophia Kawawa, to name just a few. These vibrant women leaders were among the key players in politics during the struggles for independence from colonialism and helped to pave the way for women political leaders to come. The "her-stories" of these vibrant women leaders, as positive

role models, have been documented in various works, among them Susan Geiger's *TANU Women* and Ruth Meena and Asha-Rose Mtengeti-Migiro's *Wanawake katika Siasa na Uongozi Tanzania* (Women in Politics and Leadership in Tanzania). However, more documentation that acknowledges their contribution to Tanzanian history needs to be done and popularised for wide dissemination.

Post-Independence and the Single Party System (1961-1992)

After independence in 1961, Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) began with a multiparty political system that was changed in 1965 to a one-party system, whereby the Party exercised supreme control over major civil organizations (TEMCO, 1997). The transition period from a colonial to an independent state provided opportunities for women and other marginalized groups to gain access to political power. However, these were not fully realised despite the vital role women played during the independence struggles.

The Constitution and other founding documents of independent Tanzania did not address particular issues promoting the development of both men and women. Although the Republican Constitution of 1962 and the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) adopted in 1977 (after the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) were based upon the principles of equality, human rights and democracy, neither explicitly promoted gender equality or protection of the specific rights of traditionally marginalized groups, such woman and young. Until amendments during the year 2000, there was no reference within the Constitution that specifically prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex. In addition, the Constitution allows the continuation of multiple systems of law, including customary, religious and statutory. The existence of the multiplicity of laws often leads to discrimination against women, particularly in issues such as marriage, inheritance and custody of children.

Low levels of women's participation in post-independence political structures demonstrated that recognition for equal contribution of women and men during independence struggles which should happen as a matter of course did not materialise. Women's right to become partners in reconstructing an independent nation dedicated to the development of its men, women, and young people was compromised as their former comrades started to align themselves into positions of privilege. When the size of Parliament dramatically increased from the first term (1961) to the second term after independence

(1965), the number of men in Parliament more than doubled, while that of women remained constant, as shown in Table 1 below. As a result, the percentage of women MPs was cut in half, from 8% in 1961-65 to 4% in 1970-75. Even at local level, it was difficult for woman to gain leadership. According to the 1979 Village Survey, only 6.5 percent of the village managers were women and there was no woman chairperson or secretary (Mascarenhas and Mbilinyi, 1983). Some of the constraints facing women's election to political office at the time included: negative traditional attitudes, lack of adequate resources and skills, lack of time due to productive and reproductive roles, lack of influence and abilities to break through male dominated party structures and constraining laws and policies.

TABLE 1: Composition of Tanzania Parliament by Gender, 1961-2000

Year	Total	Men	Women	% of Women
1961	80	74	6	8%
1965	185	176	7	4%
1975	234	218	16	7%
1980	239	213	26	11%
1985	244	217	27	11%
1990	248	220	28	11%
1995	268	222	44	16%
2000	280	219	61	22%

Despite these limiting factors, some specific avenues were created to promote women's participation in the party and government and a few women obtained prominent leadership positions. In 1962, *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania* (UWT), was established as the women's wing of TANU (and later of CCM) and an umbrella organisation meant to encompass previously autonomous organisations. Bibi Titi Mohammed served as the organisation's first Chairwoman. She was also the first woman to be appointed Deputy Minister, in which position she served in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services. In recognition of the low numbers of women being elected to political offices, the government and the ruling party designated at least 10 seats to be reserved for women in the 1970s, which was increased to 15 seats in 1985. These seats were designated for representatives of various organisations affiliated

with the ruling party, such as the Youth, Women, Cooperatives, Workers, and Parents' Associations (Kiondo, 1999).

Nearly twenty-five years after independence, women continued to face barriers being elected to constituency seats for Parliament. For example, in the 1990 single party election, 304 women aspirants presented themselves to contest for parliamentary seats. Out of these, 74 were nominated by the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) National Executive Committee to contest for parliamentary seats. Of these, only 2 women marginally won seats amidst strong competition (Kiondo, 1994). The difficulties encountered by women candidates in competitive election races are a reoccurring constraint to promoting women's political empowerment in Tanzania and are reflected again in the 1995 and 2000 elections. Women were also disadvantaged in local government election when compared to men. For example, in 1989 women accounted for only 10% of members of three key village committees in six regions surveyed. In 1991, women were only 10% of the 20 Regional Commissioners, 10% of the 82 District Commissioners and five percent of the 82 District Executive Directors. There were no women Regional Development Directors (TGNP, 1993).

Participation of the Public in Political Processes

Within the context of a one-party state and the prevailing philosophies of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* (Socialism and Self Reliance), an egalitarian and anti-imperialist ideology was advanced under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere. Under this political system, it was the government's obligation to provide basic social services, including health care and education, to all of its citizens. Accompanying such service, the government instituted the *Ujamaa* philosophy as policy through the Arusha Declaration of 1967. As explained by C.S.L. Chachage (1997), "This model was premised on extensive state social, economic and political intervention with a high demand on undivided loyalty to the state from the population". The policy was translated in practice through the educational system, and stressed, among others, self-reliance, eliminating tribalism and diminishing class differences.

Deliberate efforts were made to enhance public participation in advancing the development agenda of the country, which was primarily developed at the national level. In support of this process, a number of avenues were created to involve the public in local politics and decision-making. For example, political structures were established at local levels, including 10-cell leadership,

which are small units of ten households that administer their respective development activities and security. Further up in the hierarchy were village and ward governance structures. In time, however, the leadership of these structures which were in principle meant to be of people's choices turned out to be patronised by privileged men and ceased to represent community interests. Public meetings which initially provided opportunities for political leaders to share new ideas and enlist peoples' views and to provide avenues for civic education, turned into forums for political propaganda and solicitation of support for the ruling party and individual polititians.

During this time also, teaching of political education and the party philosophy was emphasised in schools and other learning institutions, through the media and other forms of expression including entertainment. This type of education was emphasised over civic education, which would include civic and other rights of citizens. Peoples' participation and expression were generally muzzled and their avenues for organising outside the state was curtailed when independent civil society organisations, including organisations for youth, women, labour, and media, were controlled or banned by the party (TEMCO, 1997). However, despite these limitations, an increasing number of formal and informal women's organisations began to emerge in the 1970s, partly as a result of the socio-economic crisis facing the state. These organisations continued to grow after the transition to multi-party governance, although the government did not put in place a conducive environment for independent civil society organisations to emerge (Meena, 1995). Within the context of the liberalisation processes of the 1980s, more NGOs, including advocacy and research organisations addressing women's and gender issues, proliferated (Mbilinyi, 1997).

The Transition to Multi-Partyism

As part of social, economic and political reform processes that took place around the world during the 1980s, external donors exerted pressure on Tanzania and other Eastern and Southern African countries to reform and adopt a multi-party political system as a way of facilitating the spread of global capitalism and liberal democracy. The reform package included issues such as trade liberalisation and privatisation of state owned enterprises.

Before embarking into multi-partyism the government formed a commission to consult the people to get their views concerning the possible introduction of a multi-party political system. The commission, popularly known as the Nyalali

Commission, had only 3 (14%) women out of its 21 members (Meena, 1997). Overall, the Commission found that majority of Tanzanians had difficulties in understanding the implications of political changes from one party to multi-party democracy. The findings revealed that, many people in the villages were eager for change but they did not know the type of political system that would work best. As a result, 80% Tanzanians consulted preferred a one-party system with some alterations made to it. Despite these findings the Nyalali Commission recommended Constitutional changes to allow for a multi-party democracy, and repealing of some forty pieces of legislation which were deemed to be oppressive. Consequently, without further consultation with the people, the political leaders went ahead and adopted a multi-party system.

Under Multi-Party System (1992-2000)

The transition from one-party to multi-party rule occurred in the context of extreme social, political, and economic changes that Tanzania experienced over the last decade. These changes included a growing awareness on issues of gender in relation to development and democracy. This was sparked by the growing number of non governmental organisations advocating for women's empowerment and raising gender equality issues for public debate. Some of these initiatives were linked to the preparations for the Third World Conference in Nairobi in 1985 and later the national, sub-regional, and regional preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. During those periods, local groups came together to discuss the status of women and gender relations in the country, reflect on achievements and gaps, and mobilise to make input into the draft documents and attend the conferences. It was during the Beijing preparations that gender activists in Tanzania made the decision to form TGNP to fill a noted gap in relation to networking and collective action among the many organisations already working on women and gender issues in the country. It is during the same time also that critical feminists, most of who came from the Third World propagated a gender approach to development as opposed to addressing women as a separate group without analysing the patriarchal Imperialist and capitalist systems of social organisation as root causes for Imperialist class and gender oppression and discrimination. Within this frame of thought, the importance of popular and equal representation of men and women within decision-making bodies at all levels was also being stressed.

However, the political system adopted in 1992 and subsequently, did not integrate the above issues and concerns into the governance structures and processes. The practice which operated under the one-party system of designating a certain number of seats for women continued to be the main strategy chosen to accommodate women's demand for participation in political leadership and decision making. Nevertheless, the number of special seats for women was increased. Based on the recommendations of the Nyalali Commission, the 1992 changes in the election law, stated that special seats would be 15% for the parliamentary seats and 25% for local councils (Article 66 as amended by the 8th Constitutional Amendment, Act No. 4 of 1992). Each party was allocated seats equivalent to the percentage of constituency seats they acquired in general elections. In this way, an avenue was provided to enable women to gain access to political positions but the structures and social systems that militated against them and hindered them from winning constituency seats fundamentally remained unchallenged. As a result women parliamentarians continued to be obtained through party nominations within gender biased party structures, a factor that continued to limit women's ability to advocate for transformation of the male-dominated power structure once in parliament (Meena, 1997). In addition, these structures did not always work. For example, despite the provisions noted above, in 1997, women constituted only six percent of 86,227 district councillors (Mukangara and Koda, 1997).

The government also did not institute a broad-based, coordinated and gender-focused civic and voter education programme to accompany the transition to a multi-party system and preparations for the 1995 General Elections so as to enable women, men, and young people to understand their rights and responsibilities. At the same time, the introduction of trade liberalisation and cost sharing for vital social services through the IMF and World Bank supported economic policies that accompanied political liberalisation continued to enhance the stratification of classes within Tanzania. This combination of factors assisted a small group of people, mainly men, to control the agendas, policies and budgeting processes of the newly-formed political parties with little involvement and participation of the majority of voters, particularly women. At the same time, the political and economic liberalisation combined with the move away from the unifying

national philosophy of *Ujamaa* led to an increase in national tensions and divisions that continue to affect political participation until today and serve to weaken the voices of disadvantaged groups. Some of these divisions and tensions were ethnic, racial and religious related (TEMCO, 1997).

After the introduction of multi-partyism, internal party dynamics, in particular focused on the issue of distribution of party resources, diverted attention of party leaders and voters from broader national development issues. A major issue of contention was that CCM remained with a great deal of resources (acquired through state power when the party was supreme), such as real estate, cars, and cash in banks, assisting them to better support their constituency candidates, both men and women. In an effort to even the playing field, during the 1995 elections, subsidies were given to all registered parties and individual contestants to enable them to carry out election campaigns in their constituencies. However, these resources were primarily controlled by the top clique of leadership, again mainly men, and conflicts over allocation of these funds overshadowed real discussions on political vision and developing innovative and participatory party structures.

To a limited extent, civil society organisations realised the need for voters to have better understanding of multi-party politics so as to enhance their involvement in political discussions and make informed choices when casting their votes. Some of these CSOs organised civic and voter education programmes for this purpose. Several of the training programmes organised by NGOs, such as the ones run by TGNP and FemAct partners took a popular and critical feminist approach, encouraging people to hold their leaders accountable for their perceived development priorities. The packages were also oriented towards broadening the perception of the electorate on the attributes of good leadership based on commitment to the needs of the electorate and being accountable to it rather than focusing on gender and age biases.

In addition to increasing the number of women to be nominated to public office through the special seats, the multi-party elections of 1995 provided more opportunities for women to run as constituency candidates. Under the single party system only 2 people were put up by the party to run for a political office per constituency, while the multi-party system allows as many candidates as there are political parties. In addition, women's political interest was increasing due to the women's movement encouraging more women to vie for electoral offices. As a result, the number of women running for constituent elections increased from 2 in 1990 to 67 or 5% of total candidates in 1995,

although still a markedly low proportion (Kiondo, 1999). However due to the gender dynamics within the male dominated parties and the overall social structure, the outcomes of the 1995 General Elections demonstrated a low competitive edge for both women and opposition parties (see Table 2 below). Only 8 out of 232 (3.5%) of the constituency seats were won by women. It is only thanks to an additional 44 seats obtained through special seats that women held 16.5% of parliamentary seats. The overwhelming majority of the female MPs were from the ruling party.

TABLE 2: 1995 Election Outcomes by Party and Gender

POLITICAL PARTY	Members of Parliament				
	Representing Constituencies				
	M	%	F	%	Total
Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	179	96	7	4	186
Civic United Front (CUF)	23	96	1	4	24
NCCR-Mageuzi	16	100	0	0	16
Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)	3	100	0	0	3
United Democratic Party (UDP)	3	100	0	0	3
Total Constituency	224	96.5	8	3.5	232
Special Seats					
CCM	—	—	26	—	26
CUF	—	—	4	—	4
NCCR	—	—	3	—	3
CHADEMA	—	—	1	—	1
UDP	—	—	1	—	1
TLP	—	—	1	—	1
Total Special Seats	—	—	36	100	36
Total MPs	224	83.5	44	16.5	268

Table 3 provides a historical perspective on the composition of parliamentarians, showing a steady increase in numbers of women elected to political office. However, it still remains below the lower target of the SADC Declaration on

Gender and Development of 1997, of attaining at least 30% women representation in politics and decision-making by 2005.

TABLE 3: Composition of Tanzania Parliament by Gender, 1961-2000

Year	Total	Men	Women	% of Women
1961	80	74	6	8%
1965	185	176	7	4%
1975	234	218	16	7%
1980	239	213	26	11%
1985	244	217	27	11%
1990	248	220	28	11%
1995	268	222	44	16%
2000	295	232	62	21%

On the whole, the voices of poor people: women, men, and young people (boys and girls), have yet to feature to any great extent in political decision-making, despite the promise of multi-partyism (Keller, 1999). Partly for this reason, concerned groups of people used the political space provided by political liberalisation to form autonomous institutions, including NGOs, CBOs and independent media, at national and local level to act as pressure groups to raise fundamental social issues and push for comprehensive democratic principles which is gender and class conscious.

Deputy Minister, MCDWC, Inaugurating Tanzania chapter of East Africa network fighting against genital mutilation.

TGNP and Coalation Activities Focused on the 1995 General Elections

Formation of Civil Society Coalition

In 1995, TGNP and its coalition partners began their involvement in the electoral processes, as a major strategy to promote women's political empowerment and ultimately, the transformation of governance and decision-making. To facilitate this process, 11-gender oriented NGOs were convened by TGNP under a coalition called the "Political Gender Cluster." This cluster included a group of NGOs working as part of a caucus of organisations supporting women political aspirants with civic education, leadership skills building and assisting in resources mobilisation. Each participating team developed its own plan of action, which was shared among the team members and contributed to the collective strategic plan contributing to a common goal and vision. Six NGOs, including TGNP, accessed some funding through this process to facilitate a variety of activities to support women candidates and community civic education. The Political Gender Cluster was the first initial effort towards coalition building for political empowerment among gender equality advocacy groups. On the whole, it seemed to have worked and it provided some useful lessons for similar activities in the future.

Support to Women Candidates

To support women candidates for the 1995 General Elections, both at local council and parliamentary level, gender equality advocacy groups through the above coalition, facilitated a process of identifying aspiring women political leaders, and equipping them with skills and other resources such as information and some (limited) funds for campaigns.

One of the main activities facilitated by TGNP during the 1995 elections was managing the disbursement of a small fund to support constituent based women parliamentary candidates to finance their election campaigns. Given the comparatively low financial base for many women, the low level of support women received from their political parties and the difficulties they faced in fundraising, lack of resources was recognised to be a significant barrier for most women vying for constituency based electoral office. When the gender desk of the Royal Netherlands Embassy agreed to fund this activity, methods for disbursement of these funds in a fair and strategic manner was devised. TGNP advertised the existence of this fund through writing to political party offices and in the print media. The National Electoral Commission office was also informed of the availability of the facility and was requested to provide the TGNP Secretariat with the list of women parliamentary candidates. This was requested so as to help in ascertaining the validity of names proposed by political parties which were also requested to send lists of their parties' approved candidates. The candidates were requested to also come with their party identification and documents supporting they have been approved as candidates.

This process presented a series of challenges to the Secretariat of the Political Gender Cluster. The NEC received names of the candidates from the political parties in piece meal, and therefore the exact number of aspirants was not known by either NEC or TGNP. This meant that, allocation of the funds was similarly disjointed, calling for constant adjustment of figures. As a result, those whose names were submitted to TGNP first received higher amounts than those who received funding in the second and third batches, before the funds were completely depleted. There were also a few people who obtained the money in false pretence. These impersonated the real candidates in collusion with senior party officials who escorted them to ascertain the validity of their claims.

Constraints faced by women to obtain political office during the 1995 elections were fairly similar and included lack of adequate resources, male domination in the electoral structures, administrative organs and gender insensitive voters. The nomination processes through political parties served as a major barrier to women political aspirants. These processes were controlled by the patriarchal leadership of the political parties, who tended to nominate women from within the inner circles of the party and many times relatives, without taking into consideration their leadership qualities and ability to serve the people once in political office.

Despite the above constraints, on the whole, the funding support was a useful contribution. At least 30 women were funded to support parliamentary campaigns.

A total of 4 out of the 8 women who won constituency seats received funding support. On the whole, the process was a learning experience for TGNP and the other coalition members, leading to the decision to capitalise on training and other capacity building strategies rather than financial support to women candidates in the year 2000 general elections.
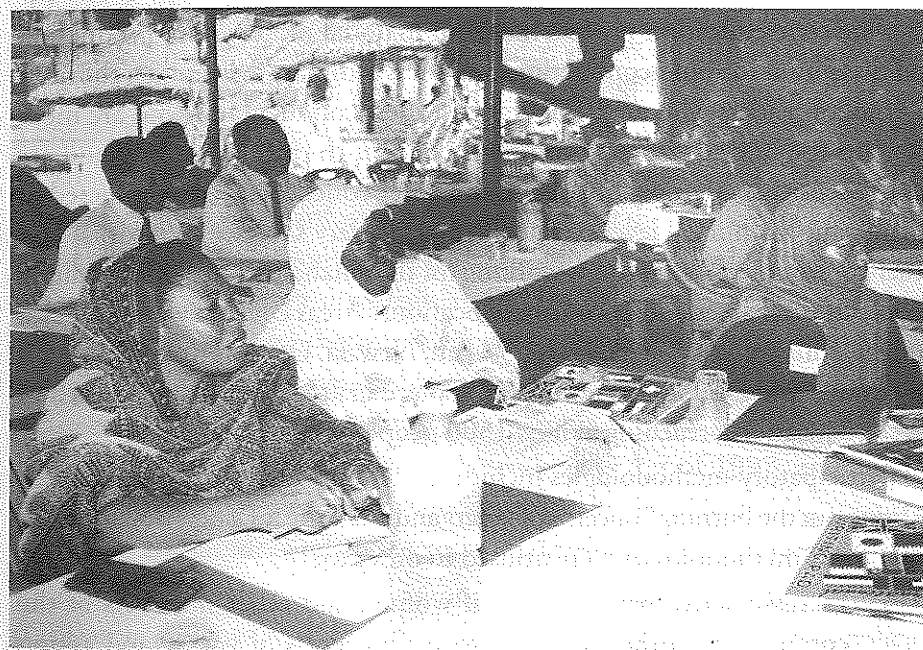
Capacity building session for MPs

Civic and Voter Education with a Gender Focus

Intensive civic and voter education was conducted by TGNP and other coalition partners, focusing on the women and a few selected men candidates, political party leaders as well as communities. Specific objectives of this training were:

- To assist the communities, especially women and young people, to identify and disseminate the main issues affecting them and thereby exercise their citizenship rights to elect persons who would be accountable to the people;

- To explore with the community ways to place issues of development on the political agenda;
- To lobby and carry out advocacy activities among intermediary organizations;
- To build the capacity of the community to organize and voice issues concerning their community with a gender outlook;
- To share civic and voter education materials; and
- To identify ways of enhancing development activities using available resources and skills within the community itself.

