

TANZANIA NATIONAL ELECTIONS GENDER ASSESSMENT

OCTOBER 25, 2015



Tanzania National Elections Gender Assessment

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Attention Communications Department
International Republican Institute
1225 Eye Street NW, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005
info@iri.org

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INTRODUCTION

Tanzanian citizens went to the polls on October 25, 2015, to elect a new president, members of parliament (MP) and local councilors. The elections are the fifth elections since the country ushered in multi-party democracy in 1992. The presidential race was historic by many standards, and most notably because it was the first real contest between two leading contenders. In the weeks and days before the presidential race a number of opinion polls showed the top two candidates – John Magufuli of the ruling party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) and Edward Lowassa of the opposition party *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA) – in a close race, with CCM’s Magufuli ultimately being declared the winner with 58 percent of the vote to Lowassa’s 40 percent. The fact that the race was perceived as truly competitive increased anticipation and excitement around the elections. Many Tanzanian civil society organizations (CSO), particularly those affiliated with youth, spoke with enthusiasm about the different atmosphere around the 2015 elections compared to previous elections in 2010 and 2005.

The International Republican Institute (IRI) began a United States Agency for International Development-funded project in Tanzania in June 2015. This project focuses in large part on women and on providing resources to bring important parliamentary skills to newly elected women members of parliament. The meaningful participation of women in political and electoral processes is vitally important to the health of any democracy. When women participate in elections, decisions made by governing bodies are more representative of the entire electorate, processes are more inclusive and ultimately democracy is strengthened. As such, IRI sought to gain more knowledge on women’s participation in Tanzania’s 2015 elections by conducting a gender assessment.

This assessment helps address the gaps in data collection around women’s participation in the electoral process in Tanzania and correct the historical under-reporting of gender parameters of electoral processes. The assessment was implemented by a team of regional and international experts, who conducted an in-depth investigation and reflection on a wide spectrum of underlying issues that



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both obstruct and promote gender equality in Tanzania’s electoral framework and political parties. While the challenges to women’s political participation are well known, the depth of the problems in certain aspects is not clear due to lack of sufficient data. This assessment helps fill that data gap and provides useful information to political parties, election management bodies, donor agencies and gender advocates.

The assessment of women’s political participation in the 2015 Tanzania general elections was conducted in Dar es Salaam from October 22 - 27, 2015. The overall assessment was formed by information collected through desktop research, in-country interviews and focus groups with electoral stakeholders and Election Day observations collected from the assessment team while visiting a small sample of polling stations in the Dar es Salaam region.

PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT

Cultural and Social Attitudes

General Improvement in Attitudes toward Women in Politics

Based on the assessment team's conversations with stakeholders, while there is evidence that Tanzanian women must overcome some remaining cultural barriers to fuller political participation, the assessment team found improvement in the public perception of women running for office than in past elections. Historically, the general attitude among many Tanzanians was that while women should be included in the post-independence government, they should not be too involved and as such limited roles were carved out for women to meaningfully participate at the time. For example, according to a representative from Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), the majority of challenges to women's participation is in the "fabric of the community." Additionally, a United Nations Women representative noted that MPs whom they have trained have cited cultural barriers as one of the factors holding them back from success. In spite of these challenges, the assessment team found general consensus that the environment for women in 2015 has improved since 2010 and is particularly better than the 1995, 2000 and 2005 elections when women encountered greater obstacles to political participation.

Several sources cited incidences in the past in which women candidates were targeted with unfounded accusations of corruption and inappropriate solicitation of funds from male donors, sometimes termed "sex corruption." However, there were few accusations of this nature being suggested in the media or among opposing candidates in the lead up to the 2015 elections. The Reverend Canon Godda of the Inter-Religious Council of Peace Tanzania noted, "Women's participation has really improved in Tanzania." He added that while Tanzania is historically patriarchal and therefore previously women were not meaningfully involved in political discussions, there has since been a dramatic change and now it is common for women to be actively engaged in politics.

A 2014 Afrobarometer Study suggests that when it comes to gender equality, Tanzania is more progressive than most on the African continent.¹ For example, 19 percent of Tanzanians polled agreed that only men should be leaders, lower than the average of 29 percent out of the 34 African countries surveyed. Additionally, 84 percent of Tanzanians support equal rights for women, higher than the average for the continent at 72 percent. Roughly 23 percent of women in Tanzania reported being somewhat or very fearful of political intimidation or violence. While that represents nearly one out of every four women, Tanzanian women were far less fearful than their neighbors in Kenya (59 percent) or Uganda (38 percent). Notably, 68 percent of Tanzanians polled in the Afrobarometer study said that the government was handling women's empowerment well, higher than the average of 59 percent for the continent. Additionally, issues important to women seemed to be discussed in the main 2015 presidential campaigns more so than in past elections, according to a representative from Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform (TWCP). A coalition of civil society organizations in Tanzania drafted and promoted the Women's Political Manifesto, sharing it with party leaders and encouraged them to address the issues highlighted in the document in order to appeal to women voters. According to civil society representatives, content in the women's manifesto was highlighted more prominently in the campaign rhetoric of the two main presidential candidates than ever before. According to a representative of the TWCP, they were successful in this effort and witnessed an increase in the amount that issues important to women were discussed by the presidential candidates in their interaction with the media. Key points from the manifesto were frequently included in campaign messages by leading candidates.

¹ Chingwete, Anyway, Samantha Richmond, and Carmen Alpin. "Support for African Women's Equality Rises." Afrobarometer. 27 March 2014. Web. November 2015.

Legal Framework

Gender Quota has Brought Both Progress and Challenges

In order to have a robust democracy, it is vital that all groups are represented in the political process, including marginalized groups such as women and youth. Tanzania has long had a quota system to include special groups into government decision-making bodies, including women, youth and persons with disabilities (PWD). An amendment to the 1977 constitution passed in 2005 increased the quota for women from 15 percent to 30 percent. Thus, Tanzania's current constitution stipulates that women will comprise at least 30 percent of the parliament (the National Assembly) on the mainland, while the Zanzibar House of Representatives has an even higher quota at 40 percent.

