



USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



USAID/TANZANIA

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION & LEADERSHIP FINAL REPORT

Tanzania Assessment

October 2023

DISCLAIMER: The authors' views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

DRG Learning, Evaluation, and Research (LER) II Activity
Tasking N083
Contract No. GS-10F-0033M / Order No. 7200AA18M00016

Additional support by The Cloudburst Group under Tasking CB066
Contract No. GS-10F-0218U / Order No. 7200AA18M00017

Submitted to:

Matthew Baker, COR

Submitted by:

Alexander Makulilo, Co-PI
Victoria Lihiru, Co-PI
Henry Rodrick, Logistician
with support from Gina Chirillo and Nicole Rowsell

Acknowledgements:

The authors would like to thank NORC's Subject-Matter Expert and Technical Advisor, Mona Lena Krook; Levi Adelman, Julie Denham, Caroline Hubbard, and Alessia Stewart at the USAID Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Bureau; and Florida Henjeweles and Rose Kyando at the USAID/Tanzania Mission for their technical inputs and thoughtful review of each draft of this report. This report also benefitted greatly from additional peer reviews conducted by Protik Ali, Varuni Dayaratna, Hannah LaPalombara, and Lauren Persha.

NORC at the University of Chicago
Attention: Matthew Parry, Program Manager
Bethesda, MD 20814
Tel: (301) 634-5444; E-mail: parry-matthew@norc.org

CONTENTS

TABLES	iv
ACRONYMS	v
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	1
CURRENT STATE OF WPPL	1
BARRIERS TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL	3
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION	5
INTRODUCTION	9
ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES	9
COUNTRY BACKGROUND	9
METHODOLOGY	15
CURRENT STATE OF WPPL	16
WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	16
WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP	23
BARRIERS TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL	33
WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	33
WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP	40
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION	50
ANNEX A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION	57
DESK REVIEW SOURCES	57
POLITICIAN SURVEY	63
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS	63
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	64
METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND LIMITATIONS	64
ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS	65
POLITICIAN SURVEY INSTRUMENTS	65
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES	72
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES	95

TABLES

Table 1: Members of Parliament by gender 1961-1990	11
Table 2: Judicial staff by sex (up to May 31, 2023)	14
Table 3: Registered voters in mainland Tanzania for the 2020 general election	16
Table 4: Registered voters in Zanzibar for the 2020 general election	17
Table 5: Commissioners of EMBs by sex	18
Table 6: Voter registration staff by gender in selected constituencies	19
Table 7: Recruited ZEC officials by gender	19
Table 8: Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—for example, as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?	24
Table 9: Distribution of men and women candidates in mainland Tanzania, 2020	26
Table 10: Distribution of men and women candidates in Zanzibar, 2020	26
Table 11: Number of elected and nominated women parliamentarians 1985–2020	27
Table 12: Can the women’s wing suggest political candidates?	30
Table 13: Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?	38
Table 14: Does your party have any policy in place to deal with acts of violence?	38
Table 15: If so, is this policy enforced?	39
Table 16: Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?	42
Table 17: Do these attacks affect women’s ability to exercise their political functions?	43
Table 18: Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?	45
Table 19: Politicians Surveyed	63
Table 20: Key Informants Interviewed	63
Table 20: Focus Group Discussions	64

ACRONYMS

ACT-Wazalendo	Alliance for Change Tanzania
ARO	Assistant Registration Officer
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CSO	Civil society organization
CUF	Civic United Front
DC	District Commissioner
EMB	Election management body
FGD	Focus group discussion
FPTP	First-past-the-post
GBV	Gender-based violence
KII	Key informant interview
LHRC	Legal and Human Rights Center
MP	Member of Parliament
NCCR-Mageuzi	National Convention for Construction and Reforms
NEC	National Electoral Commission
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TBI	Tanzania Bora Initiative
TWPG	Tanzania Women’s Parliamentary Group
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WPPL	Women’s political participation and leadership
WRO	Women’s Rights Organization
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission
ZHoR	Zanzibar House of Representatives

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

Notable improvements in gender equity and equality have been made since the United Republic of Tanzania gained independence in 1961, yet sociocultural, institutional, and individual factors present challenges and opportunities for women’s access and agency in political participation and leadership. The government has signaled through its legal framework and international commitments that it is committed to addressing gender inequality in all its forms. The country’s current legal framework enables women to participate as voters, candidates, and activists and lead as members of political parties, election officials, and elected leaders, including through a gender quota that reserves 40 percent of parliamentary seats for women both in Mainland Tanzania and in Zanzibar. However, full implementation of the country’s commitments to gender equality, including in the area of women’s political participation and leadership (WPPL) remains a priority task.

In 2011, Tanzania embarked on a process to draft a new constitution, but the process stalled in 2014 and will not begin again until 2026, after the government undertakes a citizen education campaign. Women’s rights groups have attempted to influence this process to bring about gains for women’s rights, which came to fruition in the proposed 2014 constitution but have not yet been legally codified through constitutional or other legislative processes. From 2015 to 2021, Tanzania experienced a major closing of civic and political space under the late President John Magufuli.¹ The State unconstitutionally banned political rallies and cracked down on the opposition and critics of the Magufuli administration. After Magufuli’s death in 2021, his successor, Samia Suluhu Hassan, has taken measures to reopen civic space, including lifting the ban on political party rallies. The government is dominated by the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the second-longest ruling party in Africa, which occupies 350 of 393 seats in parliament, or 89 percent. CCM has ruled Tanzania since its independence in 1961.

The analysis in this report is based on the United States Agency for International Development’s (USAID’s) latest iteration of the WPPL Assessment Framework, which aims to identify key barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL that exist at the sociocultural, institutional, and individual levels. The findings and recommendations are intended to guide the relevant stakeholders’ program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources aimed at advancing WPPL in Tanzania. The assessment findings discussed in this report are derived from a desk review, a survey of 119 politicians, 20 key informant interviews (KIIs), and eight focus group discussions (FGDs) with politicians, civil society, and media in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar conducted between April and June of 2023.

CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Women participate in politics in a variety of ways in Tanzania. Women make up 51 percent of the population and a slight majority of registered voters—50.3 percent in Mainland Tanzania and 51.9 percent

¹ Paget, Dan. 2017. “Tanzania: Shrinking Space and Opposition Protest.” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 153–167.

in Zanzibar—as of the 2020 elections. There is a growing number of civil society organizations (CSOs) working on women’s rights issues in the country, including those that identify as women’s rights organizations (WROs) and, to a lesser extent, those that identify as feminist organizations. Women’s role in civil society remains largely focused on areas related to gender equality and women’s empowerment. Women are also part of political parties and elected bodies, as detailed below and in this assessment.

Despite women’s political rights being enshrined in Tanzania’s 1977 constitution, the National Elections Act, and the Political Parties Amendment Act, women’s power as political actors is limited. Women who aim to engage in such processes as voting and vying for political office may face both physical and online violence or repression. This violence often comes from men leaders in political parties, candidates from other political parties, their supporters and followers, and family members seeking to discourage women from engaging in politics. Within political parties, women are not trusted to complete door-to-door campaigns without men’s supervision, and gender-specific needs are not considered in party operations.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Women’s representation in positions of political leadership is relatively low in Tanzania. Few women are elected to Parliament from constituencies, with most gaining entry through the special seats system, an affirmative action mechanism that reserves a certain number of seats for women only, described in more detail below. Since the introduction of the special seats system in 1985, there has been an increase in women in both special seats and women elected to constituency seats at the national and local levels. In the 2020 general elections, for example, only 23.3 percent of candidates for parliamentary seats in Mainland Tanzania were women, and 22.8 percent in the Zanzibar House of Representatives (ZHoR) were women. Less than 10 percent of these women won the parliamentary seats competitively, resulting in 26 women (18.1 percent of women in Parliament overall) as elected by constituents and 113 as nominees for special seats.²

For the first time in history, however, women head two arms of the government at the same time through President Hassan, the head of the Executive, and Dr. Tulia Ackson, the second woman Speaker of the National Parliament.³ The president has substantial appointment powers across the government, albeit unguided by any gender quotas or thresholds. Currently, 36 percent of cabinet ministers are women⁴ and out of the 17 parliamentary standing committees, there are only three that are chaired by women members of parliament (MPs).⁵

Political parties are dominated by men, both in terms of candidates and internal management. No political party constitution includes voluntary party candidate quotas, and few have any policies for women’s

² V. Lihiru, “The 2020 Chadema Special Seats Dispute in Tanzania, Does the National Electoral Commission Comply with the Law?” *Journal of African Elections*, 2021, DOI: 10.20940/JAE/2021/v20i2a6.

³ “Female” connotes a biological category, while a “woman” is a whole human person. As a result, while “woman” technically is a noun, [USAID uses it as an adjective](#) to achieve a more inclusive meaning that emphasizes gender over biological sex. It is for this reason that we have used women/woman instead of “female” and men/man instead of “male” in this report.

⁴ The Parliament of Tanzania, <https://www.parliament.go.tz/pages/history> (accessed February 5, 2023).

⁵ See, Parliament of Tanzania, “Committee Composition.” <https://www.parliament.go.tz/polis/committees/> (accessed February 14, 2023).

representation in party leadership. Although the ruling party is currently headed by a woman chairperson, among the 19 registered political parties in Tanzania, women make up only 10.5 percent of chairpersons and 10.5 percent of general secretaries overall.⁶ The dominance of the ruling party (which again, makes up 89 percent of parliament) makes it difficult for any opposition parties, even if they *were* to put forward more progressive policies or reforms related to women’s participation, to make any major impact.

Women’s ability to effectively wield power within leadership roles is impacted by patriarchal dynamics within political parties and within the country’s broader political and societal systems. Generally, men are the gatekeepers and retain control of which women are nominated to candidate lists for women’s special seats, prioritizing those who represent their own interests. Violence against women in politics, nepotism, and corruption also play a critical role in determining which women are nominated for both the special and constituency seats. Women’s wings within parties do not have influence over candidate nominations or other party decisions. Women’s caucuses in the Parliaments of Tanzania and Zanzibar have also had mixed success in promoting women’s voices within these bodies, in part because of financial and capacity challenges.

BARRIERS TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL

Given this current state of women’s participation and leadership and some recent opportunities afforded by the appointment of President Hassan, it is vital to understand the barriers and opportunities women face ahead of the 2024 local elections and 2025 general elections.

SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

Although there is a growing acceptance of women as voters, activists, party members, candidates, elected and nominated leaders, and election officials, gender stereotypes that shape women’s opportunities to participate in these political roles still prevail. Many men consider themselves to be the head of the family and need to make a final decision on key family issues, including political ones, and maintain the view that women should stay at home and serve the household. In general, women are raised to submit to the authority of a man and, consequently, most women are required to obtain approval from a man relative to register to vote, actually vote during elections, join a political party, become a member of CSO, or run for office, while a man would not be required to do the same. These attitudes in part stem from some interpretations of religious texts that relegate women to second-class citizenship.

Respondents consulted for this assessment shared stories of men undermining women’s ability to participate in political activities and hiding required documents or identification cards. Many respondents also noted peer pressure for men not to allow their daughters and wives to get into politics because they believe that they will lose control over them, or that women will become unavailable for their domestic duties, arrogant, and disrespectful, and that this may lead to family breakdown. In addition, due to a long-entrenched belief that women’s space is at home, at the community level, women are frequently not seen

⁶ According to records available in the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, among the 19 registered political parties, two political parties (Sauti ya Umma and Chama Cha Mapinduzi [CCM]) have women chairpersons. These are Bertha Kango Mpata from Sauti ya Umma, and Samia Suluhu Hassan from CCM. Also, United Democratic Party (UDP), and National Convention for Construction and Reforms (NCCR)-Mageuzi have women general secretaries, Saum Rashid, and Martha Chiomba, respectively.

as capable of leading and women who engage in politics are deemed to have deserted their families. In some cases, the repercussions for a woman participating in political activities without her husband's consent were violence or divorce.

In addition, the assessment found that to be nominated as candidates for both party leadership elections and in local and general elections, women may be subjected to both financial extortion and sextortion within their political parties. Women may succumb to these pressures either because they do not feel qualified or competent or because they feel that this is the only way to secure a nomination. This violence against women in politics occurs, including online, though some women may not report the violence they experience because they fear retaliation from party leaders and potentially being chased out of a political party. Although both the National Elections Act and the Political Parties Act prohibit violence against women, enforcement remains a challenge.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

In political parties, women face a myriad of barriers, as political party operations and activities are often more difficult for women to access and influence than men due to harmful traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes. Women do organize themselves through women's wings, but the autonomy of these groups is minimal, as they report to and depend primarily on the party to finance capacity-strengthening programs. Another challenge to women's representation in politics relates to the party nomination process. The Constitution of Tanzania does not allow independent candidates to run for elections, and the country has been reluctant to implement the 2013 decision of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, which ordered Tanzania to accommodate the right to independent candidacies. Under the current first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system, the success of the party depends on the single candidate it selects per electoral constituency or ward.⁷ Party nomination committees are often reluctant to pick a woman for these competitive seats, in part due to underlying beliefs that voters are less likely to vote for women candidates. Opening up state institutions to political competition and promoting women's participation and leadership, particularly in the ruling party, is key to broader gains in gender equality.

In terms of its legal framework, Tanzania has signed and ratified several general international and regional human rights instruments and enshrined gender equality principles in its national laws, but full implementation of these laws and agreements remains a challenge. The special seats system does, however, give women a guaranteed presence in elected bodies. This can build women's confidence, political knowledge, and financial capacity, and expand their political networks while also giving women political experience and allowing them to ascend to ministerial positions. Nonetheless, the special seats system comes with its own challenges that prevent it from achieving its objectives, further detailed in this report.⁸

⁷ See Makulilo, A. (2020). "Where There Is Power, Women Are Not: Rethinking Women and Politics in Tanzania," *The African Review*, 46(2), 349-365. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1821889X-12340005>

⁸ Makulilo, AB (2009), "Whose affirmative action is affirmative? Lessons from Tanzania," *CEU Political Science Journal*. https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/ceupsj/v4i4/f_0018040_15467.pdf

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

At the individual level, there is a growing interest among women in voting, joining political parties, competing in elections, being nominated for political positions, and engaging in CSOs. Nonetheless, this assessment found that there are still challenges relating to women being unengaged in politics and political processes due to challenges in access to information and illiteracy. In addition, some women also do not see themselves as voters or leaders, due to existing societal roles and expectations of women that undermine women's confidence and skills. Many women also report being occupied with domestic and economic activities, and therefore lacking the time to register as voters, vote, join a political party, or vie for seats.

Women's financial constraints may also limit their political activity and ambitions. In Tanzania, voters are required to cast their ballots for councilors and MPs in the locality where they are registered to vote, often requiring individuals to incur travel expenses to vote. This may affect women's ability to afford transport to polling stations where they are registered.

Women also tend to be more risk averse and, relative to men, tend to consider their household and family financial responsibilities before running for a political post. Party membership and candidate nomination fees can also be prohibitive for women seeking to engage in the political process. It is expensive to manage a political campaign for both the primaries and actual elections.

Once elected or appointed, women are able to assume the positions and fulfill their responsibilities, and some continue to advance into other positions of power, but all still face significant challenges, as detailed in this report. Women leaders often have opportunities to build their capacity as leaders through work with United Nations (UN) agencies, regional parliaments, and organizations, and through the cross-country caucuses of WROs (for example, the Tanzania Women's Parliamentary Group for the National Assembly in Mainland Tanzania, the Association of Zanzibar Women Members of the House of Representatives, and the Association of women in local government, popularly known as *Wanawake wa Serikali za Mitaa*, or WASEMI). However, such capacity-building interventions are often ad hoc in nature, uncoordinated, and externally funded, which diminish their sustainability.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

These barriers and opportunities have informed several recommendations for action presented in this WPPL assessment, which are summarized below and detailed in the report.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO ADDRESS SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

- **Support men engagement programs.** As detailed in this assessment, regressive attitudes that men frequently have toward women can impede the ability of women to participate in political processes freely and meaningfully. Working with men (in particular, men in elected office, men in political parties, and men family members of women who wish to be active in politics) to better their understanding of power sharing, privilege, and gender equality is one way to combat this challenge.
- **Support local-level programming.** One criticism of some WROs that the team found during data collection was that most of the organizations are concentrated in the capital and do not have as

much of a presence at a more local level. A capacity-strengthening mechanism for WROs should focus on supporting them to develop programming to increase women’s political participation at the village, street, and ward levels—in addition to the national level.

- **Support WROs in undertaking a comprehensive initiative to address violence against women in politics and public life.** Violence against women in politics is a pervasive issue in Tanzania, and a holistic strategy with relevant electoral stakeholders is needed to combat this issue.
- **Support leadership development and norms transformation among girls and boys, including as part of the school curriculum.** Entrenched social norms make it difficult for young girls and women to aspire to political leadership positions, and for young boys and men to understand how gender equality helps all people. Young people therefore need to be engaged at an early age to develop progressive attitudes about gender equality that translate into inclusive behaviors.
- **Support civic and voter education campaigns that emphasize women’s right (and duty as citizens) to vote and that counter stereotypes against women leaders.** The program should also seek to engage women voters, who themselves do not always believe in women leaders, and traditional and faith leaders who can undermine gender-equal outcomes.
- **Support media institutions and journalists to provide more gender-sensitive coverage.** As noted in the report, the media is a space that can perpetuate existing harmful gender stereotypes (for example, calling the current president, a woman, “mama” and the past president, a man, “the rock” or “the bulldozer”). Journalists, editors, and other media professionals would benefit from support on how to provide more gender-sensitive media coverage, in particular when discussing women leaders.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO ADDRESS INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

- **Support ongoing legislative and constitutional reforms.** Ongoing legal reform efforts provide a window of opportunity for advancing legislative and constitutional changes related to women’s role in politics. Given the current momentum to review the existing legal framework, development partners should provide support to Tanzanian stakeholders to 1) ensure that the review of these laws is inclusive and that women’s groups are represented in these conversations and 2) provide comparative technical expertise regarding potential legal reforms that could better support women’s political participation.
- **Amend Section 6A (2) (5) (a) (b) and (c) of the Political Parties Amendment Act.** Because political parties are key institutions for promoting women’s political participation, and because of the myriad challenges women face engaging with and being members of political parties, specific reforms (detailed in the *Recommendations for Action* section) are recommended to ensure parties are held accountable to meaningfully promote WPPL.
- **Reform the special seats system.** Despite its contribution to increasing the number of women seeking office, elected, and nominated to positions of power, the women’s special seats system suffers from several challenges described in this report. If this system is to be maintained, a new framework for the special seats system should be created, as further detailed in the *Recommendations for Action* section.

- **Work with political parties to address violence against women politicians.** Violence is one of the major barriers that not only keeps women from entering politics but keeps them from staying. Therefore, it is critical to work with political parties—whose own members are often the perpetrators of this violence—to address this issue.
- **Work with political parties to democratize internal party processes and policies so that they are more supportive of women’s nomination to competitive seats.** Since there are reserved seats in parliament for women, parties often nominate men to run in the competitive constituency seats. These seats, unlike the special seats, are positions that can be appointed to prime minister and receive constituency funding for activities. To encourage political parties to nominate more women to these seats, stakeholders should work with political parties on various initiatives, detailed in the *Recommendations* section, to promote women’s equal participation.
- **Support efforts to change the Political Parties Amendment Act.** Women’s wings are often under-resourced and do not have meaningful power in decision-making at the party leadership level. This reform would require political parties to allocate part of their subsidies to help advance women in politics.
- **Work with the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) to produce disaggregated data** for all candidates, registered voters, voter turnout, observers, election officials, and election winners by sex, age, disability status, and other identity characteristics. Gender-disaggregated data would allow institutions to develop initiatives based on nuanced analyses of which citizens could use what type of support and where.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO ADDRESS INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

- **Work with civil society and other actors to provide capacity-building support for women aspirants and candidates.** Many women who are interested in running for office or who are already candidates do not feel like they have the necessary skills to win. Capacity-strengthening training should focus on public speaking, fundraising, political resilience, and other relevant topics.
- **Provide mentoring and coaching to women activists and aspirants.** Individual women face high rates of social sanction when participating in politics and activism. It is critical to support a coaching and mentoring program that will provide peer-to-peer support for women to build their confidence, tenacity, and resilience, as well as practical skills needed for political participation.
- **Provide capacity-building support to newly elected women representatives after the 2025 election.** Due to the broad range of challenges women face in elected office, the turnover rate for women in parliament and other elected bodies is often high, even though women who have served have valuable experience that can support them in running for office in the future (and winning). Development partners should work collaboratively with UN agencies, regional parliaments/organizations, and WROs to provide training for women in parliament, especially those in their first term. This initiative should be provided at key times and at regular intervals so that women understand: 1) the responsibilities of their roles and how to fulfill them; 2) how to effectively communicate internally with other elected officials and party leaders and externally to

the media and other stakeholders; 3) how to negotiate within their parties regarding leadership positions and future candidacy opportunities; and 4) how to be resilient in the face of the challenges they will likely face. This type of program could support leadership coaching so that women can climb the political ladder by taking leadership roles, including in strategic committees in the National Assembly (NA), the House of Representatives, and councils.

- **Support programming to increase women’s access to and control over financial resources.** Political candidates are often required to finance their own campaigns; this is especially true for women candidates, who might not benefit from the same amount of party support as their men counterparts. Developing initiatives meant to increase women’s economic empowerment and financial freedom—though it may seem tangential to political participation—can help women both earn the resources they need to participate in politics and gain important skills that can support them as candidates, in political office, and in other roles.

INTRODUCTION

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES

Under the USAID Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research II Activity, USAID/Tanzania tasked NORC at the University of Chicago with implementing five country-level WPPL assessments based on the latest iteration of the WPPL Assessment Framework. The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify key barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL that exist at the sociocultural, institutional, and individual levels:⁹

1. **Sociocultural factors** involve assumptions about appropriate norms and practices shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. They include gender stereotypes, prevailing views on gender roles, and cultural ideas about gender equality.
2. **Institutional factors** structure the political environment, establishing the formal and informal rules and systems in which political actors operate. They include the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context.
3. **Individual factors** refer to the calculations of individual women whether to participate in politics. These include levels of political ambition, as well as resources and support for their political engagement.

These three factors work together as an “ecosystem” to create environments that support or undermine WPPL and should be evaluated together to develop holistic strategies for advancing WPPL.

This report discusses the results of the Tanzania WPPL Assessment. The results are intended to guide the Mission’s program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources aimed at advancing WPPL in Tanzania, as well as inform the work of other stakeholders working on gender and democracy in Tanzania.

COUNTRY BACKGROUND

According to the August 2022 Population and Housing Census, there are about 61 million Tanzanians, with 59 million on the Mainland and 1.8 million in Zanzibar. There are more women than men in the country: women make up 51 percent of the population (31,687,990) and 49 percent are men (30,053,130).¹⁰ The republic is administratively divided into 31 regions, with 26 regions on the Mainland and five in Zanzibar. There are a total of 264 constituencies in the country, of which 214 are in Mainland Tanzania and 50 are in Zanzibar.

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 describes a democratic, secular, and socialist state that adheres to multiparty democracy.¹¹ The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar are the two organs vested with executive powers in the respective jurisdictions. The Mainland and Zanzibar maintain separate judiciaries and legislatures.¹²

⁹ Krook, Mona Lena. *Women’s Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework*, 2.

¹⁰ National Bureau of Statistics, 2022 Population and Housing Census - Preliminary Report.

¹¹ Article 3 (1) of the Constitution, 1977.

¹² Article 4 (1) of the Constitution, 1977.

The United Republic and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar each have their own electoral laws and election management bodies (EMBs), the NEC and the ZEC, to govern matters related to elections of both central and local governments in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar, respectively. The national laws governing general elections in Mainland Tanzania include but are not limited to the Constitution; the National Elections Act, Cap. 343 as amended in 2015; the National (Presidential and Parliamentary) Elections Regulations, 2020; the Local Government Authority (Elections) Act, Cap. 292, revised in 2015; the Election Expenses Act, 2020; and the Political Parties Act (Amendment), Cap. 258. In Zanzibar, elections are guided by the Zanzibar Constitution of 1984, the Elections Act No. 4 of 2018, the Establishment of Office of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission Act No. 1 of 2017, and the Referendum Act No. 6 of 2020.

Tanzania has ratified all major international and regional political and civil rights conventions related to WPPL, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and others, further detailed in this report. In Tanzania, gender is integrated into the National Five-Year Development Plan (2021/2022–2025/2026), and the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 emphasizes the country's commitment to promoting gender equality in all social, economic, and political contexts. Furthermore, national laws have somewhat complied with international and regional civil and political conventions. Article 21 of the Constitution allows everyone to participate in public life. Laws enable women to be voters, members of political parties, activists, and election officials. Article 6 A (5) of the Political Parties Amendment Act of 2019 requires political parties “to promote among other things gender, youth, and social inclusion in the (a) formulation and implementation of its policies; (b) nomination of candidates for elections; and (c) election of its leaders,” although it does not set quotas for political parties.¹³

Although Tanzania operated as a multiparty democracy prior to independence in 1961, it became a *de facto* one-party state soon after independence and *de jure* one-party state in 1965. The CCM¹⁴ party has served as the supreme organ of the State, managing all civic organizations for three decades during which CCM's women's wing, *Umoja Wa Wanawake wa Tanzania* (Union of Tanzanian Women) served as the only platform for representing women's interests.¹⁵ WPPL was limited owing to constrained civic space and deep-rooted patriarchal values. In this environment, it was difficult for a woman to be nominated and win an election or seek and serve in other leadership roles in politics.