The civic education process included material preparation, production and dissemination; and conducting awareness seminars focusing on the need to vote for leaders who are democratic in their conduct, and who are more likely to respond to issues of common concern to the community and are gender sensitive. Participatory civic and voter education were conducted in partnership with local level partners (Intermediary Gender Networks) and other community based groups working for the emancipation of marginalised people in rural areas and poor urban locations. Areas covered were: Mbeya, Songea, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Newala, Unguja, Kondoa, Babati, Bagamoyo and Dodoma. Training took place in at least 5 villages in each of these 10 locations, reaching at least 1500 people.

Participatory methodologies including community theatre were applied to bring out the burning concerns of voters and advocate for a new development path. Such methodologies were utilised in order to:

- Increase active participation of women and other members of the community in the electoral process, in terms of voting and asking questions to get their issues heard;
- Raise peoples' confidence and assertiveness in exercising their civil rights with broader understanding of the meaning of democracy and multi-party system;
- Increase awareness in the issues of gender and development; and
- Increase capacity at community level in communication, organizing, networking, lobbying and advocating on pertinent issues for their development.

A number of development concerns emerged from the training sessions, particularly issues of poverty, undemocratic and corrupt leadership, deteriorating social services (health, education, water and infrastructure), youth un-employment and poor markets for the agricultural products. This served to inform lobbying and advocacy efforts conducted by TGNP as well as the intermediary networks. These methodologies were much appreciated since they created a forum for not only voters but also to raise other pressing matters of development to the communities (TGNP voter education reports 1995).

Follow-up to the 1995 Activity Outcome

Through these varied activities, gender groups, and TGNP in particular, were able to build alliances with women leaders (local councillors and parliamentarians). These alliances provided points of entry for continuing support to women politicians who won elections. Since 1995, there has been a series of parliamentary lobbying activities particularly directed at women parliamentarians and selected men identified as allies. One of the objectives of these activities was to inform parliamentarians of the public issues expressed by, and affecting poor women and their communities and solicit their support in pushing for gender sensitive legislations. Issues around which partnerships and alliances were built between women and some men MPs and TGNP included: land rights for women during the development of Land Policy and Acts, gender and violence during the preparation for and discussion in parliament of the Sexual Offences Amendments Act of 1997, and gender equality considerations in national budgets with the aim of increasing resources to women and children related sectors and development initiatives.

A number of programmes; among them the Gender Budget Initiative (GBI) were designed to address the national and local needs related to policies and continuing skills development for the Intermediary Gender Networks (IGNs) so as to strengthen their skills and capacities to advocate for good leadership and development strategies which take on board gender equality concerns. Among the activities relevant to elections was a workshop conducted by TGNP in 1998 that called for all electoral actors to reflect on the what transpired at the 1995 general elections and take remedial actions before and during the year 2000. Several of the targeted actors who participated into the workshop included: Hon. Gertrude Mongela as the guest of honour, then adviser to the United Nations Secretary General on women and gender issues, Hon. Lewis Makame; the Commissioner to the National Electoral Commission (NEC), Hon. George Liundi; the Registrar of Political Parties; directors of NGOs and various members of political parties.

Ambassador Getrude Mongela speaks on the role of democratic elections in promoting stability and peace.

Various political and electoral issues were raised through presented papers and the emerging discussions. Synthesis of issues raised by and for all electoral actors included: availing information and education to the citizenry on their civic rights and obligation for full participation in the electoral processes and on various laws that directly affect them; male-domination and its impact on women's development and participation in political leadership; and issues of transparency and accountability of those in electoral office to the electorate.

Equality and social justice advocacy groups within the civil society were challenged to identify entry points in the changed political environment which ushered in multi-party politics to advocate for the rights of marginalised people and broadening of democracy beyond political parties and holding elections. Another equally important challenge was that of forming regional and sub-regional coalitions as well as strengthening coalitions of like-minded Tanzanian NGOs and CBOs on civic and voter education issues which were beginning to emerge so as to have a bigger impact in the 2000 General Elections.

TGNP and FemAct Processes to Influence the 2000 General Elections

Participants of one of the capacity building Sessions organised by TGNP

Building on the lessons learned from the 1995 elections, the civil society, in particular TGNP and FemAct, embarked on a series of activities to influence the electoral processes from a gender perspective. These processes built on a series of collective planning sessions, initially involving a wide scope of actors and then narrowing them to FemAct specific mandate. Through this process, a series of activities were identified and implemented at various levels of the electoral structures and actors.

Context

Preparation for the TGNP/FemAct strategy for its interventions in the 2000 elections happened within a political context which can be characterised as 'election fever'. Both the ruling party and opposition parties were laying the frameworks for their election campaigns, with increasing political rhetoric from each camp as the campaigns drew nearer.

In particular, the parliament was drawing a variety of bills and policies aimed specifically at the election process. Early in the year 2000, a number of pieces of legislation were enacted as guidelines as well as Amendments to the Constitution that very clearly targeted election-related issues. A number of these had a direct impact on campaign processes and may also have impacted on outcomes of the elections, including the following:

Constitution-related issues

- Special seats: The Constitutional Amendments of the year 2000 raised the percentage of special seats for women at national and local government levels. The Constitution now provides for 20% parliamentary seats and 33% civic election seats as special seats for women. This increase was largely in response to the lobbying efforts mainly from women's wings of political parties, specifically *Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania* (UWT), women politicians and gender equality advocacy NGOs; as well as a certain degree of political will on the part of the government considering the number of conventions on gender equality it had signed thus far.

- Independent candidates: During the Constitutional review process, many groups, including the opposition political parties and civil society organisations advocated for inclusion of the provision for independent candidates. These groups argued that this would provide an alternative entry point for women and men with skills, abilities, and a passion to make a difference to enter into the electoral office independent of the constricted space offered by political party structures. Despite the intense debate in this regard, this demand was not accommodated in the revised Constitution. This was seen as a major barrier to independent voices and views of women and other social groups to access power and decision making.

Other Constraining Procedures and Policies

- Removal of subsidies: As noted earlier, all registered political parties received funding from the government coffers to assist with election campaigns during the 1995 General Elections. In addition, the parties with representatives in parliament, which were Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Civic United Front (CUF), Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), NCCR-Mageuzi, and the United Democratic Party (UDP), received Government subsidies (proportionate with the percentage they represent in parliament) to support running of their party activities.

In 2000, a motion was passed in parliament to eliminate subsidies for political parties during campaigns. This made it even more difficult for women candidates to run for political office, particularly those from opposition parties. Due to the inabilities of many of the smaller parties to financially support their candidates, a number of potential women candidates, particularly those with low resource bases, were not able to contest effectively in constituencies.

- Door-to-door campaigns: Door-to-door campaigns were allowed for the first time on the year 2000. Previously, this method of canvassing for votes was prohibited on grounds that it was not transparent. Allowing these types of campaigns had negative implications for women candidates, who are less independent and more unlikely to be able to move around freely, particularly after dark, due to reasons of safety and fear of sexual harassment and/or violence. Night visits to people's homes provided their male opponents with an added advantage to solicit votes, particularly from key community (and opinion) leaders.

- *Takrima* (literally translating as 'hospitality'): Among the election-related changes with major impact in the 2000 election campaigns was the policy of allowing for *takrima* to be given by the contestants to the electorate with an explanation that gestures of appreciation or hospitality are culturally acceptable in Tanzania. Previously practices of giving gifts and other services such as food, transport allowances, clothing etc. to those who attended campaign rallies were considered as corruption. Beginning from year 2000, these practices were allowed to become a norm. A key point of discussion was that the level up to

which these gestures were considered merely hospitality rather than corruption or vote-buying was not defined. This meant that candidates with access to resources, mostly men, benefited from this change in legislation. This provision also created the potential for communities to use the criteria of a candidate's ability to provide these gestures rather than evaluating a man or woman's commitment and capability to facilitate and/or bring substantial developmental change.

- Circular informing aspiring candidates working with the government to quit their jobs first: A circular was passed to civil service personnel, requiring any person collecting forms to run as a political contestant to first quit their job. This provision extended even to the first nomination processes, with the implications that even if a political aspirant is not nominated to contest s/he has to forfeit her/his employment. This served as a great deterrent to many potential candidates who would otherwise qualify to contest, particularly women, because they were forced to make a choice to run for an electoral office at a great risk to their livelihoods. Many women who resigned from their jobs and then reapplied after loosing, particularly those who were affiliated to opposition parties, stood a limited chance of getting their posts back.

- 'Handshake' at the end of service: One of the legislation enacted in parliament with limited public consultation was a provision that entitled MPs to a rather large monetary package upon completion of their five-year term of service. The Retirement Benefits Act of 1999, entitles each MP from the Mainland to 20 million Tanzania shillings (equivalent to US$ 25,000) and each MP from Zanzibar, 10 million Tanzania shillings ($12,500) as an acknowledgement of their service to the country. This is over and above the regular salaries they receive and additional allowances offered when the parliament is on session. Overall, Tanzania spent 5.5 billion shillings ($7.14), in gratuity to 275 MPs. (Guardian, 7th June, 1999). This gesture was widely viewed as a form of support to the campaigns of the incumbents, a factor which further disadvantaged new candidates, particularly women and those in the opposition.

At the time when the government was preparing itself for the 2000 General Elections by putting in place various policies and regulations, civil society organisations including those advocating for women's empowerment and gender equality were also active in election-related activities, as will be outlined below.

Gender and Political Empowerment Related Preparatory and Collective Planning Processes

As an input to the planning process for inclusion of women's and gender issues in the 2000 elections, the following two major events were held in 1999.
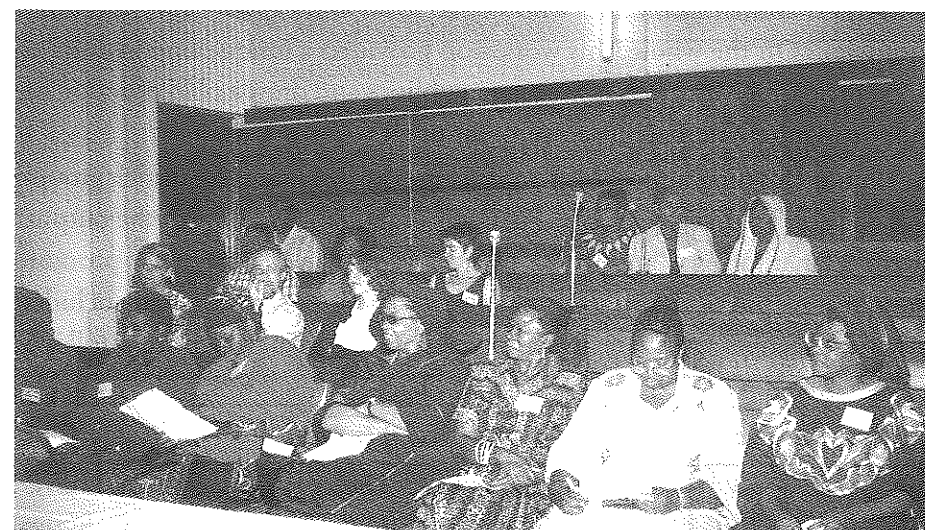
Launching of the Planathon at Karemjee Hall, Dar es Salaam

Planathon

In May, a three-day capacity building and planning workshop was organised on: "Women and Men in Partnership in Tanzania: The Politics of the Future." The workshop was sponsored and coordinated by the British Council in collaboration with TGNP and the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA), organisations who had already been working on issues related to women's empowerment. This event was termed the 'planathon,' meaning 'marathon planning for action'. The aim of the planathon was to enhance collective planning on a variety of strategies to involve various social groups in

the process of promoting women's entry into political and decision-making positions. This was seen as a way of forging a sustainable partnership between women and men in decision-making.

The workshop was preceded by a high-profile media launch demonstrating commitment from women and men in Tanzania and internationally to work in partnership in politics, using the 2000 elections as a point of entry. A total of 77 people participated in the programme, including representatives of NGOs, political parties and their women wings, Women Parliamentary Group, National Electoral Commissions, and donor institutions. During the three-day event, this mixed group exchanged ideas and strategies on issues of common concern. Local facilitators facilitated the workshop, working in partnership with international facilitators who shared ideas and experiences from other countries. On the whole, this workshop provided a unique opportunity to assess the current situation of women in politics and draw a plan of action for supporting them in their empowerment process.

During this programme, participants were divided into three disticit groups: civil society; political party; and members of parliament. One of the outputs of the Planathon was an outline of a 15-year Plan of Action to promote women into political and decision-making positions. The plan included specific objectives and strategies within this broader goal, which are as follows:

Stakeholder	Objectives
Civil Society	• Contribute towards the creation of a conducive environment for women to organise and obtain socio-political equality
	• Encourage more women to join political parties and assume leadership responsibilities
	• Review and expand the system of special seats to include other women's groups from civil society besides political parties
	• Nurture young women for taking social and political roles
	• Enhance women's capacities in public life
	• Fight all forms of corruption and promote transparency and accountability in public life
	• Increase awareness in civic and human rights issues

Political Party Representatives	• Strengthen and support women's wings
	• Recruit young women into political parties
	• Enhance the image of women in public life using role models and the media
Members of Parliament	• Attain 50/50 representation of women and men in parliament, political parties, village councils and other sectors by 2015 - not less than 30% by 2000, including affirmative action; not less than 40% by 2005, including affirmative action; and not less than 50% by 2015, not including affirmative action
	• Strengthen Women Parliamentary Group as an effective tool for advocacy
	• Increased full and active participation of women and men in parliament, political parties, leadership and decision making at all levels, including village councils (i.e. not a token involvement)
	• Building a more strengthened collaboration between different actors, male and female, throughout society, especially between Members of Parliament, NGOs, and civil society

In order to achieve these objectives, strategies were delegated to different actors, including NGOs, particularly those advocating for gender equality and women's empowerment, political parties, the Women Parliamentary Group, and the British Council, as a supporting partner. Some of the major follow-up activities planned by NGOs as part of this plan included:

- Reviewing existing electoral laws and policies and influence policy makers to make them more gender-sensitive;
- Use of the media, outreach, and other means to increase public awareness on existing laws and policies governing national development as well as civic and human rights;
- Lobby political parties to engender their constitutions, political manifestos, structures, and regulations;
- Lobby for constitutional change to allow civil society involvement in parliament as independent candidates; and

- Identify and build the capacity of potential women leaders. Some of the activities highlighted by political party representatives included:
- Conduct a training needs assessment of potential women leaders;
- Pro-actively search for potential women leaders, prepare materials, and conduct trainings;
- Prepare a Women's Election Manifesto and present to party leadership;
- Review current budget plan for the women's wings and suggest to party leadership that it be increased;
- Establish a credit scheme for women candidates, such as loan revolving fund;
- Profile prominent women in public life; and
- Link with civil society organisations, including gender groups, for information sharing, capacity building, and mutual support on the common agenda.

Some of the activities from the Member of Parliament group included:

- Conduct a gender audit of parliament to report on women and men's political participation;
- Identify, support, and build capacities of women in parliament;
- Strengthen the Women's Caucus through skills development, assertiveness training, and the formation of a small research group to advise female MPs on issues;
- Use legislation, Constitution and other strategies to increase Affirmative Action parliamentary seats from 15 to 30% by the year 2000;
- Strengthen Women's Wings through consultations with heads of units and turn them into gender focal points;
- Facilitate a review process of Parliament and other structures to see if they are gender sensitive;
- Form databases of all NGOs and civil society actors to know where strengths lie; and
- Set up information sharing mechanisms and protocols between NGOs and Parliamentary Women's Caucus and Parliament.

Annual Gender Studies Conference (1999)

Since 1996, TGNP has been organising annual gender festivals as open forums for like-minded individuals and organisations to come together, share experiences, knowledge/build capacity and plan collectively for social transformation with a gender perspective. These four-day events integrate the intellectual, activist, analytical and artistic/popular forms of communication and expression with effective results. The main goal of the conference each year is to bring together people interested in gender from all walks of life, from the villages of Tanzania to other parts of the world, for the purposes of activist analysis, reflection and information sharing on a particular and relevant issue.

> "Women's climb into the political arena challenges the existing structures, and replacing them requires the efforts of both women and men. Change is required in policies of equal opportunities, gender equality at every level of organisations and the removal of factors that thwart women's representation in politics."
>
> **Margaret Dongo, Independent MP, Zimbabwe and Guest of Honour, AGSC.**

In September 1999, TGNP convened the Annual Gender Studies Conference (AGSC) with the theme: "Gender and Political Empowerment." This conference theme was planned strategically as a means for the organisation to catalyse discussion and actions on the inclusion of gender issues in election processes, particularly in relation to the up-coming 2000 General Election. The conference brought together over 400 women and men from rural and urban Tanzania as well as from the Southern African region and beyond. Participants included representatives from NGOs and CBOs, employees of government and donor institutions, women and men currently in, or aspiring for political office, and individual gender activities and other interested parties. During the conference and festival, participants shared skills, strategies and ideas pertaining to gender and elections, including the inclusion of gender issues in campaigns, ways to support women candidates, and long term processes of promoting women's involvement in decision-making.

The Gender Festival generated a series of long-term and short-term strategies to promote women into politics and decision-making (TGNP, AGSC '99 Report).

Certificates for Pre-AGSC Gender Training awarded during the AGSC' 99

Among the recommendations for civil society organisations were the following:

- Identify potential women leaders at different levels, encourage them to vie for political positions, and strengthen their capacity, regardless of political affiliation;
- Conscientise the community on their rights and on the need of bridging the gender gaps in politics;
- Support elected women MPs so that they are effective and accountable;
- Encourage women who are in office through special seats to move and contest in constituency;
- Lobby for changes in election laws to ensure they are gender sensitive;
- Promote changes in the Constitution to allow independent candidates;
- Educate men politicians and political leaders to understand gender issues and support women in politics.

Women MPs and political aspirants were called upon to:

- Get organised, identify their priorities and strategise;
- Build their own capacities;

- Inform, educate and mobilise the public;
- Serve as mentors and role models to young women aspirants;
- Cultivate alliances and rapport with gender-sensitive men;
- Run for political office, starting at local levels.

Government was called upon to:

- Implement its commitments to the Beijing Platform for Action and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development;
- Ensure that laws, political arrangements and procedures reflect a clear focus and determination to achieve gender balance;
- Ensure human rights are protected and promoted;
- Spearhead campaigns and support moves by non-governmental actors to rectify traditions and customs that discourage women's full participation in political leadership;
- Structure formal education curricula to deliberately enable women to realise their full potential in all academic and technical spheres;
- Partner with civil society organisations to provide civic education to both men and women to understand their rights.

Recommendations for the Political Parties were:

- Mainstream gender in their political processes and instruments, including party manifestos, nomination processes, etc;
- Be in the front line in educating women about their responsibilities and their rights as members of society and in politics;
- Encourage women to contest for elections at all levels of leadership;
- Institute a quota system within their respective parties.

International donor partners were requested to:

- Conduct and fund seminars for political leaders;
- Train women in various skills;

On the whole, the 1999 Annual Gender Studies Conference and Gender Festival, together with the media coverage it obtained, provided a great opportunity to bring the particular issues facing women in politics to the forefront of national debate and discussions at different levels. Many of the

issues discussed, such as mobilising women to contest for political office and capacity building for women political aspirants, were implemented through processes described below.

Building FemAct as an Effective Catalyst for Change during the 2000 General Election

Based on inputs from the Planathon and the Gender Festival, TGNP, in conjunction with other actors in the Feminist Activist Coalition (FemAct), facilitated a variety of activities related to transforming political structures, laws and procedures, support to women aspirants, and civic education, among others. A series of specific activities were facilitated by TGNP specifically to promote the collective planning, capacity building, and reflection of the coalition.