The special seats for women in the National Assembly are determined by the total percentage of parliamentary votes collected by each party at the polls. These reserved seats for women are then distributed among the political parties in proportion to the total number of votes they received as a party. In order to qualify to offer a special seat candidate, the political party must have at least five percent of the total parliamentary votes.

The National Assembly also includes 10 presidential appointees of whom 50 percent must be women. These members are appointed at the discretion of the president. In addition, the Union Government structure mandates that Zanzibar seat five representatives in the National Assembly in Dar es Salaam and these seats are also governed by quotas, whereby two out of the five members must be women. The Zanzibar members are selected by their peers in the House of Representatives to sit in the National Assembly.

The positive result of the quota system is that it has successfully increased the number of women in government over time. After the 2010 elections, women represented 36 percent of parliamentarians, or 126 out of 350 seats, up from 30 percent in 2005. However, obstacles remain to full gender equality in government, and some challenges are a direct result of the quota system in which women are either directly elected or are nominated for the special quota seats. One challenge is the very small portion of directly elected MP who are women. For instance, from 1985 to 2000, 95 percent of female MPs entered parliament through a special seat rather than being directly elected to a constituency seat. In the 2010-2015 parliament, only 21 out of the 126 total female MPs, or 16.6 percent, were directly elected into office. Out of the total number of directly elected constituency seats, women represented just 8.8 percent in the 2010-2015 parliament.

	Total Number of Seats	Number of Women	Percentage Women (%)
President	1	0	0%
Vice President	1	0	0%
Cabinet Members	29	6 ²	20.7%
Members of Parliament (Total)³	350	126	36%
<i>Constituency Seats</i>	239	21	8.8%
<i>Special Women Seats</i>	102	102	100%
<i>Zanzibar Seats</i>	5	2	40%
<i>Presidential Appointed Seats</i>	10	1 ⁴	10%
Members of Zanzibar House of Representatives (Total)⁵	80	28	35%
<i>Constituency Seats</i>	50	4	8%
<i>Special Women Seats</i>	20	20	100%
<i>Presidential Appointed Seats</i>	10	4	40%



Hon. Halima Mdee (second from right) got her start in politics through a special seat and is now a second-term elected MP and chairwoman of the CHADEMA women's wing. Here she is with members of the IRI gender assessment team.

The quota system created incentives within political parties to only field women candidates for special seats and not support their candidacy for directly elected constituency seats. The assessment team found that this is in part because the view among political party leaders is often that since the women have special seats they should not take the spot of a man who can run, and presumably be more competitive, for an open competition elected seat. As such, civil society representatives told the assessment team that some party leaders have the view that the party should not invest its limited resources into women candidates or lend women candidates additional support since they can simply fill special seats. Women represented roughly eight percent of the more than 12,000 candidates running for elected office in the 2015 elections, according to UN Women.

Another obstacle is that women MPs are not seen as equals by their male counterparts because the majority of them are nominated, not elected. Several stakeholders told the assessment team that the gender quota has inadvertently contributed toward the creation of a class system in the parliament with a divide between directly elected constituency seat members and the special seat members, who do not have a constituency. Many interviewees indicated that special seat MPs are viewed as “second class” and are often sidelined from leadership positions. The former executive director of the Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) noted that when the special seats were initially established, many men in power felt that the intention was for special seats to ensure that women are a part of the decisions making process, however, they did not want the special seat MPs to have a face in parliament.

2. United Republic of Tanzania Government Portal. Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. Website. November 2015.

3. “Women in National Parliaments.” Inter Parliamentary Union. IPU. 1 November 2015. Web. November 2015.

4. However, two more women were appointed during the second year of the term. These figures are based on the number of women in government immediately following the 2010 elections for the 2010-2015 term as cited on the IPU Website

5. “Tanzania in Figures 2014.” National Bureau of Statistics. Ministry of Finance. June 2015. Page 25. Web. November 2015.

While women MP have been able to advocate effectively for certain issues, such as maternity leave, women's ability to enroll in college and gender-based violence, women MP rarely have the strength in numbers and political influence to challenge the patriarchal norms that influence debates and male dominance in parliament. According to the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), special seat MP have limited access to key resources, such as the Constituency Development Fund, and to committee leadership positions. In fact, special seat MP are told that they represent the "national interest" rather than a specific constituency and so the appointed MP engage in very limited constituency outreach. Appointed women MP may lack a clear understanding of who they are accountable to and whose interests they represent.

Political Party Special Seat Nomination Process

Each party has a different way of allotting special seat nominations and the processes are not transparent. To offer special seats, each qualifying party is required to submit a list of candidates to the National Electoral Commission (NEC) ahead of the elections. In the case of the October 25, 2015, elections, as of the day before Election Day, CHADEMA and many other parties had not yet submitted their list of women nominated for special seats. From the information the assessment team gathered, CCM seems to be the only party that has a defined process for selection of the special seat candidates. The CCM process has women compete and vote among themselves at the district and regional level women's wings; however, even that system has its flaws. For CCM, the order of the special seat list is as follows:

- Seat 1: national women's wing chair;
- Seat 2: national women's wing secretary general;
- Seats 3-33: those who came in first place in regional vote;
- Seats 34-46: 13 seats reserved for special groups (two seats for women with a higher education/academic background, two seats for women with CSO backgrounds, two youth seats, five PWD seats);
- Seats 47-77: those who came in second place in regional vote; and
- Seats 78 and up: those who place third through fifth in the regional vote who are voted on and ranked by a national committee.

In 2010, CHADEMA initially wanted to follow a similar selection system as CCM but nullified the results of the process several times once the party leaders' preferred candidates did not fare well in that process. Ultimately, the party leaders hired a consultant to create a criteria used to rank the candidates. However, the criteria was drafted in such a way that it gave an advantage to women favored by the party leaders. For example, past experience in politics was scored, thus disadvantaging women who only have civil society experience.

The Civic United Front (CUF), one of the main opposition parties, had a similar experience, first considering the CCM system only to abandon that process to have party leaders instead draft and submit their own lists based on their own preferences. In 2005, there was significant confusion over the CUF special seat candidates because the party president and secretary general submitted different lists to National Election Commission, showing the extent to which the process lacked transparency.