As part of its socialist ideology, CCM adopted a strategy to aggregate different groups in parliament. Thus, the national member of parliament system was introduced. It included affiliated mass organizations like women, workers' associations, the army, and cooperatives of youth and parents. With the exception of the 1985 and 1990 general elections where one and two women MPs were elected from constituencies respectively, women became MPs through the national member of parliament system as indicated in Table 1. Under this scheme, CCM reserved 15 seats for women and another 15 seats for members of other affiliated mass organizations.

¹³ [https://www.osg.go.tz/uploads/publications/sw1570617533-1.%20THE%20POLITICAL%20PARTIES%20\(AMENDMENT\)%20ACT,%202018%20%204%20FEBRUARI,%202019%20FI%20NAL%2026TH%20FEBRUARY%202019.pdf](https://www.osg.go.tz/uploads/publications/sw1570617533-1.%20THE%20POLITICAL%20PARTIES%20(AMENDMENT)%20ACT,%202018%20%204%20FEBRUARI,%202019%20FI%20NAL%2026TH%20FEBRUARY%202019.pdf).

¹⁴ And its predecessor the Tanganyika Africa National Union.

¹⁵ Constitution of the Jumuiya ya Wanawake wa Tanzania, 1978.

Table 1: Members of Parliament by gender 1961–1990

YEAR	MEN	WOMEN (ELECTED FROM CONSTITUENCY)	WOMEN (NATIONAL MPs)	TOTAL MPs	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN
1961	73	0	6	79	7.5
1965	176	0	6	183	3.3
1970	185	0	9	194	4.6
1975	194	0	13	207	6.7
1980	161	0	6	167	3.6
1985	216	1	22	239	9.6
1990	216	2	19	242	8.7

Source: Meena, 1997; Koda 1995.

In 1992, both external and internal factors led to the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in Tanzania.¹⁶ The transition to multiparty democracy brought positive changes in WPPL. Acknowledging women’s underrepresentation in political decision-making organs, the Constitution was amended and the government introduced the special seats system in 1992, set at 15 percent of Parliament and later increased to 20 and 30 percent in 2000 and 2005, respectively. The proportion of special seats was further increased to 40 percent in 2015, following a government directive to the National Electoral Commission.¹⁷ Women’s special seats—which are not elected positions—are distributed after the election among the political parties with more than five percent of elected parliamentary seats. Likewise, in the Mainland, the local government (district and urban) authorities Cap. 287 and 288 provide that one-third of all councilor seats should be reserved for women through the special seats system. In Zanzibar, the Constitution provides for special seats at 40 percent of the House of Representatives. Only political parties with 10 percent of House of Representative seats qualify to nominate women for special seats, a requirement that has been criticized for making smaller parties miss an opportunity to nominate women for special seats and resulting in some of the seats not being filled.¹⁸ Similarly, the Zanzibar Local Government Authority Act of 2014 reserves 40 percent of seats for women in the councils.

Political parties are the main gatekeepers for women entering parliament and local legislative positions, whether through elected constituencies or special seats. Tanzania does not allow for independent candidates.¹⁹

¹⁶ P. Msekwa, “Reflection on The First Decade of Multi-Party Politics in Tanzania,” Available at <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/6842664>, P. 13 (Accessed June 10, 2023).

¹⁷ National Electoral Commission (2020), *Report on the 2020 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors’ Elections* (Dodoma: NEC) ISBN 978-9976-9957-4-9.

¹⁸ Two women’s special seats are currently not filled in the ZHoR because other political parties apart from CCM got 10 percent of the seats.

¹⁹ A Makulilo, “The Independent Candidate Case by the African Court of Human and Peoples’ Rights Revisited,” (2017 Vol.5) *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies (IJHRCS)*.

In 2011, the United Republic of Tanzania embarked on a process of writing a new constitution. Although the process stalled in 2014 and has not yet been revived, several elements of the process presented opportunities for strengthening WPPL. After former President Kikwete announced the launch of the new constitution-making process, women organized themselves and formed the *Wanawake na Katiba Coalition* (Women’s Coalition on the Constitution) hereinafter referred to as the Women’s Coalition, to streamline priorities, lobby, and ensure that the new constitution would be inclusive of women’s political, social, and economic rights. Due to the strategic positioning of the Women’s Coalition,²⁰ the coalition was invited several times to share women’s views, priorities, and issues concerning the new constitution. The Women’s Coalition identified twelve key demands.²¹ The demands encompassed, among other things, the need for the new constitution to provide for equal representation between men and women to engage in all levels of decision-making processes. Overall, the proposed draft constitution covered the general principles of equality before the law, non-discrimination, human rights, equality of persons, and gender equality. It also raised the gender quota to 50 percent and allowed independent candidates.²²

From 2015–2021, Tanzania experienced a closing of civic and political space under the late President John Magufuli.²³ The State unconstitutionally banned political rallies, which affected how political parties operated, including their efforts to promote women’s political rights. This restricted space undermined political pluralism and the work of civil society in Tanzania²⁴ and led to the re-emergence of near one-party legislatures following the 2020 elections, where the ruling CCM party gained 94 percent of seats in the NA and 92 percent of seats in the ZHoR.²⁵

Following the untimely demise of President Magufuli in 2021, his vice president ascended to the role of the presidency in accordance with the Constitution, resulting in a woman president for the first time in

²⁰ The Women’s Coalition has 65 women-member organizations who are defenders of human rights, especially women’s and children’s rights, with multiple and variable experiences equitably distributed country-wide. See Ruth Meena “Gender analysis of the proposed constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania: Gains and Challenges” (2014).

²¹ These priorities were: women’s rights to be spelled out in the constitution; prohibiting all laws, regulations, and practices that discriminate against women; women’s rights to dignity to be protected by the constitution; the international instruments and standards to be respected and translated into laws; the constitution to guarantee equal rights for women in decision-making organs; spelling out the age of the child (to protect girl children against early marriages); women’s rights to access, control, and benefit from national resources should be spelled out in the constitution; women’s rights to maternal health services to be spelled out; women’s rights to access and benefit from basic services to be spelled out; the rights of women with disabilities to be spelled out; a commission to monitor and oversee implementation of these rights to be provided as one of the accountability instruments for gender equality; a family court to be provided for in the constitution.

²² https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/legacy/iri.org/wysiwyg/tanzania_gender_report.pdf

²³ Paget, Dan. 2017. “Tanzania: Shrinking Space and Opposition Protest.” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 153–167.

²⁴ Freedom House reports steadily declining scores for Tanzania on civil and political rights since 2017. See Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2022: Tanzania*, <https://freedomhouse.org/country/tanzania/freedom-world/2022>.

²⁵ Cheeseman, Nic, Hilary Matfess, and Alitalali Amani. 2021. “Tanzania: The Roots of Repression.” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 77–89.

Tanzania's history. Samia Suluhu Hassan was sworn in as president in March of 2021—her administration has marked a reopening of civic and political space. President Hassan has promised to undertake key reforms in the electoral laws as part of her “4Rs” agenda (Reconciliation, Resilience, Reforms, and Rebuilding of the nation). In December 2021, President Hassan formed a Taskforce on Multiparty Democracy as part of her efforts to rebuild democracy in the country. The taskforce produced a report covering nine areas, including political rallies, conduct of elections, and participation of women and vulnerable groups in multiparty democracy. The taskforce recommended the resumption of national political rallies and non-interference by the state of internal political parties' meetings. The taskforce also recommended that representation of any one gender in political parties' decision-making structures should not be below 40 percent, and it called upon political parties to create gender policies. The taskforce also suggested a mechanism for nominating women special seats candidates, introduced a gender desk, highlighted the need for gender-based violence (GBV) policy, and recommended capacity-building programs for women aspirants at all levels.²⁶

The Hassan administration has begun implementing recommendations from the taskforce. Political parties' rallies have been reinstated, and reforms of the Political Parties Act and electoral law for the 2025 general elections are underway. In March, President Hassan reaffirmed her commitment to finalizing a new constitution at an International Women's Day event, and on May 6, she directed various leaders from government institutions and political parties to evaluate the implementation status of the recommendations from the taskforce.²⁷ In the 2023–2024 budget speech, the Minister for Constitution and Legal Affairs presented priorities of the Ministry, “the most important of which is coordinating the new constitutional writing process.”²⁸ Yet, on July 10, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties issued a letter (Ref. No. HA.269/322/01A/196) to all registered political parties to send their views with regard to four laws: (a) enactment of a new law on the NEC, (b) enactment of a new law on elections of the president, MPs, and councilors, (c) amendment of the Political Parties Act. Cap. 258, and (d) amendment of the Election Expenses Act. Cap. 278. Despite these efforts, a multi-agency government meeting decided to postpone the constitutional drafting process until 2026 to educate citizens on reform proposals and priorities.²⁹

In 2022, Tanzania celebrated 30 years of multiparty democracy³⁰ and 61 years of independence. The number of women directly elected from constituencies has increased from eight women in 1995 (or 3 percent) to 26 in the 2020 general elections (approximately 10 percent) out of a total of 264 seats of this type. Additionally, for the first time in history, women head two arms of the government—the president and speaker of the NA. Moreover, women make up the majority of voters and party members; 36.9 percent of the NA is women, and 36 percent of the ministers are women. In the judiciary, out of 1,541 judicial staff, there are 728 women staff (47 percent) and 813 men staff (53 percent). Table 2 provides the rank of such staff starting from the Primary Court up to the Court of Appeal. While the gender gap is

²⁶ Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (2022) Kikosi Kazi Cha Mheshimiwa Rais wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania kilichofanyia kazi masuala yanayohusu Demokrasia ya Vyama Vingi vya Siasa Nchini. Dar es Salaam.

²⁷ <https://constitutionnet.org/news/tanzanias-pathway-new-constitution-genuine-progress-or-political-rhetoric>.

²⁸ <https://dailynews.co.tz/ministry-prioritises-constitutional-writing/>.

²⁹ <https://www.trtafrika.com/africa/tanzanians-to-wait-longer-for-constitutional-reform-14736743>.

³⁰ Tanzania has also been described as a competitive authoritarian regime, an electoral democracy, a hybrid-regime, a one-dominant-party system, and a state-party system by various sources.

relatively wider at the Court of Appeal and the High Court, there are improvements at the Primary Court and Resident Magistrate levels. It is also worth noting that women make up 21 percent of all ambassadors representing Tanzania in various countries.³¹

Table 2: Judicial staff by sex (up to May 31, 2023)

DESIGNATION	MEN	WOMEN	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN	TOTAL
Chief Justice	1	0	0	1
Justice of Appeal	19	12	39	31
High Court Judges	57	31	35	88
Resident Magistrates	563	559	50	1122
Primary Court Judges	138	103	43	241
Registrars	2	1	33	3
Deputy Registrars	30	21	41	51
Directors	1	1	50	2
Assistant Directors	2	0	0	2
Total	813	728	47	1541

Source: *The Judiciary of Tanzania*.

Despite the progress, challenges to women’s political leadership and participation remain. Although 37.4 percent of the NA of Tanzania is made up of women, only 26 women (9.8 percent) were elected from a total of 264 constituencies, while the rest are from special seats, were nominated by the president, or represent the ZHoR. The special seats system for women only applies at the parliamentary, councilor, and village/street assembly levels; it does not apply to presidential appointments or other arms of the government. Also, MPs/councilors nominated via the special seats system face a myriad of challenges: nomination of MPs via special seats lacks a common legal framework contrary to Article 81 of the Constitution (i.e., each political party has its own nomination system—some are not transparent and impartial). Because the special seats MPs are not elected, they are not entitled to constituency development funds³² and cannot be appointed as prime minister. In most cases, special seats MPs face conflictual relationships with incumbent constituency MPs because a member via special seat is regarded as a potential competitor.³³ While women do not win a large number of directly-elected seats, women who were originally elected to special seats account for more than 50 percent of the directly elected seats they have won.³⁴ So while the “special seat” MPs are potential challengers to constituency MPs, only 26

³¹ Electoral Institute of Southern Africa Interim Report for 2020 General Elections.

³² Central government funds distributed to elected MPs to service their constituencies in electoral districts.

³³ Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (2022) Kikosi Kazi Cha Mheshimiwa Rais wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania kilichofanyia kazi masuala yanayohusu Demokrasia ya Vyama Vingi vya Siasa Nchini. Dar es Salaam.

³⁴ <https://www.cmi.no/publications/6512-switches-from-quota-to-non-quota-seats>.

women were directly elected to these seats. While most of the directly elected women originally came from special seats, men still hold more than 90 percent of the directly elected seats.

METHODOLOGY

The WPPL assessment in Tanzania has three parts: part I involves mapping the current state of WPPL in Tanzania, part II entails analyzing barriers and opportunities to WPPL in the Tanzanian context, and part III involves the writing of the final report and making evidence-based recommendations.

The assessment findings discussed in this report are derived from a desk review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a survey of 119 politicians, 20 KIIs, and 8 FGDs with politicians, civil society, and media in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. The Tanzania assessment team conducted in-country data collection for this assessment between April 13, 2023 and June 8, 2023. Please refer to Annex A for more details on the sources of information used for this assessment.

CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation refers to a wide array of activities citizens can engage in to influence political decision-making or solve collective problems, including actions taken individually or collectively in civil society.³⁵ Common forms of political participation include voting, engaging in political discussions, contacting elected officials, attending a political rally or campaign event, signing petitions, protesting, joining political parties, and participating in CSOs and social movements.³⁶

The role of women within political and civic spaces reflects the social and gender norms prevalent within the wider Tanzanian society, underpinned by patriarchy and authoritarianism. Women make up 51.3 percent of the Tanzanian population,³⁷ but their access to and power in decision-making structures of political and civic spaces is not proportional to their share of the population.

ACCESS TO PARTICIPATION

Women's access to political participation refers to women's ability to take part in political processes such as voting, joining a political party, engaging in political activism, serving on electoral commissions, and being part of civil society movements more generally, among others.

Voter Registration and Turnout. The constitution and election laws give Tanzanian men and women equal rights to vote in a secret ballot in local and general elections.³⁸ Tanzania has seen commendable rates of women's registration as voters during election periods. For example, during the 2020 general elections, slightly more women than men were registered as voters in Mainland Tanzania (50.33 percent—see Table 3) and in Zanzibar (51.9 percent—see Table 4). Unfortunately, data from the electoral commissions—NEC and ZEC—is not disaggregated by demographic characteristics apart from sex. It is therefore difficult to understand the voting registration patterns of different subgroups of women and how this varies across age and other socioeconomic characteristics.

Table 3: Registered voters in mainland Tanzania for the 2020 general election

VOTERS BY SEX	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Men	14,496,604	49.67%
Women	14,691,743	50.33%
Total	29,188,347	100%

Source: NEC, 2021.

³⁵ Verba, S., Scholzman, K. L. and Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

³⁶ Krook, Mona Lena. *Women's Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework*, 6.

³⁷ National Bureau of Statistics, 2022 Population and Housing Census - Preliminary Report.

³⁸ Article 5 of the 1977 Constitution.

Table 4: Registered voters in Zanzibar for the 2020 general election

VOTERS BY SEX	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Men	272,115	48.04%
Women	294,237	51.9%
Total	566, 352	100%

Source: ZEC, 2021.

Despite calls from WROs and election observers for EMBs to disaggregate data based on sex, the NEC and ZEC also do not provide sex-disaggregated voter turnout data. As with voter registration, there is insufficient data available to examine how patterns in voter turnout vary across different subgroups of women. This makes it difficult to track turnout of voting behavior on the basis of gender, age, geographical location, socioeconomic, and related characteristics.

Party Membership and Platforms. In KIIs held for this assessment, party leaders maintained that women make up the majority of their party members (KII, Political Party Leader, Mainland Tanzania). However, it is difficult to obtain an accurate measure of the share of women within Tanzania’s political parties because the parties do not disaggregate or report their lists of party members by sex or other demographic and socioeconomic characteristics (KII, Government Official, Mainland Tanzania). The leading political parties in the country, namely, CCM, Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), Civic United Front (CUF), Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo), and National Convention for Construction and Reforms (NCCR-Mageuzi), do all formally recognize equality and non-discrimination. This is reflected primarily through the preambles to their constitutions, in their efforts to recruit women members, and in the establishment of women’s wings of their parties.

The ruling party’s women’s wing is known as *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania* (Union of Tanzanian Women). During the one-party system period (1965–1992), the Union of Tanzanian Women was considered a representative of all women across Tanzania. After the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in 1992, new political parties were formed. A 2023 study by the Tanzania Center for Democracy shows that most established political parties—specifically, CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, ACT-Wazalendo, and NCCR-Mageuzi—have functioning women’s wings.³⁹ The 2020 CCM Manifesto indicates that leaders of its women’s wing, the Union of Tanzanian Women, are tasked with equipping themselves and preparing women to fight the patriarchy and any sort of violence against women.

Participation in EMBs and as Poll Workers or Other Capacities During Elections.⁴⁰ The commissioners in the NEC and ZEC are appointed by the presidents of the United Republic of Tanzania and Zanzibar respectively. There is no mandate to observe a gender balance in their appointments. Women’s representation in EMBs has generally been lower than men’s. As indicated in Table 5, the composition of

³⁹ Tanzania Center for Democracy, A gender Analysis of Political Parties Policy Document, May 2023. Unpublished Report.

⁴⁰ The WPPL assessment framework also suggests looking at women’s representation as election *observers*, in addition to their representation as election *workers*; however, the team was not able to obtain data on this for Tanzania.

the NEC and ZEC Commissioners has generally been dominated by men, although the gender disparity has been greater in the ZEC relative to the NEC. In each of its last three iterations, the ZEC has never had more than one woman commissioner and there were none in 2015. The share of women commissioners in the NEC has been closer to proportional, with women serving in three of the seven seats in 2015, and two of the six seats in 2020. Both the NEC and ZEC have never had a woman chairperson. It is noteworthy that the NEC does not have a policy on gender inclusion; this is currently under development with support from UN Women. The ZEC has had a gender inclusion policy since 2015, which was likewise developed through the support of UN Women. Neither the ZEC nor the NEC has a gender unit/directorate, but both have a gender focal person nominated by staff (KII, Electoral Official, Zanzibar).

Table 5: Commissioners of EMBs by sex

Year	ZEC		NEC	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
2020	6	1	4	2
2015	7	0	4	3
2010	6	1	5	2

Source: TEMCO 2011, 2016, Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania, 2021.

Women do tend to comprise a greater share of lower-level election officials, although data available for this assessment suggests there is substantial variation across districts. KIIs conducted for this assessment suggested that women and young people do serve as election officials, but not commonly in senior roles such as presiding officers or polling station managers. People with disabilities rarely serve as election officials. While official data on the gender composition of poll workers and related election officials is not available, some inferences can be made from data obtained from election observers. For example, according to the Tanzania Bora Initiative (TBI), which served as a key election observer in the 2020 general election, 54.8 percent of the polling stations TBI observed in the 2020 general election had election officials who were women.⁴¹ TBI also reported that a clear majority of polling stations had youth officials in the areas where TBI undertook observation, with 70 percent of the stations having between three and four youth officials and an additional 21 percent having one to two youth officials.⁴²

Recruitment data from 13 selected districts as observed by Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania indicated that although men constituted 55 percent of recruited staff for voter registration efforts, 45 percent of voter registration officers were women. As Table 6 shows, women constituted close to 60 percent or more of recruited voter registration administrators in certain Mainland districts, such as in Songea, Handeni, Ubungo, Chakechake, and Tanga municipal councils. In Zanzibar, ZEC recruited 100 registration officers, mostly men, per Table 7. However, there was gender balance for the recruited Assistant Registration Officers (AROs), as women comprised 51 percent (2,838) of the 5,528 AROs.⁴³

⁴¹ [TBI Report on the 2020 Elections in Tanzania.pdf](#).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ It is important to mention that in many constituencies NEC could not provide, upon request by the Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania long-term observers, the disaggregated data of recruited election personnel

Table 6: Voter registration staff by gender in selected constituencies

DISTRICT	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	% WOMEN
Songea MC	344	147	197	57.3
Njombe	200	124	76	38.0
Namtumbo	290	168	122	42.1
Handeni	532	390	312	58.6
Mtwara DC	558	367	191	34.2
Newala DC	206	128	78	37.8
Ruangwa	260	186	74	28.5
Mkinga	384	234	150	39.1
Bumbuli	362	248	114	31.5
Ubungo	624	212	412	66.0
Chakechake	14	5	9	64.3
Korogwe	580	402	178	30.7
Tanga MC	484	198	286	59.1
AVERAGE (%)			45.2	

Source: Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania, 2021.

Table 7: Recruited ZEC officials by gender

OFFICIAL	MEN	%	WOMEN	%	TOTAL
ROs	85	85	15	15	100
AROs	2690	49	2838	51	5528

Source: ZEC 2021; Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania, 2021.

Participation in Civil Society. Assessment findings suggest that women’s participation in CSOs remains largely focused on areas related to gender equality and women’s empowerment. Although several women’s groups do exist in Tanzanian civil society, there is a growing number of CSOs working explicitly on women’s rights issues. This includes those who identify as WROs and, to a lesser extent, those who identify as feminist organizations. However, women’s access to such organizations may be limited outside of particular geographies or demographics. According to FGDs conducted for this assessment with men and women in CSOs and political parties, most of these organizations receive donor funding, are based in Dar es Salaam and other major towns, are considered elitist, and are often not sufficiently inclusive or

based on age, gender, or disability status (see the Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania Observation Report 2021 pp. 114).

representative, particularly of marginalized groups of women (FGD, Men in CSOs, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

There is also a small but active group of women’s organizations that explicitly aims to tackle the roots of the patriarchy and push for transformation of political and leadership space, including on women’s civic and political rights.⁴⁴ This group includes organizations such as the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, Women in Law and Development in Africa, Legal and Human Rights Center (LHRC), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Women Fund Tanzania, and Tanzania Women Lawyers Association. The Tanzania Gender Networking Programme specifically cites a “transformative gender movement” as part of its mission, and the Women in Law and Development in Africa works with men from rural areas—including religious and traditional leaders—to empower them as gender equality champions to help educate communities on the importance of women’s participation in decision-making. In addition to other activities, LHRC provides advice and support on strategic litigation related to human rights and gender equality.

There are also several organizations specifically working for different subgroups of women. For example, there are organizations for people with disabilities working for women with disabilities, such as *Shirikisho la Vyama Vya Watu Wenye Ulemavu Tanzania*, *Jumuiya ya Wanawake Wenye Ulemavu Tanzania*, and Voice of Disabled Women in Tanzania. While women lead the women-specific organizations for people with disabilities, they are underrepresented in the leadership positions of mainstream organizations for people with disabilities such as *Shirikisho la Vyama Vya Watu Wenye Ulemavu Tanzania* and its member organizations. There are also organizations working on issues related to pastoralist women (such as Pastoralist Women Council), young women (such as Msichana Initiative and Her Initiative), and women in the media (such as TAMWA). TAMWA works specifically with media organizations and practitioners, training journalists and supporting the coverage of news related to women. Msichana Initiative, on the other hand, has built its reputation focusing on girls’ rights to education and fighting for an increase in the legal age of marriage from 14 or 15 to 18 years (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

Many women’s organizations also contribute to increasing women’s political participation through various community-based and national-level programs. This programming often consists of a combination of community awareness-raising around women’s political participation, gender-sensitive civic and voter education, legal and policy advocacy for a better enabling environment, strategic litigation, research and evidence-building, and campaign for systemic transformation and engagement of men in support of women’s political participation. In addition, some of these organizations have provided training to women candidates; for example, LHRC, TAMWA, the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, and TWCP trained more than 1,200 women, young people, and people with disabilities running for office in 2015.⁴⁵ However, those that do focus on improving women’s political participation generally do not have the capacity to support women candidates with direct funds for their campaigns, and they are also constrained by the need to appear nonpartisan.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Makulilo A. & Mohammed B. (2021): Building a transformative feminist movement for women empowerment in Tanzania: the role of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, *Africa Review*, 13(2): 155–174.

⁴⁵ <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/10/women-claim-their-space-in-tanzania-elections>.

⁴⁶ See the Non-Governmental Organizations Policy of 2001; see also the Non-Governmental Organizations Act, (Cap 56).

POWER IN PARTICIPATION

Power in political participation refers to women’s voice and agency as political actors (as voters and members of political parties, EMBs, and civil society, just to name a few). This section focuses on assessing aspects of the current state of women’s political empowerment on the same set of issues addressed in the preceding section on access, given available data on the same.

Voter Registration and Turnout. The assessment finds that as voters, women’s ability to exercise their right to vote is limited by various social dynamics, although it is difficult to characterize how commonly this is experienced. Interference by other family members was a commonly raised theme. In some reported incidents, men have threatened women with divorce,⁴⁷ seized women’s voter cards to stop women from voting, and used their political, economic, and social power to dictate who women should vote for (KII, Woman CSO representative, Zanzibar). Other sources reviewed for this assessment also corroborate that violence and intimidation appeared to have depressed voter turnout by women to some extent.⁴⁸ Interviews conducted for this assessment suggest this appears to be a particular concern in Zanzibar, especially when a woman expresses support for a candidate that her husband, father, or brother does not approve of (KII, Woman CSO representative, Zanzibar). It also particularly affects women with disabilities, who are often reliant on members of their families to assist their access to vote (KII, Woman CSO representative, Zanzibar).

Party Membership and Platforms. Within political parties, the assessment finds that women’s power to contribute to party processes and policies as party members is also limited. Political parties’ policy documents for many parties do not consider women’s inclusion in areas such as representation in decision-making bodies, candidate nominations, allocation of resources, or capacity-building. Most parties’ policy documents are silent on financing and capacity-building for women within the party.⁴⁹ An exception is CHADEMA, which drafted and issued a women’s and children’s manifesto for the 2020 general election.