FemAct Strategic Planning

As the convenor of the FemAct coalition and as a follow-up to tasks agreed upon during the Planathon processes, TGNP embarked on organising a series of meetings of FemAct and other organisations doing relevant work on elections to plan, share and coordinate strategies for a desirable and measurable impact. These consultative and strategising sessions began during Quarter 1 of 2000. In February, the organisation held a two-day planning workshop for members of FemAct to share individual organisations' action plans, coordinate a collective action strategy and more specifically divide tasks and responsibilities. A total of 36 participants, 25 women and 11 men, from 15 FemAct organisations participated in this session. The session had the following objectives:

- To review the best strategies to be applied by the coalition on various issues, such as land, Constitution, and 1995 election activities, and adapt and build on the same for the coming elections;
- To examine individual NGO's action plans on gender and electoral issues and gaps and constraints within them; and
- To develop a collective strategic plan out of the individual NGO plans to bridge the gender gap in leadership positions and mainstream gender in the electoral process.

Individual NGO action plans on civic and election related activities were shared at the workshop. These included activities related to training and support of women candidates, building public awareness, and lobbying and advocacy on election-related issues at the national level. Many NGOs experienced some

difficulties in obtaining funding for their planned activities, an issue that continued to be a barrier for civil society participation in civic education processes throughout the election period. Many of these organisations had applied for funding from the Basket Fund for Civic Education, which was mobilised by a team of donor institutions which decided to pool resources for this purpose. However, most applications were not funded because this fund had very strict requirements for project proposals, and the application and revision process was also quite lengthy and cumbersome. Many organisations were therefore uncertain regarding the status of their funding applications. As a result, collective planning was constrained, as actors were unsure of the extent to which they would be able to participate in the up-coming programmes related to the elections. Even with these limitations, the following issues emerged as areas for collective action (TGNP Report, 2000c):

Influencing NEC and Political Parties to include gender on the agenda:
- Develop Women's Manifesto to influence the public and other actors to demand an election agenda that would benefit poor people and women in particular;
- Collection and review of political guidelines and party manifestos; and
- Lobbying and capacity building of NEC and political party leadership to integrate gender issues into the relevant election processes.

Conducting civic education with a gender perspective:
- Build capacity of coalition actors in civic education and gender issues;
- Training workshops of leaders at regional, district, and grassroots level;
- Update and produce civic education materials; and
- Utilise the media to spearhead public debates around gender issues and promote women candidates as potential leaders comparable to men.

Preparing and Supporting Women Candidates:
- Develop effective strategies for preparation and support of women candidates;
- Exchange of database and information on candidates and training materials;
- Conduct joint training activities;

- Develop, facilitate, and monitor support to women candidates and positive male allies during campaigns; and
- Document the process.

The action plan developed as a result of this process served as a strong input and guide to coalition activities for the remaining election period. The discussions also shaped strategies for the post-election period, such as supporting the Women's Parliament Group through provision of relevant information materials, as well as the importance of facilitating activities geared at enhancing their capacities on gender and participatory leadership.

In order to enhance commitment for coalition members, after the initial planning session a follow-up meeting was conducted with Executive Directors of various FemAct organisations to review the collective action plans and determine a way forward. At this meeting, key areas for immediate action were identified and shared among coalition members depending on mandate and capacity. These included: increasing use of the media for civic education and development of a Women's Manifesto, the process of which is further outlined below.

The major tool that TGNP developed and utilised to influence political parties was the alternative People's Manifesto expressing views from the people and the civil society on gender equality.

Development and Launch of National Agenda for Elections 2000 from a Popular Gender Perspective – the Voters' Manifesto for Gender Equality

In both the Planathon and the AGSC 1999, there was an expressed need to develop a Women's Manifesto specifically outlining the political demands of women and gender sensitive members of the electorate to political parties and the government. Similar documents existed in countries like Namibia, Botswana, Uganda, and others and were seen as useful advocacy tools through which women's and gender equality agenda could be crystallised and communicated to prospective candidates, political parties and the general public.

At the FemAct civic and voter education planning session in February, 2000, FemAct members prioritised the development of such a document for sharing and collective use. Borrowing from the work done in other countries and accumulated local knowledge and experiences, a small working group

Launching of the Voters' Manifesto for Gender Equality at Mnazi Mmoja, Dar es Salaam.

developed a draft document. During this process, the decision was made to develop a Voters Manifesto for Gender Equality rather than a Women's Manifesto. It was felt that such a document would be more inclusive encompassing the perspectives of female and male supporters of this process rather than alienating one group. At the same time, many of the demands remain focused on the specific needs of women within the perspective of gender equality and social justice for all.

The draft document was then shared with partner organisations, through a training session for civil society organisations working on civic and voter education (through TANGO), and open public forum. FemAct organisations were encouraged to present the draft to their various constituencies at the regional and district levels and provide feedback. In the course of drafting, sharing, and feedback, 28 different NGOs/CBOs at national and district level subscribed to the contents of the Voters Manifesto and mandated its production.

In the course of the dialogue and debates on the Voters Manifesto, one question came up frequently at various forums: "Do voters have the right to issue a manifesto?" In these forums, those present decided that voters had a right to issue a manifesto for the following reasons:

- As citizens, we are the employers of those in office and we have the right to give them a contract;
- Civic education is a right and responsibility of all citizens;
- There are a number of issues of concern to all people, especially women and gender equality activists that needed to be brought to the attention of leaders, including issues of violence against women, the low political participation of women, and difficulties for ordinary Tanzanians to competing in an international environment.

The Voters Manifesto for Gender Equality, which was published in Kiswahili with a summary in English, outlined specific demands for political parties and the government entering into power along with suggestions for the civil society. The document focused on ways to promote human rights, equality and people-centred development in six main areas: Democracy and Human Rights; Women's Political Participation; Violence Against Women; Women's Economic Status; Women's Access to Education; and Health Care.

Each section provided an overview of key concerns facing women and other disadvantaged groups and a series of demands to resolve these
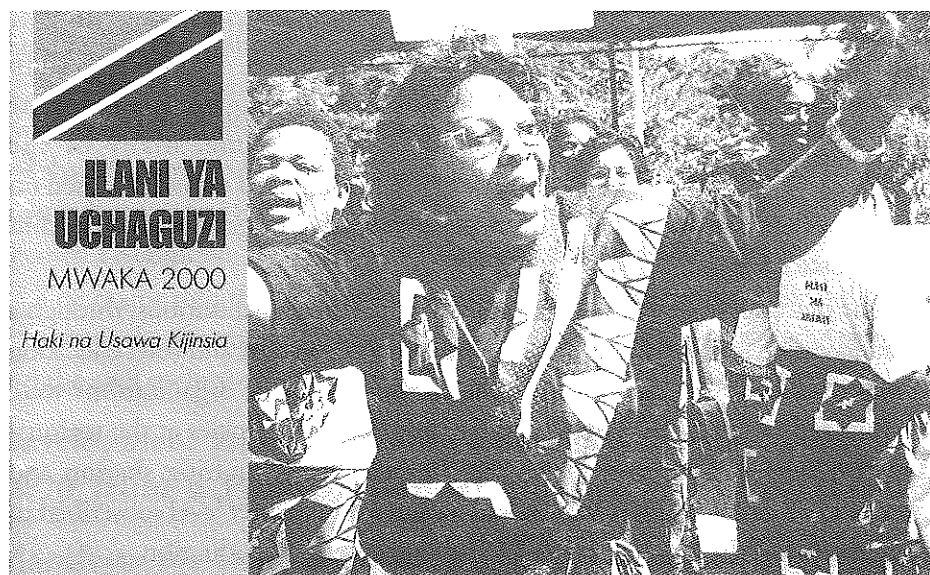
A copy of the Voters' Manifesto for Gender Equality

issues. The document urged voters to understand that their votes had value and that they should use them to obtain their fundamental rights and lobby government and political parties to prioritise and protect the rights of women and poor people. The text of the Manifesto also requested feedback and input to make it reflect even further the demands and needs of Tanzanians wishing to achieve gender equality, good leadership, and people-centred development.

The Manifesto was launched with a bang in May 2000. Over 600 women, men and young people attended a public forum held at Mnazi Mmoja in the city centre in an innovative rally to present the document to political leaders, civil society, and the general public. The rally was planned to be preceded by a demonstration but the latter was not condoned by the Central Police authorities because it was viewed as too political at such a sensitive time.

Members of political parties, the National Electoral Commission, government officials, civil society organisations and women candidates were invited to the forum. The demands of each of the six sections of the Manifesto were presented by different organisations forming part of the Coalition, with a long-term representative whereby the relevant organisation presented the background to the issue and a young person from grassroots partners presented the demands. This idea was particularly formulated to highlight the fact that young people are the leaders of the future and heirs of the Tanzania of tomorrow. Music, dance and performances were also a central feature of the launching.

About 11,800 copies of the Manifesto, including two re-printings, have been printed and disseminated to political parties, candidates, and civil society with a corresponding poster written, " *Wanawake Tunao Uwezo Kuongoza. Tujitokeze.*" (Women, We Have the Ability to Lead! Come Out as Voters and Candidates!) The launching and the document itself led to a series of media coverage. The high demand of the document from the general public, civil society, political parties and election aspirants demonstrates the relevance of this document.

Tanzania Voters' Manifesto for Gender Equality

Summary

The Voters' Manifesto is a document written by and for Tanzanian voters, specifically outlining demands and expectations of the political parties, government, and civil society for the purpose of promoting gender equality. The document is written in Kiswahili, the national language of the country, in order to reach both the voting public and national party and political leaders in a language that is easily accessible and understandable. Outlined below is a summary of the document in English.

As citizens of Tanzania, granted equal rights by the authority of the Constitution and as a large group of voters in a country that has agreed to promote equal rights for women and men, we are delivering this election manifesto. We demand that those seeking our votes and the government that will enter into power demonstrate their commitment to human rights, equality, and people-centred development.

Introduction

The Tanzanian Constitution recognises the equal rights in front of the law for every citizen, without regard to race, creed or gender. As a country that gained its independence based on the advocacy of its citizens, Tanzania has recognised various international conventions based on the Declaration of Human Rights. These declarations include the Convention on Elimination of all

forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), various labour conventions, and the Special Declaration of Member States of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) concerning Women's Political Participation.

A great deal of progress has been made in protecting the rights, freedom, and equality of all peoples within international and national conventions and agreements due to global movements to speak out for and lobby political leaders to recognise these rights. The struggle for women's rights was marked by the declaration in 1975 of the International Decade of the Rights of Women, and the subsequent World Conferences on Women held in Mexico City in 1975, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995. Each of these conferences generated action plans to promote the implementation of policies to support the emancipation of women and eliminate patriarchal structures. The Beijing Conference went a step further than the other conferences, in that it required each signatory to develop individual country plans of action and monitoring indicators based on the collective action plans developed. These action plans gave national governments the mandate to implement these plans on behalf of their citizens and gave each citizen the right and authority to monitor and evaluate the implementation of these promises.

In recognition of the fact that women's rights are human rights, the main objective of this Manifesto is to clearly outline the demands of voters speaking out for women's rights and to inform political parties that our votes are dependent on their work to promote the achievement of women's rights. In this way, this Manifesto demands that these issues be given a priority by each party and candidate wishing to gain political office in the General Elections of the Year 2000.

The main objectives of this Manifesto are:
- To remind voters that their vote has value and urge them to use that value to demand their fundamental rights;
- To encourage women, who are 51% of citizens, to register to vote and to vote for those working on behalf of the causes of women;
- To lobby political parties to enact policies that provide women and men candidates equal opportunities;
- To lobby government and political parties to prioritise and protect rights of women and work to deconstruct the patriarchal structure.
- To provide structures to monitor and evaluate those placed in political office, political parties and other societal institutions on their efforts to advance issues related to gender and the elimination of discrimination.

Democracy and Human Rights

All human beings, whether men or women, have equal rights. At the International Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, which Tanzania participated in, an official statement was issued recognising that women's rights are human rights. The Constitution of Tanzania contains an entire chapter discussing human rights, and the revisions of the Constitution of the year 2000 added a description of equal rights and a provision barring discrimination on the basis of sex. In addition, as discussed above, Tanzania is a signatory to the International Declaration of Human Rights as well as CEDAW and CRC.

However, there are a number of policies, customs and traditions in this country that serve to undermine women's rights, such as laws of inheritance and the marriage act. These are based on a patriarchal structure, which the government has made no effort to eliminate. There is no particular plan or policy to promote and support the fundamental human rights of Tanzania's citizens.

We demand that the government:
- Prioritise the revision of all laws serving to undermine human rights to comply with the international conventions ratified and the Constitution.
- Involve NGOs and CBOs and citizens of both genders to revise and create policies that support development and good governance.
- Implement a plan to educate police officers and judges on human rights
- Educate people to eliminate discriminatory traditions and ensure that customary practices that contradict written laws, such as female genital mutilation, are addressed appropriately.
- Work with and support NGOs to educate all citizens to understand issues of human rights and particularly women's rights.
- Allow any person to campaign for political leadership regardless of party affiliation.

Women's Political Participation

Freedom and fairness are the fundamental values on which Tanzania is based. Although there have been a number of declarations by the government and by political parties on the importance of involving women in politics, the level of women's political participation remains low. Statistics from Tanzania's first multi-party election in 1995 demonstrated that women were far behind in being upheld as candidates by all political parties. Currently in Tanzania, three of 24 ministers are women, 45 of 275 Members of Parliament, and 6% of councillors (Bonnie Keller, with Demere Kitunga and TGNP, *Towards Gender Equality in Tanzania*, SIDA 1999).

We demand that the government:
- Put into practice all international conventions concerning building a just society. This involves promoting involving women as social and national leaders by ensuring that policies and practices encourage women to participate in politics without any type of discrimination.
- For a short period, retain special seats for women, as 30% of all seats, as a way to build the ability of women to participate equally in politics.
- Design and implement a long-term plan to build the capacities and experience of women and youth as political leaders by working to eliminate discriminatory traditions that prevent their participation.

- Educate citizens on the importance of having women as national leaders
- Have policies allowing for independent candidates.

We demand that political parties:
- Create programmes supporting women to actively participate as leaders within the party and as candidates.
- Support candidates and leaders who respect the ideals and ethics of good governance.
- Devote resources to assist the campaigns of women candidates.

For citizens and CSOs, we urge:
- NGOs and CBOs to have plans to support women candidates, to help them build enough self-confidence to be able to become leaders.
- News media to work actively to educate society about the importance of supporting and involving women as national leaders.

Violence against Women

In order for women to be able to contribute equally to development to men, it is vital that they are able to live in peace and security within and outside of their households. However, many women in this country are not free to live their lives in this manner and face being killed, raped, beaten, sexually harassed, circumcised, having land taken away, and many other travesties. These contribute to mental and physical health problems and disabilities and violate women's fundamental human rights.

These incidents are caused by a patriarchal structure constricting women's decision-making and leadership opportunities in the areas of politics, education, and economy. National policies and customs and traditions reinforce these structures, particularly those dealing with marriage and inheritance, by granting the bulk of authority to the man as the head of the household. These policies also fail to recognise that many households at this time are female-headed ones, due to economic problems, AIDS, and migration of youth to cities.

The revisions of the Sexual Offences Act of 1998 enacted severe penalties for those committing the crime of rape. However, many regions and government offices have yet to receive a copy of this act and it has yet to be translated into Kiswahili. Without the full knowledge and participation of the police in this effort, rape will continue to be prevalent.

We demand that government:
- Formulate a policy that declares that domestic violence within a household is a criminal offence. This policy should provide strict penalties for violators and allow women in these circumstances to obtain standing orders from courts to ensure their safety.
- Prohibit police to get rid of a case against a battered based on the request of the family.
- Translate the Sexual Offences Act of 1998 into Kiswahili and distribute it to all courts of law in the country.

- Work actively against customs and traditions that take away the rightful inheritances of widows and against corruption.
- Educate those in both rural and urban areas, including the police forces, that domestic violence violates basic human rights.
- Work with and support NGOs and CBOs to assist survivors of domestic violence and harassment through counselling and housing at crisis centres.
- Work with NGOs to provide education for police officers on gender issues and domestic violence.

We demand that political parties:
- Demonstrate their stance against domestic violence and sexual harassment of women and the means they are working to eliminate these practices.
- Implement a policy that each member proposing to campaign for leadership needs to explain how s/he plans to work with the government, the party and all citizens to end violence against women.

Women's Economic Status

One of the reasons for the continuing poverty of many groups within Tanzanian society is Tanzania's status as a developing country. Many development indicators illustrate that women are the ones most affected by this low economic position of the country within a context of globalisation. The bulk of the programmes put into place to improve the economic situation of the country have not taken into account the heavy burden of these policies on women and other groups in society, such as youth and poor men.

Women and girls are the primary actors within the economy and social services of the country. They play a large role in generating resources and in care-taking roles within their households. Over 50% of the agriculture work is done by women and girls, despite the fact that they have access to very small portions of the products of their labour and many are not able to inherit the land on which they are working or other resources.

Women account for only 25% of those formally employed, most in lower level positions. Of these, women have been more heavily hit than men by retrenchment policies in government employment. Because most women's activities are within the informal sector, much of their labour is unpaid and is not included in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country. In addition, women mainly remain in the realm of small enterprise and lack the skills to effectively expand their businesses.

Women and men as residents and citizens of Tanzania have yet to be properly consulted and engaged in making decisions about the direction of Tanzania's development and the implementation of economic policies that directly impact their lives. This has a number of negative impacts, such as the continuing rise in prices of basic consumer goods.

We demand that the government:

- Implement the promises of political parties concerning poverty eradication by focusing on eliminating gender imbalances.
- Initiate structures that involve women and men in fighting poverty and eliminating corruption.
- Implement policies and programmes that provide no room for gender discrimination in employment and provide information on employment opportunities, new technology and loan availability through easy-to-access channels.
- Ensure that no new debt is incurred that is not vital for national development, in order to reduce the heavy burden of the debt on women and men.
- Ensure that all government policies advocate the right of women to inherit land and other resources and that these policies are implemented.
- Consider the ways to promote easy access to a market for crops and goods through improving infrastructure.

We demand that political parties:

Ensure that women are involved in all levels of decision-making concerning the generation and division of the resources of the party.

- Consider the ways that national policies can involve all of Tanzania citizens equally by their participation in distribution, inheritance, and benefit from national resources.

Education

The government of Tanzania after independence recognised that education is the key to opportunities and rights for every citizen. Citizens were encouraged to volunteer their abilities and resources to build classrooms and homes for teachers to make education accessible to all citizens. The government also devoted itself to eliminate the unequal numbers of boys and girls being educated and to encourage parents to educate their girl children.

The number of girls in school has therefore greatly risen, to the point where girls and boys have almost equal representation in the lower levels of primary schools. However, the ratio greatly drops for secondary schools and universities. This is because these policies to promote girls' participation in school fail to take into account the variety of other factors outside of the classroom doors impacting girls' lives and limiting their full and equal participation in society.

The question of equality in access to the right of education also relates to the type of subjects. Girls tend to perform poorly in and have limited opportunities to study the disciplines of math and science, areas that have historically been the domain of boys, and are instead often encouraged to study literature and social studies. Although the area of education employs more women than any other area, there are very few women who serve at the levels of school administration.

Cost-sharing policies in education have caused the percentage of children enrolled in primary and secondary schools to dramatically decrease, due to parents' inability to afford the school fees as well as costs of uniforms, books, and other contributions required. The number of children enrolled in primary school has dropped from one of the highest in Africa, at 95% in 1980, to one of the lowest, 65% in 1998 (1999 Human Development Report).

We demand that the government:

- Provide education in primary and secondary schools free of charge based on the idea that education is the right of all citizens. Education for adults should be primarily oriented towards understanding and implementation of development issues.
- Build government resources within the education sector on the basis of a fair distribution between village and cities, without discrimination on the basis of gender, race, creed, or colour.
- Devise a special plan to enhance the ability of women and girls to advocate for their rights and needs.
- Change the Marriage Act to state that a girl cannot marry until she reaches the age of 18.
- Examine all the books used in schools and universities to remove negative portrayals of women and girls and to include discussions on health and self-reliance.
- Encourage equal opportunity in employment and administration of schools.

We demand that political parties:

- Involve women to devise strategies enabling girls to maximise their potential in pursuit of education.

Health Care

The ability to lead a life free of major medical difficulties is essential to a quality standard of living and a key measure of a country's level of development. In a world where a wide variety of medicines are readily available, there is no reason for people to be dying of preventable and/or treatable conditions. However, in Tanzania today, within the environment of liberalisation and globalisation, health services are not always accessible to those who need them and are more accessible in towns than villages. Due to cost-sharing, needy persons, particularly women and children, are often unable to access vital health services.