The way the current special seat party nomination process works lends itself to the potential for corruption and manipulation. This is due to the lack of rules or regulations guiding the process (either through internal party guidelines or external NEC regulations) and the lack of internal and external oversight, both of which lead to inconsistencies in the process and an absence of transparency in how candidates are selected. Also special seats are highly coveted and sought after because special seat MP receive 234 million shillings (TSH) (or roughly \$100,000) upon leaving office. This creates an incentive for women who want to hold a special seat to bribe their way onto the list through money or personal favors. Even for CCM, which has a more structured selection process, corruption is a problem because women special seats candidates are supposed to contribute money in order to be selected, the amount varying depend-

ing on the region or city (for example in Dodoma the fee is 1.7 million TSh, or roughly \$775). When civil society groups questioned the party about this practice, CCM leaders said that the contribution is voluntary; however, voluntary or not, the system still sets up a process in which women with financial resources (whether personally or through their connections with powerful men) could be favored.

Some parties attempt to avoid the potential for corruption. For instance, according to the CHADEMA women's wing chairwoman Honorable Halima Mdee, the party's national women's wing leaders reach out to several different people to vouch for a nominated individual to verify the merit of their candidacy. As a result, special seat MPs often end up being current or former constituency seat MPs who either let a male party member take her place or who lost her election, wives of popular male party members and those with money and political connections. While the political advantages of the wealthy and well-connected are not unique to Tanzania, it is apparent that a system that is designed to increase gender equality in decision-making bodies may actually contribute toward preventing grassroots women from gaining office.

Political Party Frameworks Lack Strong Gender Provisions

The current legal framework that guides political parties and elections, including the Tanzania Constitution of 1977 as amended, the Political Parties Act 2002, the Election Act of 1985 as amended and the Election Expenses Act of 2010, do not have strong gender provisions. UN Women worked with local stakeholders to integrate gender-sensitive provisions into proposed amendments to the Elections Expenses Act and Political Parties Act, but neither revised legislation has been passed into law to date. So while Tanzania law allows anyone to participate in the political process or run for office, and the gender quota has brought some gains for women, challenges remain.

According to a representative of the CSO Tanzania Center for Democracy, the main challenge to women's participation in politics is the legal framework. She said that most political party constitutions, manifestos and other governing documents do not support women's participation in practice. On the surface, these documents seem to say that everyone has an equal chance to participation but if one "digs down, in practice there are issues that prohibit women's participation." According to a representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), parties have not been open and committed to providing opportunities to their members or committed to a democratic, inclusive process. Some sources said that party leaders manipulate and control the candidate selection process to fit their own interests. When parties field very few women candidates, they often cite lack of capacity as the reason, saying that no women were prepared to take on elected office. The quota system can also work against women who wish to enter competitive politics as male candidates are favored over females who leaders feel can be selected on through the special seat.



The current 1977 constitution of Tanzania is largely silent on women's rights. However, that may soon change as the government potentially turns its attention to a constitutional reform process that has been ongoing for the past several years. From 2012 to 2013, a government-led Constitutional Review Committee traveled throughout Tanzania to collect citizens' views in order to inform the constitutional reform process. The collected views from citizens were consolidated into the draft constitution in June 2013, after which district level multi-stakeholder committees reviewed the first draft constitution. A final draft constitution was then presented to the Constituent Assembly (CA), a 620-member commission comprised of all 365 MP 54 members from the Zanzibar House of Representatives and 201 government-appointed civil society members who were charged with reviewing the draft constitution. Among the appointed civil society members, it was mandated that 50 percent be women and one-third be from Zanzibar. In total, 256 women participated in the CA, comprising 41.3 percent of the entire assembly. A debate ensued in the CA and two major camps were formed, namely *Tanzania Kwanza* (or Tanzania First) and the Union for the People's Constitution (UKAWA), the former led mainly by the ruling CCM politicians and the latter by the opposition politicians in the CA. In mid-April the UKAWA members walked out of the assembly in protest as house members could not agree on the voting process to be used in the CA, among other things. After a few months of talks between the two sides, the CA resumed its work without the UKAWA members and the CA drafting committee tabled a new draft constitution on September 24, 2014, that was passed by the available CA quorum on October 3, 2015.

Throughout the constitutional review process, the Coalition of Women and the Constitution, an alliance of more than 50 civil society, human rights and women's groups, was heavily involved in influencing the conversation. This coalition included such groups as (TGNP, TAMWA, TWCP) and Tanzania Women Lawyers Association to name a few, and it was coordinated by the Women Fund Tanzania. This coalition was the first of its kind to unite women across different sectors throughout Tanzania on a common effort to advocate for gender equality.

The women's coalition came together to advocate for the adoption of provisions promoting gender equality in the draft constitution, such as the right to safe motherhood, land ownership, equal employment rights, defining the age of children to help prevent child marriages and equal representation in decision-making bodies. Despite the controversy surrounding the constitutional review process, the proposed constitution that was ultimately passed by the CA included 11 of the 12 provisions supported by the women's coalition. Importantly, in response to the coalition's demands for gender equality in decision-making bodies, the CA-passed proposed constitution included language that would increase the gender quota in parliament from 30 percent to 50 percent.

While the proposed constitution was widely celebrated for making large gains for women's rights and political participation, some local critics, including the Chairman of the Tanzania Constitution Reform⁷ (*Jukwaa La Katiba Tanzania*) argue that it does not do enough and that the gender equality provisions that were ultimately included in the CA-passed draft are weaker than the language in the original citizen-informed draft, or the "people's constitution" as the opposition calls it. For example, the proposed constitution actually removes the gender quotas from the Zanzibar seats in parliament and the presidentially appointed seats.

Additionally some who opposed the proposed constitution argue that it does not have clear language to ensure the 50/50 gender split in the constituency seats and would likely result in the expansion of special seats. Some citizens prefer the original draft constitution which called for one man and one woman to represent each constituency, which they argue would guarantee 50 percent representation and eliminate the need for special reserved women seats. However, this alternative would present administrative challenges by doubling the size of the parliament or necessitating that the constituencies be redrawn. Regardless, the proposed constitution includes many progressive gender-sensitive provisions that are a step in the right direction for achieving gender equality in Tanzania.