Most of the political parties’ election manifestos do include a specific section on what are typically considered “women’s issues,” such as sexual and reproductive health, girls’ school re-entry, and women’s land ownership, albeit with varying depth and quality.⁵⁰ Qualitative data collected for this assessment indicated that women party members also face additional challenges in carrying out party operations. For example, although party leaders recognized that women members are instrumental in door-to-door campaigns, they indicated women must be accompanied by the (men) authority that gave them such

⁴⁷ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/08/scores-of-women-divorced-or-abandoned-for-voting-in-tanzanian-elections>.

⁴⁸ See Krook M. (2018). No party to violence: Analyzing violence against women in political parties: Compendium Report of Country Pilots in Côte d’Ivoire, Honduras, Tanzania, and Tunisia, https://mlkrook.org/pdf/VAW-PP_2019.pdf. See also UN Women Tanzania Final Project Evaluation (2017) Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation in Tanzania. Sambodhi Limited, Tanzania A103, Slipway Apartments, Chole Road, Masaki, Dar-es-Salaam.

⁴⁹ Tanzania Center for Democracy, A gender Analysis of Political Parties Policy Document, May 2023. Unpublished Report.

⁵⁰ See the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2013) Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens, Stockholm, Sweden, pp. 44-45.

responsibility, with the rationale that women cannot be trusted to undertake a campaign on their own (FGD, Men Politicians, Mainland Tanzania).

EMBs and Other Election Roles. Women’s roles and degree of empowerment within EMBs and in other election capacities are also fairly limited, and likely shaped by women’s smaller share of representation in EMBs and in other positions of authority together with insufficient policy and implementation attention to gender inclusion. For example, while the Access section of this assessment notes that the ZEC has a gender policy, its effectiveness is questionable. Qualitative data suggested that the ZEC’s gender policy does not have an implementation plan or funding (KII, Electoral Official, Zanzibar). Likewise, the gender focal points described above may not be able to direct sufficient attention to gender issues, given their other responsibilities. Qualitative data collected for this assessment indicate they do not work solely on inclusion aspects of elections, and their day-to-day responsibilities as members of the EMBs take precedence (KII, Electoral Official, Zanzibar).

Both the NEC and ZEC have permanent secretariats headed by two men directors. Women also make up fewer EMB directorate or division leaders than men. The NEC has five divisions, four of which are headed by men and one of which is led by a woman. It also has four units, all of which are headed by men. The ZEC has seven directorates; six are headed by men and one by a woman. It also has three units headed by two men and one woman (KII, Electoral Official, Zanzibar).

Historically, there has been little attention to, hence available information on, gendered aspects of the electoral process in Tanzania. However, this began to change with the 2015 election and has steadily improved since then. From 1995–2010, the election observation process was generally gender-blind, with no comprehensive focus by election observers on aspects specifically focused on women. Women’s participation in elections was typically only covered in a small section of the overall election report. This started to change in 2015 when the International Republican Institute assessed how women participated in the 2015 general elections. Subsequently, in the 2020 general election, most of the election observation organizations included a gender angle in their methodology. For example, TBI included a focus on gender and social inclusion. The observation tools contained an explicit focus on barriers to women’s participation and leadership during all phases of the electoral process. An analysis of the threat and occurrence of violence against women in politics and public life—in its online and offline forms—was partially but not comprehensively covered due to the closed civic space at that time (KII, CSO representative, Mainland Tanzania). Another election observation organization, the Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania, observed the pre-election and election periods, and its report also covered various aspects of women’s participation in the 2020 election (KII, Elections Observer, Mainland Tanzania).

Participation in Civil Society. WROs and other CSOs working on gender equality and women’s empowerment are to some extent active and effective in getting women’s voices heard and their strength and effectiveness has improved over time. Between 1995–2010, women could hold demonstrations, and there is evidence of their engagement in multiple political activities—for example, around the enactment of the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (1998), and the land laws of 1999. More recently, Rebeca Gyumi, the founder and Executive Director of Msichana Initiative, also used strategic litigation to raise the marriage age for girls from 14 to 18 years old by challenging the constitutionality of the Marriage Act (marriage age for boys was already set at 18 years old).⁵¹ She successfully won the case, including an

⁵¹ <https://www.cnn.com/2018/12/12/africa/gyumi-un-human-rights-prize/index.html>.

appeal in 2019 launched by the government, but the changes in the law have not been enacted to date (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).⁵² Overall, women’s movements in Tanzania have been instrumental in pushing for progressive laws around sexual abuse, employment, land ownership, and marriage.

WROs continue to raise awareness on women’s rights at a national and community level, pushing for legal and policy reforms, building women’s understanding of their rights, and holding political leaders accountable. The overall ability of women’s organizations to be active and effective in raising women’s voices, however, is restricted by limited resources and capacity within civil society, a lack of impartiality and real independence from the State, a deficiency of young people entering the civil society space, and a limiting legal and policy framework. It is noteworthy that from 2015–2021, WROs faced the consequences of increasingly patriarchal rhetoric from the government, compounded by overall restrictions in civic space. Many CSOs, including WROs, took a more reconciliatory attitude toward the government and refrained from engaging in criticism for fear of being labeled as partisan or as opposition (FGD, Men in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

The situation has improved significantly under President Hassan. Women’s CSOs engage with local government authorities, ministries, and parliamentary committees to influence legislative and regulatory reforms and improve service delivery. A specific Ministry for Community Development, Gender, Women, and Special Groups was established on the Mainland in 2021 and soon after in Zanzibar as well. This has allowed civil society and other stakeholders an entry point for engagement in areas such as revision of the gender policy. Currently, WROs and women-led CSOs often come together to issue press releases and call for press conferences, primarily on gender-related issues such as GBV and child marriage.

Although engagement of women and women’s organizations in civil society has improved, the level of real influence remains limited. Recommendations from women’s organizations on policy issues are welcomed but not always implemented or acted upon by relevant decision-makers. Women’s specific needs are acknowledged but mostly get addressed cosmetically, even by women government and political leaders. In Zanzibar, several women leaders in the CSO sector have their primary employment within the government, but it has not given them any power to play a transformational role in holding the government accountable (KII, CSO representative, Zanzibar).

WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Political leadership refers to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives.⁵³ This can entail running for and occupying elective and appointed offices at various levels in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, as well as serving in leadership positions in political parties, civil society, and social movements. This section discusses women’s representation in political party leadership, national and local office, and civil society, as well as the extent to which they can exercise power through political party women’s wings and women’s caucuses in the NA.

⁵² <https://www.equalitynow.org/discriminatory-law/the-law-of-marriage-act-1971-as-amended-by-act-23-73-act-15-80-and-act-9-96/>.

⁵³ Krook, Mona Lena. *Women’s Political Participation and Leadership Assessment Framework*, 6.

ACCESS TO LEADERSHIP

Party Platforms and Leadership. There are few major differences in the attention that party platforms and leadership give to strengthening the share of women candidates, or gender inclusiveness more broadly, across the different political parties in Tanzania. No political party constitution includes voluntary party candidate quotas. As a result, there is no guarantee that a certain proportion of political parties' candidates for local and national elections will be women. However, although there are no policies or regulations ensuring women's representation in all decision-making party structures, there has been progress on this across the parties. Article 21(5) of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution stipulates that the party's delegates to the National Executive Committee meeting shall be equally split between men and women. The CUF Constitution specifically ensures that no less than 30 percent of the nominees/delegates to the General Assembly and Executive Committee meetings should be women. It is clear from the CUF and ACT-Wazalendo constitutions that delegates from youth, elderly, and diaspora communities as well as persons with disabilities should also consider representation of men and women. However, there is a lack of clear provisions regarding women with disabilities across political parties. CCM is the only party whose regulations ensure representation of certain groups such as women with disabilities, youth, and civil society for special seats under the women's quota (where women are chosen by their parties rather than through the general elections), but not in its directly elected constituency seats.

Tanzania's political parties have stated their commitment to gender equity in election manifestos. The CCM Election Manifesto for 2020 promises to design and implement plans to increase women's participation in party leadership up to 50:50.⁵⁴ However, the manifesto does not detail strategies to accomplish this. Of the five leadership positions in the party, only the chairperson, the president of the country, is a woman. The CHADEMA election manifesto for 2020 does not contain any specific language about women's participation in leadership and decision-making positions. The ACT-Wazalendo election manifesto for the 2020 general election promises to reform national laws on the representation of women, especially the special seats system, to attain 50:50 men and women representation.

Although political parties claim to have large numbers of women members, as noted in the previous section, few parties have women in top leadership positions. In a survey administered for this study, when asked if women and men had the same leadership opportunities in parties, 62.5 percent of women and 73.2 percent of men said yes, showing a gender gap in women's and men's perceptions of how open parties are to women's leadership.

Table 8: Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—for example, as party leaders, parliamentary committee presidents, or cabinet ministers?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	41	73.2%	35	62.5%	76	67.9%
No	15	26.8%	21	37.5%	36	32.1%
TOTAL	56	100.0%	56	100.0%	112	100.0%

⁵⁴ Section 211(c) and section 231 of the 2020 Elections Manifesto for CCM.

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

The requirements for women's representation in party leadership vary across parties, though it is unclear whether parties are diligent about enforcing these requirements. For example, a third of all decision-making bodies and committees in CUF must be held by women, but this does not apply to elected positions and there is currently only one woman in the party leadership. Within CUF, there is gender representation among the Board of Trustees appointees. CCM has 22 branch-level leadership positions and a branch executive committee; of its 10 delegates, four must be women. Gender quotas are also applied in the election of CCM district leaders, four women must form part of the 10 delegates of the district executive committee.⁵⁵

While the parties' constitutions safeguard the representation of the two parts of the Union (Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar) in the election of its national leaders and key decision-making positions, they carry insufficient safeguards to ensure all genders are represented. Overall, among the 19 registered political parties in Tanzania, women make up only 10.5 percent of chairpersons and 10.5 percent of general secretaries.⁵⁶ According to records available in the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, among the 19 registered political parties, two political parties (Sauti ya Umma, and CCM) have women chairpersons. These are Bertha Kango Mpata from Sauti ya Umma and Samia Suluhu Hassan from CCM. Also, the United Democratic Party (UDP) and NCCR-Mageuzi have women general secretaries, Saum Rashid and Martha Chiomba, respectively. Among the main political parties, ACT-Wazalendo, CCM, and CUF have one woman in top national leadership each and CHADEMA has none. The ruling party, CCM, obtained its first women chairperson in 2021, after the death of President John Magufuli, and ascendancy of then Vice President Hassan to the presidency. According to CCM tradition, the president also serves as party chairperson.

Representation among National and Subnational Political Candidates. Independent candidates are not allowed in Tanzania;⁵⁷ making political parties the main gatekeepers for women entering parliament and local legislative positions, whether through elected constituencies or through special seats. Parties determine the criteria for selecting women, including their demographic or socioeconomic backgrounds. For elected seats, political parties often fear the competition that comes with the FPTP electoral system. Believing that voter preference is for men candidates, they generally resort to nominating men candidates for elections.⁵⁸

The share of women as political candidates for directly elected constituency seats at the national level in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar remains low, as the tables below indicate. In the 2020 general elections, for example, only 23.3 percent of candidates for parliamentary seats on Mainland Tanzania were women (Table 9), and 22.8 percent of candidates in Zanzibar for the House of Representatives were women (Table

⁵⁵ See CCM election rules 2022.

⁵⁶ According to records available in the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, among the 19 registered political parties, two political parties, namely Sauti ya Umma and CCM, have women chairpersons. These are Bertha Kango Mpata from Sauti ya Umma, and Samia Suluhu Hassan from CCM. Also, UDP and NCCR-Mageuzi have women General Secretaries, Saum Rashid and Martha Chiomba, respectively.

⁵⁷ A. Makulilo, "The Independent Candidate Case by the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights revisited," *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies*, 5, 2, 2017.

⁵⁸ V. Lihiru, "Exploring Suitable Electoral Systems for Promotion of Women's Representation in Tanzania and Rwanda." *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2022, p. 61–75.

10). However, this level represents significant improvement; in the 2015, 2010, and 2005 general elections, women made up 19.2, 18.4, and 12.7 percent of parliamentary candidates, respectively.

At the sub-national level, the share of women candidates for councilor positions in Mainland Tanzania is even lower than in parliament, at 7.2 percent (Table 9). However, the figure is higher for Zanzibar, with women representing 26.35 percent of women candidates for councilor positions (Table 10).⁵⁹ The reason for women’s gradual increase is attributed to increased awareness-raising on gender equality due to the advocacy and influencing work by WROs.

Table 9: Distribution of men and women candidates in mainland Tanzania, 2020

POSITION FOR NOMINATION	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
President	13	86.6%	2	13.3%	15
Vice President	10	66.6%	5	33.3%	15
Member of Parliament	964	76.7%	293	23.3%	1257
Councilor	8563	92.7%	668	7.2%	9231

Source: NEC, 2021.

Table 10: Distribution of men and women candidates in Zanzibar, 2020

POSITION FOR NOMINATION	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL
	#	%	#	%	
President	17	100%	0	00%	17
House of Representatives	190	76.0%	60	24.0%	250
Councilor	271	73.64%	97	26.35%	368

Source: ZEC, 2021.

Representation in Parliament. The share of women in parliament has grown substantially since the introduction of the multiparty system. In the 2020 general election, 35.4 percent of parliamentarians were women. However, as Table 11 shows, few women are directly elected to Parliament from constituencies and most gain entry through the quota (special seats system) introduced in 1985. However, the number of women in elected seats has increased over time as well. The 2020 general elections data show that only 26 women (18.7 percent of women in parliament overall) were directly elected, while 113 were nominated through special seats⁶⁰ and five were appointed by the president. Women who were originally elected to special seats account for more than 50 percent of the directly elected constituency seats

⁵⁹ Note that political parties manage their own lists of candidates for special seats; due to record-keeping challenges, it is difficult to obtain these lists.

⁶⁰ V. Lihiru, “The 2020 Chadema Special Seats Dispute in Tanzania, Does the National Electoral Commission Comply with the Law?” *Journal of African Elections*, 2021, DOI: 10.20940/JAE/2021/v20i2a6.

women have won.⁶¹

Table 11: Number of elected and nominated women parliamentarians 1985–2020⁶²

YEAR	# WOMEN ELECTED BY CONSTITUENCIES (% OF TOTAL PARLIAMENT)	# WOMEN IN SPECIAL SEATS (% OF TOTAL PARLIAMENT)	TOTAL # OF PARLIAMENTARIANS	% OF PARLIAMENT THAT IS WOMEN
2020	26 (6.6%)	113 (28.8%)	393	35.4%
2015	25 (6.4%)	113 (28.8%)	393	35.1%
2010	26 (7.3%)	102 (28.6%)	357	35.9%
2005	17 (5.5%)	75 (24.4%)	307	30.0%
2000	12 (4.3%)	48 (17.2%)	279	21.5%
1995	8 (3.0%)	37 (13.8%)	269	16.7%
1990	2 (0.8%)	19 (7.9%)	242	8.7%
1985	1 (0.4%)	22 (9.2%)	239	9.6%

Source: *The Parliament of Tanzania and Reports from NEC (1997, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021)*.

The 2020 general election also brought in eight parliamentarians with disabilities (six women through the special seats system and two men). Women parliamentarians unfortunately have a relatively high turnover, with a usual tenure of one or two terms, while men have an average of up to four terms (FGD, Women Politicians, Mainland Tanzania). Previous studies provide several explanations for this such as fiercer competition for open seats; a men-dominated culture, which shapes the view that women cannot be leaders; election violence and intimidation—often with a gendered dimension; and candidates self-funding of campaigns in a context where women are financially disadvantaged compared to their men counterparts in terms of access to patronage and independent resources.⁶³

Executive Level, Judiciary, and NA. The president has appointment powers across state institutions, albeit unguided by any gender quotas or thresholds (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). At the executive level, Tanzania has had 11 prime ministers since independence in 1961, but none of them has been a woman. Currently, 36 percent of cabinet ministers are women. Women are more underrepresented among permanent secretaries, where they comprise 11 percent of permanent secretaries and 22 percent of deputy permanent secretaries.⁶⁴ While Zanzibar has just obtained its first woman chief secretary, Mainland Tanzania has never had a women chief secretary since independence.

⁶¹ <https://www.cmi.no/publications/6512-switches-from-quota-to-non-quota-seats>.

⁶² Note that this table does not include presidential appointees.

⁶³ See Wang, V., & Yoon, M. (2018). Recruitment mechanisms for reserved seats for women in parliament and switches to non-quota seats: A comparative study of Tanzania and Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(2), 299–324.

⁶⁴ Data obtained from the President’s Office, Public Service Management and Good Governance, in November 2022.

As shown in previous sections, in the judiciary, men comprise the majority of judicial staff compared to women, although the number of women in the judiciary is increasing. Because judiciary roles come with tenure and are only yielded by retirement, these positions do not often have vacancies.⁶⁵ Tanzania has never had a woman chief justice nor a woman principal judge. There have been women deputy attorney generals but never a woman attorney general.

Since independence, the NA has had a total of seven speakers, two of whom have been women.⁶⁶ The NA obtained its first woman chairperson in 2000, Honorable Anna Makinda, who later became the first woman deputy speaker in 2005 and eventually the first woman speaker in 2010. Currently, the NA is headed by a woman speaker, Honorable Tulia Ackson Mwansasu, who was elected following the resignation of a man speaker, Honorable Job Ndugai in January 2022. The current clerk of the NA is also a woman, for the first time.

There is a women's caucus in both the NA and the ZHoR. Also, the Tanzania Women's Parliamentary Group (TWPG) receives support from UN Women and is seen as an entry point for many lobbying efforts on gender and women's rights. Article 96(1) of the constitution provides for the establishment of various parliamentary standing committees as the NA deems appropriate for the better execution of its functions. It is at the discretion of the speaker to allocate members to different committees. Women make up 37 percent of all parliamentarians, but they are not equally represented in the standing committees.⁶⁷ Out of the 17 parliamentary standing committees, there are only three that are chaired by women MPs—none of which are high-profile committees like foreign affairs, budget, or infrastructure—and seven have women deputy chairpersons.⁶⁸

Local Levels. Women's representation in elected and nominated positions at the local level is smaller than at the national level, although there is also less data available at subnational levels. Following the 2020 general election, for example, women made up 29.24 percent of ward councilors, with only 6.5 percent of women councilors being directly elected from wards. There are more than 12,000 streets, hamlets, and villages in Tanzania, and women make up 2.1 percent, 12.6 percent, and 6.7 percent of the village, street, and hamlet chairpersons, respectively.⁶⁹ There is generally a gap in the data available on the gender

⁶⁵ The procedure to remove a judge is difficult and complicated; there is no precedent for this in Tanzania.

⁶⁶ The Parliament of Tanzania, available at <https://www.parliament.go.tz/pages/history>, accessed February 5, 2023.

⁶⁷ Currently, there are two major types of parliamentary standing committees: sectoral and non-sectoral committees. There are ten sectoral committees dealing with (i) industry, trade, and environment; (ii) constitutional and legal affairs; (iii) foreign affairs, defense, and security; (iv) local government authorities; (v) public service and community development; (vi) lands, natural resources, and tourism; (vii) agriculture, livestock, and water; (viii) infrastructure; (ix) subsidiary legislation; and (x) mineral and energy. On the other hand, there are three arms of non-sectoral committees. One deals with Housekeeping Committees: Steering Committee; Standing Orders Committee; and Parliamentary Privileges, Ethics, and Powers Committee. The second consists of non-sectoral Committees: Budget Committee and HIV and AIDS Committee. The last consists of Watchdog Committees: Public Accounts Committee, Local Authorities Accounts Committee, and Public Investments Committee.

⁶⁸ See, Parliament of Tanzania, "Committee Composition," available at <https://www.parliament.go.tz/committee-composition-list> (accessed February 14, 2023).

⁶⁹ Data obtained from President Office, Public Service Management and Good Governance in November 2022.

breakdown of local leadership at the hamlet, village, and street levels. Elections at this level are decentralized through the President’s Office, regional administration, and local government (*Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa*), which makes data collection and collation difficult (KII, Government Official, Mainland Tanzania). Women councilors have their own cross-party caucus called *Wanawake wa Serikali za Mitaa*).⁷⁰

Civil Society. In terms of leadership within civil society, more men are visible in the leadership of mainstream CSOs, although there are some exceptions. There are women active in CSOs that are not gender-specific, including in the leadership of organizations such as the Tanzania Center for Democracy, the LHRC, and the Legal Services Facility. There appears to be more women’s leadership in international non-governmental organizations focused on media development, health, nutrition, livelihoods, humanitarian and refugee response, and research (KII, UN Agency, Mainland Tanzania).

POWER IN LEADERSHIP

Women’s ability to effectively wield power within leadership roles is strongly affected by the power dynamics within political parties and the wider political and societal systems. In nominating women for special seats, political parties often consider women who have been active in the party or those who have unsuccessfully run for constituency seats, rather than considering broader inclusion and diversity needs.⁷¹ One focus group participant mentioned that nepotism, corruption, and forms of violence toward women—including sextortion—played a role in determining which women are nominated for special seats (FGD, Men Politicians, Mainland), thus affecting the quality of women occupying the seats.⁷²

Generally, national leaders of the political parties, most of whom are men, retain control of which women are nominated to candidate lists for women’s special seats, prioritizing those who represent their own interests:

“Even in choosing the candidates for special seats, men in political parties are always in control of the whole process. This has been affecting the participation of women in politics because men tend to choose candidates who represent their interests rather than those of women. This distorts the motives of special seats, which were principally to represent women’s interests in decision-making rather than their symbolic presence in these bodies.” (FGDs, Women in Political Parties, Mainland Tanzania).

Although leaders from women’s wings have space in parties’ key meetings and in the formulation of party policies, their participation is tokenistic. Party members elected to the substantive seats—most of whom are men—are the majority and have greater influencing power (KII, Leader of Political Party, Dar es Salaam). Most women participate as delegates with no leadership power or influence. There have been some attempts to address this gap by political parties. For example, ACT-Wazalendo has a shadow cabinet that is headed by a woman prime minister, with more than 50 percent of the shadow cabinet’s sector

⁷⁰ Loosely translated as Women in Local Government.

⁷¹ V. Lihiru, “The 2020 Chadema Special Seats Dispute in Tanzania, Does the National Electoral Commission Comply with the Law?” *Journal of African Elections*, 2021, DOI: 10.20940/JAE/2021/v20i2a6.

⁷² Lihiru V, 2021, “The 2020 Chadema Special Seats Dispute in Tanzania, Does the National Electoral Commission Comply with the Law?,” available at <https://www.eisa.org/pdf/JAE20.2Lihiru.pdf>.

ministries being led by women. Until October 2023, Sophia Mjema served as CCM’s first female publicity and ideology secretary with a woman serving as the voice and face of the party alongside the first woman party chairperson, President Samia Suluhu Hassan (KII, Leader of Political Party, Dar es Salaam). In practice, men party leaders often restrain women’s leadership power fearing to lose their own power:

“Political parties deliberately limit women’s participation because the party leaders fear they won’t be able to control women and decision-making once many women hold party leadership positions.” (FGD, Women in Political Parties, Mainland Tanzania).

All political parties have candidate nomination committees responsible for candidate nominations for different positions during local and national elections. While women’s wing leaders form part of the nomination committees, they tend to remain men-dominated. Despite the role of the nomination committees, party leaders also play a big role in deciding who is nominated.⁷³ As women are generally missing from leadership positions within the party, they have minimal opportunities to influence candidate selection processes (KII, Woman CSO representative, Zanzibar). Even the few women leaders avoid being vocal fearing pushback and retaliation from the party.

“Most women consider their positions in the political parties as favors extended to them. They avoid criticizing or offering alternative views, so they don’t want to disrupt the status quo.” (Interview with a women politician, Mainland Tanzania).

In contrast to qualitative data, politician survey data collected for this assessment suggests that political party members view this trend differently: they believe that the women’s wing has power within the party and that women are represented at the highest decision-making level. For example, 93 percent of respondents noted that they believe that their party’s women’s wing can suggest political candidates (Table 12). Although a majority of both men and women surveyed believed this, women were 6.7 percentage points less likely than men to indicate that women’s wings can suggest political candidates.

Table 12: Can the women’s wing suggest political candidates?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	54	96.4%	52	89.7%	106	93.0%
No	2	3.6%	6	10.3%	8	7.0%
TOTAL	56	100.0%	58	100.0%	114	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

Overall, women’s wing power within the party and women’s representation at the highest decision-making level in both the ruling and opposition political parties are still in their infancy. Men dominate all decision-making positions and structures within and outside the parties because attendance in parties’ key meetings and invitation by other actors is by virtue of one’s position.

⁷³ Sulley, Consolata. 2021. “Democracy within parties: Electoral Consequences of Candidate Selection Methods in Tanzania.” <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/13540688211041042> [accessed 1 June 2023].

“We have challenges in the composition of the Political Parties Council. We now have 38 members, only four are women. The challenge is that members attend the council by virtue of their positions—it must be a chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary general, or deputy secretary general. Political parties don’t elect women in these leadership positions, hence fewer women attend the council’s meeting.” (KII, Government Official, Mainland Tanzania).