Many women in Tanzania are mothers at an early age, due to customs and traditions. Women also account for the fastest growing percentage of those with AIDS. In addition, women bear the heaviest burden for caring for those who are sick due to AIDS and other illnesses.

We demand that the government:

- Improve preventative health services, do more research on illnesses affecting large numbers of women like breast and cervical cancer and depression, and involve women and men in discussions on family planning.
- Begin more counselling centres for women and girls to educate them on their reproductive rights and promote their self-confidence.
- Encourage men and women to take the responsibility to take care of their family and respect their marriages.
- Involve women in making decisions on health care issues, and particularly those concerning AIDS.
- Devote funds made available due to debt relief for health care services and education.
- Offer special services for reproductive health and care of elderly and disabled individuals.

Participating organisations in creating the Manifesto included the following:

1. Tanzania Gender Networking Programme   (TGNP)
2. Tanzania Association of NGOs   (TANGO)
3. Tanzania Media Women Association   (TAMWA)
4. Legal and Human Rights Centre   (LHRC)
5. Environmental, Gender and Human
   Rights Care organisation   (ENVIROCARE)
6. Advocacy for Women in Africa   (AWA)
7. Women Legal Aid Centre   (WLAC)
8. Tanzania Women Lawyers Association   (TAWLA)
9. Institute of Development Studies-Women Study Group   (IDS-WSG)
10. Tanzania Home Economics Association   (TAHEA)
11. Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group   (TEDG)
12. Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee II   (TEMCO-II)
13. Journalists Environmental Network of Tanzania   (JET)
14. Women Advancement Trust   (WAT)
15. TAALUMA Women Group   (TWG)
16. United Nations Association-Tanzania   (UNA)
17. Africa International Group of Political Risk Analysis   (PORIS)
18. Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania   (BAWATA)
19. Kilimanjaro Women Information and
    Consultancy Organisation   (KWIECO)
20. Gender Network of Dodoma Region   (GENDOR)
21. Intermediary Gender Network Songea   (IGN-Songea)
22. Intermediary Gender Network Mbeya   (IGN-Mbeya)
23. Intermediary Gender Network Arusha   (IGN-Arusha)
24. Intermediary Gender Network Kilimanjaro   (IGN-Kilimanjaro)
25. Women Organisation for Science and Technology   (WODSTA)
26. Southern Africa Extension Unit   (SAEU)
27. Land Rights Research & Resources Institute   (HAKIARDHI)
28. Poverty Africa – Women Initiatives for Family
    Improvement   (POA –WIFI)

Training and Support to Women Candidates

Database collection

A central focus of TGNP's activities during the 2000 General Elections was building the capacities and confidence of women aspiring to contest for parliamentary and councillor posts. Training was seen as an important strategy to support women to minimise the multiple barriers they face when competing for political space.

Beginning from December 1999, with FemAct support, TGNP started to build a database of women aspirants for political posts at council and parliamentary levels. The database was developed to facilitate locating aspirants so as to assist. The organisation designed registration tools, including forms, expressing the purpose and information needs of the database, which were disseminated broadly to FemAct member organisations and their networks, Intermediary Gender Networks of TGNP and other partners and allies. Data on women aspirants was also sought from a partner NGO, Advocacy for Women in Africa (AWA), who also intended to conduct training for women aspirants for parliamentary seats but failed to do so because they did not secure funds for that purpose.

By the end of June, TGNP had collected information and data on at least 300 women aspirants, mostly for local council seats. The speed of return of the questionnaires was overwhelming, as by August more than 700 names were entered into the database with information about their level of education, employment, leadership experience and the political position they would vie for; and skills and capacities each one needed to be enhanced which would facilitate them to realise their political ambitions.

The general analysis of the data collected reflected low potential for most of the women aspirants. The majority of them had low level of education, mostly primary and secondary level, and many had never been in any position of leadership before. Many women aspirants expressed a need for broad leadership skills, rather than identifying specific gaps. This was an indication that many had yet to conduct an extensive self-evaluation of their strengths and weaknesses in relation to political leadership.

Preparations for the Capacity Building Sessions

TGNP designed capacity building sessions aimed at reaching out to potential women candidates who had demonstrated interest in contesting in the

constituencies where TGNP's intermediary level partners i.e. Intermediary Gender Networks (IGNs) are located and operating. In a few strategic areas, TGNP also worked with other partner organisations.

Preparatory activities focused on the identification of trainers and facilitators to input into the training content and methodologies based on the synthesis of the training needs indicated by the women aspirants through the data collection exercise. Meanwhile linkages were made with IGNs and other partner organisations to organize and invite the target trainees for the capacity building workshops. Trainers/ facilitators of trainers/facilitators were recruited from among FemAct members and progressive youth organizations, including United Nations Association (UNA), Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (Hakiardhi), Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), and TGNP Members/ Networks. Three training of trainers sessions were conducted to synthesise the training needs of the women aspirants; streamline the content and methodology; help facilitators to come up with a common understanding and articulation of the issues especially those related to gender and democracy. The areas of focus were: the legal, procedural, and structural issues related to elections; the use of the media; and strategies for mainstreaming gender in campaigns and political agendas.

As a pre-test for the trainees trainers, they all participated in facilitating the training for women aspirants from Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and the Coast region, which was conducted at TGNP office 10th –11th June 2000. The objectives and content of this training as well as the other 7 training sessions is described further below. This training provided an opportunity to test the training content and schedule. Both were found to be adequate, hence no major changes were made, and this schedule was used in all other training sessions.

Conducting the Training

Training workshops for women aspirants were held in Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Ruvuma, Mtwara, Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Mwanza, and Rukwa within the period between June and September, 2000. The workshops were held for the purpose of building the gender analysis and campaigning skills of aspirants as well as representatives of selected civil society organisations. The sessions had the following main objectives: To build the capacities of women aiming to contest as MPs and Councillosr; to examine key concepts

concerning gender, democracy, and development; to enhance leadership and campaigning capacities; and to share experiences and to network.

Sequentially, the first day of the trainings focused primarily on examining key concepts of gender and democracy. As an extension to this process, participants also had the opportunity to examine and discuss the Voters' Manifesto for Gender Equality, as a tool for promoting issues of gender in elections. The second day stressed information and experiences directly related to campaigning, including laws governing elections in Tanzania and election procedures. During this day, participants shared experiences from past campaigns and prepared individual and collective action plans focusing on the 2000 and 2005 general elections. The workshops stressed participatory methodology and utilized a combination of techniques for collective learning including: Visualisation in Participatory Planning (VIPP), short presentations with flipcharts, small and large group discussions, and role-plays as well as case studies. Feedback from participants indicate that all training events were highly animated, punctuated by songs and other energisers.

All the 8 workshops were run in Kiswahili involving a total of 494 women aspirants for both the positions of MP and Local Councillor. They represented at least 8 political parties, the majority being from the ruling party, CCM (see table 4 for breakdown).

The workshops also involved representatives from civil society organisations, serving the objective of building the capacity of IGNs and other partner organisations as local resource institutions to continue supporting women candidates and promoting gender issues in electoral processes at the district and regional levels. To meet this goal, selected representatives from these

Table 4: Number of Women Political Aspirants Trained in Various Regions	
Dar es Salaam	42
Dodoma	65
Arusha	35
Kilimanjaro	73
Ruvuma	65
Rukwa/ Sumbawanga	83
Mwanza	65
Mtwara/ Lindi	26
TOTAL	494
IGNs:	
Dodoma/ Kondoa	28
Arusha	18
Mtwara/ Lindi	46
TOTAL	92
Opinion Poll Leaders	
Dar es Salaam	45

organisations served as local coordinators and facilitators for the training sessions, and experience which provided them with an opportunity to sharpen their skills in facilitating participatory processes.

Workshop Proceedings

Introduction: The workshops started by opening space for participants to introduce themselves to one another, including mentioning the position for which they were aspiring for, their political affiliation, leadership experiences and motives. Through this process, it became apparent that many wanted to run for political office in order to change the present political structure and promote development, gender equality and human rights. The introduction sessions also provided an opportunity for participants to outline their expectations and concerns for the workshop. The participants' main expectations matched the objectives drawn by the facilitators, primarily

Table-5: Number of Trained Women Aspirants by Party in Selected Area

	CCM	NCCR	TLP	NLD	TADEA	UPDP	CUF	TPP	UDP	CHADEMA
Dar Es Salaam	17	3	1	11	1	2	3	2	0	0
Rukwa	70	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kilimanjaro	33	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	18

focusing on building their own skills for leadership, animation and campaign and increasing their self-confidence. Their main fears were that their expectations would not be met, given its short duration. During this introductory session, participants also discussed ground rules for the workshop, agreeing to respect each other's ideas and not to make party affiliation an issue of dissension during the workshop, but rather to place priority on development issues.

Gender Concepts: One of priority topics for the training was to build potential candidates' understanding of gender concepts as they relate to political leadership. This included the relationship between issues of gender and development, democracy and human rights and their connection to unequal social, political and economic relationships based on sex, class, age, and other social categories.

In the course of discussing concepts, participants were able to understand the difference between practical and strategic gender needs and relate them

to their goals as leaders. For example, it was noted that when choosing a leader, people, particularly women, often look for someone who can help them fulfil their practical needs. Looking at strategic needs requires both awareness and foresight. The women aspirants therefore identified their task as communicating to people the ways that they can together work towards solving immediate problems (basic needs), rather than making promises that they will not be able to fulfil.

Gender inequality brought about by patriarchal structures was also highlighted by participants as contributing to the many barriers that women candidates face when running for political office. For example, women candidates are often subject to questions from the voters regarding their personal lives and the approval of their husbands for their campaign; issues that their male counterparts do not face. In addition, by creating unequal division of resources that forces marginalized groups to compete with each other for scarce resources, these structures contribute to the frequently raised issue that women do not support each other.

To conclude the discussion on key gender concepts, facilitators and participants discussed the importance of participation of all social groups in decision-making processes. The consensus was that achieving equality requires good governance structures that involve marginalized groups within leadership positions.

Democracy Concepts: following the discussion on gender concepts was the discussion on the concept of democracy. Through the conceptual analysis of democracy, the major principles of democracy were understood to encompass issues such as equality, participation, representation, and the rule of law. Elections are one of the instruments of democracy, as a competitive mechanism to identify leaders so as to practice good governance. This system

> **Case Study in Organising to Demand Women's Practical and Strategic Needs**
>
> In an area of Dar es Salaam, the Tabata community, access to water was a major problem. When the women of Tabata heard that an organisation run mainly by men was bringing in potential donors to look at building a road, they seized the opportunity. They lobbied for water to be included as part of agenda, and it was. Thereafter, they demanded that women be included in decision-making positions within the community. As a result, women's voices are recognised as integral to deciding community issues within local government of the area. They also have identified their leadership skills gaps and organised capacity building sessions for this purpose. In this way, the women of Tabata were able to organise to obtain both their practical and strategic needs.

should ultimately put in place representatives who are responsive to the demands of the people, are transparent and participatory, and implement policies aimed at improving the well-being of women, men and youth.

As a practical tool for providing potential leaders with an analysis of ways in which they could develop campaign platforms that promote democracy and gender equality, the workshops utilised the Voters Manifesto to facilitate such understanding.

Use of the Voters' Manifesto as a Campaign Tool: During group discussions on the Manifesto, participants were able to internalise some of the issues discussed therein, ask each other questions, and then collectively strategise on how to transform the document into a campaign platform. In their plenary presentations, many of the aspirants brought out key issues from the Manifesto and related them to examples from their constituencies. This process demonstrated that some participants had the capacity to quickly analyse issues and make public presentation, while some had yet to acquire those important skills. Aspirants emphasised the importance of equipping themselves with pertinent issues related to gender and development as a major tool to win votes.

Presentation of Women's Campaign Experiences: To further assist aspirants to develop practical and relevant campaign strategies, women candidates who had previously run for electoral office shared some of their experiences and lessons they learned. Nearly all involved tales of struggle and a difficult campaign process, facing barriers from their own parties, relatives, and their communities. The most shared experience was the fact that women who run for political office are expected to be twice as capable and tenacious as their male opponents in order to stand an equal chance of being elected.

Some of the emerging lessons are that:

- Candidates need to develop strong linkages with their communities and base their platforms on the expressed needs of various groups of people, such as grassroots women, elders and religious leaders.
- Women aspirants need to draw upon existing networks of support for gender issues, including NGOs and community groups, for information sharing, capacity building, encouragement, and human resource support.

- Women need to prepare themselves to face barriers from various arenas. They should make efforts to be in leadership positions in their political parties so as to transform these structures that contain inherent gender biases and internal politics. They should make efforts to solicit support from their husbands and relatives to assist in their campaigns.
- Resources are important for campaigns and should be sought through various means. However, it is most important to explain to potential voters why issues should be the priority criteria for selecting their candidate, rather than material incentives.
- Candidates should seriously examine ways to use the media to profile themselves as potential leaders and solicit support from women, men and young people within the given constituency.

After these discussions, which focused on personal and community dynamics facing women candidates in elections, the training session then turned to addressing some of the structural barriers and opportunities to obtaining political leadership, such as understanding key election laws, policies and procedures.

Important Protocols and Procedures for Elections: Important legal issues within the election were presented and discussed, particularly in relation to gender dynamics. These were seen as practical information that was crucial to preparing women candidates. The key documents highlighted were the Constitution, the Election Act of 1985, the Political Party Act of 1992, and the Local Government Act of 1979. These documents outline the structure of the National Electoral Commission, which issues the rules and regulation relevant to candidates at all levels and on their campaigns. On the whole, these structures appear to uphold principals of equality, but are generally gender blind in terms of composition and implementation. Participants were urged to take the responsibility to read and understand the relevant acts and legislation and their recent.

Building a Plan of Action: Drawing from the discussions of the two-day workshop, participants outlined their campaign strategies and platforms. The campaign strategies developed by participants focused on their overall and specific objectives as well as the resources they would need, including time, financial and human resources. To address their identified needs, the women aspirants developed plans that included the following:

- Candidates to communicate with various target groups of women, men and young people to introduce themselves, listen to, and internalise the issues prioritised by their communities;
- Candidates to build their capacities on gender, democracy, public speaking, organising, participatory leadership, knowledge of various policies and procedures, among others;
- Candidates to build a financial, material, and human support base for their campaigns;
- Candidates to link with various actors, including NGOs, community groups and the media and solicit their support in the campaigns.

Closing: The workshops were closed by reviewing the initial expectations and asking participants to examine the extent to which their expectations had been reached. As a result of focused facilitation and active sharing of experiences by participants, in most of the workshops the majority of the women aspirants' expectations were met.

TGNP trainers appreciated the time and active participation of the participants. They also asked participants to assist in the distribution of the Voters' Manifesto and other election related materials both in their parties and in their communities. As a follow-up assignment, participants were urged to assist competent women contestants within their constituencies regardless of their party affiliation and to form a support network around election issues. Participants were also reminded that TGNP is available as a resource on the issues of gender, democracy and development.

Local Response to the Workshops/Seminars

Overall the workshops/seminars received positive responses from local communities. For example, in Sumbawanga, the enthusiasm by the women aspirants was so overwhelming that the Farmers Community Based Union (FCBU) which was the local organizer was prompted to organise a rally. The Hon. Minister of Labour (then Paul Kimiti) gave a welcome note on behalf of the Regional Commissioner and officiated in the opening of the training. In Kilimanjaro as well as in Mwanza, the daily proceedings accompanied by interviews with the trainers were aired in the local radio stations. The radio broadcasting was meant to raise awareness of the communities on the existing efforts to empower women to assume political positions and encourage more women to aspire for such posts. Participants demonstrated a great deal of

interest in the concepts and skills being learnt in the workshops, actively participated in contributing their own experiences and perspectives, and showed their appreciation to the trainers for enabling them to acquire new insights and skills.

Evaluation Results

Overall the evaluation results were overwhelmingly positive. Nearly all participants indicated that the workshops met the objectives to a great extent and provided them with confidence and skills to run their campaigns and meet the anticipated challenges. Some participants also requested that the workshops/seminars occur earlier, before the election year, so as to give people time to prepare themselves. The requests of participants to further help them with their campaigns were:

- Frequent seminars, to allow potential candidates to adequately build their skills, particularly in relation to election policies, leadership skills, fundraising and campaign strategies, and gender and development concepts;
- To establish a network of potential candidates;
- Funds for transport and campaigning be sought and availed to the women contestants;
- Supportive policies be developed; and
- Support from political parties.

Summary and Conclusion

On the whole, the workshops and seminars were a success. A large number of women aspirants were trained in a variety of areas relevant to their preparation to contest in 2000 and others who planned on campaigning for the year 2005 elections. Contrary to other forums comprised of male political leaders from multiple parties, the atmosphere of these training sessions were considered to have given support and mutual assistance to participants. They also helped promote the understanding of election rules and regulations as well as gender gaps they contain. The sessions also helped to build a pool of leaders with potential to be accountable to their constituencies given that they focused on the need for creating strong ties with the community and understanding their major development concerns and needs as vital

preparations for any committed person seeking to assume a political decision-making mandate. The workshops/seminars demonstrated a number of the barriers facing women candidates, including the lack of support from political parties, unequal representation in the laws and polices, and insufficient resources for campaigning. They also produced a series of recommendations on ways to support women candidates in terms of advice, serving on their campaigning teams, assistance in profiling and resource support.

One major realization emerging from the series of training sessions was the ways in which the women candidates were able to redefine the notion of leadership, in a manner that differed from the conventional norms practiced in Tanzania. This included an alternative vision in which leaders could work with the people they represent to bring development of their communities, through involving themselves in community processes and understanding well needs of their people, rather than trying to decide for them, or to 'bring development' to people they represent. At the same time, a variety of challenges were experienced during the course of implementing these training sessions. First, the pool of resource trainers was not sufficient to meet the training demand, as so many of the sessions were conducted at the same time and the availability of highly qualified resource persons was constrained. Secondly, in an effort to meet the great demand expressed by participants from different geographical locations, sessions were held in diverse regions, thus overstretching the capacity of the organisation. Thirdly, there were some gaps in linkages with the local organisers as well as delays in political party nominations that made it difficult to ascertain that workshop participants were the actual contestants.

In the process of facilitating the training, a number of lessons were learned. Some of these are that:

- There is need for leadership training for potential women candidates integrated into the on-going activities of TGNP and other coalition organisations;
- Financial support for women candidates is essential, and more work needs be done in this area. This includes lobbying the government to return subsidies to political parties and to candidates as well as seeking opportunities to work with women aspirants, donors, and other supporters to establish an Endowment Fund for Women Candidates;

- Future efforts should focus on a specific target group of potential women aspirants and support them in different ways as aspirants, candidates, and incumbent once in office.

Immediate follow-ups from some of the seminars

The Dar es Salaam workshop decided that, since the work was just beginning at the end of the workshop, it would be helpful to nominate a committee to work on immediate follow-up issues and needs identified by the participants. The participants decided that this committee should include one representative from each of the political parties represented at the forum. The committee continued to meet on a regular basis at TGNP premises under the name, 'Committee to Support Women's Campaigns'. The members identified their main issue of focus as searching for various ways to increase resources to finance women's campaigns. The Committee developed press releases with the assistance of TGNP and held a Press Conference to share their issues of concern with the media, political parties and electoral authorities like NEC. The committee highlighted some of the barriers facing women candidates, including:

1. High costs set by different parties for registering as a candidate;
2. Short length of time for campaigns, making it difficult for candidates to gather enough resources for the campaigns;
3. The elimination of subsidies for political parties; and
4. Election procedures, such as requiring a deposit of 5 million shillings to contest a case.

The work of this committee did not quite meet the objective of mobilizing resources for campaigns, but it publicly aired a number of issues of concern to women political aspirants.

> "This committee completely believes that many of the procedures that are planned by the government concerning election issues serve to deter women candidates with the aim of contesting for various political posts. This committee requests the government to try to eliminate those gaps that are not vital, in order to enable large numbers of women to contest as candidates".
>
> **Press Statement by the Committee to Promote Women's Campaigning, 26, June 2000.**

Related Processes

In partnership with TAMWA and the British Council and through the Planathon process, TGNP participated in the training of women parliamentary contestants where at least 100 constituency and special seat contestants were trained. The

aims of the 3-days training were to build the skills of the contestants on issues of gender and democracy, how to make opinion polls, the rights and responsibilities as a candidate, how to develop campaigning strategy and make simple messages, how to build public profile as a candidate, make press releases and give radio interview, lobbying skills and speaking in public.