Access to Information

Gender Gap in Access to Voter and Civic Education is Minimal

IRI's assessment team found that there does not appear to be a distinct or significant gender gap in access to information. There still exists a gender gap in education and literacy and in turn this can impact the degree to which women consume and understand voter and civic education messages. According to a report from the Southern Africa Non-government organization (NGO) Gender Links⁶, Tanzania's literacy rate is roughly 68 percent among adults, 79 percent among men and 57 percent among women. However, based on the assessment team's interviews with civil society organizations that represent women at the grassroots level, this did not seem to have a significant impact on a women's ability to access information about the elections or greatly disadvantage them.

Several sources noted the gradual improvement in voter education efforts and access to election information is generally due to the spread of technology since the 2005 and 2010 elections. Developments in community radio, television and social media have helped expand the reach of information. Additionally, with the 2015 elections being Tanzanians' fifth time heading to the polls, the general consensus was that citizens generally understand elections and are relatively informed on how to participate.

Tanzania has mechanisms for reporting violations of electoral regulations, such as the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance, the commission did not report receiving any complaints from women about not being able to access the information they needed to participate in the elections. The assessment team was informed by the executive director of the commission that complaints were largely about general problems with the delayed voter registration process, which impacted both male and female voters alike.



6. UKAWA includes representatives from CHADEMA, CUF, the National Convention for Construction and Reform – Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi) and the National League for Democracy

7. The Tanzania Constitution Forum is an umbrella organization of 184 CSOs that serves as a platform for civil society actors to discuss and engage in the ongoing constitutional reform efforts.



Freedom to Campaign

Women Candidates Generally Free to Campaign with Only Minimal Challenges

The assessment team found few reports of election-related violence against women or physical harassment of women candidates in the lead up to the 2015 elections. According to UN Women, while some women candidates they trained told of their knowledge of and experience with violence against women during elections in the past, they noted that the records of violence against women in the previous elections (2010) were mostly anecdotal as no concrete research was conducted at the time. However, to help combat gender-based violence, TWCP and TAMWA organized election monitor groups to deter gender-based violence in the 2015 elections from occurring and report cases that they might observe.

The larger issue, cited by several different sources, seems to be abusive language toward women, particularly women candidates. The assessment team was told of several instances of verbal harassment of female candidates by male candidates of the opposing party but it was also reported that there were instances of verbal harassment from men within the woman candidates' own party, discouraging them to run for office. The assessment team was told that some violations were reported to the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance who then shared these reports with the political parties and NEC. The executive director of the commission reported to the assessment team that NEC subsequently addressed these issues during focus group discussions with political party leaders in an attempt to curb the problem. In a positive step leading up to the 2015 elections, the commission issued several statements reminding all stakeholders of their duties and that people should avoid abusive language.

Generally speaking, women candidates seemed to be able to campaign freely. Some sources did note, however, that women opposition candidates seemed to encounter more trouble at rallies and public events than CCM candidates did; however, the assessment team could not verify this.

8. Okwemba, Arthur and Daud Kayisi. "Gender in the 2010 Tanzania Elections." *Gender Links*. Gender Links. 29 June 2011. Web. November 2015.



Access to Media

Women are Underrepresented in Media Election Coverage; Environment Improving

While some improvements have been made, largely due to the efforts of organizations such as TAMWA and Internews, there still is not equal coverage of men and women in election-related news stories. According to representatives from these organizations and media monitoring reports from Gender Links and other media groups, this seems to be true in several areas: 1) women are cited as sources on election-related news less frequently than men; 2) women candidates receive less media coverage than male candidates; and 3) when women candidates do receive coverage, gender stereotypes often characterize the stories. The assessment team found that contributing factors include the composition of a male-dominated media sector, financial incentives for media houses to feature the most powerful political leaders who are primarily male and a shortage of media savvy women who effectively engage the media to cover their candidacy, among other issues.

The Tanzanian media organizations the assessment team spoke with are increasingly focused on the fact that there are few women journalists writing about the election, and that this is where the bias begins in elections coverage. In 2010, only 12 percent of sources on election-related stories were women while 88 percent were men.⁹ Additionally, the media only cited female sources to voice their views on issues of gender equality and gender-based violence while

Several different sources lamented that while eight women ran in the CCM presidential primary and two of the final three contestants were women, the media did not give much coverage to the female candidates and thus the public did not know a lot about them.

featuring male sources to discuss all other issues. While Internews saw improvement on the number of women cited as sources in the stories written by journalists who received gender sensitivity training, most Tanzanian journalists have not received such training.

Several different sources lamented that while eight women ran in the CCM presidential primary and two of the final three contestants were women, the media did not give much coverage to the female candidates and thus the public did not know a lot about them. And in the general election, the mainstream media was focused on the two heavyweight candidates from CCM and CHADEMA and largely ignored the female ACT presidential candidate Anna Elisha Mghwira and the numerous female MP candidates.

Less established, lesser known candidates, particularly women candidates, seem to be disadvantaged — most journalists do not have sufficient investigative reporting skills and limited resources and thus rarely report beyond surface-level, easily available information. While bias against women candidates may contribute to the problem, it does not seem to be the driving factor. When media does sometimes reinforce gender stereotypes, it is often due to the fact that many journalists have not been sufficiently trained on how to conduct unbiased reporting.

Another contributing factor to the lack of coverage of women candidates is the composition of the media itself and the incentive structures that exist in the media. The assessment team was told that given the majority of journalists, editors and media house owners are male, there is an inherent level of bias. Tanzanian media is largely controlled by the private sector and thus editors decide what is published based largely on what will sell. According to a 2010 Gender Links report, there are more than 47 radio stations, of which four are state-owned and 15 television stations, of which two are state owned. Additionally, Tanzania hosts more than 500 newspapers, of which three are state owned. As a result, and not surprisingly, the main focus of much coverage is on horse race numbers between the two main presidential candidates because that is what sells. Nonetheless, editors have a responsibility to make room for visibility of diverse voices and candidates, including women, youth and smaller parties. According to an Internews representative, in some media circles, women and “women’s issues” are still not considered newsworthy.