With respect to women’s power in Parliament, some KII participants believe that the Zanzibar counterpart, *Umoja wa Wabunge Wanawake Zanzibar*, has been successful to date in building the confidence and voice of women parliamentarians in a very patriarchal context and has been better able to extend beyond party lines than TWPG (KII, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). A recent evaluation of a USAID-supported intervention (Final Project Evaluation: Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation in Tanzania [2017]) noted:

“As a target, the project aimed at organizing six initiatives by the Women’s Caucus in parliament on women’s rights and gender issues, including in relation to the Constitutional Review and adoption of Gender Responsive Budgeting Initiatives. Based on the evaluation findings, there were 12 initiatives organized by the women’s caucuses across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians/ministries on adoption of gender-responsive legislation and policies. The Women’s Caucus in Zanzibar has also tabled its first private motion on gender-based violence in the House of Representatives for Zanzibar. Anecdotal evidence and qualitative interviews report that there has been an increase in the participation of women parliamentarians in the parliamentary proceedings, which can be attributed to the training and capacity strengthening workshops supported by Wanawake Wanaweza project.” (UN Women Tanzania Final Project Evaluation, 2017).⁷⁴

However, financial and capacity gaps remain a challenge for the cross-party women caucuses. Party loyalty also overrides commitment to the gender agenda, resulting in limited coordination and thus impact. Women from the ruling party do not support private member bills on gender issues introduced by women in the opposition political party. Women in parliament support the bills and agenda that their main political party supports, despite their implications on the gender agenda (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). It is also noted that parliamentary standing orders for the NA largely do not ensure that parliamentary business—such as law-making, representation, and oversight—is gender-responsive (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania).

While the ZHoR has a parliamentary committee on gender and inclusion, in the NA, the Parliamentary Committee on Social Welfare and Community Development is presumed to deal with gender issues. However, the committee is overwhelmed by its responsibility to oversee sectors such as education, health, arts, and information, leaving it with little to no time to scrutinize and advise on gender aspects of bills and budgets that are brought to parliament. The financial oversight responsibility rests in NA and ZHoR with the Public Accounts Committee, Local Authorities Accounts Committee, and (for the NA) the Public Investment Committee. Committees work closely with the CAG, scrutinizing the CAG reports of

⁷⁴ See UN Women Tanzania Final Project Evaluation (2017) Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation in Tanzania. Sambodhi Limited, Tanzania A103, Slipway Apartments, Chole Road, Masaki, Dar-es-Salaam; pp. 60–61.

budget organizations—ministries, agencies, local governments, and state enterprises. None of the committees charged with financial oversight integrate a gender or social inclusion lens into their scrutiny of government.

Since the 2020 general election, both the NA and ZHoR have been almost fully composed of CCM representatives, and therefore nearly every member of both TWPG and *Umoja wa Wabunge Wanawake Zanzibar* is from CCM. Given women parliamentarians' high turnover rate, the composition of the women's caucuses is also relatively fluid apart from leadership, which tends to be composed of the few long-serving and politically entrenched women.

Within the executive cabinet positions, there has been gradual but notable progress. Since independence, in Mainland Tanzania, there have been two women ministers of finance⁷⁵ and three women ministers of foreign affairs.⁷⁶ For the first time in 2021, a woman was appointed to be a minister in the Ministry of Defense and National Services.⁷⁷ Currently, there is one deputy minister who is a woman with a disability, and she is in the Prime Minister's Office—Policy, Coordination, Parliament Affairs, Labor, Youth, Employment, and Persons with Disabilities.

In general, women can assume the positions to which they have been elected or appointed and do so on relatively equal terms to men, and there is progress in the acceptance of women as leaders. The Afrobarometer Survey Report of 2023 states that “Seven in 10 citizens (70%) say women should have the same chance as men to be elected to public office.”⁷⁸ This includes elected positions as MPs or councilors and appointed positions as ministers or district and regional commissioners, amongst others.⁷⁹ In some instances, however, men peers, superiors, and community members do not consider women holding leadership positions as leaders to the same extent they consider men. In some instances, women leaders face acts of insubordination (KII, Woman in CSO). The difference can also be seen between constituency MPs (most of whom tend to be men) and special seats MPs (who are women); the former are often seen as more legitimate MPs and afforded more leadership opportunities and rights, as MPs from special seats cannot be selected as prime minister and do not receive constituent development funds (nor do they have constituencies, so they do not have the opportunity to represent a specific community).

⁷⁵ Zakia Meghji and Saada Salum Mkuya, available at Ministry of Finance and Planning, <https://www.mof.go.tz>, accessed on 6th May 2023.

⁷⁶ Asha Rose Migiro, Liberata Mulamula and Dr. Storgomena Tenga, available at <https://www.foreign.go.tz/>, accessed on May 6, 2023.

⁷⁷ Dr. Storgomena Tenga. Directorate of Presidential Communications-State House, United Republic of Tanzania, Press Release released on 12th May 2023.

⁷⁸ See [News-release-Tanzanians-applaud-government-efforts-for-gender-equality-but-want-more-Afrobarometer-bh-9may23.pdf](#).

⁷⁹ See Meena, R., Rusimbi, M., & Israel, C. (2017), ‘Women and Political Leadership: Facilitating Factors in Tanzania’, Uongozi Institute Research Report, Vol. 17 No. 1. https://uongozi.or.tz/newsite/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Women-and-Political-Leadership_online.pdf; See also Makulilo, A. B & Lupa R. (2013) Assessment of the State of Local Democracy in Tanzania from a Gender Perspective, Tanzania Centre for Democracy.

BARRIERS TO AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL

This section summarizes key sociocultural, institutional, and individual factors that emerged in the qualitative data collection and desk review as barriers to women’s access, voice, and agency in politics and aims where possible to highlight specific advocates and opponents of efforts to strengthen WPPL in Tanzania. This is followed by a summary of key opportunities to advance WPPL, considering the current country context and processes underway.

WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

Societal norms continue to reinforce prevailing gender stereotypes that discourage women’s political participation.

Although there is a growing acceptance of women as voters, activists, party members, and/or election officials, there are still prevailing gender stereotypes that shape and constrain women’s opportunities to participate in these political roles. Social norms and attitudes have created the myth that political participation in general is for men, while women’s roles are in the private and domestic spheres. These perceptions, which originate from social norms and customs, often continue to be reinforced by the media and religious and educational institutions. These collective perceptions form the basis of many dimensions of gender inequality. This is manifested in multiple ways, including the persistent assumption by men, women, boys, and girls in both rural and urban communities that fathers, husbands, and men in general are automatic heads of households and have full authority to make decisions on behalf of the rest of the household members.⁸⁰

Participants in FGDs conducted for this assessment explained how these ongoing stereotypes affect women’s political participation both in the Mainland and Zanzibar. At the family level, men often continue to see themselves as final decision-makers, expect women to stay at home and service the household, and believe that wives and daughters should ask permission to participate in political activities (FGD, Men in CSOs, Zanzibar). Most women have been raised to submit to the authority of a man; hence, they also believe they should follow instructions and orders of men in their lives even if such orders go against their right to take part in political life (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). Consequently, for many women, decisions related to registering to vote, voting, joining a political party, or being a member of a CSO need clearance from a man in their lives. This includes a father, brother, or uncle for unmarried women, or a husband for married women (FGD, Women Politicians, Mainland Tanzania).

Some women FGD participants shared examples of men withholding permission or discouraging women from registering to vote, voting, joining a political party, or being part of CSOs. Although it was not possible to infer how common this is from the FGDs alone, the examples included men hiding required documents or sending women away to hinder them from registering to vote. They also described situations where women who had successfully registered to vote had their voter’s card taken away by a man in their household, particularly if the woman preferred a different candidate from the man (FGD, Women

⁸⁰ See the United Republic of Tanzania (2021) “Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) Tanzania survey Report.” National Bureau of Statistics, Dodoma, Tanzania.

Politicians, Mainland Tanzania). Women also face pressure to join the same political party as their husbands and may also need their husbands' permission to join any party at all.

KII and FGD participants related that women who engage in such actions without their husbands' permission or in ways that raise their spouses' suspicions may face serious repercussions at home, including being beaten or threatened with divorce. This may be particularly so in Zanzibar (KII, Woman Politician, Zanzibar).⁸¹ Relatives or family members may support the husband's actions, as social norms tend to view women who do not conform to their husband's expectations or wishes as arrogant, disrespectful, and deserving of punishment (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). Even when a woman has the courage to approach the responsible authorities, she is often encouraged to settle the matter with her husband outside of the justice system, as wife beating is to some extent still considered an acceptable way to influence the behavior of women (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). Although the situation is slowly changing, these dynamics encourage many women to forgo exercising their political rights if it will lead to discord at home, choosing instead to maintain peace in the household and obey the men in their lives.

Violence against women in general, and in politics in particular, remains normalized.

A 2022 Social Institutions and Gender Index report showed that half of Tanzania's population agrees with the statement that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife. According to the report, social acceptance of violence against women also tends to be higher among women than men. A larger share of women than men consider that a husband is allowed to beat a woman if she burns food, goes out without telling him, neglects the children, or argues with him.⁸²

This widespread normalization of violence toward women in Tanzanian society is also present in the political sphere. As members of political parties, women have reported facing harassment and intimidation, especially when they hold a different opinion from that of a leader or when they express interest in vying for an internal leadership position. Men leaders are the main perpetrators of this form of violence, due to sociocultural beliefs around the role of women in the community, which prefers men as decision-makers and for leadership positions in the party. This same bias is reflected in the view that women's role in the party should be limited to organizing tea, decorating, handling logistics, and mobilization. Women also may refrain from being vocal or argumentative, as they fear upending the status quo within the party and the potential negative repercussions of their own aspirations.

Violence against women in the political arena can take several forms. Incidents of men leaders coercing women into sexual corruption (sextortion) in exchange for their support for a woman's internal candidacy for a position within the party have been reported. Women party members who are more vocal and active within the party, and women political activists more generally, have faced violence, threats, and intimidation online and from the members of the general public. Such women have been called names, slandered, or defamed in attempts to tarnish their reputations, leading some of them to shy away from online and political spaces (KII, Woman Leader, Mainland Tanzania). Those who raise their voices to protest violence against women in politics or to generally defend women's rights have also faced attacks, including verbal abuse and threats. These actions toward more vocal women political actors in turn are

⁸¹ OECD (2022), SIGI Country Report for Tanzania, Social Institutions and Gender Index, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/06621e57-en>.

⁸² Ibid.

seen to have a chilling effect more broadly on other women who might seek to engage more visibly in political activity (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar).

Tanzania's election law and code of conduct prohibit violence, but perpetrators are rarely held accountable. Women often do not report experiences of violence to responsive authorities because they fear being chased out of political parties (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). Due to the normalization of violence against women, when women do report violence, police often encourage the victims and perpetrators to solve the issue amicably outside of the justice system (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania).

Civil society spaces and agendas are distrusted as threatening to patriarchal norms rather than beneficial for attaining gender equity and inclusion.

Qualitative data collection for this assessment suggested that many men in Tanzanian society may be mistrustful of women's participation in CSOs, believing that women's political participation reflects a foreign agenda pushed by CSOs to dramatically change Tanzanian culture by giving women more power. In an FGD held with women CSO members, participants felt that men fear losing control and power to women, both domestically and outside the home, and thus discourage women from joining civil society (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). Women in CSOs working to advance women's political rights also face online and offline violence from community members for their engagement in activities that are perceived to subvert Tanzanian culture. The word "feminist" is taken in a bad light, and such women may be seen as "haters" of men or marriage, or as being westernized for self-ambition at the expense of Tanzanian culture (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

Some civil society or non-state actors are seen as more actively repressing efforts to support women's political participation and strengthen women's civic and political rights. Qualitative data collection suggested that religious leaders, traditional leaders, individual men, and the media typically emphasize or reinforce women's more traditional domestic roles in society and may also contribute to or facilitate the shaming of women who participate in politics.⁸³ These actors are seen as effective in reinforcing the status quo because they use religious documents to justify their acts, have massive followers, and are trusted (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). In Zanzibar, for example, FGD participants mentioned religious non-governmental organizations that they perceive repress women's civil and political rights by advocating for a conservative interpretation of gender roles in line with religious teaching. There are also organizations working on women's issues that are led by men or more traditionally oriented women that subtly undermine their gender equity and equality missions. Finally, political parties in the country are still predominantly men-led, which also contributes to reinforcing a strong patriarchal culture and discouraging women within parties who might seek to engage in gender-transformative work (FGD, Women in CSOs).

⁸³ See Makulilo, A. (2023) "Interrogating the 'Spiritual Puzzle of Silence' on Religion and Gender Inequality in Tanzania." In Ezra Chitando, Loreen Maseno, & Joram Tarusarira, Religion and Inequality in Africa, Bloomsbury Publishing.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

There is progress toward a supportive institutional framework for WPPL, but there are continuing barriers to full implementation.

Despite the challenges noted above, there has been some institutional progress to advance WPPL. The country has signed and ratified several international and regional human rights instruments.⁸⁴ While the signing of these instruments underscores Tanzania's commitment to civic and political rights on some level, the full implementation of such instruments remains a challenge, which hinders women's ability to more meaningfully participate in political processes. For example, voter registration processes can be an obstacle for subgroups of women, such as women with disabilities who may struggle to access registration centers. People in Zanzibar face specific challenges with voter registration. Zanzibar requires a Zanzibar identification document for registering to vote, which is issued at the discretion of local leaders (*shehas*). The main complaint noted by assessment participants has been that the *shehas* have often discriminated against people who they know are from opposition political parties, including women, denying them Zanzibar identification documents. This has led to many young people being denied Zanzibar identification documents and therefore not being able to register to vote in the 2020 general elections (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). Women who are perceived as supporters of opposition political parties may be challenged when they are trying to register to vote, thus affecting their ability to participate in the political process.

The EMBs encourage women to come out for voter registration and encourage voter turnout of women through media and posters. There are women-only lines in the polling stations, and older and pregnant women and those living with disabilities are also prioritized in voting so that they do not endure long wait times at voter registration centers and polling stations.⁸⁵ It was also noted that progress was made in getting braille ballot papers to polling stations for voters with visual impairments in the 2020 general elections. However, this was not implemented across the board, which contributed to a view of non-transparency around voting by those with visual impairments, including women. There was also a large absence of sign language interpreters to assist voting by those who were hearing impaired, including women (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar).

Despite the EMBs' efforts to ensure inclusive access to voting, women with physical disabilities were particularly disadvantaged, as their disability made it difficult for them to reach polling stations and navigate the stairs present in most voter registration centers and polling stations (FGD, Women in CSOs, Zanzibar). It was also noted that some women with disabilities could not access the registration centers

⁸⁴ These instruments include: the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the 2006 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the African Union Constitutive Act (2000), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (the African Charter), the Treaty to the Establishment of the East African Treaty, the African Agenda 2063, and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals. Tanzania has also signed and accepted the provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol), the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the 2004 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, and the 2018 East African Gender Policy.

⁸⁵ Tanzania Bora Initiative, Election's Observation Report for 2020 General Election.

and polling stations because their caretakers did not see the need for them to exercise their civic duties or they found it costly to reach the polling station. Some women with disabilities had no one to assist them in reaching the registration centers and polling stations (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). While these issues are likely to affect people of all genders with disabilities, because of the compounding discrimination women with disabilities face, these challenges affect these women differently. For example, if someone with a physical disability has an issue accessing a polling location, occasionally, poll workers or other citizens may carry that person, if possible, to overcome physical barriers (for example, up the stairs). Women with physical disabilities may be less willing to allow strangers to touch them to transport them to the proper polling place, due to sociocultural factors noted above. In addition, as noted above, when caretakers do not believe it is important for women with disabilities to participate in the electoral process, it is likely because of their gender *and* their disability status.

The perceived safety and security of elections can deter women voters.

Evidence also shows that violence against women in politics and public life can deter women from engaging in political activities, including voting. The heavy presence of security forces and the threat of violence during elections, whether due to dissatisfaction with how the election is run or otherwise, can be a major deterrent for women to exercise their right to vote. A study conducted after the 2015 general elections indicated that fear of violence targeted at women was one of the reasons why more than half of the women voters interviewed did not vote on election day.⁸⁶ In Zanzibar, women who serve as election officials, party agents, or election observers also run a risk of becoming victims of violence at polling stations, during vote counting, and during the declaration of results. When the opposition boycotts, demonstrates, or resorts to violence to show dissatisfaction with election management, their actions also affect women election workers, supporters, and others in the local area.

Security entities that are supposed to ensure safety during elections can, at times, also fuel election violence. Security forces are often unselective in their response to violent incidents, targeting everyone present at the scene, including women. Such episodes have affected women and likely contribute to women’s fear of going to polling stations in the future (KII, Woman Politician, Zanzibar).

The perception of violence toward women during elections is supported by the politician’s survey, in which a majority of respondents (69.6 percent) felt that women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to vote. As shown in Table 13, a slightly higher percentage of women than men believed this to be true.

Table 13: Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%

⁸⁶ Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform (2015). Violence against women in elections. Tanzania General election. Accessed at http://mlkrook.org/pdf/TWCP_VAWE.pdf on May 20, 2023.

Yes	38	67.9%	40	74.1%	78	70.9%
No	18	32.1%	14	25.9%	32	29.1%
TOTAL	56	100.0%	54	100.0%	110	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

Party platforms, policies, and actions do not do enough to deter violence against women.

Although both the National Elections Act and Political Parties Act prohibit violence against women, political parties' policies pay little attention to addressing the issue of violence against women in politics, especially that which occurs in their own ranks. Despite 89 percent of politician survey respondents asserting that their parties have a policy in place to deal with political violence against women (Table 14) and 85.7 percent asserting that this policy is enforced (Table 15), the researchers' review of the policies shows that few political parties have policies that touch on issues of violence. When political parties do address issues of violence, they tend not to focus on violence against women in politics, but instead touch on GBV in general.

For example, the 2020 CCM Manifesto outlines the role of the women's wing, including fighting any sort of violence against women. CHADEMA's 2020 election manifesto promises the enactment of a Gender-Based Violence Act. Most political parties have an ethics committee that also has a role in dealing with violence against women in politics, although such committees tend not to be knowledgeable on how to handle such claims. Members of the ethics committees are typically men and tend to shield each other when faced with allegations of perpetrating acts of violence (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). Women are also rarely proactive in reporting incidences of violence, fearing retaliation and being chased out of political parties. Women's wings in collaboration with WROs do provide awareness-raising on violence against women in politics to women politicians and political party leaders, but such collaborations are somewhat unsustainable as they are donor-dependent (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

Table 14: Does your party have any policy in place to deal with acts of violence?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	46	90.2%	43	87.8%	89	89.0%
No	5	9.8%	5	10.2%	10	10.0%
Don't Know	0	0.0%	1	2.0%	1	1.0%
TOTAL	51	100.0%	49	100.0%	100	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

Table 15: If so, is this policy enforced?

RESPONSE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
----------	-----	-------	-------

	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	38	84.4%	40	87.0%	78	85.7%
No	7	15.6%	5	10.9%	12	13.2%
Don't Know	0	0.0%	1	2.2%	1	1.1%
TOTAL	45	100.0%	46	100.0%	91	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

Women’s wings of parties lack autonomy and funding and have low capacity.

In addition to women's wings, women party activists also form part of youth and elders’ wings. The autonomy of the women's wings tends to be fairly minimal. FGD participants note they report to the main party and depend on the party’s finances to run capacity-strengthening programs (FGD, Women Politicians, Mainland Tanzania). Political parties with MPs and councilors that receive five percent of the votes in an election receive funding from the government in the form of subsidies and are supposed to use the subsidies for party-building purposes. Subsidies represent less than two percent of the annual budget and are distributed to parties based on their vote share.⁸⁷ Political parties are not bound by law to use the subsidies to promote women and other marginalized groups’ participation in politics. Rather, it is at the discretion of the political parties to decide how to use the funds.

KIIs suggested that when parties do receive subsidies from the government (dependent on their representation in legislative bodies), they often allocate a small amount to the women’s wings.

“When we used to get subsidies, the party was allocating TZS 800,000 (USD \$350) per month to the women’s wing, which they could utilize the funds and report back to the party. But now we don’t have the subsidies, hence the women’s wing doesn’t receive any funding. Now the women’s wing mobilizes funds on their own.” (KII, Woman Political Party member).

When there is no subsidy, the women’s wings depend on any money members are willing to contribute or support from development partners, which is unsustainable to run their activities (KII, Party Leader, Mainland Tanzania).

Political party operations and activities are often more difficult for women to access than men due to traditional gender roles or gender stereotypes. Party meetings and political rallies are usually scheduled during evening hours to attract people leaving their farms and work. This timing does allow women to come with their children to the meetings. However, the timing can also interfere with family obligations that particularly affect women, such as childcare and meal preparations (KII, Party Leader, Mainland Tanzania). KIIs suggested that, in general, across political parties, no childcare is provided during public rallies. Most meetings happen in urban or peri-urban centers, which may make it a challenge for people in more remote areas to attend. However, there are also other meetings at the local levels, in the streets, wards, and villages; women in those communities do not need to walk a long distance to attend the

⁸⁷ https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/country?country=221&database_theme=302.

meetings, and they do not have to abandon their domestic roles for the meetings (KII, Party Leader, Mainland Tanzania).

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Information access and related challenges bar women's participation.

There is a growing interest among women to vote, join political parties, and engage in CSOs. As noted in this report, a majority of registered voters and members of political parties are women. However, there are still many factors at the individual level that serve as barriers to women's political participation. As related in interviews and FGDs, some women are politically uninformed about the voter registration process because of challenges related to access to information and illiteracy issues (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). Some women also do not see themselves as voters and thus do not register to vote. In some cases, women do register, but simply want the voter identification card for other identification purposes (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). Some women are too occupied with domestic and economic activities and lack time to register or go to vote. In some cases, married women succumb to their husband's pressure, particularly if a husband withholds permission. Sometimes registration centers and voting centers are too far or require costly or inaccessible transportation. In Tanzania, one must vote for councilors and MPs in the locality where they are registered as voters. This requires those who are not present at that location on election days to travel back to the location of their registration to vote. This may affect women's abilities to vote if they cannot afford transport to their respective polling stations. Some women are unable to see the impact of voting on their life, and thus boycott the voter registration and voting processes (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

Although party membership fees are relatively low, some women still may not be able to afford these fees (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). Some traditional women see CSOs as driven by foreign agendas that undermine communal culture and tradition, hence discouraging others from being active in such organizations. Other women may view CSOs as individual projects to obtain donor money for personal gain and do not engage with them (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania)

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

Social norms reinforce prevailing gender stereotypes that discourage women's political leadership.

The SIGI Tanzania Survey Report 2021 found that 95 percent of respondents agreed that women and men should have the same opportunities to be political candidates, with 95.9 percent of women and 93.9 percent of men expressing this view. Support was slightly higher among respondents in Mainland Tanzania (95.1 percent) than in Zanzibar (91.0 percent). Nonetheless, patriarchal systems still strongly influence public attitudes on women's roles in public and private spheres. At the family level, there is peer pressure for men not to allow their daughters and wives to get into politics because they will lose control over them. There is also a fear that women will become unavailable at home, arrogant, or disrespectful. Some worry that changing gender roles may lead to family breakdown. Due to a long-entrenched belief that a woman's space is at home, women are not seen as capable of leading. Women who engage in politics are deemed to have deserted their families, going against Tanzanian culture and embracing immoral behavior (FGD, Women in Political Parties, Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar).

Most women must ask for permission from their father figures to run for political office. As noted in the sections above, women who vie for office without their husband's consent may face violence, divorce, or both. There is also a view within Tanzanian politics that unmarried women cannot be trusted in political positions. In many cases, a woman candidate also needs her husband's support for community members to listen to her. This poses challenges if a husband is opposed or does not want to provide support publicly. In addition, many women are expected to be home early to cook and take care of the family, while most political meetings and campaigns end late, exposing women activists and candidates to violence from their husbands for being late (FGD, Women Politicians, Mainland Tanzania).

Some women are subjected to financial corruption or sextortion when they seek nomination as a candidate. As noted previously, in most political parties, top leaders have the final say on who is nominated; hence, most of them use that power to subject women to corruption, including sexual corruption, in exchange for support and promises to influence others to nominate her. Underlying these acts is the traditional perception of women as sexual pleasure objects. Many women succumb to these pressures because they do not feel qualified or competent, or they conclude that this is the only way to get the nomination. Sextortion is generally not reported due to secrecy and a culture of shame which places blame on the survivor rather than the perpetrator. Women may also fear retaliation from party leaders and face the risk of being chased out of the party (FGD, Women Politicians, Mainland Tanzania).

Women candidates face violence and harassment during campaigns and within parties.

While the number of women in political leadership is gradually increasing, violence against women in politics robs women of their agency and further pushes women to the margins of the political space. Women activists and candidates also face violence from men candidates and their supporters in the form of name-calling, harassment, and intimidation to break a woman's confidence, make her withdraw from running, or mobilize voters against voting for her. A study conducted by the Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform after the 2015 general elections showed that 69 percent of women electoral candidates reported experiencing abusive language, 17 percent reported physical attacks, and 13 percent reported receiving demands for sexual favors.⁸⁸ In the 2020 general elections, incidents of violence against women in politics were recorded.⁸⁹

“GBV comes in different forms and shapes. I got sick and I was hospitalized during the campaign, my opponents spread words that I had done abortion. During the campaign I was beaten, my clothes were removed, and I was touched on my private parts by the police...My lawyer said he can't take my GBV case even if I had all the evidence, and he witnessed some of the incidents; he said he is afraid to take the case.” (KII, Woman Political Party member, Mainland Tanzania).

Even when elected or nominated, women continue to face harassment and sexual exploitation. They often

⁸⁸ Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform (2015). Violence against women in elections. Tanzania General election. Accessed at http://mlkrook.org/pdf/TWCP_VAWE.pdf on May 20, 2021.