The one common denominator reflected at the workshop is the lack of funds and facilities to campaign. As the workshop was conducted at the time when the campaigns were on going, few of the contestants admitted having not conducted any public campaign for lack of resource. Participants contesting for constituency parliamentary seats admitted having benefited from the training especially on the idea of conducting opinion surveys and on the contents for their personal profiles. In a week's time, at least 12 women sought inputs from TGNP office on their profiles they developed. The office also offered to produce 100 photocopies of each of the profiles as a token contribution that the office could afford to make at that point in time.

With all of these efforts by the TGNP and its partners, out of the 70 women contestants for parliamentary seats through the constituencies, 25 were among those trained. Out of these, 2 out of the 12 elected were trained through these processes. In addition, 7 novice MPs nominated for the Special Seat were trained through processes facilitated by TGNP in collaboration with its partners.

Training and Capacity Building of Civil Society Actors on Civic Education and Elections

Capacity Development for FemAct and IGNs

A major gap identified at the Planning workshop on elections was that many NGOs which planned to conduct civic education had low capacity on issues related to participatory facilitation, use of the media, gender and election concepts and laws, procedures and policy related issues. Throughout the election period, TGNP worked to support other organisations at the national and local level to incorporate gender issues and support to women candidates with their plans for election-related activities.

Among the capacity development related activities organised by TGNP and its partners included organising a two-day training session for NGOs and CBOs based both in Dar es Salaam and at the district level that had committed

to facilitating civic education and election-related activities. Involving 19 women and 6 men from 7 IGNs and 10 FemAct organisations, the session was organised for the purpose of providing actors intending to conduct civic education with some skills and issues in relation to gender issues. It also served as a forum to share experiences and build skills as trainers and facilitators. In terms of content, the session covered the following topics:

- **Concepts of gender, civic education and democracy:** These included the various types of governmental structures in place throughout the world, concepts of elections, main actors in democratic structures, and an overview of election policies and procedures, as they relate to gender issues. Stressed was the need to promote a strong public interest in following issues of gender equality in the election process.

- **Gender issues in elections:** The main tool to increase participant's understanding of issues of gender in relation to the elections was the draft Voters Manifesto for Gender Equality. As the document was not yet finalised, the session also provided an opportunity to get feedback and inputs on specific sections, discussing key gender issues in the up-coming elections, as well as providing a basis for various civil society actors to own and utilise the document for their training and advocacy activities.

Role of NGOs and Participatory Facilitation: Participants discussed the role of NGOs in providing civic education more than voter education: discussing with the voters on issues related to voting including the power of the voters during and after casting their votes, rather than simply urging them to vote. The purpose of NGOs in civic education is to facilitate men, women and youth to make informed choices, which is best done through animation and other forms of participatory facilitation. Also emphasised was why and how civic education sessions should be tailored to suit the needs of the specific social group participating in the training and be as popularly accessible as possible. Participants were also given the opportunity to practice their facilitation skills and receive critical feedback from other participants.

> "Civic education means facilitating people to identify ways to better pursue things to make their lives better."
> **Evod Mmanda, LHRC**

- **Use of the Media:** Another major topic of discussion was strategic use of the media for civic education, which provided some tips and strategies for obtaining media coverage.

For many of the participants, the contents of the session seemed new, and they expressed great eagerness to learn more about the issues under discussion. Participants particularly stressed the importance of the animation skills being discussed and the Voters Manifesto as a civic education tool. Nearly all pledged to bring the information learned back to their respective organisations for incorporation and action. The FemAct actors seemed to have a clear idea of their intended area of focus for civic education, while for the IGN actors, most had yet to plan. This skills development session had the added value of building a sound base of actors for civic education-related activities with gender perspectives. The main activity requested of TGNP as a follow-up was continued networking/ information sharing and monitoring of civil society activities in relation to the elections process. Many of the trainers who participated in this session became part of the facilitation team for the women candidate trainings discussed above.

Combined with the training sessions for women candidates, skills-building sessions for Intermediary Gender Networks and other civil society actors were organised with the objective of building a solid base of actors for civic/education and election-related activities with a gender perspective at the local level. Selected IGN and civil society representatives also participated in the trainings for women aspirants, serving as local organisers and facilitators. This series of workshops provided an opportunity for members of the IGNs to build their capacities on civic and voter education as well as to strategise for actions to support women candidates throughout the campaign period. The IGN members were encouraged to use all means for the continuing advocating on the issues of gender, democracy and good governance at the community level and make deliberate efforts to support competent women contestants regardless of their party politics. A major obstacle expressed by IGN members continued to be the difficulty in accessing funding for election-related activities.

Before the campaigns began, TGNP called IGN and FemAct actors with election-related programmes to Dar es Salaam to collectively share experiences to date and strategise for effective activities for the two months leading up to the elections. In the election feedback session organized by TGNP in December 2000, both FemAct and IGN participants shared their activities carried after the capacity building and the civic education trainings conducted by TGNP for women aspirants.

FemAct Partners Activities Related to Civic Education and Elections

Throughout the election process, a variety of actors, for instance NGOs, NEC, and political parties conducted different activities aimed at educating the public. During the course of various feedback and reflection sessions, other FemAct actors shared their related activities concerning civic and voter education. These included:

The Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) main focus related to general elections was on civic education. The organisation's weekly radio programme aired issues related to elections for a period of three months. Throughout the election period, the LHRC was conducting press conferences to inform the public on relevant topics. The LHRC was also conducting a media-monitoring project to determine how the media covered the elections.

The Tanzania Women Lawyer's Association (TAWLA) mobilized women to contest for counsellor seats, focusing on Morogoro and Coast regions. Through TAWLA's sensitisation trainings, at least 15 women came out to contest for local government positions. There was also one serious problem, which was that, due to the lateness in receiving funds, TAWLA's work begun after the opinion polls of CCM. As a result, when they were encouraging women to contest, they were perceived as being pro-opposition. Because the women who came out for elections as a result of TAWLA's training were also opposition candidates, the notion that TAWLA was pro-opposition was further entrenched.

The Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC) engaged in civic / voter education in its nine paralegal units, in Mwanza, Shinyanga, Arusha, Mbeya, Morogoro, and Kigoma, among others. WLAC's radio programme "Mwangaza," broadcasted on Radio Tanzania on Sunday from 1:30 to 2 p.m., was also used for civic and voter education. Additionally, when assisting clients in legal matters, the organisation used that opportunity to educate clients in civic and voter education related issues. These included how they understood voting, what information they lacked and how they could be assisted. The organisation also produced publications related to civic and voter education.

Envirocare conducted a programme on civic and voter education in four districts in Kilimanjaro for a period of four months. They had a good opportunity to be in the field starting from nomination of candidates to voting.

Before nomination time, the trainers found that many citizens still had a hard time determining the characteristics of a good leader (LegalNet Report, 2000).

The National Youth Forum was involved in civic education in 48 districts countrywide and covered all districts in Kigoma, Mara, and Coast Regions. They also attempted to conduct related activities in Pemba but were barred. They organised a range of civic education activities specifically aimed at young people, reaching an estimated voting population of 2.6 million (National Youth Forum, 2000). As part of their efforts, they trained 60 young people to conduct election monitoring as well as 60 young people contesting for election to various posts.

A major difficulty throughout the election process for FemAct and other civil society partners was obtaining sufficient resources for civic education programmes. Many NGOs claimed that they unsuccessfully submitted proposals for funding by the Basket Fund. This process was a source of controversy throughout the election period, with a variety of allegations that the standards for proposals was set way too high and the process was so time-consuming that the money was eventually released too late. Several promising and important projects were also refused, including one organisation's proposal to conduct a gender analysis of election manifestos of political parties and provide feedback and capacity building to the parties on gender issues. At the end of the elections, more than US$700,000 intended for civil society organisations activities in relation to the elections remained unspent!

IGN Activities related to Civic and Voter Education

Following capacity building sessions, several IGNs worked in various ways to follow-up and support women contestants in their respective locales. These included:

WODSTA/ IGN Arusha collected information and made analysis of the election dynamics in registration, campaigns and the voting. They also conducted research on the people's outlook of a woman political leader, economic challenges facing a woman contestant vs. a man etc. Their findings reflected gender gaps in both civic and parliamentary contestants. For instance, there was only one woman out of 5 parliamentary contestants in Arusha, and 3 out of 17 contestants for council seats. Analysing the underlying causes of low numbers of women aspiring, being nominated, contesting and winning political seats was challenging for WODSTA and her partner organisations within the IGN.

The **IGN Songea** also participated in follow-up activities by documenting the election process, highlighting on the constraints facing women as candidates. Statistics provided by the IGN indicated very poor performance by women contesting for political posts. Out of the 16 MP contestants only one was a woman; and out of 114 vying for seats in the council only 4 (or 3.5%) were women (IGN-Songea 2000). The few constraints identified were not unique to Songea as a location but related to the general constraints by most women. Resources in terms of money, equipment and campaigning materials were the major constraint. The IGN also identified its own institutional constraints that limited the effectiveness of its follow-up of elections on continuing basis. The main constraint faced relates to human and material resource base. Training gaps identified were in lobbying and advocacy skills by facilitators and contestants.

The **Kisarawe IGN** was advantaged by its proximity to Dar es Salaam and therefore to TGNP's offices. The proximity provided opportunities for frequent communications between TGNP and the IGN, and made it possible for TGNP to provide support on a regular basis during the campaign period. IGN members and officials were also able to attend some of the Gender and Development seminars that focused on election-related topics. Materials received from TGNP and NEC were shared with their communities and distributed to strategic public offices and meeting places. One of the long-standing IGN members contested in a difficult race against an incumbent. Throughout the campaigns, fellow-IGN members encouraged her to continue campaigning despite the constraining political, economic and social environment she faced. Despite the fact that she had a good reputation with the community, she faced repeated attacks during the campaign for being a woman of advanced age. TGNP sent facilitator to interact with the community leaders to strategically participate in the campaigns and solicit support from key community members. The above efforts were fruitful: The woman contestant won and is the only woman among 13 councillors who won electoral seats in Kisarawe (the rest of the women are appointed).

As a result of information TGNP shared with its network, the Mbeya IGN secured financial resources from FES to conduct training of women aspirants in Mbeya Rural during the election period. The Dodoma IGN

(GENDOR) utilised its members' contribution to produce monthly issues during the pre-election period of their newsletter *Ijue Jinsia* (Understand Gender) focusing on civic education. After **TGNP's** training, one member of the Kilimanjaro **IGN** (**KWIECO**) developed a training manual and organised and conducted sensitisation of communities in Hai and Rombo districts of Kilimanjaro Region on gender and election-dynamics. Kondoa IGN also followed up election activities with no extra funding specifically designated for that particular purpose.

Influencing Electoral Laws, Structures and Processes

One of the main targets of TGNP and FemAct activities in relation to the 2000 General Elections was electoral laws, structures and processes. These processes can either serve as barriers or gateways to women's entry into politics and decision-making positions.

Influencing Policies of the National Electoral Commission (NEC)

Among the first activities was a review of electoral policy from a gender perspective. This was done in partnership with the Legal and Human Rights Centre, with special focus on the Elections Act of 1985, with its associated amendments and revisions. Tanzania is a signatory to major international and regional commitments promoting women's participation in political decision-making and other arenas, including: CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. The country's laws and legislation, therefore, including the Constitution as the highest law of the land, should reflect these commitments by the government.

Major criticisms of the Act and recommendations included the following:
Language: The language of the policy is not gender-sensitive. The masculine terms "he" and "chairman" are always used rather than gender-neutral alternatives such as "he/she" and "chairperson." Thus, the thinking and context behind this legislation connotes that men are the key players in elections.

Recommendation

The language used should be gender sensitive, which will affirm the reality that participation in elections is an inalienable right to every citizen irrespective of sex.

Composition of the Electoral Commission: There are no procedures to ensure that the composition of the Electoral Commission and other electoral structures are gender balanced and that they receive training on gender issues. It was imperative that the composition of the Commission should have treated gender balance as mandatory. Absence of a mandatory provision concerning gender balance means that the composition of the Commission as well as individuals chosen to be Returning and Assistant Returning Officers depends solely on the benevolence of the Appointing Authority. Furthermore, gender capacities and skills of these Returning and Assistant Returning Officers are not given any attention.

Recommendations

The law ought to clearly stipulate that gender balance is a reqirement in appointing officials to the National Electoral Commission and these officials should be empowered with gender knowledge and skills to ensure that relevant aspects of gender are taken into account in their policies and practices. This will orient and empower them to supervise the election exercise by taking into account the gendered aspects of elections and enable them to intervene or resolve any matter incidental with gender concerns. Similarly the law should state clearly the need to consider gender aspects in appointing and training Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers.

Money Deposit by Presidential Candidates: Presidential candidates are required to deposit a prescribed amount of money with the Electoral Commission and if he/she gets less than 1/10 of the total number of votes, the deposit is forfeited. The high amount of money required to be deposited for those contesting for the presidential post can deter qualified candidates, including women, young people and poor men, from running for this top post for lack of resources.

Recommendation

Contesting in leadership is a right, and each man, woman and eligible young person should be given the chance to exercise that right. This right should not be tagged with a price since the money to finance elections comes from state coffers.

Presidential Elections: With the current state of affairs where patriarchy is so entrenched, it is difficult for women to reach the top positions of President,

Vice President and Prime Minister. This means that women will continue to be eliminated from these high level positions for a long time.

Recommendations

For a society, which has declared to advocate and cherish equality in all forms and democratic governance, the question of gender should have been taken into account in this arrangement. In correcting past gender imbalances with the focus of attaining gender parity, if among the two top positions none is a woman, it should be mandatory that the Prime Minister should be a woman. This arrangement has been possible in the case of political positions under the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar although one side is numerically very much lower than the other.

Election Offences: The law is silent on sexual harassment of female candidates during and after the campaign period. Women have been the victims of sexual harassment to the degree that many potential women candidates hesitate to stand for elections. This harassment is heavily rooted in cultural, religious and political tradition. As a consequence, women aspirants and politicians are often demonised and infantilised in the media. Strong leadership qualities are normally attributed to men, and when women manifest them, they are branded as unfeminine, iron ladies, ruthless, shrewd, and belligerent.

The law is also silent on the situation whereby a female candidate who is married is coerced by her husband and other family members, especially men or with male influence, to withdraw from contesting in an election without any justifiable reasons. Practice has shown that many women refrain from standing for elections because of such undue restraints.

Recommendations

The law should unequivocally prohibit any kind of sexual harassment of women candidates and stipulate appropriate punishment for the culprits. This should similarly extend to the level of political parties and compel them to curb such misbehaviour, though a mandate of the Electoral Commission sending out gender sensitive directions and monitors. The law should extend to situations where such offences are proved to have been committed at the level of political parties during the nomination of candidates. Political parties should be compelled by law to integrate gender in their internal processes, particularly in leadership issues.

The law should expressly provide against negative destructive media coverage of the candidates. Under this, women candidates can be protected from negative portrayal in the media based on their gender. The law should clearly state that such acts are offences so that the culprits can be punished if found guilty.

On the part of government, just like how it has been castigating vehemently campaign messages with tribal or religious flavour and bias, it should do the same in case of messages which champion gender inequality or are gender biased. Through the National Election Commission, the government must further ensure that campaign messages are formulated and conveyed in a manner that shows adherence to principles of gender equality.

Political Parties: Most of the disadvantages women face when contesting in general and local elections emanate from internal party elections. Within parties, women's access to decision-making is peripheral. Establishment of women wings in all parties has been a tactic to appease them. Leaders of these wings, i.e. Chairperson and Secretary General, may be given access to the higher levels of decision-making. However, articulation of ideas divergent from "official" thinking is most likely to be suppressed, and if a matter is put to a vote they inevitably lose due to their lack of a critical mass.

Recommendations

The Elections Act should give power to the National Electoral Commission to probe the intra-party selection of candidates and the criteria used to select candidates. The Commission should track the processes that are taking place in the political parties to ensure that vices like corruption, sexual harassment, and discrimination based on colour or sex are exposed and dealt with. The law should clearly mandate that parties consider gender in the nomination of their candidates for elections at all levels. It should impress upon parties to take into account gender aspects in their internal elections for party leadership.

Voting Day: There is only one day for voting. Because women play multiple roles, they have little time to wait in a long queue. There are also no special facilities for pregnant women, people with disabilities, the sick and the elderly.

Recommendation

During voting, women should be given priority and they should be informed about that arrangement. There should also be special facilities and special voting arrangements to cater for pregnant women, people with disabilities, the sick and the elderly, to enable them to exercise their right to vote with no inhibitions.

Voter Education: Mass awareness raising campaign for people to participate consciously and objectively in elections is not addressed anywhere in the statute. The law is silent in spite of various efforts made by civil society organisations to conduct these important education programmes. No provision is made for the government to conduct such activities.

A cross section of participants at Voters' Manifesto Launching Rally

Recommendation

The government itself should embark on voter education to enlighten the electorate on election issues and procedures. Similarly, it should give full support and appreciation to the initiatives by the civil society groups conducting voter education. Similarly, during voter education programmes, it is imperative that the government utilises materials that include messages geared towards making the electorate familiar with gender equality as a key issue in electoral issues and procedures. (TGNP, Review of Elections Act, 2000).

The Elections Act of 1985 review was presented in a FemAct forum. Based on the outcome of this review, a meeting was conducted with the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to discuss ways that the election policy and procedures could be made more responsive to men and women in view of the multi-party environment. In addition, the review document was shared with the thirteen registered political parties and used as a training tool during the NGO capacity building sessions and the training of the women political aspirants.

When the 2000 *Handbook of Tanzanian Electoral Laws and Regulations* was released by the National Electoral Commission. A number of notable changes were made regarding gender issues:

- The language in the Election Guidelines was made more gender sensitive. The bulk of the references to "he" were changed to "he/she" when referring to candidates, voters and members of the Electoral Commission. A notable exception was during the discussion of criteria for and nomination processes of Presidential candidates.
- A code of ethics for political parties drafted by the NEC prohibits harassment based on sex. The code reads: "Political parties, candidates or their followers are not allowed to conduct campaigns on the basis of tribalism, religion, race or gender" (Code of Ethics, 3.1b). Further the code reads: "Political parties, candidates and their followers should refrain from all acts that can incite animosity and cause disharmony among people on the basis of political ideology, tribalism, religion, race or gender" (3.2i). 7 out of the 13 political parties signed the code.
- The Elections Act was amended to outlaw harassment on the basis of sex in election campaigns. The revised Election Act reads that one of the grounds for declaring an election of an MP null and void in response to an election petition is that: "During the official campaign statements were made by a candidate or on his behalf and with his knowledge and consent or approval with intent to exploit tribal, racial or religious issues or differences pertinent to the election or where the candidates are not of the same sex with intent to exploit differences" (Elections Act, S. 108).

One of the major gaps in NEC remained unequal gender balance of NEC employees particularly at higher levels, as demonstrated in Table 5.

Through the processes, the only noticeable difference in composition from the previous group was a sizable increase in Returning Officers, from 6/182 (6%) to 15.8%. After an initial positive response by the NEC, TGNP experienced great difficulty in organising further working sessions with it to

discuss mechanisms to mainstream gender into the election policy. For the most part, the Commission insisted on conducting its meetings in privacy and secrecy, without consultation with the civil society.

Table 5: National Electoral Commission Structures by Sex in the 2000 Elections

Position	Men	Women	% of Women
Chairs of Standing Committees	6	1	14%
Regional Election Coordinator	22	2	8.3%
Returning Officers	96	18	15.8%

Source: TEMCO Reports, 2000 and National Electoral Commission (2001)

Influencing Political Parties

Tanzania elections continue to be dominated by political parties, whose leadership, mainly men, controls the parties' agendas and nomination of candidates for constituencies and special seats. Thus, TGNP planned to influence parties through working sessions and other forums. Requests were made to all political parties to meet and discuss relevant issues, but only two of the smaller opposition parties responded affirmatively. Meetings were held with these parties, TADEA and UMD, to discuss the party structures and other issues, including means of supporting women contestants. Neither of the parties seemed willing to take up the responsibility for actively supporting women candidates through the process of nomination and campaigns, nor did they have the means to do so. One of the party leaders noted the lack of financial resources of women aspirants and continuing community reluctance to accept women as leaders as major barriers to more actively encouraging their candidacies. Due to pre-occupation with campaigns by the other parties, TGNP's follow-up requests for appointments were unsuccessful.