Additionally, while the Tanzania media code of conduct mandates fair access and impartiality of the state-owned media in its treatment and coverage of all parties, there are no efforts to enforce a better balance in terms of gender.

Lastly, the assessment team was told that many women citizens and even female politicians are apprehensive to speak to the media on political or election-related issues. Internews shared with the assessment team that some of the journalists they train find it challenging to find a women source for a story because women are more reluctant to speak with them. Additionally, most women have not made the effort to make media contacts and build relationships with journalists, so that they can be a source on topics outside of typical “gender” issues.

9. Okwemba, Arthur and Daud Kayisi. “Gender in the 2010 Tanzania Elections.” Gender Links. Gender Links. 29 June 2011. Web. November 2015.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE 2015 ELECTIONS

In the October 25, 2015 elections, Tanzanian women participated as voters, poll workers, election observers, security personnel, journalists, campaign supporters, party agents, candidates and as citizens. From the team's observations and monitoring of media reports, the general environment on Election Day appeared to be relatively calm and peaceful.

Women as Voters

Generally Speaking, Women Participated Actively and Freely in the 2015 Elections

While voter turnout was much higher in the 2015 elections than the 2010 (roughly 69 percent compared to 43 percent in 2010), according to media accounts, it was lower than many Tanzania watchers expected it to be in this hotly contested race. Table 2 below shows voter registration numbers and voter turnout from 2010 and 2015. NEC did not have voter registration data disaggregated by gender available for 2010 but for 2015 reported that 52.5 percent of registered voters were women and 29.6 percent of all registered voters were women ages 18 to 35. No gender disaggregated data was available for voter turnout.

On Election Day, women voters were generally given preferential treatment by election officials and other voters at the polling stations the assessment team visited Dar es Salaam, with half of the polling stations having separate lines for women and the majority of stations allowing pregnant women, women with children and elderly women to the front of the line.

Category	Number of People (2010)	Percentage (%) (2010)	Number of People (2015)	Percentage (%) (2015)
Total voting age population	21,189,992	50.6% of total population	24,252,927	53% of total population
Total number registered voters	20,137,303	95% of eligible voters	23,161,440	95.5% of eligible voters
Total number votes cast (actual votes)	8,626,303	42.8% of registered voters	15,596,110	67.3% of registered voters

In interviews prior to Election Day, many civil society representatives told the assessment team of cases in which husbands withheld their wives' voter cards to prevent them from voting or coerced their wives to vote for the husband's preferred candidate in the 2010 elections. A representative of TWCP said that husbands sometimes escort their wives to the polling booth or would find an excuse for the poll worker to allow him to actually fill out his wife's ballot himself. For this reason, in their Election Day observation efforts, TWCP instructed their domestic observers to watch for such behavior. The TWCP representative added that some men have threatened violence against women in the past if they see them going to the polls, causing some women to become too afraid to exercise their right to vote.



On Election Day, women voters were generally given preferential treatment by election officials and other voters at the polling stations the assessment team visited in Dar es Salaam, with half of the polling stations visited having separate lines for women and the majority of stations allowing pregnant women, women with children and elderly women to the front of the line.

After the elections, there were several media reports of incidences of men stealing their wives' voting card or assigning their wives with chores that day in an attempt to prevent the women from voting. TWCP reported that "some women in 18 regions failed to vote in the just-ended General Election due to bullying by their male partners." According to the Zanzibar coordinator for TAMWA, at least 47 Zanzibari women were divorced by their husbands after voting contrary to their husband's preference in the recent elections. A representative of the Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association expressed concerns to the BBC, saying that other women did not vote due to threats of divorce from their husbands. However, these accounts were all anecdotal and in the sample of polling stations that IRI observed on Election Day, IRI's assessment team did not witness men attempting to influence women's decisions. The assessment team did note, however, that in several polling stations, the voting booths were not well positioned to protect the privacy of the vote and other voters or party agents were sometimes close enough that they could see how a voter was voting if they wanted to.

11. "Voter Turnout Data for Tanzania, United Republic of." IDEA. Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance." 5 October 2011. Web. November 2015.

12. "2012 Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas." National Bureau of Statistics. March 2013. Web. November 2015.

13. "Report of the National Electoral Commission on the 2010 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councilors' Elections." National Electoral Commission. 2010. Web. November 2015.

14. *United Republic of Tanzania National Electoral Commission*. NEC. Web. November 2015.

15. "Report of the National Electoral Commission on the 2010 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councilors' Elections." National Electoral Commission. 2010. Web. November 2015.

16. "Presidential Election Results for the Year 2015." National Electoral Commission. November 2015. Web. November 2015.

Women as Election Day Officials

While NEC has not made available information on the gender breakdown of the poll workers either for the 2010 elections or the 2015 elections, based on the assessment team's Election Day observations, women appeared to be well-represented as poll workers. From the small sample of polling stations the assessment team visited in Dar es Salaam, women comprised 48 percent of all poll workers and 49 percent of all presiding officers.

Women as Domestic Election Observers

On Election Day, IRI's assessment team witnessed several women performing as local election observers at the sample of polling stations visited. Of the 19 domestic observers who IRI encountered, 14, or 74 percent, of them were women. The National Democratic Institute trained several local civil society groups to serve as election observers for the October 2015 elections. The Tanzania Youth Coalition deployed 50 observers, of whom 27 were women, in four constituencies in Dar es Salaam and TWCP deployed 44 observers, including 32 women, across Tanzania. The IRI assessment team noted that the NEC and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) election reports for the 2010 elections did not include information on the total number of domestic observers or the disaggregated breakdown by gender of those figures. This information also was not available for the 2015 elections.



17. Lamtey, Gadiosa. "Some Men Seized Wives' Voter Cards: Report." *The Citizen*. 3 November 2015. Web. November 2015.

18. *Ibid.*

19. "Scores of Women 'Divorced or Abandoned' for Voting in Tanzania Elections." *The Guardian*. 7 December 2015. Web. December 2015.