⁸⁹ Lihiru, V., “Chronicles of Women Participation in the 2020 General Elections In Tanzania,” 3 December 2020; Available at <http://www.Udadisi.Org/2020/12/Chronicles-Of-Women-Participation-In.html?M=1> (Accessed July 16, 2023).

continue to receive attention for private or personal matters rather than their professional or political agenda (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). MPs in special seats are often labeled as the girlfriends or mistresses of men politicians and are thus considered second-rate MPs (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). Violence also occurs online, with a growing trend of abuse and harassment that has few checks and little accountability. Cyberbullying is becoming more common, and attacks are leveled against women’s families, exerting even more pressure on women to abandon political engagement (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). These types of violence remain largely normalized, although there are pockets of resistance among women activists both online and offline. Reporting is limited, and survivors have the burden of providing evidence to the police or anti-corruption bureau, which is often hard to gather (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania).

In the WPPL assessment survey, 67 percent of survey respondents reported that women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work (Table 16), and 84.9 percent believed that these attacks affect women’s ability to exercise their political function (Table 17).

Table 16: Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	37	64.9%	34	64.4%	71	67.0%
No	20	35.1%	15	30.6%	35	33.0%
TOTAL	57	100.0%	49	100.0%	106	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

Table 17: Do these attacks affect women’s ability to exercise their political functions?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	40	87.0%	33	82.5%	73	84.9%
No	6	13.0%	7	17.5%	13	15.1%
TOTAL	46	100.0%	40	100.0%	86	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

Media coverage is often limited or negative for women leaders.

Negative media attention also acts as a barrier for women political leaders. Few media houses see the value of reporting on women or issues important to or that disproportionately affect women unless it is related to their looks or clothing (FGD, Male in Media, Zanzibar).

The presence of a woman head of state and several prominent women politicians has led to more positive reporting of women politicians in the media. However, the media still tends to reflect the gender

stereotypes of the wider society. For example, the current woman president is often called “mama” by the media, while the former president (a man) was called “bulldozer” or “the rock” (FGD, Women in Media, Mainland Tanzania). Online media in particular exposes women to a lot of abuse, with people commenting on physical appearance rather than the ability to lead or the content of agendas. Social media bullying and harassment have been a significant deterrent for women and, in general, spaces such as Twitter are still dominated by men (FGD, Male in Media, Zanzibar).

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Institutional factors limit opportunities for the election and advancement of women candidates.

Tanzania’s Constitution does not allow private candidates to run for elections, and the country has been reluctant to implement the 2013 decision of the African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights, which ordered Tanzania to accommodate the right to private/independent candidacies.⁹⁰ Prohibiting independent candidates restricts alternative entry points to the political sphere and provides political parties with significant influence over political leadership.

Also, under the FPTP electoral system, the success of the party depends on the single candidate it selects in each electoral constituency. This requirement puts pressure on political parties to field the candidates who appear to be most electable.⁹¹ The party nomination committee is often reluctant to pick a woman, due to underlying beliefs that voters are less likely to support women candidates (FGD, Men in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

Like in many other parts of the world, corruption plays an important role in Tanzanian politics; winning elections is impossible if one does not have a lot of money (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). The 2010 Elections Expenses Act as amended in 2015 controls election financing by political parties. However, it contains many exceptions that make it easy for candidates to circumvent regulations. Also, the Act does not contain any specific measures for addressing women’s unique financial challenges. Sections 3 (c) and (d) of the Political Parties Amendment Act contain guidelines on political parties’ income, expenditure, and accountability. However, the Act does not provide guidance on ways political parties’ subventions/subsidies can be used to advance the participation of women in elections.

Current institutional provisions are inadequate to support women’s advancement in politics.

The special seats system gives women a guaranteed presence in decision-making positions. This builds women’s confidence, political knowledge, and financial capacity. It also expands their political networks and provides an experience that in some cases allows them to win constituency seats (as mentioned previously, more than half of the women elected to constituency seats came from special seats) and to climb to ministerial positions (FGD, Women Politicians, Mainland Tanzania). Nonetheless, the special seats

⁹⁰*Tanganyika Law Society, Legal and Human Rights & Rev. Christopher Mtikila v. Tanzania*, AfCHPR, Consolidated Applications Nos. 009/0211 & 011/2011, Judgment of 14 June 2013.

⁹¹ See Makulilo, A. (2020). “Where There Is Power, Women Are Not: Rethinking Women and Politics in Tanzania,” *The African Review*, 46(2), 349–365. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1821889X-12340005>.

system is imperfect.⁹² There are no term limits, meaning that women who have the opportunity to access them are not incentivized to leave and compete for elected seats. The seats also act as a ceiling: political parties and women aspirants work under the assumption that the special seats are for women and the constituency seats for men. Women in special seats are also considered to have gotten into a position of power through favor, and it is often insinuated that they are beholden to the (men) authorities that have given them access. There is great inequality between elected and nominated leaders, not only in how they are perceived but in what powers they hold (KII, Woman Politicians, Mainland Tanzania, Zanzibar). In some local government authorities, women in special seats cannot chair ward development committees and they may not qualify to be mayors and/or municipal chairpersons. Owing to the absence of procedure for nominating women to special seats as required under Article 81 of the 1977 Constitution, the nomination process has been tainted with nepotism, sextortion, and disputes within parties, as witnessed by the current case involving 19 women’s special seats from CHADEMA.⁹³

There are no quotas or other affirmative action measures for women in the judicial or executive branches of government. The president appoints all positions at his or her discretion and is not required to balance men and women.⁹⁴ While there is an emphasis on balancing the two parts of the union, there is no requirement to address the gender, age, or disability status of those who are appointed (FGD, Men in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania).

Although political parties do not have voluntary gender quotas for candidates, most politicians (98.3 percent) surveyed for this assessment reported that their parties have measures in place to recruit women as candidates (Table 18). Additionally, 100 percent of respondents supported these measures.

Table 18: Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?

RESPONSE	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	58	100.0%	55	96.5%	113	98.3%
No	0	0.0%	2	3.5%	2	1.7%
TOTAL	58	100.0%	57	100.0%	115	100.0%

Source: WPPL Tanzania Politician Survey, 2023.

⁹² Makulilo, AB (2009), “Whose affirmative action is affirmative? lessons from Tanzania,” CEU Political Science Journal. https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/ceupsj/v4i4/f_0018040_15467.pdf.

⁹³ See particularly Halima James Mdee & 18 Others v. The Board of Trustees, CHADEMA & 2 Others, High Court of Tanzania at Dar es Salaam, Misc. Civil Application No. 16 of 2022. On 16 May 2022 (pending). Also see, Lihiru, Victoria. 2021. “The 2020 CHADEMA Special Seats Dispute in Tanzania, Does the National Electoral Commission Comply with the Law?” Available at <https://www.eisa.org/pdf/JAE20.2Lihiru.pdf>, accessed on May 5, 2023.

⁹⁴ This includes the vice president, prime minister, chief secretary, ministers, deputy ministers, permanent secretary, deputy permanent secretary, judges, justices of appeal, regional commissioners, regional administrative secretaries, district commissioners, district administrative secretaries, district executive directors, commissioners, and heads and board members of parastatals.

Despite the high levels of stated support for women’s advancement, data show that political parties have taken limited steps to nominate women candidates. As noted above, in the 2020 general election, women made up just 9.2 percent while men made up 89.8 percent of all candidates.⁹⁵

Encouragement for women’s political leadership largely comes from international development partners and civil society, particularly WROs. The consistent rhetoric from these actors has contributed to increasing levels of women in leadership roles and increasing acceptance of this, though limitations remain. The current president has also been vocal and taken some concrete actions to advance women in leadership positions.

Because civil society is often a place where women have more opportunities to access power, these legal provisions can disproportionately affect women. Amendments to the non-governmental organization laws that were put in place during the Magufuli administration still hinder the effective operation of civil society, despite attempts by the current president to relax restrictions (FGD, Women in CSOs, Mainland Tanzania). The suite of laws was meant to staunch freedom of expression and assembly, and non-governmental organizations that criticized the government were threatened with suspension or not approved to do election-related activities.⁹⁶

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Women often lack the confidence and resources to advance in the political system.

Overall, there is growing interest among women to engage in politics, particularly among young women (FGD, Women in Political Parties, Mainland Tanzania). However, sociocultural norms and practices often discourage women’s ambition, leaving many feeling less capable and deserving than men and, in Zanzibar, less educated than men (KII, Woman CSO representative, Zanzibar).

Women’s socioeconomic circumstances, particularly their economic dependence on men, often mean that they have fewer resources than men to mobilize for political activity.⁹⁷ Women also tend to consider their household and family financial responsibilities before running for a political post, while men can do so without worrying (KII, Party Leader, Mainland Tanzania). If the family and community are not supportive of a woman, it is very difficult for her to mobilize resources in a patriarchal system.

“When I contested the election, I failed to run my campaign because of a limited budget, and from that point of view, the one with money remains in the position of contesting because they can manage to run their campaign.” (FGD, women in political parties, Zanzibar)

Quantitative data, however, paints a slightly different picture. Out of 114 respondents in the politician survey, 69.3 percent noted that their party does provide financial support to all of its candidates, and 63.3 percent indicated that this support is distributed evenly across all candidates. However, the qualitative data show that most often political parties support MPs and councilor candidates in constituencies and

⁹⁵ V Lihuru “Exploring suitable electoral systems for promotion of women’s representation in Tanzania and Rwanda” (2022 Volume 21, Issue 3,) *African Studies Quarterly* at 61-75.

⁹⁶ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr56/3051/2020/en/>.

⁹⁷ See Makulilo, A. (2020). “Where There Is Power, Women Are Not: Rethinking Women and Politics in Tanzania,” *The African Review*, 46(2), 349–365. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1821889X-12340005>.

wards where candidates are likely to win (KII, Woman Politician, Mainland Tanzania). Most political parties prefer to nominate men candidates due to the strong competition posed by the FPTP electoral system, coupled with a presumption that men candidates will have enough resources and financial supporters to manage election expenses.

Once elected or appointed, women are generally expected to be able to assume the positions and fulfill their responsibilities, and some continue to advance into other positions of power, such as at the cabinet level. Women MPs and councilors benefit from the general orientation organized by councils and/or parliaments. There are also capacity-building sessions undertaken by UN Women, the United Nations Development Programme, international or regional parliaments and organizations, and other WROs to build the capacity of women MPs and councilors through their caucuses (TWPG for NA and Umoja wa Wabunge Wanawake Zanzibar for ZHoR) to undertake their legislative, oversight, and representation roles in a gender-responsive way. However, such interventions are ad hoc in nature and externally funded; thus, they are unsustainable.

Some women MPs and councilors from special seats feel inferior because they are not elected, and some feel that they lack the capacity to engage in parliamentary and council affairs. Men MPs and councilors contribute to the feeling of inferiority by arguing that women special seat holders depend on men candidates to win in competitive seats for them to access the special seats. As previously noted, the law also does not allow women from special seats to receive constituency development funds or to be eligible for the prime minister position, contributing to the perception that these special seat women MPs are second-class. MPs elected from the constituency receive a constituency development fund of about 40,000,000 TZS per annum for development activities at the constituency level.⁹⁸ According to research from the International Republican Institute (IRI), “special seat MPs are told that they represent the ‘national interest’ rather than a specific constituency and so the appointed MP engages in very limited constituency outreach.”⁹⁹ This implies that women special seats representatives are supposed to use their salaries or raise funds to undertake any meaningful development projects in their area.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADDRESSING CHALLENGES TO WPPL IN TANZANIA

There are several opportunities for addressing challenges facing WPPL, particularly through legislative and constitutional reforms that, if reinforced, will reduce institutional barriers to women’s leadership and increase the number of women representatives. This section provides a brief overview of ongoing reform initiatives. The recommendations in the following section offer detailed suggestions that build on these points.

Background: A Window of Opportunity for Institutional Reform

There appears to be growing political will from President Hassan, the Ministry of Constitution and Legal Affairs, and the ruling party to change the National Elections Act and the Political Amendment Parties Act and to restart the process of constitutional reform. As part of her wider reform agenda, President Hassan introduced her “4Rs” agenda (reconciliation, resilience, reforms, and rebuilding of the nation) in her letter

⁹⁸ Constituencies Development Catalyst Fund Act, Act No 16 of 2009.

⁹⁹ https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/legacy/iri.org/wysiwyg/tanzania_gender_report.pdf.

to Tanzanians on 30 years of multiparty democracy in July 2022.¹⁰⁰ On the reform agenda, President Hassan said:

“...my administration will initiate reforms in areas of politics, economy, and in the electoral laws ...Reforms in electoral laws will create a level playing field in our politics and give the electorate an opportunity to elect the leaders they want.”

Over the last two years, President Hassan has taken several concrete steps to advance the reform process. In December 2021, she formed a Presidential Task Force on Multiparty Democracy, headed by Professor Mukandala.¹⁰¹ The taskforce report, submitted in October 2022, covers nine areas, including political rallies, conduct of elections, participation of women and vulnerable groups in multiparty democracy, and political parties’ subsidies. It recommends reforms in the Political Parties Amendment Act and the Elections Act and provides a step-by-step approach for reviving the stalled 2011–2014 constitutional review process. In January 2023, President Hassan addressed all registered political parties and provided the government’s reaction to key recommendations in the Democracy Taskforce Report. The president also reinstated political rallies, which had been banned in 2016, and promised to kickstart reforms to the National Elections Act and the Political Parties Amendment Act. She also confirmed that the government is ready to restart the constitutional review process.¹⁰² Subsequently, she called for fast-tracking these reforms, and in a recent budget speech, the Ministry of Legal and Constitutional Affairs announced the allocation of funds for coordinating the reforms and the constitutional revision process.¹⁰³

It now appears that the constitution reform process will start after the 2025 elections, while changes in the elections and political parties laws will happen before the 2024 local elections and 2025 general elections. In July 2023, the Office for the Registrar of Political Parties issued a letter (Ref. No. HA.269/322/01A/196) to all registered political parties seeking input on four potential reforms: (a) enactment of a new law on NEC; (b) enactment of a new law on elections of the president, MPs, and councilors; (c) amendment of the Political Parties Act. Cap. 258; and (d) amendment of the Election Expenses Act. Cap. 278.

Changing the elections and political parties’ laws before changing the constitution will only allow for minimum reforms in such laws since more transformational changes would require a new constitution.

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/oped/president-samia-s-letter-to-tanzanians-on-30-years-of-multi-party-democracy-3866168>.

¹⁰¹ The taskforce was formed in line with the resolution from the December 15–17, 2021 Stakeholders Meeting on Multiparty Democracy, which ostensibly took place as part of President Hassan’s efforts to strengthen democracy in the country.

¹⁰² <https://www.voanews.com/a/tanzania-s-government-lifts-ban-on-political-rallies/6902398.html>.

¹⁰³ Jamhuri Ya Muungano Wa Tanzania (202e3) Hotuba Ya Waziri Wa Katiba Na Sheria Mheshimiwa Dkt. Damas Daniel Ndumbaro (Mb), Akiwasilisha Bungeni Mpango Na Makadirio Ya Mapato Na Matumizi Ya Wizara Kwa Mwaka Wa Fedha 2023/2024. Kimepigwachapa Na Mpigachapa Mkuu Wa Serikali, Dodoma-Tanzania.

Nonetheless, it will be important to ensure that changes in the elections and political parties' laws positively affect WPPL.

Electoral Systems Reform Strategies

As the reform process unfolds, there is a need to facilitate consensus-building on what legal reforms are needed to increase access and power for women. Three options include:

1. Reforming the electoral system. There are suggestions to move from the current FPTP system to proportional representation with an additional requirement for a “Zebra” system requiring alternation of women and men candidates on lists as well as doing away with the current special seats system.
2. Going back to the suggestion made under the 2014 Proposed Constitution, which eradicated the special seats system and guaranteed gender parity in decision-making bodies.
3. Maintaining the current electoral system but introducing a mandatory gender quota to supplement the special seats system and reform the special seats system.

The first and second options, if implemented, could radically transform the role of women in elected institutions, depending on their design. They could also have implications for the representation and the role of smaller political parties and the ruling party, voter choice, and the functioning of political parties in the legislature. While it is important to understand how an electoral system could improve or stymie women's political participation, it is also important to consider other crucial advantages and disadvantages of an electoral system in any given political context. Studies show that women are three to four times more likely to vie for and be elected under a proportional representation system compared with FPTP.¹⁰⁴ However, these options would require altering Article 66 of the Constitution, which provides for the categories of MPs. A change from FPTP to proportional representation or a gender-equality-based FPTP system and its rollout would require extensive consultations not possible before the 2025 general elections. Moreover, there is likely to be significant opposition to transitioning from FPTP to proportional representation, particularly from political stakeholders that benefit from the current majoritarian system. Both the Warioba Commission on the new constitution and the presidential task force recommend retaining FPTP.

In the short term, therefore, it may make most sense to focus on option 3, which aims to advance WPPL outcomes within the framework of the current FPTP electoral system. This would include: 1) introducing a mandatory gender quota and 2) reforming the special seats system. Pursuing reforms on these two issues is in harmony with Article 66 of the Constitution and Section 6A (2) (5) of the Political Parties Amendment Act. Recommendations for specific changes that should be made to relevant legislation are provided in the next section.

Complementary Reforms and Programming

¹⁰⁴ V Lihiru “Exploring suitable electoral systems for promotion of women's representation in Tanzania and Rwanda” (2022 Volume 21, Issue 3,) *African Studies Quarterly* at 61–75.

With the ongoing reform process, there is also a proposal to enact a new law on the NEC. There is an opportunity to influence the content of this law to enable the NEC to manage elections in a gender-responsive manner from its composition to the way it runs elections. Reform of the Elections Expenses Act can also close the gaps that currently exist, allowing candidates to circumvent the provisions of the Act and instrumentalize money to influence voters, thus making the elections an expensive endeavor and disadvantaging women, who tend to have less access to campaign resources.

The 2024 local elections are also an opportunity to improve data collection and accessibility during voter registration and voting and in monitoring, documenting, and producing reports on women's participation in local elections. Such reports have never been produced in Tanzania. USAID and other actors can work with CSOs to support women who want to campaign in selected regions or districts as a pilot.

Other Opportunities

The presence of a woman president as well as other women leaders, helps in slowly changing the traditional narrative on women and leadership. Other opportunities relate to human rights monitoring mechanisms (the LHRC, which is led by a woman, has a human rights monitoring program with more than 200 monitors); the existence of progressive judgments from national, regional, and international courts; emerging organizations pushing for local philanthropy; and old and new WROs tackling the sociocultural roots of patriarchy.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

SOCIOCULTURAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Sociocultural factors inhibit women from fully participating in politics in Tanzania. Changing deeply ingrained views about women’s role in society is not a quick or easy task, but is one of the most important and effective things that can be done to improve WPPL.

Support men’s engagement programs. As detailed in this assessment, regressive attitudes that men have toward women often impede the ability of women to freely and meaningfully participate in political processes. Working with men (in particular, men in elected office, men in political parties, and men family members of women who wish to be active in politics) to better their understanding of power-sharing, privilege, and gender equality is one way to combat this challenge. Such programming could aim to promote positive masculinity and encourage dialogue between men and women, supporting non-violent coexistence. These activities should also aim to dispel the myth that expanding women’s political participation means taking away men’s rights and privileges. Given the role that religion plays in shaping sociocultural beliefs that oppress women and impede their ability to participate and lead in politics, there is also a need to create WPPL champions among religious and traditional leaders who can demonstrate a willingness to support the agenda both privately and publicly. By engaging this group and helping these leaders understand how they can both live their religious values while also supporting gender equality, some harmful sociocultural barriers for women—particularly in more traditional and rural areas of the country—may be mitigated.

Support local-level programming. One criticism of some WROs that the assessment team found during data collection was that most of the organizations are concentrated in the capital and do not have as much of a presence at a more local level. A capacity-strengthening mechanism for WROs should focus on supporting them to develop programming to increase women’s political participation at the village, street, and ward levels—in addition to the national level. Community-level engagement with religious, traditional, and political leaders, as well as with men and women, is important for changing social norms. This programming should be tied to the 2024 local elections as a way to build women’s capacity ahead of these elections and support their efforts to more fully participate at the local level. WROs should engage with existing local-level structures, such as the Association of Local Government Authorities and the Association of Women in Local Government (popularly known as *Wanawake wa Serikali za Mitaa*), to strengthen WPPL initiatives and engagement at local levels.

Support WROs in undertaking a comprehensive initiative to address violence against women in politics and public life. Violence against women in politics is a pervasive issue in Tanzania, and a holistic strategy with relevant electoral stakeholders is needed to combat this issue. The comprehensive initiative should target political party leaders, including candidate nomination committee members and ethics committee members. It should also target EMB officials, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, and security forces officials at the national, regional, district, and grassroots levels. The aim of the initiative should be to raise awareness about violence against women in politics, how individual actors contribute to it, how it affects women’s engagement in political leadership, and the role participants can play in minimizing

violence against women in political life. During the two upcoming election periods, this program should also target men candidates and support an awareness-raising media campaign to reach a wider audience. A complementary social media campaign should target individuals who use online platforms to perpetuate harassment of women candidates and leaders. This initiative should train women candidates and elected officials to strengthen women's understanding of GBV in politics and public life, including sextortion and its manifestation, reporting and redress mechanisms, and ways to remain politically resilient in the face of violence and harassment. By supporting these groups of women to learn more about how to seek justice for these crimes, fewer perpetrators will have impunity. During elections, civil society groups, research organizations, or government institutions should consider creating a monitoring and early warning and response mechanism related to political violence, ensuring that this mechanism tracks the incidence and type of violence against women and details about victims and perpetrators, to the extent possible.

Support leadership development and norms transformation among girls and boys, including as part of the school curriculum. Entrenched social norms make it difficult for young girls and women to aspire to political leadership positions, and for young boys and men to understand how gender equality helps all people. Young people therefore need to be engaged at an early age to develop progressive attitudes about gender equality that translate into inclusive behaviors. There is also a need for WROs to engage in- and out-of-school youth on gender transformational leadership through role models, mentors, and peer support. This engagement can also be linked to engagement with women in the wider community who could also be empowered and act as role models to the younger generation.

Support civic and voter education campaigns that emphasize women's right (and duty as citizens) to vote and that counter stereotypes against women leaders. The program should also seek to engage women voters, who themselves do not always believe in women leaders, and traditional and faith leaders who can undermine gender-equal outcomes. Working with famous or well-known men who are gender equality allies can help shift the attitudes of other men and boys, and focusing on messages about voter secrecy can potentially help stem family voting. Messages about women's rights and responsibilities as citizens can begin to inform women about their rights and empower them to see themselves as leaders and to vote in elections.

Support media institutions and journalists to provide more gender-sensitive coverage. As noted in the report, the media is a space that can perpetuate existing harmful gender stereotypes (for example, calling the current president, a woman, "mama" and the past president, a man, "the rock" or "the bulldozer.") Journalists, editors, and other media professionals would benefit from support on how to provide more gender-sensitive media coverage, particularly when discussing women leaders.

INSTITUTIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Institutions in Tanzania have a major role to play in promoting or preventing WPPL. One thing that should be kept in mind when prioritizing which institutions are the best ones on which to focus is that Tanzania's decision-making structures are dominated by the ruling party, CCM, which has 89 percent of seats in parliament. While this does not mean smaller opposition parties should be ignored, it should be noted that the parties are not equally powerful nor have equal resources, and the traditional incentives of positive competition between parties do not exist to the same degree as in other contexts. The upcoming rounds of elections in 2024 and 2025 and the envisioned constitutional reform process are important

opportunities for CCM to deliver on stated commitments by their current leadership. Opposition parties can contribute to the reform process and then also be held accountable for implementing required changes, with the assistance of strong monitoring and enforcement mechanisms.

Support ongoing legislative and constitutional reforms. Ongoing legal reform efforts provide a window of opportunity for advancing legislative and constitutional changes related to women’s roles in politics. In July 2023, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties issued a letter (Ref. No. HA.269/322/01A/196) to all registered political parties requesting input on four reform initiatives: (a) enactment of a new law on the NEC; (b) enactment of a new law on the election of the president, MPs, and councilors; (c) amendment of the Political Parties Act. Cap. 258; and (d) amendment of the Election Expenses Act Cap. 278. These efforts indicate the government’s commitment to improving democratic processes and gender equality. Ideally, the process for reviewing the constitution should precede changes to these laws; however, experts anticipate that constitutional reform will not start until after the 2025 elections. Thus, given the current momentum to review the four laws noted above, development partners should provide support to Tanzanian stakeholders to 1) ensure that the review of these laws is inclusive and that women’s groups are represented in these conversations and 2) provide comparative technical expertise regarding potential legal reforms that could better support women’s political participation.

Amend Section 6A (2) (5) (a) (b) and (c) of the Political Parties Amendment Act. This section requires political parties to “*promote...gender, youth, and social inclusion in the a) formulation and implementation of its policies; b) nomination of candidates for elections; and c) election of its leaders.*” Because political parties are key institutions for promoting women’s political participation, and because of the myriad challenges women face engaging with and being a member of political parties, the following specific reforms are recommended:

- **Section 6A (2) (5) (a):** This section should be amended to specify that each political party has a gender policy. It should also establish a monitoring mechanism to ensure that parties implement this policy and detail sanctions in the case that parties do not.
- **Section 6A (2) (5) (b):** This section should be changed from the current text, which merely encourages political parties to take voluntary measures to field women candidates, to text that requires parties to adopt candidate quotas and sets a minimum percentage for each gender. For example, requiring a 20 percent quota for open constituencies could push Tanzania to reach gender parity in the legislature, assuming the special seats provision is still constitutionally set at 30 percent. This arrangement would also require the NEC to reject political party nomination lists that do not meet the gender quota. One potential approach would be to legally mandate the NEC to designate women-only constituencies or wards in which all parties are required to field women candidates. Without women-only constituencies or wards, political parties can nominate 20 percent of women but place them in non-winnable constituencies or wards, resulting in few election victories.
- **Section 6A (2) (5) (c):** The law should be amended to require that each party have 40 percent of its leadership be women.