As a test case, a two-day training workshop on gender issues in elections was conducted for opinion poll leaders from various parties. These leaders often serve as the primary responsible people for selecting candidates to represent their parties in a particular area. The workshop was held in the Ubungo constituency in Dar es Salaam, as a response to a number of gender dynamics expressed by women aspirants in Ubungo during the preliminary processes of the nominations. There were a total of 45 participants in this training, 9 of which represented

Kinondoni Gender Network (8 women and 1 man) and 36 opinion poll leaders, 34 women and 2 men. The high turnout of women in this training workshop was exceptional considering that most of opinion poll leaders are men. During the training, facilitators noted that the level of education of opinion poll leaders was quite low, mostly primary school education. They had difficulty articulating the gender dynamics in elections and the importance of having women as leaders. The training was frequently punctuated by debates along party lines. Many of the issues raised were not looked at objectively, but rather in a partisan manner. There was a great deal of finger pointing, with the opposition attempting to highlight non-delivery of promises by CCM and CCM claiming disruption of peace and tranquillity within communities was being done by the opposition.

On the whole, however, the selected opinion poll leaders taking part in the training demonstrated willingness to discuss and analyse gender issues. As a result of that training as well as a session with the public as part of TGNP's regular Gender and Development Seminar Series (GDSS), a support team was formed to encourage the election of a particular woman aspirant in Ubungo. This aspirant, from CCM ultimately lost in a very competitive race to a man, who received 1,312 votes in comparison to 1,163 votes earned by the female aspirant.

Given observations made during the training and what transpired thereafter, a major lesson learned is that opinion poll leaders are a necessary target group if women are to get into political power through the constituency elections. Opinion poll is an important stage, often responsible for blocking the nomination of many women candidates but had previously been overlooked by TGNP and other NGOs. Opinion poll leaders also have a great deal of power and influence in parties and the community. Facilitating their appreciation of the potentials of women as leaders within the society and persuading them to support women in campaigns, beginning from the nomination processes is therefore an important contribution to the efforts to create an enabling environment for women aspirants.

Building Public Awareness and Support

The Gender and Development Seminar Series

TGNP also facilitated civic education through its weekly Gender and Development Seminar Series, using these sessions as a forum to highlight key issues concerning gender, democracy and development. During the course of the year 2000, 14 GDSS sessions, or one-third of all sessions held, were dedicated

to civic education and elections-related topics. Of these, two special sessions on election were held for larger audiences, one on the International Women's Day, 8th March: **"Women and Men in Partnership for Good Governance: Burning Issues to Consider when Electing Leaders with Capacities in Gender and Development"** and the other, a week before the elections (25/10) on **"Setting an Agenda for Community Development: Discussion on Priority Issues for Committing Up-Coming Leaders."** These GDSS sessions provided an opportunity for representatives of civil society organisations, women candidates and aspirants, and women, men and young people from the general public to exchange ideas, and collectively plan, strategize, and implement activities geared at building their own capacities and those of their constituencies on important matters.

A major achievement during the course of GDSS activities was the formation of a movement spearhead by an organisation of young people (Mabibo Vision 2000) within Mabibo community to hold their leaders accountable to act on burning issues in the area. This group was formed as an immediate follow up of discussions held at the GDSS session focussing on setting a collective community agenda for the leaders to be elected.

Based on these discussions, Mabibo Vision 2000, took up the responsibility of following-up these discussions. They organised another session on 13/12,

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GDSS Sessions conducted on Civic Education in GDSS During the year 2000
• Feedback on the public hearing on Constitution held at Parliament, 2/2.
• Information as a Tool in Civic Education, 1/3.
• Women and Men in Partnership for Good Governance: Burning Issues to Consider when electing leaders with capacities in gender and development, 8/3.
• Gender Issues in the Judiciary, 15/3.
• The main aspects of good governance, 19/4
• Elections 2000: Important Issues for Voters, 5/7.
• Uses of Court System to Promote Women's Empowerment, 26/7.
• Feedback on Beijing + 5 Forum, 9/8.
• Campaigning without Government Subsidy, 4/10.
• Mass Media and Elections, 11/10.
• Setting an Agenda for Community Development: Discussion on Priority Issues for Committing Up-Coming Leaders, 25/10.
• Feedback on Training/Work on Organising for Civic Education – Held in the USA by the League of Women Voters, 15/11
• ESAURP and Civil Society/ NGO Capacity Building, 29/11
• Community Based Initiative for Mabibo: Vision 2000 Workshop, 13/12
• Progress made towards the Agenda for Community Development in the Mabibo Area, 10/1/2001

"Community Based Initiative for Mabibo: Vision 2000 Workshop," which was attended by around 80 people, most of whom were young men. At this meeting, the key issues identified were: the roads, violence in the community (including gender violence), youth and employment, education, health, and the environment. For each of these issues, strategies were identified for follow-up.

The outcomes of these follow-up activities were shared during a special feedback session from Mabibo Vision 2000 on 10/1/2001, named **"Progress Made Towards the Agenda for Community Development in the Mabibo Area"**. At this session, representatives from the Mabibo community reported on the status of various issues identified by the community. One of these was the construction of the road in front of the TGNP Gender Resource Centre. They had found out that it was within the plans of the District Council and the construction contract had already been awarded to contractors. Their findings revealed that, the delay in the construction of the road was because the government contribution of the construction budget was not forthcoming. Another issue discussed was the incidence of gender violence in the community. Data availed by the local police, indicated that in Mabibo alone, 27 cases of gender violence were reported during year 2000. Among the follow-up strategies agreed upon was to hold meetings with the Councillor and MP for the district. Committees were formed and delegated to work on specific issues of priority. The community also requested TGNP to assist with a capacity building session on gender issues, which was included in TGNP work schedule.

TGNP/FemAct Election Issues
• "Just What is the Voters Manifesto", *Sunday Observer*.
• "We demand a public apology from Mangula", *Business Times*, 23/06/00.
• "MPs should honour human rights, gender equality." *The Guardian*, 16/6/00.
• "TGNP to train women candidates to raise funds." *The Guardian*, 20/07/00.
• "FemAct to articulate women's demands." Guardian, 10/7/00.
• "TGNP says polls nomination fees prohibitive, *Sunday Observer*, 23/07/00.
• "TGNP wants women to Aim for Leadership in October," (Trans.) *Mfanyakazi*, 3/6/00.
• "Voters have their own Manifesto" (trans.), *Nipashe*, 17/6/2000.
• "Manifesto of TGNP to be discussed in Dar today," (trans). *Uhuru*, 8/6/00.
• "Women brace for Political Empowerment" ,*Daily News*, 13/0/00.
• "Women and Elections 2000: Hopes and Setbacks," *Business Times*, 27/10/00.

Strategic Use of the Media

Throughout the election period, TGNP emphasised using the media as an outlet to raise national awareness on pressing issues. In collaboration with FemAct, the organisation issued a press release in April decrying a statement by a prominent political figure that women should remain content with the seats of MP and Councillor rather than vying for Presidency. Furthermore, the Voters' Manifesto received a great deal of publicity in both the print and electronic media that promoted relevant gender issues in relation to politics. Extensive review of the Voters Manifesto was done and published widely in newspapers, especially in Kiswahili press. The training programmes conducted for women candidates were also highlighted in various media outlets to encourage the public to understand that women are able to be effective leaders. In addition, a press conference was held immediately before the election to appeal for the creation of a suitable environment for women and other marginalized groups to vote.

Engendering Civil Society Processes at National Level

Using its expertise in gender and commitment to coalition building, TGNP took an active role in supporting partner organisations to integrate gender equality objectives into related election processes. In this way, gender mainstreaming of election-related programmes organised by partner organisations represented an opportunity to broaden the impact of gender-oriented processes and programmes.

Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO-II)

Having gender focused election monitoring was noted as an opportunity to ensure that all aspects of the election process address the needs and concerns of all people, without discrimination on the basis of sex, age and other variables. For this reason, TGNP served on the Programme Management Team of the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO-II). The Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) started in April 1995, then consisting of 24 local NGOs. It eventually expanded to include 60 local NGOs. The committee coordinated monitoring exercises in 129 constituencies on the mainland and 20 in Zanzibar. It fielded 5000 poll watchers on the mainland but rejected the opportunity to field poll watchers in Zanzibar. In Zanzibar, constituency monitors just did what they could.

TGNP, as Convenors of the Election Monitoring, Training and Placement Panel, was given the task of facilitating production of training materials, as well as training of regional election co-coordinators, monitors and poll watchers. TGNP served as a resource to TEMCO-II for the development of training manuals and monitoring checklist that address the strengths, weaknesses and potentials of both men and women political candidates and voters and assisted in developing gender disaggregated tools for data collection during the election monitoring exercise. The organisation also encouraged TEMCO to ensure that women were placed into decision-making positions at all levels. In addition, a staff member of TGNP co-wrote a chapter for the final report of the monitoring report, covering women's participation during all stages of the election process.

Based on TGNP's participation and involvement in TEMCO processes, a number of achievements were made. These included:

- Greater inclusion of gender in training manuals and monitoring tools;
- Increased collection of gender-disaggregated data through monitoring checklist; and
- Greater concern for including women in leadership positions in all TEMCO processes.

However, due to inflexible structures within TEMCO processes as well as some issues outside of their control, the input on gender that TGNP provided was not fully utilized or integrated into monitoring programmes. Some of the challenges to the gender mainstreaming process included:

- Reluctance on the part of the TEMCO Secretariat to adopt participatory methodology and promote the active involvement of NGOs as partners in programme implementation;
- Unavailability of qualified women to serve in leadership positions, meaning that the gender imbalances continued;
- Creation of a chapter on women, rather than mainstreaming gender issues throughout all aspects of the monitoring report.

In general, TEMCO should be commended for its attempts to promote greater involvement of civil society organisations in various aspects of their processes, despite some constraints in this area. They also served as a model in accomplishing their planned tasks at the set time.

TANGO

In addition, on behalf of FemAct, TGNP served on a Committee for Civic and Voter Education coordinated by the Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (TANGO). The purpose of this committee was to ensure collective dialogue and planning for civil society and ways to support civic and voter education planned to continue until after the elections. TGNP encouraged broadening of representation on the committee to include more actors from FemAct, and the Journalists Environmental Network (JET) was thus, chosen to join the committee. The participation of these two FemAct members in this committee was seen as an important way to encourage inclusion of the voices of gender groups in these processes as well as mainstreaming gender into the civic education processes of other organisations.

Media Council

TGNP was also involved in processes related to monitor election coverage in mass media through the Media Monitoring Project, run in collaboration with three other organisations – the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA), the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), and the United Nations Association (UNA). Through the TGNP's participation and contributions in the planning sessions, a fair amount of gender aspects were inserted into the Code of Conduct for Media Coverage, and the media monitoring done also examined issues of sex discrimination in reporting. Twenty media monitors selected by the Media Council of Tanzania were briefed and trained on key gender issues to monitor during the elections.

Throughout the period leading to and during the elections, the project monitored the conduct of the media in relation to coverage of civic education, gender issues, and compliance to ethical standards.

> **Excerpt from Media Code of Conduct:**
> *Media Obligations to Political Parties*
>
> The media should encourage and promote the candidature of women and other disadvantaged groups irrespective of party.
>
> **Gender**
>
> Journalists should refrain from coverage that is biased and that which reinforces the existing prejudices against women.
>
> Journalists should encourage women contestants by raising public awareness of the importance of women's participation in public life and by rebuking all moves aimed at suppressing them.
>
> **Source:** *National Electoral Commission Handbook,* 2000

In nearly all of its regular newsletters, an analysis was made of various issues pertinent to gender in democratic elections.

Engendering Election-related Processes within the SADC Region

In addition to efforts to support on-going processes in relation to elections at the national level, TGNP was also involved in several strategic processes at the regional level. Based on its linkages with sister organisations and partner institutions in the SADC region and based on the organisations understanding that many of the election-related gender gaps visible in Tanzania are similar to those faced in other countries; it thus found it compelling to organise and participate in processes at the regional level as a means to advance a collective agenda, share experiences and strategies.

With the goal of supporting on-going efforts on gender and elections within the Southern African region, TGNP served as the regional coordinator of a Task Team for Gender Mainstreaming of the Southern African Development Community Electoral Support Network (SADC ESN). This regional Network was established under the convenor-ship of the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) in consultation with other NGOs from SADC countries for the purpose of strengthening the role of civil society in ensuring that electoral processes are free and fair. To further these ends, the project encouraged the sharing of information and resources, the development of joint programmes, and the identification of practical areas of cooperation among regional NGO partners. TGNP's main responsibility was to ensure improved participation of both men and women in the electoral process; a balanced participation of men and women in political and electoral processes, both as political candidates and the electorate; and that women and men are fully informed of the electoral processes and receive adequate support from the government and their political parties.

As part of the process of promoting issues of gender equality in democratic processes, TGNP facilitated a process of developing a regional gender checklist for elections and related processes. This checklist is based on an understanding of the gender constraints in individual countries, particularly as related to issues of elections, and aims to provide a guide for individual countries to monitor their progress towards achieving gender equality in elections. The document is a step-by-step guide for gender mainstreaming electoral processes at various levels, and should serve as a lobbying and monitoring tool to ensure gender

equality objectives are being upheld by relevant actors, including national governments, Electoral Commissions, Parliaments, political parties, NGOs, the media and donors. TGNP also developed a database of organisations and individual experts on gender and elections within the region, to enable information sharing and coalition building around these issues.

TGNP also played an active role in linking with other Task Teams, e.g. SADC Gender Desk, consulting with and providing gender inputs to their programmes specifically on the development of training tools for the empowerment of women parliamentarians, research on women in elections and capacity building/training of partner civil society actors to adopt the SADC approach. Through the SADC programme TGNP hosted and became the trainer of one training session on women in politics and decision-making for 35 representatives of government machineries, NGOs, and academia from 12 SADC countries; and one with 35 women MPs from 6 SADC countries. The main objective of the SADC gender programme was to promote more women into political and decision making positions within the member countries.

In order to keep regional partners involved and informed on election processes during the Tanzania General Elections, TGNP sent regular updates on relevant current issues concerning the year 2000 general elections to regional partners covering the time before, during and after elections. TGNP also served as the local hostess for two teams of Regional Election Observers: a team of seven observers coordinated by the EISA to specifically examine issues of gender in the Tanzanian elections; and a team of three observers coordinated by NGONESSA, to understand the efforts made in civic education and monitoring during the elections. These interactions provided the opportunity to evaluate some of TGNP's efforts to mainstream gender into various levels of the electoral processes, to exchange information and ideas, and further strengthen regional linkages on issues related to elections and civic education.

A Gender Analysis of 2000 General Election

All of these processes of TGNP and FemAct were going on in a context that had constraints and opportunities in various aspects of the electoral process. Opportunities were primarily related to efforts by various civil society actors to open up the environment to more debate. The constraining environment related primarily to partisan politics and a harsh-male dominated political climate. The following are the highlights of the main opportunities and constraints:

Opportunities:
- Programmes by civil society organisations and other institutions to support women candidates through capacity building and engendering electoral processes;
- Women candidates inspired to run for electoral offices at all levels (President, MP and Councillor);
- Some attempts towards more unity among opposition parties;
- Increased clarity regarding accession into special seats in some political parties.

Constraints:
- Rumours about violence intimidated some sections of the electorate, particularly marginalised groups, from participating actively in the elections;
- A context of legally-authorised corruption (disguised as *takrima* – 'hospitality');
- Male-dominated political party leadership, nomination process, and election agenda;

- Opposition parties possessing insufficient resources to run effective campaigns;
- Constitutional amendments and legislation which are not sufficiently gender friendly, e.g. civil service circular and high deposits for contesting elections.

Voter Registration

Approximately 10 million people were registered for the second multi-party general elections at 32,200 centres spread in the 231 parliamentary constituencies. This represents an increase from the 8.9 million voters who registered in the previous (1995) general elections. From a random appraisal, the difference between women and men who registered to vote was not markedly different; women as percentage of voters were slightly lower than that of men, in the range of 40 to 50%. One difference was that the percentage of women registering in urban areas was lower than that of-rural areas, perhaps because men constitute the majority of urban population due to the gendered pattern of rural/urban migration (TEMCO Report, 2000). In Zanzibar and some other areas, there were allegations that some un-entitled people were registered as voters while some entitled ones were denied registration (TEMCO, Interim Statement on Zanzibar).

Throughout the registration process, there were varied commentaries on factors discouraging voter registration, in particular of women and other marginalised groups. Independent reports circulating in the media cited that incidents of violence in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar during the registration process might have caused many residents, especially women, to opt out of the election process for fear of falling victims to acts of violence should there be civil strife. Corruption was also mentioned as a factor that discouraged women from voting: "I have a feeling that candidates are only after our votes so that they remain in power and have no will to serve us," one person observed (TGNP/FemAct Election Update).

Civic and Voter Education

As discussed above, much of the civic education done during the course of the elections was done by NGOs, with a limited scope due to insufficient resources and capacity gaps. The National Electoral Commission had a few radio and television programmes and produced voter education materials. However, there was a sizable delay in updating materials, printing, and disseminating them. This was a source of great criticism by the media and other actors of the NEC, which finally stirred them into last-minute dissemination of information to NGOs and other institutions willing to assist in distribution. Because most of these NGOs had finished their outreach activities by this time, very few of those information materials reached areas outside of Dar es Salaam. The implication of this is that the majority of rural women and men were not exposed to relevant voter education. The Zanzibar Electoral Commission, however, was much more assertive in terms of civic and voter education, and used television, radio, cinema, seminars, school debates, and stickers to promote civic education (National Youth Forum, 2000). However, much of these civic education efforts were not done with a gender perspective and there were allegations of bias towards the ruling party.

It was frequently claimed that civic and voter education was one of the responsibilities of political parties. However, in actual practice none of the parties was able to conduct impartial civic and voter education such as discussing with men and women citizens on their rights and responsibilities in a multiparty democracy.

Nomination processes for Constituency Candidates

Presidential Aspirants

During the year 2000, three women came out to contest for Presidency: Two in Zanzibar and one on the mainland. This generated a great deal of excitement among women, gender equality activists and the general public. One of the contestants was Amina Salum Ali, the then Minister of Finance in Zanzibar. She contested on the CCM ticket and lost to Amani Karume, during the nomination process. Also in Zanzibar, Naila Jiddawi submitted forms to contest the Zanzibar Presidency on the NCCR-Mageuzi ticket. She however, had just withdrawn her membership from the Civic United Front (CUF) where she was a prominent leader. CUF contested her application claiming that her resignation was not properly tendered. The Zanzibar Electoral Commission disqualified her application on those claims; a decision, which was upheld in a high court ruling.

The woman Presidential candidate on the Mainland was Edith Lucina, also an NCCR-Mageuzi contestant. The National Electoral Commission disqualified her application because she failed to fulfil the criteria of receiving 200 signatures in 10 regions. This led to a great deal of finger pointing, particularly at one party leader in Rukwa, the area where she did not receive sufficient votes. The failure of a popular party such as NCCR-Mageuzi to meet such a simple criteria created some suspicions that the top leadership did not adequately support her candidacy.

On the whole, these incidents demonstrate the constraints faced by women in contesting for leadership at all levels, particularly the highest ones. They demonstrate a continuing lack of adequate resources and commitment by and of political parties to fully support women candidates.

Another notable development in Tanzanian politics during the year 2000 elections was the attempt by two opposition parties (CUF and CHADEMA) to form a coalition whereby they would field joint candidates for Presidential (Union) and Parliamentary seats. They further agreed that they would encourage their members to vote for each other's candidate in constituencies where either one of them did not field a candidate. Unfortunately the two parties were not able to fully actualize this coalition. What is more unfortunate is that they made no attempts to pay attention to gender equality aspects in their political strategies; not even the promotion of women's representation.