20. "Zanzibar Election: Couples 'Divorce' Over Voting Difference." *BBC Africa*. BBC News Services. 17 November 2015. Web. November 2015.

Women as Party Members

Women have the opportunity to participate in political parties throughout Tanzania. As a party member, they can engage with the women's wing, volunteer to support their party's campaigns, help register other women to vote or join the party or participate as a party agent during elections. In Tanzania, IRI's assessment team witnessed women involved in their party through all of these avenues.

Women's Wings

Each of the registered political parties in Tanzania has its own women's wing. How active and engaged these women's wings are varies from party to party, especially among the smaller parties that lack the same organizational structure and breadth as the major parties. From accounts of civil society members and party members themselves, it seems that the women's wings of the main parties – namely CCM, CHADEMA and CUF – are quite active. The women's wings are engaged in campaign efforts to rally behind parliamentary aspirants and they are heavily involved in the selection process for the women special seats in the National Assembly.

According to CHADEMA women's wing chairwoman, the Honorable Halima Mdee, the CHADEMA women's wing is very young but expanding rapidly. The wing was first established in 2006 and its first leader was elected in 2009. She was elected chairwoman in 2014 at the age of 36 and since then has implemented some reforms in an attempt to strengthen the capacity of the women's wing and expand its reach in the country. Chairwoman Mdee began by filling previously unfilled leadership positions from the national level to the local council level. Then she provided training opportunities for the wing's regional and district leaders. She tasked the district leaders with strengthening their network in the community, encouraging more women to participate in the village elections and subsequently to recruit those women as party members and women's wing members. As the chairwoman of the wing, Hon. Mdee also recruited women to participate as CHADEMA party agents in the 2015 elections.

CCM's women's wing has a long history in Tanzania, it formed in 1962 as the women's branch of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which led the effort for independence. The Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT) is the women's wing of TANU that became CCM. UWT was a driving force in TANU's eventual political success, mobilizing women to support the party, campaigning for their party candidates and registering citizens as cardholding TANU members. After multi-party politics were reintroduced in 1992, UWT remained the strongest women's organization in Tanzania and evolved into the women's wing of CCM. Today, Hon. Anna Abdallak is the chairwoman. In the recent elections, with the women's wing support, CCM secured women in 18 constituency seats and 64 women special seats in the 2015-2020 National Assembly.

Some civil society representatives expressed some skepticism of the political party women's wings, citing that they are only used to mobilize women during the elections and lack real power to influence the party in between elections. A representative from KAS noted, "Women wings must redefine their roles." He emphasized that if the women party members are not careful, they will remain as party supporters and not transition into party leaders. He encouraged Tanzanian women to claim their rightful role in the party and advocate for more women in party leadership. Additionally, one CSO representative expressed his concern that politically active women are sometimes in competition rather than support each other. He noted that the women's wing chairperson has an automatic special seat in the National Assembly under most party special seat selection processes and that this could potentially cause some women's wing leaders to lack the incentive to encourage other women to become more active in the party or gain their support since their fate is already sealed and they may not want to encourage competition for themselves. Mr. Shaba noted that young women in particular sometimes have a tough time finding their place in the party because if they join the women's wing, they may be dismissed as youth. However, if they work their way up through the youth wing and then try to join the women's wing, they may be viewed as a threat by the more established women wing members.

Campaign Supporters

During interviews with stakeholders, the assessment team was told that while women often are involved in mobilizing women to attend campaign rallies for party candidates, they rarely if ever are part of their party's official campaign teams. However, the team was told that in the 2015 elections women comprised a significant portion of CCM vice presidential candidate Samia Hassan Suluhu's campaign team. Additionally, CHADEMA women party supporters traveled with Mrs. Lowassa, the wife of the party's presidential candidate, to campaign on behalf of the UKAWA and her husband. These were encouraging developments that increased the number of women in party campaigns; however, the assessment team found that campaign teams were primarily dominated by men and when women were involved, it was to support a female candidate or political figure. One source even noted that some party members have said that including women on the campaign team would be a distraction because of the sexual temptation it would present to the men on the team.

Party Agents

While NEC has not made gender disaggregated data on the accredited party agents available to the public, from the IRI assessment team's limited observation of polling stations in Dar es Salaam, the majority of party agents at those polling stations were men. That said, IRI did encounter several women party agents, roughly 24 percent of the total party agents IRI witnessed, and noted that many were young women.

Women in Party Leadership

From the information available to the assessment team, the governing bodies of the political parties are inclusive of women. It is notable that no requirements for equal representation are made in party governing documents, but the practice has developed over time. In the ruling CCM party, for example, the highest governing body known as the Central Committee consists of 14 members of six women and eight men. The chairwoman of the women's wing has an automatic a seat on the committee, while the others are picked by the chairperson.





Women as Candidates

Women Leaders on the Rise

The 2015 elections saw noteworthy developments in women's political participation. Importantly, two women made it to the final three CCM presidential candidates in the party's primary race. While 38 candidates submitted nomination forms for the CCM primary, Amina Salum Ali and Asha Migiro were among the party's final three candidates selected by the CCM National Executive Committee. Ultimately, Amina and Asha lost to John Magufuli, who earned 87 percent of the votes from the party's National Congress. While CCM ultimately fielded a male presidential candidate, the party chose a female running mate – Suluhu Samia from Zanzibar – who is now the country's first female vice president. Additionally, the ACT party fielded a female candidate for president, ACT Chairperson Anna Elisha Mghwira. While Hon. Mghwira earned only 0.65 percent of the vote and finished in a distant third place behind the CCM and opposition UKAWA coalition, she finished in front of the other small party candidates, significant step. Notably, the 2015 elections are not the first time Tanzania has had women in positions of leadership. In 2010, the Tanzanian parliament elected its first female speaker of the National Assembly, Anne Semamba Makinda, who defeated Mabere Marambo. Speaker Makinda had previously served as the deputy speaker of the 2005 session of parliament. These women leaders have established an important precedent for women's participation in future elections.