Reform the special seats system. Despite its contribution to increasing the number of women seeking office, elected, and nominated to positions of power, the women’s special seats system suffers from several challenges described in previous sections. If this system is to be maintained, a new framework for the special seats system should be developed through the electoral and constitutional reform process

with input from a variety of stakeholder groups, including WROs. The framework should encompass common guidelines for the selection of women’s special seats by political parties in line with Article 81 of the 1977 Constitution requirements. Reforms should also allow women elected to the special seats to be nominated as prime ministers and should consider providing these elected officials with some type of funding, as they do not receive constituency funds and thus have difficulties funding any type of project or initiative. Simply put, the disadvantages that these seats hold (for example, in some local government authorities, women’s special seats cannot chair ward development committees and they may not qualify to be mayors or municipal chairpersons) should be eliminated so that they are no longer perceived as “lesser than” other seats and so that the women who hold these seats get the same opportunities and experience as those elected through constituency seats. In addition, given the dominance of the ruling party in national elections, it is difficult for some parties to meet the 10 percent parliamentary seats threshold to nominate women for special seats in Zanzibar, meaning that the women in special seats are not from a broad diversity of parties, which would support a more inclusive and robust political system. This threshold should be reduced to the 5 percent threshold that exists in Mainland Tanzania.

Work with political parties to address violence against women politicians. Violence is one of the major barriers that not only keeps women from entering politics but also keeps them from staying. Therefore, it is critical to work with political parties—whose own members are often the perpetrators of this violence—to address this issue. This initiative might include awareness-raising within parties on violence against women and developing mechanisms through which the parties provide justice to victims. Additionally, such programming could include working with women’s wings and political party leaders to orient women on violence against women in politics, redress mechanisms, and discuss ways to advocate against it and opportunities to offer support to each other.

Work with political parties to democratize internal party processes and policies so that they are more supportive of women’s nomination to competitive seats. Since there are reserved seats in parliament for women, parties often nominate men to run in the competitive constituency seats. These seats, unlike the special seats, are positions that can be appointed to prime minister and receive constituency funding for activities. To encourage political parties to nominate more women to these seats, stakeholders should work with political parties to ensure women’s presence in candidate nomination committees, adopt voluntary candidate quotas, reconsider candidate requirements, and ensure special seats are not used to discourage and screen women from running in competitive seats. Political parties should also be encouraged to remove nomination fees for women aspirants and other marginalized groups (as they are less likely to have the same access to financial resources as men), curb corruption during primaries, and ensure women are part of central organs that have decision-making power on candidate nominations at all levels.

Support efforts to reform the Political Parties Amendment Act. Women’s wings are often under-resourced and do not have meaningful power in decision-making at the party leadership level. This reform would require political parties to allocate part of their subsidies to help advance women in politics. Meaningful monitoring mechanisms must be created to ensure that parties actually use this funding for real initiatives to promote women’s participation (in other countries with this regulation, parties often spend these funds on International Women’s Day events, flowers, decorations for the office, and other items that do not actually increase equal women’s participation and leadership). Capacity strengthening should also be directed to women’s wings so they have greater influence in political parties.

Work with NEC and ZEC to produce disaggregated data for all candidates, registered voters, voter turnout, observers, election officials, and election winners by sex, age, disability status, and other identity characteristics, as well as assisting *Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa* to produce local election data for the same stakeholder categories. These institutions should make this data publicly available. Gender-disaggregated data would allow institutions to develop initiatives based on nuanced analysis of which citizens could use what type of support and where.

INDIVIDUAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Overcoming individual-level barriers to political participation requires building confidence and capacity among girls and women. It also requires ensuring they have the necessary time and resources to participate equally in political life.

Work with civil society and other actors to provide capacity-building support for women aspirants and candidates. Many women who are interested in running for office or who are already candidates do not feel like they have the necessary skills to win. Capacity-strengthening training should focus on public speaking, fundraising, political resilience, and other relevant topics. This support should be offered well in advance of the candidate nomination process so women feel equipped to advocate for themselves in that process. Post-election coaching and peer mentoring (see below) could also contribute to helping women who were not successful consider other pathways to participation and leadership within parties.

Provide mentoring and coaching to women activists and aspirants. Individual women face high rates of social sanction when participating in politics and activism. It is critical to support a coaching and mentoring program that will provide peer-to-peer support for women to build their confidence, tenacity, and resilience, as well as practical skills needed for political participation. The program could also consider capacity-strengthening grants to support women entering politics and individual activists who are standing up against the patriarchy.

Provide capacity-building support to newly elected women representatives after the 2025 election. Due to the broad range of challenges women face in elected office, the turnover rate for women in parliament and other elected bodies is often high, even though these women who have served have valuable experience that can support them in running for office in the future (and winning). Development partners should work collaboratively with UN agencies, regional parliaments and organizations, and WROs to provide training for women in parliament, especially those in their first term. This initiative should be provided timely (and regularly) so that women understand: 1) the responsibilities of their roles and how to fulfill them, 2) how to effectively communicate internally with other elected officials and party leaders and externally to the media and other stakeholders, 3) how to negotiate within their parties regarding leadership positions and future candidacy opportunities, and 4) how to be resilient against all the challenges they will face. The program can support leadership coaching so that women can climb the political ladder by taking leadership roles, including in strategic committees in NAs, the House of Representatives, and councils.

Support programming to increase women's access to and control over financial resources. Political candidates are often required to finance their own campaigns, and this is especially true for women candidates, who might not benefit from the same amount of party support as their men counterparts. Developing initiatives meant to increase women's economic empowerment and financial freedom—

though it may seem tangential to political participation—can help women both earn the resources they need to participate in politics and gain important skills that can support them as candidates, in political office, and in other roles.

ANNEX A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

DESK REVIEW SOURCES

Amoateng, A.Y., Kalule-Sabiti, I., Heaton, T.B. (2014) Gender and behavior: gender and changing patterns of political participation in sub-Saharan Africa: evidence from five waves of the Afrobarometer surveys. *Gender Behav.* 12(3), 5897–5910.

Bjarnegård, E, & Zetterberg, P 2016, 'Gender Equality Reforms on an Uneven Playing Field: Candidate Selection and Quota Implementation in Electoral Authoritarian Tanzania', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 464–486. doi:10.1017/gov.2016.10.

Chatham House. (2012). Building inclusive democracy: Gender and political decision-making in Tanzania (Meeting summary). London: Chatham House. Retrieved from: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/240112summary.pdf>

Diana Højlund Madsen (2021) *Gendered Institutions and Women's Political Representation in Africa*. Zed Books Ltd, Bloomsbury Publishing, 50 Bedford Square, London.

Gender Links. (2015). SADC Gender protocol: 2015 Barometer. Johannesburg: Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance. Retrieved from: <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/page/sadc-research>

Grabe, S. (2015). Participation: Structural and relational power and Maasai women's political subjectivity in Tanzania. *Feminism and Psychology*, 0, 1-21. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959353515591369>

Hannah Svea Schild. (2020). "I am a woman. But in addition, I am a mother." – Women Navigating Politics, Conflict and Uncertainty in Zanzibar: Master Thesis in African Studies (Research). African Studies Centre, Leiden University The Netherlands.

International IDEA. (2014). Political parties in Africa through a gender lens. Stockholm: IDEA. Retrieved from: <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/political-parties-in-africa-through-a-gender-lens.pdf>

International Republican Institute (2015). Tanzania Elections Gender Assessment. Washington, DC. International Republican Institute, https://www.iri.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/tanzania_gender_report.pdf

Jessica Marie Ott (2020) *Women's Rights in Repetition: Nation Building, Solidarity, and Islam in Zanzibar*. PhD Dissertation: Michigan State University.

John, P. (2020). Political culture and power sharing in Zanzibar: The case of the 2010 general elections (Doctoral thesis). University of Dodoma, Dodoma.

Killian, Bernadeta. 1996. "A Policy of Parliamentary Special Seats for Women in Tanzania: Its Effectiveness." <https://doi.org/10.5070/F7242-3016666>.

Koda, Bertha O and Lilian V. Mtasingwa, "Gender-Responsive Budgeting in Tanzania," Oxfam Research Backgrounder series (2021): <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/gender-responsive-budgeting->

in-tanzania-621342/

Krook M. (2018). No party to violence: Analyzing violence against women in political parties: Compendium Report of Country Pilots in Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Tanzania, and Tunisia, https://mlkrook.org/pdf/VAW-PP_2019.pdf

Lihiru, Victoria. 2021. "The 2020 CHADEMA Special Seats Dispute in Tanzania, Does the National Electoral Commission Comply with the Law?" <https://www.eisa.org/pdf/JAE20.2Lihiru.pdf>

Lihiru, Victoria (2022) Exploring Suitable Electoral Systems for Promotion of Women's Representation in Tanzania and Rwanda. *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 21, Issue 3, pp. 61–75.

Lihiru Victoria. 2019. "Participatory Constitutional Reforms vs. Realization of Equal Representation of Men and Women in the Parliaments: A Study of Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania." Ph.D Thesis, University of Cape Town.

Louise Fox (2016) *Gender, Economic Transformation and Women's Economic Empowerment In Tanzania*. University of California, Berkeley.

Lone Badstue, Cathy Rozel Farnworth, Anya Umantseva, Adelbertus Kamanzi & Lara Roeven (2021) Continuity and Change: Performing Gender in Rural Tanzania, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 57:2, 310–325.

Lusasi, Justin, and Dismas Mwaseba. 2020. "Gender Inequality and Symbolic Violence in Women's Access to Family Land in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania" *Land* 9, no. 11: 468. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land9110468>

Makulilo, A. (2023) "Interrogating the 'Spiritual Puzzle of Silence' on Religion and Gender Inequality in Tanzania". In [Ezra Chitando, Loreen Maseno, & Joram Tarusarira](#), *Religion and Inequality in Africa*, Bloomsbury Publishing.

Makulilo A. & Mohammed B. (2021): Building a transformative feminist movement for women empowerment in Tanzania: the role of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, *Africa Review*, 13(2): 155–174.

Makulilo A. & Lihiru V. (2020) Constitution-Making Process in Tanzania (2011-2014): A New Era for Women Political Participation? *Huria Journal*, Vol 27(2), 1–29.

Makulilo, AB & Henry, R. (2021) "Making Inclusion Matter: An Assessment and Recommendations to increase the representation of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities in Tanzania," A study Report, Tanzania Centre for Democracy and National Democratic Institute.

Makulilo, A. (2020). "Where There Is Power, Women Are Not: Rethinking Women and Politics in Tanzania." *The African Review*, 46, 349–365.

Makulilo, A.B. (2020) "Gender Discrimination in Politics: A Critical Review of Liberalism," *Huria Journal* 27 (1): 76–92.

Makulilo, AB (2017), 'The independent candidate case by the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights revisited', *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp.130–143.

Makulilo, A. B & Lupa R. (2013) *Assessment of the State of Local Democracy in Tanzania from a Gender Perspective*, Tanzania Centre for Democracy.

Makulilo, A. (2012) Book Review authored by Anne Phillips (2010) *Gender and Culture*, Polity Press. In: *The Political Studies Review Journal*, 10(1): 98–99.

Makulilo, AB (2009), 'Whose affirmative action is affirmative?' lessons from Tanzania', *CEU Political Science Journal*. https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/journals/ceupsj/v4i4/f_0018040_15467.pdf

Makulilo, A. (2009) Book Review authored by Anne Stevens (2007) *Women, Power and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. In: *The Political Studies Review Journal*, 7(2): 280.

McGuire, Elizabeth Kay, "Effects of Social Context on Women's Political Engagement: Evidence from Focus Group Experiments in Tanzania" (2021). Yale Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Dissertations. 88. https://elischolar.library.yale.edu/gsas_dissertations/88

Meena, R., Rusimbi, M., & Israel, C. (2017), "Women and Political Leadership: Facilitating Factors in Tanzania," Uongozi Institute Research Report, Vol. 17 No. 1. https://uongozi.or.tz/newsite/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Women-and-Political-Leadership_online.pdf

Meena, R. (2001). "Gender Differences in Political Orientation" in Mushi, Samuel S., Mukandala, Rwekaza S. and Baregu, Mwesiga L. (eds) *Tanzania's Political Culture: A Baseline Survey*, Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam.

Meena, R. (2009). 'Women participation in positions of power and influence in Tanzania' https://www.redet.udsm.ac.tz/documents_storage/2009-8-19-11-34

Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, The United Republic of Tanzania. (2012). *A national gender diagnostic study in Tanzania: Final report*. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children. Retrieved from: <http://tanzania.um.dk/en/~media/Tanzania/Documents/Gender%20Equality%20and%20Womens%20Empowerment%20II%20Final/Gender%20Diagnostic%20Study-Final.pdf>

Misafi, H.P. (2014). Women's participation in decentralized local governance: the case of pastoral and non-pastoral women in Kondoa local authority, Tanzania. *Afrika Fokus*, 27(2), 87–97. https://brill.com/view/journals/afoc/27/2/article-p87_6.xml?language=en

Musiiwa, Estella (2011). Book Review: TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955- 1965. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 12(4), 183-186. Available at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol12/iss4/17>

National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2017) *Women & Men in Tanzania: Facts and Figures*. NBS, Dodoma, Tanzania.

NEC. (2021). "Report of the National Electoral Commission on the 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary and Councilors' Elections." Dar es Salaam.

NEC. (2016). "Report of the National Electoral Commission (Tanzania) on the 2015 Presidential and Parliamentary and Councillors' Elections." Dar es Salaam: Tanzania.

Paschal B. Mihyo, Jamal B. Msami and Donald E. Mmari (eds.) (2020) Empowering Women In Tanzania In The Context Of Contemporary Social Policy Reforms. REPOA, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (2019) Women and Men in Zanzibar Facts and Figures. Office of the Chief Government Statistician, Zanzibar.

Roosa Lambin¹ and Milla Nyysölä (2022) Exploring social policy trajectories in Mainland Tanzania Driving for gender-inclusive development? WIDER Working Paper 2022/38.

Said Salim Ali (2020) Women Participation and Representation in Politics and Governance in Zanzibar, GSJ: Volume 8, Issue 8, August 2020, www.globalscientificjournal.com.

Said, S. J. (2016). Challenges facing Women in public sectors in Zanzibar: A case study of urban district. Dodoma: The University of Dodoma.

Sambodhi Limited Tanzania (2016). End of Project Evaluation of the Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation, commissioned by UN Women Tanzania, https://um.fi/documents/384998/0/UNWomen_Leadership_political_participation_Tanzania_Final_eval_2017.pdf/ad1148f1-9e01-24b2-9087-8af36c62b64f

Seppänen, M., & Virtanen, P. (2008). Corruption, Poverty and Gender: With case studies of Nicaragua and Tanzania. Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. Retrieved from: <http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentId=130591&nodeId=15445&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>

Secha, R. P (2020) Challenges facing women political participation in Tanzania (Master's Dissertation). The University of Dodoma.

Shayo, R. (2005). Women Participation in Party Politics during the Multiparty Era in Africa The Case of Tanzania, Electoral Institute of Southern Africa Occasional Paper Number 34,

Stein Sundstøl Eriksen (2018) Tanzania: A Political-Economy Analysis. Report commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, Norway.

Sulley, C. (2020). Promoting Gender Inclusive Intraparty Candidate Nominations in Tanzania. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Dar es Salaam.

Swai, IL, Anasel, M & Masue, O (2013). "Achievements and challenges of women special seats arrangement in Tanzania," Journal of Policy and Leadership, Vol. 2, pp. 121–135.

Tanzania Women-Cross-party Platform (2015) Violence Against Women In Elections (VAWE Evidence From 2015 Tanzania General Elections) Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2015/16. Available at: <https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/fr321/fr321.pdf> ; UNFPA-Tanzania

TEMCO (2016). "The Report of the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania," Dar es Salam University Press, DSM.

TEMCO (2021). "The Report of the 2020 General Elections in Tanzania," Dar es Salam University Press, DSM.

Tenthani, K., Kafuko, B., & Madsen, H.L. (2014). Women in political parties: WIP approach and experiences. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy. Retrieved from: <http://dipd.dk/dipdpublications/>

UN Women Tanzania Final Project Evaluation (2017) Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation in Tanzania. Sambodhi Limited, Tanzania A103, Slipway Apartments, Chole Road, Masaki, Dar-es-Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania (1977) "The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania."

Wang, V., & Yoon, M. (2018). Recruitment mechanisms for special seats for women in parliament and switches to non-quota seats: A comparative study of Tanzania and Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(2), 299–324.

Yoon, M. Y. (2013). Special seats for women in parliament and democratization: The case of Tanzania. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41, 143–149.

Yoon, M.Y. (2011). More women in the Tanzanian legislature: Do numbers matter? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 29(1), 83–98.

Yoon, M. (2016). "Beyond quota seats for women in the Tanzanian legislature," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 50, 2: 191–210.

WPPL Legal Framework in Tanzania [Under Review]

Constitutions

1. Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977 (Cap 2 R: E 2002).
2. The Zanzibar Constitution of 1984.

Principles Legislation

1. Election Expenses Act, [Act no 10 of 2010].
2. Elections Act, [Cap. 343 of the R: E 2002].
3. The Elections Act, Act no. 4 of 2018.
4. Political Parties (Amendment) Act, 2019.
5. Political Parties Act, [Cap. 258 of the R: E 2002].

International Treaties and Protocols

1. Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995
2. Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1977.
3. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966.
4. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966.
5. United Nations Charter, 1945.
6. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.
7. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals

Regional Instruments

1. African Charter on Human and People's Rights, 1986.
2. African Union Constitutive Act, 2000.
3. Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 2003.
4. Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development, 2008
5. Treaty to the Establishment of East African Community, 1999.
6. The African Agenda 2063
7. The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
8. The East African Gender Policy
9. African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance

POLITICIAN SURVEY

Table 19: Politicians Surveyed

POLITICAL PARTY	GENDER	NO. OF SURVEYS
Alliance for Change Tanzania (ACT-Wazalendo)	Women	19
	Men	18
Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	Women	8
	Men	8
Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)	Women	19
	Men	18
Civic United Front (CUF)	Women	19
	Men	18

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Table 20: Key Informants Interviewed

STAKEHOLDER GROUP	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC 1	CHARACTERISTIC 2	NO. OF KIIs
USAID & Embassy Staff	Woman	USAID	Dar es Salaam	1
Election Observer Group	Man	30 Years of Experience	Countrywide	1
Electoral Official	Man	Zanzibar Elections	Zanzibar	1
Government Official	Man	Political Parties Registrar	Tanzania	1
Implementing Partner	Man	Political Parties	Tanzania	1
Journalists/Media Workers	Woman	Journalist	Mainland Tanzania	1
Politician—Non-Elected	Men	Party Officials	Tanzania	2
Politician—Non-Elected	Women	Party Official	Mainland Tanzania	2
Politician—Non-Elected	Women	Party Official	Zanzibar	2
Politician—Elected	Woman	Party Secretariat	Mainland Tanzania	1

STAKEHOLDER GROUP	GENDER	CHARACTERISTIC 1	CHARACTERISTIC 2	NO. OF KIIS
Politician—Elected	Woman	Women Wing	Tanzania	1
Party Leaders	Man	National Leader	Zanzibar	1
Civil Society	Man	Youth	Mainland Tanzania	1
Civil Society	Woman	Women in Media	Zanzibar	1
Civil Society	Woman	Women Legal Support	Mainland Tanzania	1

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Table 21: Focus Group Discussions

No.	GROUP DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
1	Women in Civil Society	Dar es Salaam	6
2	Men in Civil Society	Dar es Salaam	6
3	Women Media Workers	Dar es Salaam	8
4	Non-Elected Women Politicians	Dar es Salaam	6
5	Non-Elected Men Politicians	Dar es Salaam	6
6	Women in Civil Society	Zanzibar	8
7	Non-Elected Women Politicians	Zanzibar	8
8	Men Media Workers	Zanzibar	8

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND LIMITATIONS

There were delays in getting responses from respondents and participants (i.e., political party leaders and electoral officials). Also, there were suspicions from political parties about the intention of the study. The study coincides with political parties’ activities, thus making it difficult to access party leaders and officials.

ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

POLITICIAN SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

UAUZI WA MWANASIASA
TOLEO LA WANAUME

UTANGULIZI

Uauzi huu unalenga kukusanya maoni ya wanaume katika siasa kwa kuzingatia ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Uauzi unapaswa kukamilika chini ya dakika 30.

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Wadhifa wako wa kisiasa kwa sasa ni upi?
2. Chama chako cha siasa ni kipi?
3. Una umri gani?

[Maswali ya ziada yanayoweza kuchaguliwa/kufafanuliwa kulingana na muktadha: Je! kabila lako ni lipi? Dini yako ni ipi? Unatoka mkoa gani?

UZOEFU WA KISIASA

4. Je, umekuwa katika siasa kwa miaka mingapi?

5. Je, umewahi kuwa mgombea katika uchaguzi?

Kama ndiyo, uligombea uongozi gani wa kisiasa?

6. Je, umewahi kushika nyadhifa rasmi za uongozi katika siasa?

Kama ndiyo, ni nyadhifa zipi za uongozi ulishika?

7. Ni nini kilikuchochea kujihusisha na siasa?

8. Je, chama chako kinatoa msaada wowote wa kifedha kwa wagombea wake?

Ikiwa ndiyo, msaada huu ukoje?

Je, msaada huu unatolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

9. Je, chama chako huwasaidia wagombea katika kampeni zao kwa namna nyingine yoyote?

Ikiwa ndiyo, chama kinatoa nini kama msaada?

Je, msaada huu unatolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

FURSA ZA UONGOZI ZA WANAWAKE

10. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu ni zipi?

11. Je, chama chako kina hatua zozote za kuwasimamisha wanawake kama wagombea?

Ikiwa ndiyo, ni hatua zipi?

Je, hatua hizi zimesababishaje ongezeko la idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea?

12. Je, unaunga mkono hatua hizo za kuongeza idadi ya wanawake katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa?

13. Je, wanawake wanakuwa na fursa sawa na wanaume za kuchukua nafasi za uongozi wa kisiasa - kwa mfano, kama viongozi wa chama, wenyeviti wa kamati za bunge, au mawaziri?

Kama siyo, sababu kuu ni zipi, kwa mtazamo yako?

14. Wanawake wanapoteuliwa kushika nyadhifa za uongozi, ni aina gani ya majukumu wanapewa kuyashughulikia?

15. Je, kuna mrengo wa wanawake katika chama chako cha siasa?

Kama upo, jukumu kuu la mrengo huo ni lipi?

Je, mrengo wa wanawake unaweza kutoa mchango katika jukwaa la chama?

Je, mrengo wa wanawake unaweza kupendekeza wagombea wa kisiasa?

16. Je, wanawake wana uwakilishi katika kamati kuu ya chama?

Ikiwa ndiyo, wanashikilia nyadhifa zipi?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

17. Je, wanawake wapiga-kura wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji wanapotaka kupiga kura?

Ikiwa ndiyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kupiga kura?

18. Je, wagombea wanawake wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndiyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

19. Je, wanawake viongozi wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au kunyanyaswa kwa kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndiyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kutekeleza majukumu yao ya kisiasa?

20. Je, sheria zilizopo zinatoshia kushughulikia ukatili, vitisho na unyanyasaji huu?

Je, chama chako kina sera yoyote ya kushughulikia tatizo hili?

Kama kinayo, sera hii inatekelezwa?

21. Je, hatua nyingine zinahitajika kushughulikia tatizo hili?

Kama ndiyo, ni nani anapaswa kukomesha vitendo hivi na kuwawajibisha wahusika?

ATHARI ZA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

22. Je, wanaume na wanawake wana sauti na ushawishi sawa katika mijadala ya kisiasa nchini [NCHI]?

23. Je, wanaume na wanawake wana ufanisi sawa kama viongozi nchini [NCHI]?

UAMUZI WA MWANASIASA
TOLEO LA WANAWAKE

UTANGULIZI

Uauzi huu unalenga kukusanya maoni ya wanawake katika siasa kwa kuzingatia ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Uauzi unapaswa kuchukua dakika 30-45 kukamilika.

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Wadhifa wako wa kisiasa kwa sasa ni upi?
2. Chama chako cha siasa ni kipi?
3. Una umri gani?

[Maswali ya ziada yanayoweza kuchaguliwa/kufafanuliwa kulingana na muktadha: Je! kabila lako ni lipi? Dini yako ni ipi? Unatoka mkoa gani?]

UZOEFU WA KISIASA

4. Je, umekuwa katika siasa kwa miaka mingapi?
 5. Je, umewahi kuwa mgombea katika uchaguzi?
- Kama ndiyo, uligombea uongozi gani wa kisiasa?
6. Je, umewahi kushika nyadhifa rasmi za uongozi katika siasa?
- Kama ndiyo, ni nyadhifa zipi?
7. Ni nini kilikuchochea kujihusisha na siasa?
 8. Je, chama chako kinatoa msaada wowote wa kifedha kwa wagombea wake?

Ikiwa ndiyo, msaada huu ukoje?

Je, msaada huu unatolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

9. Je, chama chako huwasaidia wagombea katika kampeni zao kwa namna nyingine yoyote?

Ikiwa ndiyo, chama kinatoa nini kama msaada?