Aspirants for Parliamentary and Councillor Seats

The nomination process adapted by various political parties for parliamentary and civic election candidature was through opinion polls and other practices, which were generally conducted in 'closed doors'. The main models for *nomination of candidates* within parties included:

- Selection by panels of party leaders within the constituency in a structured manner. More transparent and competitive processes generally provided opportunities for participation of marginalised groups, such as young people and women.
- Situations in which the central leadership literally handpicked candidates. These presented clear obstacles for those who are not in the close circles of the party decision makers, mainly women.

In the nomination process a number of barriers were cited for women candidates. These include:

- Lack of clear strategies by the political parties for supporting women candidates, including mobilising resources for campaigns;
- Wide spread allegations of corruption during the nomination process. This made money a central issue in many campaigns rather than the platform of candidates. This was particularly damaging to the many women and a few men, who were upholding issue-based agendas;

Table 6 Proportion of Women Aspirants for MP and Councillor from various political parties

Party	Women	Men	Total	% of Women
CCM	296	5097	5393	05.5%
CUF	59	622	681	08.7%
TLP	41	501	542	07.6%
NCCR	28	377	405	06.9%
CHADEMA	28	357	385	07.3%
UDP	43	292	335	12.8%
TADEA	12	41	53	22.6%
UMD	1	28	29	03.4%
PONA	4	21	25	16.0%
NLD	10	15	25	40.0%
UPDP	4	19	23	21.1%
TPP	0	10	10	00.0%
NRA	3	6	9	33.3%
Total	529	7386	7912	06.7%

Source: TEMCO Field Reports, 2000.

- Misuse of the issue of special seats reserved for women in order to discourage women aspirants vying for constituency seats on the grounds that they should wait to be nominated later (TEMCO Report, 2000).

Despite these constrains, some women aspirants came out to contest for these positions, as can be seen in the Table 6 above:

From this table, it is clear that there are women aspiring for political seats in most political parties, although the percentage remains low. Although

Table 7: Proportion of Women candidates for MP nominated by various political parties.

Party	Women	Men	Total	% of Women
CCM	13	218	231	05.6%
CUF	06	132	138	04.3%
TLP	09	103	112	08.0%
NCCR	05	88	93	05.4%
UDP	09	57	66	13.6%
CHADEMA	05	61	66	07.6%
TADEA	02	40	42	02.8%
PONA	06	31	37	16.2%
UPDP	06	26	32	18.8%
UMD	02	22	24	08.3%
TPP	03	10	13	30.0%
NLD	04	02	06	66.7%
NRA	00	02	02	00.0%
Total	70	792	862	8.1%

Source: NEC Statistical Reports

CCM is the dominant and most experienced party with the largest number of women aspirants (296) when compared to other parties, the proportion of women compared to men is much lower that most of the other parties (fourth from the bottom).

The numbers of those nominated by their parties also indicates low participation of women as contestants, at only 8.1%. The figure is slightly higher however, compared to the proportion of women aspirants (6.7%). Perhaps this is an indication of an increased awareness by political parties of the importance of nominating women candidates.

Campaigns

Candidates

After the political parties completed their nomination processes by mid-August, 70 women were elected to contest for parliamentary seats in the constituencies through 12 out of 13 registered parties. The ruling party fielded 13 women contestants followed by UDP and TLP with 7 women contestants each. Dar

es Salaam Region alone had 16 women contestants followed by Zanzibar with 9 and Coast Region with 7 contestants. These included a combination of experienced women in politics as well as relatively new players on the political scene.

The campaigns required a great amount of resources and support from both the party and the individual and her networks, including gender groups such as TGNP. Many of the candidates running on opposition party tickets did not receive adequate party support and were left on their own. This situation was especially difficult for women and younger contestants. On the whole, women candidates on the ruling party ticket were relatively well supported by their party and the women's wing, in particular. In contrast, women from the smaller and less popular parties tended to lack political, moral and material support from their parties (TEMCO report). As a result, many were unable to even conduct public campaigns, mostly relying on door-to-door and informal campaigns. One problem witnessed during the campaign period was that, in nearly all parties visited, including the ruling party, women did not conduct their campaign independently. Instead, they were propped up by male counterparts who became the main speakers, leaving only a few minutes for the candidates to put forward/declare their political agenda (LegalNet Report, 2000).

Gender Analysis of the Political Parties' Manifestos

On the whole, an analysis of the political party manifestoes, supposed to be used as the basis for campaigning, revealed that they remained mostly gender blind, although most did mention women and other marginalised groups. For the most part, they discussed issues broadly, rather than examining repercussions for different social groups in society. Some of the manifestos of opposition parties, the Tanzania Labour Party, in particular, focused on the 'mistakes' of the ruling party, rather than on setting their own viable platform. The Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), TLP, and National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi) manifestoes contain separate sections on women and other groups, while CHADEMA's attempted to mainstream gender issues throughout various aspects of the Manifesto, though not in a well articulated manner.

CCM's manifesto stressed that modernization of the economy and empowerment of the people are among the most important components of

their 2000 elections agenda. In the separate section devoted to women's issues, the party pledged to promote women socially, economically and politically and noted that there continue to be barriers to women's advancement, including customs, sexual discrimination, and some laws. To address these issues, the party promised to address discriminatory laws, promote women's participation in decision-making and governance, and provide access to education, loans, and science and technology for women. CCM pledged to put more resources into the education sector, but relies on resources from donors and parents to fund this activity.

TLP, in its manifesto, advocates that groups such as children, women, disabled and elderly with little or no ability to participate in income-generating activities should be assisted to fulfil their basic needs. In terms of education, the party broadly pledged to ensure that any Tanzanian who wants to study is able to do so, without analysing the problems specifically facing girls. The party also pledge to give these groups equal representation within governing bodies so that they can participate in advancing the country. TLP claims to serve as an example, because its Constitution provides for equal space to men and women in its General Assembly. TLP also promised to give women priority in enabling them to be self employed and to be formally employed. However, the reasons given for the importance of this action is to assist them to serve their families and to reduce the problem of employment for children. While these are important concerns, they do not address the larger structural barriers facing women, including the extent to which they are overburdened with their productive and reproductive roles and their rights as citizens to equal representation in leadership and decision-making structures.

CHADEMA, on the other hand, specifically pledged to ensure women's rights and noted the importance of addressing ideas and customs that discriminate on the basis of gender and of actualising international treaties on children's rights. The party also noted the importance of involving the public in addressing policy issues and suggests that the freedom of various groups, such as young people, women, workers, parents, and elders, to start their own associations, outside of political parties, be enshrined in the Constitution. CHADEMA also notes the importance of employment for Tanzanians, especially young people and women and business education. The bulk of the document, however, remains as gender-blind as the others.

NCCR focused on broader frameworks of rights for women than the other parties. The manifesto noted that historically women are discriminated against in terms of right to education, access to resources through inheritance and control over family and national economy. The manifesto noted that, also women and men have the right to leadership at all levels; and challenges women to stand for political leadership and vote for other women. The party pledged to prepare a good environment for women's advancement, including special preference in social services, creation of employment, the right to inherit resources, and the right to lead.

NCCR was the only party that specifically acknowledged the importance of NGOs and CBOs in its manifesto. The party promised to give NGOs/CBOs freedom to conduct their activities and contribute to national development and pledges to provide assistance to support them in this endeavour.

Campaign Promises of Candidates while Campaigning

Despite the political parties' efforts to acknowledge the importance of addressing issues of concern to women within their manifestoes, gender issues hardly featured in the campaigns. It would seem that whereas attention to gender issues is perceived to be politically correct, political parties have other concerns when it comes to competitive politics. On the whole, the campaigns were filled with party politicking, allegations of violence, and personality competitions/name calling, which overshadowed substantive issues. During the campaign, most of the candidates were more concerned with belittling their opponents, rather than articulating their political agendas.

Across all the media, virtually without exception, the voice of the people was scarcely reflected in the course of the election campaign. Electoral coverage largely consisted of regurgitating the words of politicians, rather than examining issues of concern to the electorate (Media Monitoring, Interim report).

The promises made were composed of lofty goals, but little thought was given to how these would be implemented. Neither was substantive attention paid to gender issues, despite the efforts made by gender equality activists to raise issues with the political parties and the media. The main campaign strategy

> "Candidates have given little time to tell people their development policies and how they will cooperate with *wananchi* to bring about development."
> Helen Kijo-Bisimba, LHRC, Quoted in *The Guardian*, Oct. 2000

for most parties was to flag the issues of continued peace and stability, increased budget for education, reliable salaries for government workers, and economic modernization.

One of the few Presidential candidates to raise gender issues prominently during the campaigns was the CUF/ CHADEMA candidate, Professor Ibrahim Haruna Lipumba who noted for example that, due to poor health services in the country, more than 60 per cent of expectant mothers now give birth at home because they do not have money to foot hospital bills

The incumbent President on the ruling party ticket, Benjamin William Mkapa, frequently used the preservation of peace and unity as reasons to vote for him. He claimed that the best way to honour the Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was to vote for CCM whose ideals he stood for. President Mkapa said Tanzanians should avoid voting for opposition parties, which according to him were bent on brewing tribal politics which he termed Enemy No. 4 (after poverty, disease and ignorance). He criticised the opposition parties for promoting tribal, religious, and gender discrimination, but did not offer a gender analysis of his campaign manifesto and policies.

Campaigning Dynamics

Throughout the election period, various sources alleged that the state instruments of law and order, communication and other state resources were utilised to advance the political objectives of the ruling party. Throughout the campaign, there were claims by many that government media frequently behaved as if it was owned by the ruling party (Guardian, 7/6/00). This is despite the fact that government media, as any other public institution, is required to treat all political parties on an equal basis, and NEC mandated the government to ensure that government-run television and radio stations address election issues in an equitable and balanced way (TEMCO Report, 2000). On the whole, the Media Monitoring Project reported that the ruling party received 72.69% of news coverage on radio and television from the beginning of October until the election. The next largest share was that of the Civic United Front, with 11.98%. They also found that all broadcast media gave more time to the ruling party candidates than those of opposition parties. For example, RTD covered all CCM party conventions live, while none of the opposition parties were covered. Opposition candidates were reportedly refused

public air time on State Radio and Television stations, while CCM did not face any obstacles. This bias was allegedly true even for private-owned media.

Generally, it was observed that women candidates and gender issues during the campaign received little coverage by private or public media, with the notable exception of *Majira* newspaper (Media Monitoring, 2000). Reasons for this phenomenon are based on the already-discussed low resource base of many women candidates, a lack of confidence and skills to utilise the media, as well as continuing gender bias among media institutions, editors and reporters.

Despite the NEC directive in the Party Code of Conduct that government and ruling party leaders were not allowed to use their positions and public facilities for political campaigns, including state planes, vehicles, offices, etc., there continued to be a number of complaints that such things took place (Guardian, 7/5/00). Of the complaints that were heard or witnessed, disruption of meetings of opposition parties was reported to be the most rampant 95% (Legal Net Report, 2000).

During the campaign period, the bulk of the people attending campaign rallies were women although their issues and agenda were not taken seriously. In many cases, women were used as entertainers by political parties at the rallies. A concerning phenomenon that was also noted during the campaigns was that young children were frequently brought into the rallies in a partisan way. For example, in Iringa rural constituency, it was reported that during the beginning of a CCM parliamentary campaign meeting, small children (age 5-6) sang that if their parents voted for the opposition, war would break out and it would be women and children who would suffer. The UWT district chairperson emphasised the children's song and warned the villagers that if they did not vote for CCM, their village would not receive development assistance (TEMCO Report, 15th to 29th October). This incident represented an involvement of children in events and issues that they were not old enough to understand and analyse.

Zanzibar

Election malpractices, violence and use of inflammatory language by both the ruling party and opposition parties were more prevalent in Zanzibar than in the mainland. These continued to ensure that campaigns were diverted from substantive issues and used to intimidate women and some groups from

participating in the political process. According to NEC, malpractices included conducting campaigns in religious institutions like churches and mosques so as to solicit voters from members of religious denominations and acts of corruption within some parties. Others included using inflammatory statements and threats during campaigns. Other misdeeds included provocative songs and luring people to sell their registration cards.

Throughout the campaign period, incidents of violence were reported from both CUF and CCM members in Zanzibar, and everyone accused the other as the source of these incidents. CUF reported that it was worried about the growing presence of certain military activities in Zanzibar, which the party believed would strongly influence the forthcoming elections. They claimed that the military manoeuvres seemed to suggest that even if CUF won, the army would intervene to deny it victory.

Both sides made very strong statements about each other. For example, it has been reported that Dr Omari Ali Juma, then running for re-election into the post of Vice-President on the ruling party ticket, was alleged to have told a campaign rally that 'if CCM does not govern the Isles, Zanzibar would not be a safe place to live again and it is impossible for CCM to lose.' 'All what CUF wants to do is to create fear, incite people against the government and bring chaos,' said Mr. Philip Mangula, Secretary General of CCM.

On the part of the opposition, Mr. Hamad, the CUF/ CHADEMA candidate, said, 'I did not want to throw Zanzibar into chaos when I lost in the 1995 elections. But this year, things will be different, he said. He also claimed, 'If CUF wins the October elections, nobody will dare grab the victory from its grasp. Whoever tries to do so will know what 'ngangari' (unshakable) is all about.' Civic United Front supporters threatened bloodshed in case the Party lost on the grounds of vote- rigging by the ruling party. This type of inflammatory language resulted finally in CUF maintaining their slogan "Jino kwa jino...Mtu kwa Mtu" (which translates into tit for tat).

Election Day

Election Day on the Mainland

Election Day on the mainland was observed to be relatively quiet and peaceful, and the National Electoral Commission was credited for this. It was also fairly well organised in terms of logistics. Voting lines were moving swiftly, as there were very few instances of late arrival of materials. As a general rule, pregnant women, the elderly, and those with children received preferential treatment. In most voting stations women and men were in separate queues, making the wait much easier. There were some cases here and there where there was shortage of materials, but if one takes into account transport problems and the vastness of the country, these would not be termed unreasonable.

Several irregularities favouring the ruling party that may have impacted the election outcomes were however, noticed by monitors on voting day. An example of this was that, on Election Day, most opposition party representatives and party agents responsible for taking care of the votes of their candidates were not informed of the process and they also did not have sufficient resources to pay for food in order to stay on during the counting. Because of this, many tried to force the Returning Officers to finish the voting early so that they return home early. Many were not around for the entire counting exercise. In addition, their training did not expose them to the fact that it would be such a tedious process. There were large numbers of forms to be filled out, creating a situation where many just left, as they did not understand how the ballot boxes were being taken away (Legal Net Report, 2000).

Zanzibar

On the whole, the process of elections in Tanzania mainland was overshadowed by the situation in Zanzibar. The campaign rivalry between CCM and CUF in Zanzibar came to a climax on Election Day. The day before the elections, on 30th October, an armed force that included police officers from a variety of stations allegedly harassed a group of CUF supporters who were peacefully singing party songs as well as a number of party leaders after a press conference by the CUF Presidential candidates. This served to confirm previous suspicions that state machinery was deliberately acting to disrupt activities of the opposition. This incident and others demonstrated a high degree of disrespect for the basic political and civil rights of the women, men and children of Zanzibar (TEMCO interim statement, 2000).

On Election Day, there was remarkable eagerness among Zanzibaris to vote, many arriving by 6 a.m. or earlier. However, at most polling stations, materials arrived late; in some cases as late as around noon. Much of the Zanzibar West Region was unable to vote due to lack of materials. It was not clear whether this was due to managerial incompetence or part of a plan to

disrupt the elections, although many suspected the latter. Regardless, ZEC cancelled elections in all of the 16 constituencies in the Urban West.

The voting process was stopped in some the constituencies, including Pemba and other parts of Zanzibar Urban, and the ballots boxes were taken to another location until the new elections took place in Urban West. As the ballots boxes were transported without being accompanied by party agents, this created doubt over the possibility of these elections being considered free and fair. This also meant that Presidential election results for Zanzibar and the Mainland could not be announced until votes for the new elections were counted.

CUF, civil society organisations, including TEMCO, and teams of international observers, including those representing the Commonwealth Foundation, demanded that elections be re-run in Zanzibar as a whole under a re-constituted interim electoral commission. One example of such statements is as follows:

Statement of an Informal Gathering of Civil Society, Sponsored by Legal Net

This informal gathering of concerned members of the civil society today took time to exchange ideas, with a view to appreciating what transpired during the past elections, both at the union level and in Zanzibar. We noted that, whereas there had been some improvement in the way that the NEC organised and supervised elections in the mainland, there was much to be desired in Zanzibar where the organisation was bungled; we suspect deliberately. Basic principles were ignored and trampled; for instance, the failure to deliver voting materials, in time meant that people were not given the opportunity to vote. Failure to count votes on the spot was a basic flaw in the organisation of these elections.

The meeting additionally noted with concern the level of police and other security and defence forces' brutality against innocent civilians, both before and after the bungled elections in Zanzibar. We think that these constitute a gross and blatant violation of the most basic human rights and that it tainted this year's elections. The meeting also noted that: there were complaints about violations of human rights; there were interventions by the police to curtail meetings, generally in favour of the ruling party; that there were incidences of police harassment generally across the country and not just in Zanzibar; and there were minor violations at the voting places. The issue of human rights is central, and we believe that all those who perceive themselves to be victims of brutality have the right to take positive action to address these injustices. We deem that representatives of NGOs should play a role in assisting them to take legal action.

The meeting also noted with concern that there was a lack of civic and voter education. This inadequacy could have resulted from a combination of factors. These contributing elements might include: many years of one party rule, the refusal of state run media to carry out thorough programs of voter education, low levels of literacy, and the fact that opposition parties, in whose interest voter education would be paramount, did not have the means to carry out these types

of efforts. The meeting also noted with concern the high level of corruption and the use of financial and other resources, which has become a factor in voting, and recommends that serious efforts be taken to rectify this issue, which is becoming a permanent and menacing trait in political processes in Tanzania.

Due to the serious concerns in relation to the Zanzibar elections, the participants at this meeting call for a complete re-run of the election in Zanzibar under a reconstituted Electoral Commission (Legal Net Report, 2000).

Despite statements of this kind, ZEC maintained the decision to re-run elections in 16 constituencies only and a new election date was set one week later. Because of the government's failure to meet its demands, CUF boycotted the re-run of the elections in the 16 constituencies. As a result of the boycott, voter turnout was down and CCM won many of the re-run constituencies.

These incidences heavily impacted upon women and children, who are generally the most vulnerable during times of violence and turmoil. For example, there were a number of allegations that women were raped and beaten during the election-related disputes. In addition, on the eve of the Election Day and the day elections were re-run, the media reported that large numbers of women and children were boarding ferries for Pemba and Tanzania mainland. This was a very clear indication of negative impact of the political events on these groups.

Outcomes

The immediate result of the election was a victory for CCM, winning 87% of the constituencies (See table 8). However, a variety of concerns were expressed about these results, both in mainland and Zanzibar. For example, the United Democratic Party (UDP) claimed it won 13 constituencies in the Lake Zone but Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) used state instruments to rob it of its victory. UDP National Chairman, Mr John Momose Cheyo said that the National Electoral Commission (NEC) was aware of UDP's victory although the commission used force to cancel genuine results and announced contestants from CCM as winners. The fact that in several instances, media outlets would announce a winning trend for one candidate and the trend would be reversed the next day gave some strength to the allegations. In Zanzibar, concerns were expressed about the validity of the outcome for the incumbent CUF MP for Chake Chake constituency in Pemba. Fatma

Maghimbi, a leader of the opposition in the house, lost the position to CCM candidate, Mr Abdallah Hamis Feruzi, by a mere 110 votes (2,953 votes against 2,849). Her constituency was among those with ballot boxes transported by government authorities for counting later.

On the whole, the overwhelming victory for the ruling party amidst the above described concerns and disputes meant that, whatever strategies they used, women supported by the ruling party were likely to win. All of the 12 elected through constituencies were CCM candidates. Although there were many impressive women candidates from the opposition parties, not a single one was elected. This demonstrates that there is still a great deal of work to be done to overcome long entrenched gender imbalances in the political parties, the electoral systems and procedures; and among the electorate as a whole.