Still Few Women Running for Elected Office

The number of women running for elected office remains low. According to UN Women, more than 12,000 candidates contested for different elected offices from the district level up to the presidency in the 2015 elections. Of those candidates, roughly 1,000 were women, representing approximately eight percent of total candidates running for elected office. This is fairly low considering Tanzania's constitutionally mandated 30 percent gender quota in parliament.

Table 3: Women Candidates in 2010 and 2015 Elections

	Number of Candidates (2010)	Female Candidates (2010)	% Female Candidates (2010)	Number of Candidates (2015)	Female Candidates (2015)	% Female Candidates (2015)
All elective seats	3,769	693 ²²	18.4%	12,000+ ²³	1,039	8.7%
Presidential	8	0	0%	8	1	12.5%
Vice Presidential	8	0	0%	8	1	12.5%
Parliament	1,036 ²⁴	191	18.4%	1,250 ²⁵	238 ²⁶	19%
Zanzibar House of Representatives	161 ²⁷	21	13%	TBD	TBD	TBD
Mainland Local Councils	7,934 ²⁸	559 ²⁹	7%	10,879 ³⁰	679 ³¹	6.2%
Zanzibar Local Councils	398 ³²	62 ³³	15.6%	TBD	TBD	TBD

22. "UNDP Tanzania Success Stories - Election Support 2010." United Nations Development Programme. 4 April 2013. Web. November 2015.

23. "Women Claim their Space in Tanzania's Elections." UN Women. 23 October 2015. Web. November 2015.

24. "Report of the National Electoral Commission on the 2010 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councilors' Elections." National Electoral Commission. 2010. Web. November 2015.

25. *The United Republic of Tanzania National Electoral Commission*. NEC. Web. November 2015. Note that TEMCO's preliminary statement on the 2015 general elections included slightly different numbers (1,218 total candidates, 233 females (19.1 percent))

26. *Ibid.*

27. "The Report of the 2010 General Elections in Zanzibar." Zanzibar Electoral Commission. February 2011. Web. November 2015.

28. "Report of the National Electoral Commission on the 2010 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councilors' Elections." National Electoral Commission. 2010. Web. November 2015.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Tanzania Electoral Monitoring Committee. *temco.udsm.ac.tz*. TEMCO. Web. November 2015. CEMOT reported slightly different figures with more than 13,000 total local council candidates, of whom 663 were women. NEC figures were not available at time of publication.

31. *Ibid.*

32. "The Report of the 2010 General Elections in Zanzibar." Zanzibar Electoral Commission. February 2011. Web. November 2015.

33. *Ibid.*



However, More Women are Running for Office and Being Elected than Ever Before

While there are still far too few women vying for elected seats in the Tanzanian government, women did make some gains in the 2015 elections, with 236 running for constituency seats compared to 193 in 2010. Additionally more women won elected seats in this election than in the past. See Table 4.

Table 4: Women Elected in 2010 and 2015

	Female Candidates (2010)	Women Elected (2010)	% Success (2010)	Female Candidates (2015)	Women Elected (2015)	% Success (2015)
Presidential	0	0	0%	1	0	0
Vice Presidential	0	0	0%	1	1	100%
Parliament	191	21	11%	238	25 ³⁴	10.5%
Zanzibar House of Representatives	17	4	23.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mainland Local Council	559	172	30.8%	N/A	N/A	N/A

34. The United Republic of Tanzania National Electoral Commission. NEC. Web. December 15, 2015. Note that some parliamentary races were postponed for various reasons so this figure is subject to change.

In the 2015 elections, of 236 parliamentary candidates, 27, or 11 percent, won constituency seats. This is higher than the 21 women who previously served in parliament. And while the size of the National Assembly has increased since the 2010-2015 term, women represent a larger portion of elected seats after the 2015 elections, 11 percent versus nine percent after the 2010 elections. See Table 5 on page 23.

Table 5: Composition of Government						
	Number of Seats (2010)	Number of Women (2010)	% Women (2010)	Number of Seats (2015)	Number of Women (2015)	% Women (2015)
President	1	0	0%	1	0	0%
Vice President	1	0	0%	1	1	100%
Cabinet Members	29	6 ³⁵	20.7%	34 ³⁶	7 ³⁷	20.6%
Members of Parliament (Total)	350	126 ³⁸	36% ³⁹	372	135 ⁴⁰	36.3%
<i>Prime Minister</i>	1	0	0%	1	0	0%
<i>Speaker</i>	1	1	100%	1	0	0%
<i>Constituency seats</i>	239	21	8.8%	256 ⁴¹	25	9.8%
<i>Special Women Seats</i>	102	102	100%	110	110	100%
<i>Zanzibar Seats</i>	5	2	40%	5	TBD	TBD
<i>Presidential Appointed Seats</i>	4	1 ⁴²	25%	1	0	0%
Members of Zanzibar House of Representatives	80	28 ⁴³	35%	TBD	TBD	TBD
<i>Constituency Seats</i>	50	4	8%	TBD	TBD	TBD
<i>Special Women Seats</i>	20	20	100%	TBD	TBD	TBD
<i>Presidential Appointed Seats</i>	10	4	40%	TBD	TBD	TBD
<i>Mainland Local Councilors</i>	3,375	172	5.1%	TBD	TBD	TBD
<i>Special Women Seats</i>	1,184	1,184	100%	1,408 ⁴⁴	1,408 ⁴⁵	100%
Zanzibar Local Councilors	141	N/A	N/A	TBD	TBD	TBD
<i>Special Women Seats</i>	42	42	100%	TBD	TBD	TBD

35. *The United Republic of Tanzania Government Portal*. Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. Website. November 2015.

36. Four ministerial positions are not yet filled to date.

37. This number may increase as the four remaining cabinet positions are filled.

38. "Women in National Parliaments." Inter Parliamentary Union. IPU. 1 November 2015. Web. November 2015. Note: Two more women were appointed.

39. *Ibid.*

40. This number may increase following appointments and Zanzibar House of Representatives additions to the house.

41. *The United Republic of Tanzania National Electoral Commission*. NEC. Web. November 2015.