Je, msaada huu unatolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

FURSA ZA UONGOZI ZA WANAWAKE

10. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu ni zipi?

11. Je, chama chako kina hatua zozote za kuwasimamisha wanawake kama wagombea?

Ikiwa ndiyo, ni hatua zipi?

Je, hatua hizi zimesababishaje ongezeko la idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea?

12. Je, unaunga mkono hatua hizo za kuongeza idadi ya wanawake katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa?

13. Je, wanawake wanakuwa na fursa sawa na wanaume za kuchukua nafasi za uongozi wa kisiasa - kwa mfano, kama viongozi wa chama, wenyeviti wa kamati za bunge, au mawaziri?

Kama siyo, sababu kuu ni zipi, kwa mtazamo yako?

14. Wanawake wanapoteuliwa kushika nyadhifa za uongozi, ni aina gani ya majukumu wanapewa kuyashughulikia?

15. Je, kuna mrengo wa wanawake katika chama chako cha siasa?

Kama upo, jukumu kuu la mrengo huu ni lipi?

Je, mrengo wa wanawake unaweza kutoa mchango katika jukwaa la chama?

Je, mrengo wa wanawake unaweza kupendekeza wagombea wa kisiasa?

16. Je, wanawake wana uwakilishi katika kamati kuu ya chama?

Ikiwa ndiyo, wanashikilia nyadhifa zipi?

UZOEFU BINAFSI

17. Je, umewahi kupitia mojawapo ya changamoto zifuatazo kwa kujaribu kushiriki katika siasa?

1. Mtu fulani alijaribu kukuua
2. Mtu fulani alikugonga au kukupiga au kukushambulia kimwili kwa namna nyingine
3. Mtu fulani alikuzuia kutoka nyumbani
4. Mtu fulani alitoa vitisho dhidi yako na/au familia yako
5. Mtu fulani alijaribu kukubaka
6. Mtu fulani alikufanyia vitendo visivyotakiwa vya kimapenzi
7. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu mali yako
8. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu riziki yako
9. Mtu fulani alikunyanyasa mtandaoni
10. Mtu fulani alidukua barua pepe au akaunti zako za mitandao ya kijamii
11. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za kimapenzi kuhusu wewe
12. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za unyanyasaji wa kijinsia kuhusu wewe

Kama ndiyo, wahusika wakuu wa vitendo hivi ni akina nani?

Kupitia vitendo hivi kuliathiri vipi utayari wako wa kushiriki katika siasa?

18. Je, umewahi kushuhudia wanawake wengine wakifuatiliwa kwa kujaribu kushiriki katika siasa?

1. Mtu fulani alijaribu kumuua
2. Mtu fulani alimngonga au kumpiga au kumshambulia kimwili kwa namna nyingine
3. Mtu fulani alimzuia kutoka nyumbani
4. Mtu fulani alitoa vitisho dhidi yake na/au familia yake
5. Mtu fulani alijaribu kumbaka
6. Mtu fulani alimfanyia vitendo visivyotakiwa vya kimapenzi
7. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu mali yake
8. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu riziki yake
9. Mtu fulani alimnyanyasa mtandaoni
10. Mtu fulani alidukua barua pepe au akaunti zake za mitandao ya kijamii
11. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za kimapenzi kuhusu yeye
12. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za unyanyasaji wa kijinsia kuhusu yeye

Ikiwa ndiyo, wahusika wakuu wa vitendo hivi ni akina nani?

Kupitia vitendo hivi kuliathiri vipi utayari wao wa kushiriki katika siasa?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

19. Je, wanawake wapiga-kura wanakabiliwa na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji wanapotaka kupiga kura?

Ikiwa ndiyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kupiga kura?

20. Je, wagombea wanawake wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndiyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

21. Je, wanawake viongozi wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au kunyanyaswa kwa kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kutekeleza majukumu yao ya kisiasa?

22. Je, sheria zilizopo zinatoша kushughulikia ukatili, vitisho na unyanyasaji huu?

Je, chama chako kina sera yoyote ya kushughulikia tatizo hili?

Kama kinayo, sera hii inatekelezwa?

23. Je, hatua nyingine zinahitajika kushughulikia tatizo hili?

Kama ndiyo, ni nani anapaswa kukomesha vitendo hivi na kuwawajibisha wahusika?

ATHARI ZA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

24. Je, wanaume na wanawake wana sauti na ushawishi sawa katika mijadala ya kisiasa nchini [NCHI]?

25. Je, wanaume na wanawake wana ufanisi sawa kama viongozi nchini [NCHI]?

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA-TAARIFA MUHIMU WANAWAKE WANASIASA

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 60 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Wadhifa wako wa kisiasa kwa sasa ni upi?

2. Chama chako cha siasa ni kipi?

3. Je, umekuwa katika siasa kwa miaka mingapi?

4. Una umri gani?

UZOEFU WA KISIASA

4. Je, umewahi kuwa mgombea katika uchaguzi?

Ikiwa ndiyo, uligombea nyadhifa zipi za kisiasa?

Je, kuna mtu yeyote aliyekuhimiza usimame kama mgombea?

Je, kuna mtu yeyote aliyekukatisha tamaa ya kusimama kama mgombea?

Kama Ndiyo, alikupa sababu gani za wewe usigombee?

5. Je, umewahi kushika nyadhifa rasmi za uongozi katika siasa?

Ikiwa ndiyo, ulishika nyadhifa zipi za uongozi?

Je, ulikabiliana na changamoto zozote katika uongozi wako, ukizingatia ukweli kwamba wewe ni mwanamke?

6. Ni nini kilikuhamasisha kujihusisha na siasa?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WAGOMBEA WANAWAKE

7. Nchi nyingi duniani zimeanzisha mfumo wa upendeleo wa jinsia kwa wagombea. Je, mfumo huu umekuwa na mchango gani katika idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea nchini [NCHI]?

Je, mfumo wa upendeleo ulichangia katika uteuzi wako mwenyewe?

Je, unaunga mkono mfumo wa upendeleo wa jinsia kama hatua ya kuwaendeleza wanawake katika siasa?

Kama ndiyo eleza na kama siyo, eleza

Je! ni aina gani ya wanawake wamekuwa wakinufaika na mfumo huu nchini [NCHI]?

Je, chama chako kinatoa msaada wowote wa kifedha kwa wagombea wake?

8. Je wewe umewahi kupokea msaada wowote?

Ikiwa ndivyo, ni msaada wa namna gani?

Je, msaada huu unatolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

9. Je, ulilazimika kutafuta pesa zozote kwa ajili ya kampeni zako za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, kiasi hiki cha pesa kinatofautianaje na ulichopokea kutoka katika chama chako?

Ni wafadhili wa aina gani walichangia kwenye kampeni zako?

Je, unafikiri, kwa ujumla, ni vigumu zaidi kwa wanawake kutafuta ufadhili wa kampeni kuliko wanaume?

10. Je, chama chako kinawasaidia wagombea katika kampeni zao kwa namna nyingine yoyote?

Kama ndiyo, chama kinatoa nini kama msaada?

Je, msaada huu unatolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

11. Mazingira ya vyombo vya habari yakoje kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, wagombea wanawake wanapata kiwango sawa cha utangazaji wa vyombo vya habari kama wagombea wa kiume?

Je, wagombea wanawake wanachukuliwa tofauti na wanaume katika vyombo vya habari?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: VIONGOZI WANAWAKE

12. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu ni nini?

13. Baada ya kuchaguliwa, wanawake wanakuwa na fursa sawa na wanaume za kuchukua nyadhifa za uongozi wa kisiasa - kwa mfano, kama viongozi wa chama, marais wa kamati za bunge, au mawaziri?

Kama siyo, sababu kuu ni zipi, kwa maoni yako?

14. Wanawake wanapoteuliwa katika nyadhifa za uongozi, ni aina gani ya majukumu hupewa kuyashughulikia?

15. Je, kuna aina zozote za msaada wa kitaasisi kwa wanawake baada ya kuchaguliwa? Mifano inaweza kuwa mafunzo, ushauri, au wafanyakazi.

Ikiwa ndiyo, aina hizi za msaada ni tofauti kwa namna yoyote na zile zinazotolewa kwa wanaume?

Je, misaada hii hutolewa kwa mfumo rasmi, kama vile kupitia bungeni au vyama vya siasa, au hutolewa tu kwa mfumo usio rasmi?

16. Je, kuna chama cha wanawake bungeni?

Kama kipo, jukumu lake kuu ni lipi?

Je, umeshiriki katika shughuli zake?

Je, kimekuwa na ufanisi gani katika kuendeleza usawa wa kijinsia?

17. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa kisiasa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na ule wa wanaume?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaopewa uzito kuliko wengine?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

18. Je, umewahi kupitia mojawapo ya changamoto zifuatazo ulipojaribu kushiriki katika siasa?

1. Mtu fulani alijaribu kukuua

2. Mtu fulani alikugonga au kukupiga au kukushambulia kimwili kwa namna nyingine

3. Mtu fulani alikuzuia kutoka nyumbani
4. Mtu fulani alitoa vitisho dhidi yako na/au familia yako
5. Mtu fulani alijaribu kukubaka
6. Mtu fulani alikufanyia vitendo visivyotakiwa vya kimapenzi
7. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu mali yako
8. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu maisha yako
9. Mtu fulani alikunyanyasa mtandaoni
10. Mtu fulani alidukua barua pepe au akaunti zako za mitandao ya kijamii
11. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za kimapenzi kuhusu wewe
12. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za unyanyasaji wa kijinsia kuhusu wewe

Kama ndiyo, ni kina nani wahusika wakuu wa vitendo hivi?

Kupitia vitendo hivi kuliathiri vipi utayari wako wa kushiriki katika siasa?

19. Je, umewahi kushuhudia wanawake wengine wakifuatiliwa kwa kujaribu kushiriki katika siasa?

1. Mtu fulani alijaribu kumuua
2. Mtu fulani alimgonga au kumpiga au kumshambulia kimwili kwa namna nyingine
3. Mtu fulani alimzuia kutoka nyumbani
4. Mtu fulani alitoa vitisho dhidi yake na/au familia yake
5. Mtu fulani alijaribu kumbaka
6. Mtu fulani alimfanyia vitendo visivyotakiwa vya kimapenzi
7. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu mali yake

8. Mtu fulani alijaribu kuharibu maisha yake

9. Mtu fulani alimnyanyasa mtandaoni
10. Mtu fulani alidukua barua pepe au akaunti zake za mitandao ya kijamii
11. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za kimapenzi kuhusu yeye
12. Mtu fulani alieneza "habari za uwongo" za unyanyasaji wa kijinsia kuhusu yeye

Ikiwa ndiyo, ni akina nani wahusika wakuu wa vitendo hivi?

Kupitia vitendo hivi kuliathiri vipi utayari wao wa kushiriki katika siasa?

20. Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni kawaida kwa wagombea wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

21. Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni kawaida kwa viongozi wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au

unyanyasaji kwa ajili ya kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kutekeleza majukumu yao ya kisiasa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

MAPENDEKEZO

22. Ni aina gani za sera au mikakati unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]? Sera na mikakati hii inaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, au asasi za kiraia, kwa mfano.

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA-TAARIFA MUHIMU
WANASIASA WANAUME

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 30 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Wadhifa wako wa kisiasa kwa sasa ni upi?

2. Chama chako cha siasa ni kipi?

3. Je, umekuwa katika siasa kwa miaka mingapi?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WAGOMBEA WANAWAKE

4. Nchi nyingi duniani zimeanzisha mfumo wa upendeleo wa jinsia kwa wagombea. Je, mfumo huu umekuwa na athari gani katika idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea nchini [NCHI]?

Je, unaunga mkono mfumo huu kama hatua ya kuwakuza wanawake katika siasa?

Je! ni aina gani ya wanawake wamekuwa wakinufaika na mfumo huu nchini [NCHI]?

5. Je, wagombea wanafadhili vipi kampeni zao nchini [NCHI]?

Je, chama chako kinatoa ufadhili wowote kwa wagombea wake?

Je, msaada huu hutolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Je, wagombea wanapaswa kutafuta ufadhili wenyewe kwa ajili ya kampeni zao?

Je, unafikiri, kwa ujumla, ni vigumu zaidi kwa wanawake kupata ufadhili wa kampeni kuliko wanaume?

6. Mazingira ya vyombo vya habari yakoje kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, wagombea wanawake wanapata kiwango sawa cha utangazaji wa vyombo vya habari kama wagombea wa kiume?

Je, wagombea wanawake wanachukuliwa tofauti na wanaume katika vyombo vya habari?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: VIONGOZI WANAWAKE

7. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu ni zipi?

8. Baada ya kuchaguliwa, wanawake wanakuwa na fursa sawa na wanaume kuchukua nyadhifa za uongozi wa kisiasa - kwa mfano, kama viongozi wa chama, marais wa kamati za bunge, au mawaziri?

Kama hapana, sababu kuu ni zipi, kwa maoni yako?

9. Wanawake wanapoteuliwa kushika nyadhifa za uongozi, ni aina gani ya majukumu hupewa kuyashughulikia?

10. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa kisiasa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na wa wanaume?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaopewa uzito kuliko wengine?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KWENYE SIASA

11. Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni kawaida kwa wagombea wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

12. Kwa uchunguzi wakoi, ni kawaida kwa viongozi wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwa ajili ya kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kutekeleza majukumu yao ya kisiasa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

MAPENDEKEZO

13. Ni aina gani za sera au mikakati unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]? Sera na mikakati hii inaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, au asasi za kiraia, kwa mfano.

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA-TAARIFA MUHIMU
VIONGOZI WA VYAMA VYA SIASA

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 30 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Chama chako cha siasa ni kipi?

2. Una wadhifa gani katika chama kwa sasa?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WANACHAMA WANAWAKE

3. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume wanaojiunga na vyama vya siasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu zipi?

4. Je, chama chako kina mipango yoyote maalum ya kuwavutia wanachama wanawake?

Ikiwa ipo, inatofautiana kwa namna yoyote na ile ya kuwavutia wanachama wa kiume?

5. Je, mikutano ya chama inapatikana kwa usawa kwa wanawake na wanaume?

Mikutano ya chama hufanyika katika maeneo gani?

Kwa kawaida mikutano ya chama hupangwa kufanyika saa ngapi?

Je, chama kinatoa huduma ya malezi ya watoto kwa wanachama wakati wa mikutano yake?

6. Je, kuna mrengo/kitengo wa wanawake katika chama chako cha siasa?

Kama upo, jukumu lake kuu ni lipi?

Je, chama kinatoa msaada wowote wa kifedha au rasilimali nyingine kwa mrengo wa wanawake?

Je, mrengo wa wanawake unaweza kutoa mchango kwenye jukwaa la chama?

Je, mrengo wa wanawake unaweza kupendekeza wagombea wa kisiasa?

7. Je, wanawake wana uwakilishi katika kamati kuu ya chama?

Ikiwa ndiyo, wanashikilia nyadhifa za aina gani?

Je, chama kina sera zozote kuhakikisha kuna ushiriki wa wanawake katika uongozi wa chama?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WAGOMBEA WANAWAKE

8. Nchi nyingi duniani zimeanzisha mfumo wa upendeleo wa jinsia kwa wagombea. Je, mfumo huu umekuwa na athari gani kwenye idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea nchini [NCHI]?

Je, unaunga mkono mfumo huu kama hatua ya kuwakuza wanawake katika siasa?

Je! ni aina gani ya wanawake hunufaika na mfumo huu nchini [NCHI]?

9. Je, chama chako kinatoa msaada wowote wa kifedha kwa wagombea wake?

Ikiwa ndiyo, ni msaada wa aina gani?

Je, msaada huu hutolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

10. Je, chama chako huwasaidia wagombea katika kampeni zao kwa namna nyingine yoyote?

Kama ndiyo, chama kinatoa nini kama msaada?

Je, msaada huu hutolewa kwa usawa kwa wagombea wote?

Kama siyo, vigezo vya wagombea kuungwa mkono na chama ni vipi?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: VIONGOZI WANAWAKE

11. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nyadhifa za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu zipi?

12. Baada ya kuchaguliwa, wanawake wanakuwa na fursa sawa na wanaume kuchukua nyadhifa za uongozi wa kisiasa - kwa mfano, kama viongozi wa chama, marais wa kamati za bunge, au mawaziri?

Kama hapana, sababu kuu ni zipi, kwa maoni yako?

13. Wanawake wanapoteuliwa kushika nyadhifa za uongozi, ni aina gani ya majukumu hupewa kuyashughulikia?

14. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa kisiasa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na ule wa wanaume?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake wanapewa uzito zaidi kuliko wengine?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

15. Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni kawaida kwa wagombea wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

16. Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni kawaida kwa viongozi wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwa ajili ya kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kutekeleza majukumu yao ya kisiasa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

MAPENDEKEZO

17. Ni aina gani za sera au mikakati unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]? Sera na mikakati hii inaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, au asasi za kiraia, kwa mfano.

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA-TAARIFA MUHIMU
MAAFISA WA UCHAGUZI

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 30 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Je, jukumu lako ni lipi katika mchakato wa uchaguzi?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WAPIGAKURA WANAWAKE

2. Je, wanawake wanajiandikisha kupiga kura kwa viwango sawa na wanaume?

Kama hapana, ni zipi baadhi ya sababu zinazowafanya wanawake kujiandikisha kwa kiwango kidogo kama wapigakura?

3. Je, wanawake wanajitokeza kupiga kura kwa viwango sawa na wanaume?

Ikiwa siyo, ni zipi baadhi ya sababu zinazowafanya wanawake kujitokeza kwa kiwango kidogo kupiga kura?

4. Je, maeneo ya kupigia kura yanapatikana kwa usawa kwa wanawake na wanaume?

Je, maeneo ya kupigia kura yametengwa kijinsia?

Je, kuna mikakati ya kuongeza upatikanaji wa wanawake?

5. Je, wanawake wanaweza kupiga kura zao katika hali ya uhuru, ya siri na salama?

Ikiwa sivyo, ni zipi baadhi ya changamoto kubwa za wanawake wanaotumia haki yao ya kupiga kura?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WAGOMBEA WANAWAKE

6. Nchi nyingi duniani zimeanzisha mfumo wa upendeleo wa jinsia kwa wagombea/Viti Maalumu. Je, mfumo huu umekuwa na athari gani katika idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea nchini [NCHI]?

Je, vyama vya siasa vinaheshimu mahitaji ya mfumo huu?

Je, Tume ya Uchaguzi hufanya nini kuhakikisha mahitaji ya mfumo huu yanazingatiwa?

Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni aina gani ya wanawake hunufaika na mfumo huu nchini [NCHI]?

7. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nafasi za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu ni zipi?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

8. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, ni kawaida kwa wapigakura wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

Je, baadhi ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

9. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, ni kawaida kwa wagombea wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

Je, baadhi ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

10. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, ni kawaida kwa wafanyakazi wanawake wa uchaguzi kukabiliwa na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuwezesha na/au kuchunguza mchakato wa uchaguzi?

11. Je, Tume ya Uchaguzi inafuatilia na/au kushughulikia matukio ya ukatili wa kijinsia wakati wa uchaguzi?

Ikiwa ndiyo, maelezo ya hatua zinazochukuliwa ni yapi?

Ni nini athari, kama zipo, za hatua zinazochukuliwa?

MAPENDEKEZO

12. Ni aina gani za sera au mikakati unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]? Sera na mikakati hii inaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, Tume ya Uchaguzi, au asasi za kiraia, kwa mfano.

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA-TAARIFA MUHIMU
WATAALAMU WA UWSU WAKIWAMO WANAWAKE KATIKA ASASI ZA KIRAIA

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 60 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Je, unahusika vipi katika masuala yanayohusiana na ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi?

2. Je, umefanya kazi katika uwanja huu kwa miaka mingapi?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WAGOMBEA WANAWAKE

3. Nchi nyingi duniani zimeanzisha mfumo wa upendeleo wa jinsia kwawagombea. Je, mfumo huu umekuwa na athari gani kwenye idadi ya wanawake wanaosimama kama wagombea nchini [NCHI]?

Je, unaunga mkono mfumo huu kama hatua ya kuwakuza wanawake katika siasa?

Je! ni aina gani ya wanawake kunufaika na mfumo huu nchini [NCHI]?

4. Je, ni aina gani ya msaada wa kifedha, kama ipo, wanawake wanapokea kwa ajili ya kampeni zao?

Je, vyama vinatoa msaada wowote wa kifedha kwa wagombea wake?

Je, msaada huu hutolewa kwa usawa kwa wanawake na wanaume?

Je, wanawake hulazimika kutafuta fedha zao wenyewe kwa ajili ya kampeni zao za kisiasa?

Je, unafikiri, kwa ujumla, ni vigumu zaidi kwa wanawake kutafuta ufadhili wa kampeni kuliko wanaume?

5. Je, vyama huwasaidia wagombea wanawake katika kampeni zao kwa namna nyingine yoyote?

Ikiwa ndiyo, chama kinatoa nini kama msaada?

Je, msaada huu hutolewa kwa usawa kwa wanawake na wanaume wote?

6. Mazingira ya vyombo vya habari yakoje kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, wagombea wanawake wanapokea kiwango sawa cha utangazaji wa vyombo vya habari kama wagombea wa kiume?

Je, wagombea wanawake wanachukuliwa tofauti na wanaume katika vyombo vya habari?

7. Je, asasi za kiraia zinatoa rasilimali au msaada wowote kwa wagombea wanawake?

Ikiwa ni hivyo, asasi hizi zinashughulika na nini?

Je, yanatoa aina gani ya rasilimali au msaada?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: VIONGOZI WANAWAKE

8. Kwa ujumla, kuna wanawake wachache kuliko wanaume katika nafasi za kuchaguliwa za kisiasa. Kwa maoni yako, sababu kuu ni nini?

9. Baada ya kuchaguliwa, wanawake wanakuwa na fursa sawa na wanaume katika kuchukua nyadhifa za uongozi wa kisiasa - kwa mfano, kama viongozi wa chama, marais wa kamati za bunge, au mawaziri?

Kama hapana, sababu kuu ni zipi, kwa maoni yako?

10. Wanawake wanapoteuliwa kushika nyadhifa za uongozi, ni majukumu gani hupewa kuyashughulikia?

11. Je, kuna aina zozote za msaada wa kitaasisi kwa wanawake baada ya kuchaguliwa? Mifano inaweza kuwa mafunzo, ushauri, au wafanyakazi.

Kama zipo, je, aina hizi za msaada ni tofauti kwa namna yoyote na zile zinazotolewa kwa wanaume?

Je, misaada hii hutolewa kwa mfumo rasmi, kama vile kupitia bungeni au vyama vya siasa, au hutolewa tu kwa mfumo usio rasmi?

12. Je, kuna chama cha wanawake bungeni?

Kama kipo, jukumu lake kuu ni nini?

Je, kimekuwa na ufanisi kiasi gani katika kuendeleza usawa wa kijinsia?

13. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa kisiasa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na ule wa wanaume?

Je, baadhi ya wanawake wanapewa uzito zaidi kuliko wengine?

VIKWAZO NA FURSA: WANAWAKE KATIKA ASASI ZA KIRAIA

14. Katika nchi nyingi, wanawake wanashiriki kikamilifu katika asasi za kiraia. Kwa maoni yako, hii ni kweli pia katika nchi yako?

Je, vikwazo vikubwa vya ushiriki wa wanawake katika asasi za kiraia ni vipi?

Je, asasi za kiraia zinawashirikisha wanawake wenye historia pana?

15. Je, kuna mashirika yoyote makubwa ya wanawake katika asasi za kiraia nchini [NCHI]?

Kama yapo, yanajishughulisha na nini hasa?

Je, yamefanikiwa kufanya sauti za wanawake zisikike?

Je, yanakabiliana na vikwazo gani katika kufanya sauti za wanawake zisikike?

16. Je, wanawake wanahudumu kama viongozi wa asasi za kiraia ambazo hazijishughulishi hasa na masuala ya jinsia?

Ikiwa ndiyo, wanaongoza mashirika ya aina gani?

Je, wamefanikiwa kufanya sauti za wanawake zisikike?

17. Je, kuna mashirika yoyote rasmi ya wanawake yaliyounganishwa na serikali?

Kama yapo, yamefanikiwa kufanya sauti za wanawake zisikike?

18. Tukifikiria kuhusu wanawake katika asasi za kiraia kwa mapana zaidi, je, kuna fursa kwa wanawake katika asasi za kiraia kuchangia katika maamuzi ya serikali?

Ikiwa ndivyo, je, kuna mfumo rasmi wa kuwasiliana na kuathiri utendaji wa serikali?

Je, mifumo hii ina ufanisi kiasi gani kwa kuakisi sauti za wanawake katika asasi za kiraia?

19. Je, kuna asasi zozote za kiraia zenye nia ya kuendeleza haki za kiraia na kisiasa za wanawake?

Kama zipo, je, asasi hizi yanalenga hasa wanawake kama wapiga kura, wgombea, au viongozi?

Je, zinajishughulisha na nini ili kukuza UWSU?

Je, shughuli hizi zimekuwa na athari gani, kama zipo, kwenye UWSU nchini [NCHI]?

20. Je, kuna asasi zozoote za kiraia zenye nia ya kukandamiza haki za kiraia na kisiasa za wanawake?

Ikiwa zipo, ni asasi za aina gani?

Je, juhudi zao zinasikika na ni fanisi kiasi gani katika kuzuia UWSU nchini [NCHI]?

UKATILI DHIDI YA WANAWAKE KATIKA SIASA

21. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, ni kawaida kwa wagombea wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwenye kampeni?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kuchaguliwa?