In the current Parliament, women are 21.5%, an increase from the previous Parliament, due primarily to the increase in special seats. Women elected from constituencies have increased from 8 in 1995 to 12 in 2000 elections. The number of young people among the MPs (ages 27-35) has increased from 2 in 1995 to 17 in 2000 (NYF, 2000). Of all the members of Parliament, 87.5% are from the ruling party and 12.5% from the opposition. The opposition party with the largest number of seats is CUF with a total of 21 seats out of 289 total seats thus far. The opposition, therefore, won fewer seats than in 1995, and no woman candidate running on an opposition ticket was elected from the constituencies. The difficulties faced by opposition candidates in the 2000 General Elections can generally be attributed to a number of factors, including:

- Removal of subsidies for parties;
- Use of the instruments of the state to assist the ruling party;
- Biased media in favour of the ruling party;
- Internal disagreements within parties; and
- Insufficient understanding of how the multi-party democratic system functions, by the public.

In the weeks following the election, the President made a series of appointments. Of the 27 Ministers and 17 Deputy Ministers nominated, there were only 4 women Ministers and 4 women Deputy Ministers. In addition, the President appointed 8 MPs out of the 10 that he is constitutionally allotted. Only 2 and among them there were women. All

Table 8: Outcomes of the 2000 Elections

PARTY	CCM		CUF		TLP		UDP		NCCR		CHADEMA		TOTAL	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Mainland Constituency	9	158	0	2	0	4	0	3	0	1	0	4	9	172
Zanzibar Constituency	3	32	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	47
Special Seats	41	—	4	—	1	—	1	—	0	—	1	—	48	—
Presidential Appointment	2	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
Attorney General	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Nominated by House of Representatives	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Total	55	198	4	18	1	4	1	3	0	1	1	4	63	231

Source: TEMCO Field Reports, 2000.

of these appointments are far below the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development goal of having at least 30% of women in politics and decision-making within the SADC region.

On the whole, a number of constraints were noted to women's effectiveness in contesting and winning political seats during the 2000 General Election. These included the gender-bias in political parties and other structures, insufficient preparedness by individual contestants; limited support from the community, family and friends; continuing gender discrimination within the parties and from the general public; and insufficient resources for campaigning. Women, especially those from the opposition parties; contesting in the constituency elections often operate without sufficient support from their parties and in a context that includes a variety of constraints, including discriminatory attitudes towards women as public leaders and corruption. The implication of this situation is that, women will continue to rely on affirmative action seats as their entry point to political decision-making structures unless sufficient efforts are made to address the barriers identified above.

CHAPTER 7

Special Seats for Women: A Mechanism to Bridge the Gender Gap in Political Decision-Making

Alongside the dynamics surrounding constituency races during the 2000 General Election, there was also a process to nominate women for political decision-making positions through the Constitutionally-mandated affirmative action popularly known as Special Seats for women. These seats were provided for recognition of the difficulties women face when competing on constituency races, due to entrenched gender bias. These seats were intended as short-term gap filling measures to minimise gender imbalances in Parliament and at the local government level, at the time when efforts are being made to influence long term social change towards gender equality legislations and governance structures and other social organisation instruments in the country.

When Tanzania's unique affirmative action system for women is examined in relation to its role as a gender empowerment tool, the designation of these seats for women has positive and negative repercussions for women's empowerment. In principle, this system is a necessary tool to address the gender imbalances in political decision-making. The main positive factor is that it is an instrument that provides women with a specific space in the major decision-making structures. It has also increased the number of women in political office and provides a means to bring women into political office, considering the multiple-barriers facing women candidates in constituency races.

However, in practice, the process for nomination of special seats candidates operates within the same patriarchal framework; hence it has yet to become an empowering tool for women to obtain equitable access to political positions and influence policy decisions in the country. Rather than women being nominated in big numbers by their parties to complete through constituency races, they are often relegated to the special seats, meaning that women's

representation is not likely to be greater than the designated quota. In addition, special seats have the potential to remove the decision about who become political leaders from the people they represent to the parties. The danger of this is that those who get into positions of decision making through this process may not be able to retain autonomy of decisions based on the needs of the constituency they represent. Instead, they may be forced to pay allegiance to the party patrons who made their nomination into those positions possible. Special seats can also serve as a disempowerment factor to women by creating the impression that women who become political leaders through those seats were favoured solely on the basis of their sex. In addition, many women nominated through special seats may be reluctant to retire or to run for election in constituencies (Meena cited in Kiondo 1999). With a definite succession programme built into the special seats, they could easily be used to mentor young women leaders. This could happen if young aspiring politicians access political office through special seats and as soon as they have gained the necessary experience leave space for new ones by either retiring or contesting in constituencies.

Nomination for Parliamentary Special Seats for Women

Nomination of candidates for the special seats has primarily been the domain of political parties. The election legislation does not state the modalities of this process. This gives political parties the freedom to adopt their own structure and process for nomination. The parties only require to submit a list of names to the National Electoral Commission (NEC) for approval. On the whole, the nomination processes used by various political parties at times have been non-transparent and male-driven; using criteria and procedures which are neither clear nor institutionalised. Much of the selection of women candidates in these parties appears to be based on the degree of party loyalty and support to party candidates (mainly men) during the election process. The implications of this are that, the women Parliamentarians nominated through special seats are chosen by a small group of party and women's wing members, making them accountable to their parties before the people and therefore creating a situation where it can be difficult for them to challenge male domination in government and party structures (Meena cited in Kiondo1999).

Case Study: Nomination Process for Special Seats in Ruling Party During the 2000 General Elections

During the year 2000, the ruling party made their electoral process special seats clearer and offered some space to civil society within the formal structures of the party. The CCM party nomination process was changed to allow for special seat representatives to be chosen by a UWT-governed process. This process was initiated in part as a rallying force from the UWT leadership to bring new energy and different perspectives into Parliament.

In this process, five candidates were chosen by each region, based on opinion polls, and five candidates each from the university and from youth, disabled, and professional women through their respective NGOs. Once the regions and groups identified candidates, these names were submitted to the UWT General Assembly, to provide its opinions and submit the names to the CCM political party for final selection of the candidates. These candidates were required to be: Members of CCM and adhere to the requirements expected of members and be Members of UWT for at least 5 years.

CCM/UWT decision to make the process for selection for special seats more structured with representation based on regions and selected civil society groups was appreciated as a progressive move within the boundaries of this political party. The selection based on regions provided an opportunity to bring in women from a variety of experiences locales, rather than those concentrated in one area. In the previous Parliament, there were some regions that were not represented, because of the allocation criteria that did not take regional representation into account. In addition, conducting nomination processes for special seats at the regional as opposed to national level creates space for women MPs (special seats) to have a specific constituency they can be accountable to. It will also make it easier for women in an area to be able to hold a MP accountable, as "their representative."

In terms of the process to bring in representation from various groups, however, it was operating within broader structures and frameworks that are yet to create an enabling for effective civil society participation, which would promote transformation of the parties. The process in which gender groups and women's organisations became part of was that of the seat designated for professional women. To nominate the five women from the professional arena/NGOs, the UWT asked the Tanzania Association of NGOs (TANGO), as an umbrella organization for NGOs, to coordinate the process. UWT also initiated conversations to inform various other NGOs, including TGNP, on the task entrusted to TANGO and solicited support to enable TANGO to play this role effectively. This was done within the context of short notice and limited resources but TANGO did their best to be participatory, involving a large number of stakeholders and member organizations to nominate candidates to the UWT General Meeting for their final selection.

On the whole, the process itself provided some lessons for both UWT and NGOs and had its limitations. The main constraints were that:

- It was a process set within a prescribed context. Nominees for the seats were required to be long-standing CCM and UWT members. This meant that participation of most NGOs and some quality civil society leaders was not possible because of the very nature of the work of most civil society organisations which is non-partisan. Since these seats were part of the percentage of seats that were allocated to CCM, based on

their performance in the November election, they were therefore designated to CCM members only. This requirement shows clearly that, in order to find candidates who truly represent civil society organisations and especially those representing gender equality objectives or women's empowerment, a non-partisan criteria needs to be put in place.

- The NGOs/gender groups themselves were not prepared enough on how to handle the situation, nor did they have the time to thoroughly debating the pros and cons of their possible responses and consult their own constituencies. The NGOs therefore accepted the offer as an opportunity, while being aware of its constraints and its potential to undermine some the core values civil society roles and mandate.

- The process did not allow time and commitment to develop alternative empowering processes for the nomination processes. Therefore, existing models of competition and corruption could hardly be avoided.

- On the whole, many NGOs expressed feelings that selection of candidates was done within a political context that still needs to become fully transparent and accountable. The final process of selection was a party/UWT process and not a civil society one. Once the candidates reached the UWT selection level, many succumbed to the party politicking.

Reflections on Special Seats

Due to the slow efforts by the government and political parties towards enabling more women to contest and get elected into parliament through constituency elections, the special seats remain a necessary feature of the political processes as a short-term measure. However, the negative consequences and some alternative strategies should be carefully examined to ensure that the seats are more effectively used and that women MPs chosen through this facility are representatives of women's voices and views. At the same time, space should be created for different groups within civil society, such as young people and people with disabilities, for more inclusion of alternative perspectives in Parliament. A proportional representation system which combines partisan and non-partisan processes is a more desirable alternative.

CHAPTER 8

Lessons Learned and the Way Forward for Women's Political Empowerment in the Country

During the course of implementing TGNP and FemAct activities related to civic and voters' education and support of women candidates, a great deal was learned in terms of strategies and root causes of the problems faced. From these lessons, we can draw a number of implications for the way forward to promote women's political empowerment. It is anticipated that these recommendations will help a variety of stakeholders in drawing their own coordinated short-term and long-term plans in this area.

Lessons Learned in Relation to Engendering Political Processes

The major lesson learned during the 2000 General Elections was that many of the constraints to the election of women and other marginalised groups lie within the party structures. The political parties continue to be male-dominated and ruled with a patriarchal organisational culture that do not promote a significant number of women and young people into leadership positions; and/or prioritise relevant issues on their agenda. In particular, the nomination processes of candidates are a major barrier facing prospective women and young candidates. In addition, very few parties have a clear focus on how to support selected candidates, particularly women and young people, during campaigns. It was disappointing that a major initiative to influence political parties from a gender perspective, organised by a partner NGO, was not approved by the basket fund of donors, indicating that development partners also have yet to recognise and prioritise transforming political parties as a key element of civic education.

Another issue that became apparent is that the multi-party political structure has not yet been able to advance public debate on critical social issues. Instead it has created a narrow inter-party politics focusing mainly on which party enters the state house. The implications of this are that there political agendas do not draw from the people or serve their ineterests. There need therefore to revisit the Constitution to allow for independent candidates in order to allow for alternative and development oriented perspectives in political decision making institutions and political debates. It also means that civic education by civil society organisations and the government is vital on an on-going basis in order to enable the citizens to understand their rights and responsibilities in a multi-party democracy and be able to question their leaders and their party agenda.

In addition, the 2000 General Election demonstrated that there continue to be patriarchal attitudes among men and women within the society, serving as a major barrier to women seeking political leadership. This means that, continuing and gender-sensitive civic education at community level and profiling women leaders deserving to be role models within society is essential.

Another lesson learned is that, due to the constraining political environment and difficulties women face when running for political office, there is still need to have specific strategies focused on supporting women to access decision-making positions. One of these strategies is the legislated quota, which still remains an important mechanism to increase the number of women in political office. However, there is a need for further discussion on the best means of transforming the mechanism for women to access this facility so as to make it truly representative and empowering to women.

Another important strategy is to facilitate capacity building and training of women candidates from a range of political parties in order to build their capacity to run as constituency candidates. These trainings should be focused on a specific target group of women and be part of a long-term process that involves early identification of potential women aspirants and providing support and encouragement before, during and after the elections.

Lessons for Coalition-building among NGOs

The effectiveness of working in coalition among civil society organisations during elections and in other advocacy processes is obvious. It however, still calls for enhanced capacity of NGOs and CBOs to effectively participate in such processes and influence targeted policies and processes. Some lessons were learned on how to enhance and effectively build coalitions as an advocacy strategy. These include:

- The importance of developing a common understanding of the issues, and areas of intervention, coming up with a shared action plan and

agreeing on the delegation of responsibilities at the beginning of a major advocacy activity or campaign;

- That diverse conceptual understanding, outlooks and capacities among NGOs can make implementing collective action and responding swiftly to issues of common concern difficult; hence the importance of conceptual and methodological debates as an ongoing feature of any advocacy activity or campaign; during which diverging views would be allowed to come to the fore and contentious issues resolved.

- Within coalitions, some organisations may tend to take an individual organisational perspective rather than operating with a coalition spirit. This can lead to expectations of the NGO-convenor to look for resources to fund coalition activities, rather than each NGO taking on the responsibility to fund their delegated activities which is part and parcel of coalition programme.

- Regular reflection and feedback are necessary for monitoring, taking stock of achievements and challenges, and re-strategizing when necessary.

The Way Forward for TGNP and Others

Various international and regional commitments are in place to increase the participation of women in political decision-making. However, a gap still remains. Given the variety of difficulties that women face when running for political office in the constituencies, it will be difficult to reach the minimum goal of 30% women in public office by the year 2005 unless there is a strong support network of the civil society, political parties, women aspirants, and women political leaders determined to make this target achievable.

TGNP and FemAct have built a strong base for promoting gender issues in election processes in Tanzania and the eastern and southern African region, and will continue to work on these issues on an on-going basis as part and parcel of the organisation's overall programme. To consolidate the gains made, TGNP and its coalition partners have and will continue to follow-up their advocacy efforts related to civic education and promoting women's participation and raising their voice in political decision-making bodies during the post-election period. Immediately after the elections, a feedback and evaluation session was held with women Parliamentarians from the constituency and special seats, from which a number of lessons and recommendations emerged.

TGNP has also taken the initiative to organise working sessions with women and men Parliamentarians and Councillors to build their gender and policy-analysis skills, including gender budgeting; and encourage them to use their positions to promote a people-centred development strategy. Trained candidates who have now entered into decision-making positions will be especially targeted for involvement in the Gender Budget Initiative (GBI) campaign.

The organisation also will continue to utilise various strategies to increase the gender awareness of political party leadership at the national and local level and lobby them to increase their support to potential women leaders. This includes conducting working sessions and building the capacity of women within party structures so as to strengthen their impact on their parties. The organisation will also continue to place emphasis on promoting gender-responsive national policies, electoral regulations, and governing structures. In particular, this involves promoting broader debate and discussion on the issue of special seats, building closer working relationship with the National Electoral Commission, and linking with other actors to

Some of contestants of 2000 general Election

re-open the debate to revise the constitution to allow for independent candidates.

Additionally, TGNP plans to consolidate and expand its database of women and young people with the basic qualities and interest in serving in public office and supporting them in various ways to build their capacities, including information sharing and gradual involvement in strategic political and other processes of social and public interest. As the election draws nearer, the organisation will conduct trainings for selected actors aimed at preparing them for future campaigns and for holding electoral office in key decision-making structures. The emphasis of the training and capacity building package will be on issues of gender, democracy, participatory leadership and accountability to the electorate, fundraising, lobbying and campaigning skills. Civic education will be built into the on-going programmes of TGNP and other FemAct members. These include: Gender and Development seminars and consultative and training programmes with Intermediary Gender Networks and other partners for the purpose of strengthening the voters' capacity in the understanding, analysis and selection of responsible and good leaders.

Election-Specific Recommendations

Based on the number of lessons learned through implementation of election-related programmes and its lobbying and advocacy activities, TGNP suggests the following recommendations among others as a way forward for various actors in political and other social development processes. It is hoped that these recommendations will be taken as constructive additions to the debates and dialogue among these actors on the best strategies to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in political leadership positions and, therefore, contribute to the creation of an even stronger democracy in Tanzania.

Recommendations to NGOs
- Integrate gender-sensitive civic and voter education into on-going programmes, intensifying activities during the 2-year period prior to the election;
- Increase lobbying and advocacy efforts targeted at NEC and political parties for the purpose of obtaining more gender-sensitive and non partisan electoral policies, rules and procedures;

- Consider the formation of a joint-NGO task force to develop and scrutinise proposals for addressing civic education activities, evaluate them using gender-sensitive criteria, and streamline and coordinate them before submitting them to donor partners.

Political Parties
- Revisit party Manifestoes to truly provide a party agenda for improving the lives of men, women, and children in Tanzania and discourage antagonistic language focused on gaps within other parties. Integrate throughout the party Manifestoes issues and strategies to address development and welfare needs e.g. economic, education and health among others, of various groups of stakeholder, men, women, young people, children, elderly, etc;
- Form and act upon a plan to institute a 30% quota system for nomination of women as constituency candidates and representatives in the governance structures within the party, instead of relegating them to the women's wings;
- Institute monitoring mechanisms for determining the extent to which individual leaders and the party leadership organs have implemented political promises made in party Manifestoes and commitments made to various communities during the election campaigns; and make public the measures (to be) taken in case of failure to implement plans and/or fulfil election promises.

Government/ Electoral Authorities
- Conduct civic education on an on-going basis and link with and support NGOs engaged in these activities;
- Promote women in all electoral structures and at all levels and base selection processes on application/ merit rather than patronage;
- Institute a constitutional review processes in a manner that truly involves the public who are: young and older men and women (with varying levels of abilities/disabilities, coming from different social and economic contexts some of which are oppressive) and civil society organisations to discuss the best ways to create participatory decision-

making processes and an electoral process which is inclusive and representative;

- Create guidelines and legislation to ensure that instruments of the state are not used to support the activities or interests of any party, particularly during times of elections. This includes state-owned media, election authorities, army, police, and others;

- Institute mechanisms to involve and consult the civil society in decision-making processes and promote economic, social and political transformation;

- As an instrument to address various concerns related to human rights, the government should develop and institutionalise an independent Electoral Commission and an independent Human Rights Commission as a means to promote free and fair elections and address human rights violations, including infringement on women's rights.

Donor Partners

- Institute criteria for scrutiny of all development projects and programmes that includes a component of civic education, to ensure that this becomes an on-going rather than ad hoc activity;

- Prioritise funding to programmes rather than projects. This has the potential to be a more sustainable and holistic rather than being piecemeal, with impact that is difficult to measure.

Women Aspirants

- Form their own caucuses and groups to support each other and develop individual and group action plans in preparation for the 2005 Elections;

- Take an active interest in improving their skills and becoming established in a community where they plan to run.

Women Parliamentarians

- Institute a turn-over period of a maximum of 2 terms to women occupying special seats so as to avail space for grooming young and dynamic women leaders;

- Recruit and mentor young women as potential future leaders;

- Update leadership skills of current leaders and enhance their understanding of current issues;

- Serve as true representatives, soliciting ideas from the electorate through formal structures and through civil society organisations, particularly women's empowerment and gender equality advocacy groups and their constituencies, in order to promote issues of common concern in the Parliament;

- Strengthen the Women's Parliamentary Caucus into a viable and powerful multi-party force for change and link with similar caucuses and gender groups locally and in other countries; and meet regularly to discuss emerging issues from the public and strategise on ways to address them. A means to actualise this would be to set up a small office with a computer, e-mail, and a resource centre for women leaders. This will assist with easy communication with allies and partners in the country and beyond.

Foward Looking Recommendations

Civil Society Organisations

- Institute and promote thematic coalitions on particular issues and broad based coalitions for joint action. Within these processes, recognise the strengths of various actors and designate focal points. Individual NGOs should take responsibility for implementing their own pledged contributions to the coalition agenda and plans of action as agreed collectively;

- Design and present common criteria for designation of macro-policy-making processes as 'participatory' and work with government actors and donor partners to institutionalise them;

- Empower communities in various areas to identify issues of common concern and mechanisms for holding their leaders accountable to facilitate the implementation of policies that serve the long-term interests of the majority of men, women and young people in those communities.

Government

- In partnership with the civil society, develop strategies to transform social and economic relations through ensuring equal access to education (which is reoriented to be empowering and transformative), making steps to transform socialisation processes, and promoting the economic empowerment of women and other poor groups;
- Work with various civil society actors to develop and utilise clear criteria for the involvement of civil society organisations and the public, men, women, and young people, at all stages of major policy processes from policy formulation, budgeting and monitoring budget implementation. Issues of concern could include: land, Constitution, poverty eradication, and other related macro-policies;
- Recognise areas in which there may be skills gaps among both new and experienced leaders, such as gender mainstreaming, participatory budgeting, and holistic planning and policymaking. Recognise and utilise trainers with skills in these areas from both government and NGOs, from inside and outside of the country, to assist in the process of addressing and filling these gaps.

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