Je, baadhi ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

22. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, ni kawaida kwa viongozi wanawake kukabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au kunyanyaswa kwa kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kutekeleza majukumu yao ya kisiasa?

Je, baadhi ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

23. Kwa uchunguzi wako, ni kawaida kwa wanawake katika asasi za kiraia - ikiwa ni pamoja na watetezi wa haki za binadamu za wanawake - kukabiliwa na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwa ajili ya kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kushiriki katika asasi za kiraia?

Je, baadhi ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

MAPENDEKEZO

24. Ni aina gani za sera au mikakati unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi katika [NCHI]? Hizi zinaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, au mashirika ya kiraia, kwa mfano.

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA-TAARIFA MUHIMU
WAFADHILI NA WASHIRIKA WA UTEKELEZAJI

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 30 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Shirika lako linahusika vipi katika masuala yanayohusiana na ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]?

2. Jukumu lako ni lipi ndani ya shirika?

SHUGHULI ZA MFADHILI NA MSHIRIKA

3. Je, shirika lako limesaidia katika uandaaji wa programu zipi za Ushiriki wa Wanawake katika Siasa na Uongozi (UWSU) nchini [NCHI]?

Kwa nini shirika lilichagua maeneo haya ya kipaumbele?

Je, uandaaji huu wa programu ulikuwa na ufanisi kiasi gani katika suala la muundo na athari zake?

4. Katika ufanyaji wako kazi kuhusu UWSU nchini [NCHI], umewahi kufanya kazi moja kwa moja na [MFADHILI/MSHIRIKA]?

Ikiwa ndiyo, unaweza kutoa maelezo kidogo kuhusu shughuli hizi?

Je, uandaaji huu wa programu ulikuwa na ufanisi kiasi gani katika suala la muundo na athari zake?

5. Ikiwa hukufanya kazi moja kwa moja na [MFADHILI/MSHIRIKA], umewahi kukutana au kusikia kuhusu

shughuli zao za UWSU?

Kama umewahi, unaweza kutoa maelezo kidogo kuhusu shughuli hizi?

Je, ulikuwa na maoni gani ya uandaaji huu wa programu kuhusiana na muundo na athari zake?

6. Je, kuna shughuli zozote za wafadhili au watekelezaji wengine ambazo unafikiri zimekuwa na ufanisi katika kuendeleza UWSU nchini [NCHI]?

Ikiwa zipo, unaweza kutoa maelezo kidogo kuhusu shughuli hizi?

Je, ulikuwa na maoni gani ya uandaaji huu wa programu katika muundo na athari zake?

UCHAMBUZI WA WADAU

7. Nchini [NCHI], ni watendaji gani wakuu, wadau, au taasisi zenye nia ya kuendeleza UWSU?

Je, wanapendelea mikakati gani ya kuendeleza UWSU?

Je, wanashirikiana katika kuendeleza UWSU?

Kama ndiyo, unaweza kutoa mifano ya shughuli wanazofanya pamoja?

8. Nchini [NCHI], ni watendaji gani wakuu, wadau, au taasisi zinazopinga kuendeleza UWSU?

Je, wanatumia mikakati gani kupinga kuendeleza UWSU?

MAFUNZO YALIYOPATIKANA NA MAPENDEKEZO

9. Kwa uzoefu wako, vikwazo vikuu vya kuendeleza UWSU nchini [NCHI] ni vipi?

Je, wafadhili/washirika wamezingatia ipasavyo vikwazo hivi?

Kwa maoni yako, ni hatua zipi za utatuzi zimekuwa na ufanisi zaidi?

Kwa maoni yako, ni hafua zipi za utatuzi zimekuwa na ufanisi mdogo?

10. Kwa uzoefu wako, [MFADHILI/MSHIRIKA] na wafadhili/washirika wengine wangeweza kufanya nini zaidi katika hili?

Kwa maoni yako, ni fursa zipi za kufanyia kazi?

7. 11. Kwa ujumla, ni aina zipi za sera au mikakati unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]? Sera na mikakati hii inaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, au asasi za kiraia, kwa mfano.

MWONGOZO WA MAHOJIANO WA WATOA TAARIFA MUHIMU
WAFANYAKAZI WA USAID

UTANGULIZI

Mahojiano haya ni sehemu ya mradi mkubwa unaolenga kuelewa ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Tunavutiwa sana kusikia kuhusu uzoefu na maoni yako kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za wanawake katika siasa. Mahojiano yanapaswa kuchukua dakika 30 kukamilika, lakini kama muda wako ni mchache, ninaweza kuyapa kipaumbele baadhi ya maswali yangu [chagua maswali ya kipaumbele yaliyoandikwa kwa wino uliokozwa].

USIRI

Taarifa au mifano yoyote tutakayokusanya wakati wa mahojiano haya haitahusishwa na wewe binafsi. Faragha yako italindwa; hatutajumuisha jina lako au taarifa yoyote katika ripoti zetu ambayo itafanya iwezeane kukutambua bila idhini yako. Pia tunaomba yale tunayojadili leo yabaki baina yetu.

TAARIFA YA RIDHAA

Je, uko tayari kuendelea na mahojiano haya?

Je, tunaweza kurekodi mahojiano haya?

USULI

1. Jukumu lako katika USAID ni lipi?

2. Je, umefanya kazi USAID na kwingineko katika masuala yanayohusiana na UWSU kwa muda gani?

SHUGHULI ZA WAFADHILI NA WASHIRIKA

3. Je, ni uandaaji wa programu zipi za UWSU ambao USAID imetoa msaada nchini [NCHI]?

Kwa nini shirika limechagua maeneo haya ya kipaumbele?

Je, unaweza kutoa maelezo kidogo kuhusu shughuli mahususi?

Je, uandaaji huu wa programu ulikuwa na ufanisi kiasi gani katika muundo na athari zake?

Je, shirika limepanga kuandaa programu yoyote ya ziada kuhusiana na UWSU?

4. Je, kuna shughuli zozote za wafadhili au watekelezaji wengine ambazo unafikiri zimekuwa na ufanisi katika kuendeleza UWSU nchini [NCHI]?

Kama zipo, unaweza kutoa maelezo kidogo kuhusu shughuli hizi?

Je, ulikuwa na maoni gani ya uandaaji huu wa program katika muundo na athari zake?

UCHAMBUZI WA WADAU

5. Katika [NCHI], ni watendaji gani wakuu, wadau, au taasisi zenye nia ya kuendeleza UWSU?

Je, wanapendelea mikakati gani ya kuendeleza UWSU?

Je, wanashirikiana kuendeleza UWSU?

Kama ndivyo, unaweza kutoa mifano ya shughuli wanazofanya pamoja?

6. Nchini [NCHI], ni watendaji gani wakuu, wadau, au taasisi zinazopinga kuendeleza UWSU?

Je, wanatumia mikakati gani kupinga kuendeleza UWSU?

MAFUNZO YALIYOPATIKANA NA MAPENDEKEZO

7. Kwa uzoefu wako, vikwazo vikuu katika kuendeleza UWSU nchini [NCHI] ni vipi?

Je, wafadhili/washirika wamezingatia ipasavyo vikwazo hivi?

Kwa maoni yako, ni hatua zipi za utatuzi zimekuwa na ufanisi zaidi?

Kwa maoni yako, ni hafua zipi za utatuzi zimekuwa na ufanisi mdogo?

8. Kwa uzoefu wako, USAID ingeweza kufanya nini zaidi katika hili?

Kwa maoni yako, ni fursa zipi za kuchukulia hatua?

Je, kuna ushirikiano wowote ambao unafikiri ungekuwa hasa na matunda?

9. Kwa ujumla, ni aina gani za sera au mikakati unafikiri zinahitajika ili kuendeleza ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]? Sera na mikakati hii inaweza kujumuisha hatua za serikali, vyama vya siasa, au asasi ya kiraia, kwa mfano.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDES

MWONGOZO WA KIKUNDI LENGWA
WANAWAKE KATIKA ASASI ZA KIRAIA

UTANGULIZI

Asanteni sana kwa kukutana nasi leo. Jina langu ni [JINA LA MSIMAMIZI] na huyu ni mwenzangu [JINA LA MSAIDIZI] ambaye atakuwa akiandika maelezo wakati wote wa mjadala wetu.

Kikundi lengwa kinakusudia kukusanya maoni kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi [NCHI]. Majadiliano yanapaswa kuchukua takriban dakika 60.

Ili kulinda usiri wa kila mmoja, hatutajumuisha katika ripoti zetu jina lako au taarifa zozote zinazotambulika. Tunaomba pia chochote tutakachojadili wakati wa mazungumzo yetu ya kikundi kibaki hapahapa.

[Ikiwa washiriki wote wamekubali kurekodiwa] Tutakuwa tunarekodi majadiliano haya ili tuweze kuandika ripoti sahihi ya kile kilichosemwa.

Kabla ya kuanza, tungependa kuwashirikisha baadhi ya mambo muhimu:

- Huna haja ya kusubiri kutajwa ili kuzungumza, tafadhali changia ukiwa na kitu cha kusema.
- Azungumze mmoja baada ya mwingine.
- Lengo letu ni kuwa na "muda sawa wa kuchangia"- ili kila mtu azungumze ndani ya muda huo.
- Sema kile unachoamini, hata kama sio kitu ambacho kila mmoja anafikiria. Hakuna majibu yasiyo sahihi, ni maoni tofauti tu, na tungependa kuyasikia yote.

MASWALI YA KUNDI LENGWA

1. Bila kuvunja sharti la kuficha utambulisho, hembu tukae kwenye mduara na tushirikishane kwa ufupi majukumu ya kisiasa tuliyonayo - kwa mfano, mwanaharakati wa harakati za kijamii, mgombea uchaguzi, mwanachama, nk. Usitaje shirika lako mahususi au jina la chama. Tunafanya hivi ili kupata tu hisia ya mitazamo iliyoko hapa.

2. Je, wanawake wako hai kiasi gani katika asasi za kiraia nchini [NCHI]?

Je, wanashiriki zaidi katika vyama vya wanawake au katika vyama na harakati ambazo hazijajikita hasa katika masuala ya jinsia?

Je, wanawake wanahudumu kama viongozi wa asasi zozote kubwa za kiraia?

Asasi za kiraia zinawakilisha vipi wanawake na tofauti zao?

Je, vikundi vya wanawake huwa vinapata wapi ufadhili?

3. Je, wanawake nchini [NCHI] wana fursa sawa na wanaume ya kutoa maoni yao ya kisiasa?

Je, kuna watendaji wowote wanaotaka kukandamiza haki za kiraia na kisiasa za wanawake?

4. Je, kuna njia za wanawake katika asasi za kiraia kuathiri maamuzi ya serikali?

Je, kuna taratibu maalumu za kuwasiliana na kuwashawishi watendaji wa serikali?

Je, serikali inasikiliza vikundi vya wanawake, au kimsingi inavipuuza?

5. Je, wanawake katika asasi za kiraia -wakiwamo watetezi wa haki za binadamu za wanawake- wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho au unyanyasaji kwa ajili ya kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake wa kushiriki katika asasi za kiraia?

Je, wanawake fulani ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

6. Je, ni sera au mikakati gani unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuwapa wanawake wasikike zaidi katika asasi za kiraia -na siasa kwa ujumla zaidi - nchini [NCHI]?

MWONGOZO WA KIKUNDI LENGWA
WANAWAKE KATIKA VYAMA VYA SIASA

UTANGULIZI

Asanteni sana kwa kukutana nasi leo. Jina langu ni [JINA LA MSIMAMIZI] na huyu ni mwenzangu [JINA LA MSAIDIZI] ambaye atakuwa akiandika maelezo wakati wote wa majadala wetu.

Kikundi lengwa kinakusudia kukusanya maoni kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi nchini [NCHI]. Majadiliano yanapaswa kuchukua takriban dakika 60.

Ili kutunza usiri wa kila mmoja, hatutajumuisha katika ripoti zetu jina lako au taarifa zozote zinazotambulika. Tunaomba pia chochote tutakachojadili wakati wa mazungumzo yetu ya kikundi kibaki hapa hapa.

[Ikiwa washiriki wote wamekubali kurekodiwa] Tutakuwa tunarekodi majadiliano haya ili tuweze kuandika ripoti sahihi ya kile kilichosemwa.

Kabla ya kuanza, tungependa kuwashirikisha baadhi ya mambo muhimu:

- Huna haja ya kusubiri kutajwa ili kuzungumza, tafadhali changia ukiwa na kitu cha kusema.
- Azungumze mmoja baada ya mwingine.
- Lengo letu ni kuwa na "muda sawa wa kuchangia"- ili kila mtu azungumze ndani ya muda huo.
- Sema kile unachoamini, hata kama sio kitu ambacho kila mmoja anafikiria. Hakuna majibu yasiyo sahihi, ni maoni tofauti tu, na tungependa kuyasikia yote.

MASWALI YA KUNDI LENGWA

1. Bila kuvunja sharti la kuficha utambulisho, hembu tukae kwenye mduara na tushirikishane kwa ufupi majukumu ya kisiasa tuliyonayo - kwa mfano, mwanaharakati wa harakati za kijamii, mgombea uchaguzi, mwanachama, nk. Usitaje shirika lako mahususi au jina la chama. Tunafanya hivi ili kupata tu hisia ya mitazamo iliyoko hapa.

2. Je! wanawake wako hai kiasi gani katika vyama vya siasa nchini [NCHI]?

Je, vitengo vya wanawake vya vyama vya siasa vina umuhimu kiasi gani?

Kusudi lao la msingi ni lipi?

Ni aina gani ya msaada, kama upo, wanaopokea kutoka kwenye chama?

Je, vitengo vya wanawake vina jukumu lolote katika uteuzi wa wagombea?

Je, vitengo vya wanawake vina ushawishi wowote kwenye jukwaa la chama?

3. Je, mikutano ya chama inapatikana kwa usawa kwa wanawake na wanaume?

Mikutano ya chama hufanyika katika maeneo gani?

Kwa kawaida, mikutano ya chama hupangwa kufanyika saa ngapi?

Je, chama kinatoa huduma ya malezi ya watoto kwa wanachama wakati wa mikutano yake?

4. Ni misaada gani, kama ipo, chama chako hutoa kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, wanawahimiza wanawake kugombea uongozi?

Je, wanatoa ufadhili au mafunzo kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, wanawaweka wagombea wanawake katika wilaya zinazoweza kuchaguliwa au kwenye nyadhifa za chini?

5. Je, wanawake katika vyama vya siasa wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au kunyanyaswa kwa kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kushiriki katika vyama vya siasa?

Je, wanawake fulani ndio wanaolengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

6. Je, ni sera au mikakati gani unayofikiri inahitajika ili kuwapa wanawake sauti kubwa katika vyama vya siasa- na kwenye siasa kwa ujumla zaidi - nchini [NCHI]?

MWONGOZO WA KIKUNDI LENGWA
WANAWAKE WALIOCHAGULIWA KIMTAA
Hiari

ANGALIZO KWA TIMU YA UTAFITI

Kuandaa majadiliano na vikundi lengwa vya wanawake waliochaguliwa katika mitaa kunaweza kuwezekana tu katika baadhi ya nchi, kutokana na gharama kubwa na muda wa kusafiri. Timu inaweza kuona kuwa njia rahisi ni kuwaleta washiriki kwenye miji kuu kwa siku moja, badala ya kusafiri kwenda maeneo mengi ya mbali.

UTANGULIZI

Asanteni sana kwa kukutana nasi leo. Jina langu ni [JINA LA MSIMAMIZI] na huyu ni mwenzangu [JINA LA MSAIDIZI] ambaye atakuwa akiandika maelezo katika muda wote mjadala wetu.

Kundi lengwa linakusudia kukusanya maoni kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi [NCHI]. Majadiliano yanapaswa kuchukua takriban dakika 60.

Ili kutunza usiri wa kila mmoja, hatutajumuisha katika ripoti zetu jina lako au taarifa zozote zinazotambulika. Pia tunaomba chochote tutakachojadili wakati wa mazungumzo yetu ya kikundi kibaki hapahapa.

[Ikiwa washiriki wote wamekubali kurekodiwa] Tutakuwa tunarekodi majadiliano haya ili tuweze kuandika ripoti sahihi ya kile kilichosemwa.

Kabla ya kuanza, tungependa kuwashirikisha baadhi ya mambo muhimu:

- Huna haja ya kusubiri kutajwa ili kuzungumza, tafadhali changia ukiwa na kitu cha kusema.
- Azungumze mmoja baada ya mwingine.
- Lengo letu ni kuwa na "muda sawa wa kuchangia"- ili kila mtu azungumze ndani ya muda huo.
- Sema kile unachoamini, hata kama sio kitu ambacho kila mmoja anafikiria. Hakuna majibu yasiyo sahihi, ni maoni tofauti tu, na tungependa kuyasikia yote.

MASWALI YA KUNDI LENGWA

1. Bila kuvunja sharti la kuficha utambulisho, hembu tukae kwenye mduara na tushirikishane kwa ufupi majukumu ya kisiasa tuliyonayo - kwa mfano, mwanaharakati wa harakati za kijamii, mgombea uchaguzi, mwanachama, nk. Usitaje shirika lako mahususi au jina la chama. Tunafanya hivi ili kupata tu hisia ya mitazamo iliyoko hapa.

Je, wanawake wako hai kiasi gani katika siasa za mitaa nchini [NCHI]?

Kwa nini uliamua kuwa mgombea katika chaguzi za ndani?

Je, kuna mtu yeyote aliyekuhimiza usimame kama mgombea?

Je, kuna mtu yeyote aliyekukatisha tamaa kusimama kama mgombea?

Je, siasa za mitaa zina umuhimu kiasi gani kama sehemu ya kuanzia kwa viongozi wanawake, ikilinganishwa na wanaume?

3. Ni msaada gani, kama upo, ambao chama chako kinatoa kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, wanawahimiza wanawake kugombea uongozi?

Je, wanatoa ufadhili au mafunzo kwa wagombea wanawake?

Je, vyama vina tabia ya kusaidia aina fulani za wagombea wanawake kuliko wengine?

4. Kwa uchunguzi wako, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa mitaa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na ule wa wanaume?

Je, aina fulani za wanawake wanapewa kwa uzito kuliko wengine?

Je, wanawake wana nafasi sawa na wanaume ya kuchaguliwa kuwa meya?

5. Je, wanawake katika siasa za mitaa wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwa ajili ya kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kushiriki katika siasa za mitaa?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

6. Je, ni sera au mikakati gani unayofikiri inahitajika ili wanawake wasikike zaidi katika siasa za mitaa -na siasa kwa ujumla zaidi - nchini [NCHI]?

MWONGOZO WA KIKUNDI LENGWA
WANAWAKE WAFANYAKAZI KWENYE VYOMBOVYA HABARI

UTANGULIZI

Asanteni sana kwa kukutana nasi leo. Jina langu ni [JINA LA MSIMAMIZI] na huyu ni mwenzangu [JINA LA MSAIDIZI] ambaye atakuwa akiandika maelezo katika muda wote wa mjadala wetu.

Kundi lengwa linakusudia kukusanya maoni kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi [NCHI]. Majadiliano yanapaswa kuchukua takriban dakika 60.

Ili kutunza usiri wa kila mmoja, hatutajumuisha katika ripoti zetu jina lako au taarifa zozote zinazotambulika. Tunaomba pia chochote tutakachojadili wakati wa mazungumzo yetu ya kikundi kibaki hapa hapa.

[Ikiwa washiriki wote wamekubali kurekodiwa] Tutakuwa tunarekodi majadiliano haya ili tuweze kuandika ripoti sahihi ya kile kilichosemwa.

Kabla ya kuanza, tungependa kuwashirikisha baadhi ya mambo muhimu:

- Huna haja ya kusubiri kutajwa ili kuzungumza, tafadhali changia ukiwa na kitu cha kusema.
- Azungumze mmoja baada ya mwingine.
- Lengo letu ni kuwa na "muda sawa wa kuchangia"- ili kila mtu azungumze ndani ya muda huo.
- Sema kile unachoamini, hata kama sio kitu ambacho kila mmoja anafikiria. Hakuna majibu yasiyo sahihi, ni maoni tofauti tu, na tungependa kuyasikia yote.

MASWALI YA KUNDI LENGWA

1. Bila kuvunja sharti la kuficha utambulisho, hembu tukae kwenye mduara na tushirikishane kwa ufupi majukumu ya kisiasa tuliyonayo - kwa mfano, mwanaharakati wa harakati za kijamii, mgombea uchaguzi, mwanachama, nk. Usitaje shirika lako mahususi au jina la chama. Tunafanya hivi ili kupata tu hisia ya mitazamo iliyoko hapa.

2. Mazingira ya vyombo vya habari yakoje kwa wagombea na viongozi wanawake?

Je, wanawake katika siasa wanapata kiwango sawa cha utangazaji wa vyombo vya habari kama wanaume katika siasa?

Je, wanasiasa wanawake wanachukuliwa tofauti na wanaume katika vyombo vya Habari?

3. Je, ni kwa kiwango gani kuna taarifa potofu na/au matamshi ya chuki dhidi ya wanawake walio katika siasa, ama katika vyombo vya habari vya kijadi na kwenye majukwaa ya mitandao ya kijamii?

Kama upo, unaweza kutoa mifano?

Matamshi haya ya chuki na habari potofu yana athari gani?

4. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa kisiasa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na ule wa wanaume?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake wanaweza kupewa uzito kuliko wengine?

5. Je, wanawake waandishi wa habari wanakabiliwa na ukatili, vitisho, au unyanyasaji kwa kuripoti masuala ya kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kushiriki katika asasi za kiraia?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake wanalengwa zaidi kuliko wengine?

6. Ni sera au mikakati gani unafikiri inahitajika ili kuwapa wanawake sauti kubwa katika uandishi wa habari za kisiasa - na siasa kwa ujumla zaidi - nchini [NCHI]?

MWONGOZO WA KIKUNDI LENGWA
WANAUME KATIKA ASASI ZA KIRAIA

UTANGULIZI

Asanteni sana kwa kukutana nasi leo. Jina langu ni [JINA LA MSIMAMIZI] na huyu ni mwenzangu [JINA LA MSAIDIZI] ambaye atakuwa akiandika maelezo katika muda wote wa majadala wetu.

Kundi lengwa linakusudia kukusanya maoni kuhusu vikwazo na fursa za ushiriki wa wanawake katika siasa na uongozi [NCHI]. Majadiliano yanapaswa kuchukua takriban dakika 60.

Ili kutunza usiri wa kila mmoja, hatutajumuisha katika ripoti zetu jina lako au taarifa zozote zinazotambulika. Tunaomba pia chochote tutakachojadili wakati wa mazungumzo yetu ya kikundi kibaki hapahapa.

[Ikiwa washiriki wote wamekubali kurekodiwa] Tutakuwa tunarekodi majadiliano haya ili tuweze kuandika ripoti sahihi ya kile kilichosemwa.

Kabla ya kuanza, tungependa kuwashirikisha baadhi ya mambo muhimu:

- Huna haja ya kusubiri kutajwa ili kuzungumza, tafadhali changia ukiwa na kitu cha kusema.
- Azungumze mmoja baada ya mwingine.
- Lengo letu ni kuwa na "muda sawa wa kuchangia"- ili kila mtu azungumze ndani ya muda huo.
- Sema kile unachoamini, hata kama sio kitu ambacho kila mmoja anafikiria. Hakuna majibu yasiyo sahihi, ni maoni tofauti tu, na tungependa kuyasikia yote.

MASWALI YA KUNDI LENGWA

1. Bila kuvunja sharti la kuficha utambulisho, hembu tukae kwenye mduara na tushirikishane kwa ufupi majukumu ya kisiasa tuliyonayo - kwa mfano, mwanaharakati wa harakati za kijamii, mgombea uchaguzi, mwanachama, nk. Usitaje shirika lako mahususi au jina la chama. Tunafanya hivi ili kupata tu hisia ya mitazamo iliyoko hapa.

2. Je, wanawake wako hai kiasi gani katika asasi za kiraia ikilinganishwa na wanaume nchini [NCHI]?

Je, wanashiriki zaidi katika vikundi ya wanawake, au wako hai katika mashirika na harakati ambazo hazizingatii hasa masuala ya jinsia?

Je, wanawake wanahudumu kama viongozi wa asasi zozote kubwa za kiraia?

Asasi za kiraia zinawakilisha vipi wanawake na tofauti zao?

Huwa makundi ya asasi ya kiraia nchini [NCHI] yanapata wapi ufadhili wake?

3. Je, wanawake nchini [NCHI] wana fursa sawa na wanaume kutoa maoni yao ya kisiasa?

Je, kuna watendaji wowote ambao wanataka kukandamiza haki za kiraia na za kisiasa za wanawake?

Je, wamefanikiwa kiasi gani katika kufikia malengo haya?

4. Kwa uchunguzi wako, je, wanawake wanapewa uzito kama viongozi wa kisiasa?

Uzoefu wao ukoje ukilinganisha na ule wa wanaume?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake wanapewa uzito kuliko wengine?

5. Je, wanawake katika asasi za kiraia - ikiwa ni pamoja na watetezi wa haki za binadamu za wanawake- wanakabiliana na ukatili, vitisho au unyanyasaji kwa kazi zao za kisiasa?

Ikiwa ndivyo, mashambulizi haya yakoje?

Wahusika wakuu ni akina nani?

Je, mashambulizi haya yanaathiri uwezo wa wanawake kushiriki katika asasi za kiraia?

Je, aina fulani ya wanawake ndio wanaolengwa kuliko wengine?

6. Je, ni sera au mikakati gani unafikiri inahitajika ili kuwapa wanawake sauti kubwa katika asasi za kiraia -na siasa kwa ujumla zaidi - nchini [NCHI]