42. Later increased to three.

43. House of Representatives. Zanzibar House of Representatives. Web. November 2015.

Table 6: Political Party Breakdown of Parliamentary Constituency Seats 2010 vs 2015				
Party	Total Seats (2010) ⁴⁶	Women Constituency Seats (2010) ⁴⁷	Total Seats (2015) ⁴⁸	Women Constituency Seats (2015) ⁴⁹
CCM	186	19	189	18
CHADEMA	23	1	33	6
CUF	24	1	32	1
NCCR-MAGEUZI	4	0	1	0
ACT-WAZALENDU	-	-	1	0
United Democratic Party	1	0	-	-
Tanzania Labor Party	1	0	-	-
Total	239	21	256 ⁵⁰	25

Related to the proportion of parliamentary votes that each party received, the party breakdown of the women special seats for 2015 is as follows: CCM-64, CHADEMA-36 and CUF-10. Because CHADEMA earned more parliamentary votes than in the last election, they will have more women special seats in the 2015-2020 parliament. See Table 7.

Table 7: Political Party Breakdown of Women Special Seats 2010 vs 2015		
Political Party	Women Special Seats (2010)	Women Special Seats (2015)
CCM	67	64
CHADEMA	25	36
CUF	10	10
TOTAL	102	110

Additionally, one woman was among the three remaining CCM candidates selected by the party leadership to vie as the CCM candidate for the position of Speaker of the Union Parliament. The CCM process started with 23 MP submitting their expressions of interest and formal application. The party governing central committee then selected the final three names. Ultimately, the CCM MP voted for Hon. Job Ndugai, a male party member and former deputy speaker, to represent CCM in the speaker's race alongside female party member Dr. Tulia Ackson Mwansasu who ran for deputy speaker. UKAWA also selected a male contender for speaker, Dr. Goodluck Ole-Medeye (CHADEMA), and a female candidate for deputy speaker, Hon. Magdalena Sakaya (CUF). Ultimately, in the full house vote, Ndugai and Mwansasu were elected by their peers to become Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Parliament, respectively.

44. "List of Councilors Special Seats for Each Political Party." National Electoral Commission. NEC.go.tz. November 2015. Web. November 2015.

45. Ibid.

46. "The 2010 Tanzania General Elections." Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee. TEMCO. March 2011. Web. November 2015.

47. Ibid.

48. *The United Republic of Tanzania National Electoral Commission*. NEC. Web. November 2015.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

Party Politics in Nomination Process Disadvantage Women Aspirants

As noted above, despite the quota system, very few women hold elected office in Tanzania. Quota systems only work when there is a genuine political commitment to promote gender equality and the capacity to support the implementation and monitoring of gender equality initiatives. Yet Tanzania's political institutions, namely political parties, have not demonstrated the level of commitment necessary to making gender equality a true reality.

While political parties depend on women as campaigners and mobilizers for mainly male candidates, party leadership and decision-making processes remain dominated by men. Parties are plagued by weak internal processes that favor nominating men over women as candidates, further creating an unfair environment for women aspirants. Furthermore, a lack of adherence to or effective implementation of a transparent, fair and inclusive political party nomination processes produces an environment rife for corruption whereby women aspirants loyal to their political party's patronage networks and power centers are rewarded over competence and electability. The result is often the nomination of women candidates who either cannot win or who do not have the skills to govern effectively once in office.

While Tanzania's mainland government adheres to a 30 percent gender quota, there are no quotas for how many women parties nominate as candidates for elective office. As demonstrated in Table 4, women represent less than one in five parliamentary candidates and less than one in ten candidates for all elective office seats from the national level to the local level.

Women aspirants faced additional challenges during the creation of the UKAWA coalition. The UKAWA opposition coalition formed when many opposition members walked out of the Constituency Assembly during the constitutional reform process. This coalition is led by CHADEMA, the strongest opposition party on the mainland during the 2010 elections and CUF, previously the strongest opposition party and still an influential major party that enjoys support on the mainland but especially in Zanzibar. When these parties and several other smaller parties came together to field joint candidates, by all accounts from civil society representatives, women and particularly from smaller parties lost out. Given that parties do not have clear, structured processes for nominating candidates, the candidate selection process was even murkier for the coalition. According to Hon. Mdee, the UKAWA coalition decided which party's candidate would be fielded in each constituency by considering several factors, including whether or not the party already had an incumbent MP in that constituency, in which case they would usually be selected to run for reelection under the UKAWA flag. Another consideration was which party had the strongest network and stronghold in that particular area. However, with CHADEMA being the dominant opposition party, this often meant that smaller party candidates were not selected to run as the coalition candidate, impacting women and men alike from those parties.

Additionally, with higher competition within the coalition to become the candidate, some CSO representatives and party members told the assessment team that women may have been disadvantaged in this scenario. Under this environment, the parties felt extra pressure to field their best, most competitive candidate who has the highest chance of electoral victory within the coalition and therefore some sources speculated that may have led parties to choosing to field male candidates over female candidates, particularly female aspirants trying to vie for a seat for the first time. Hon. Mdee noted that, "Men find it to not be a women's job," speaking of elected political office. This speculation, however, is difficult to verify as the assessment team did not observe the UKAWA candidate selection process. Additionally, Hon. Mdee said that in her observations, women candidates who appeared to be the strongest candidate were given support in the coalition. The challenge may be that fewer women have the capacity, support and resources to be the strongest candidate.

Resources and Party Support are Biggest Hurdles for Women's Campaigns

While the nomination process for candidates is one factor, there are many contributing factors to women's weak representation in elective seats, including a general lack of support from political party leadership and party structures to run for competitive office, lack of resources to fund a campaign, traditional attitudes about the role of women in society and unequal media coverage. The lack of party support and financial resources to effectively run a campaign were factors that were brought up in interview after interview to the assessment team as being the most significant hurdles to women's elected representation.

A representative of UNDP said that the challenges to women's political participation in Tanzania can be summarized by the "three Cs": cash, capacity and conflict (meaning the fierce competition, intimidation, hate speech, slander, and sometimes violence that women candidates encounter). He also noted that most women have lower education than men in the country. The Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance noted that corruption in political and government institutions hurts women's participation in particular because women have less financial resources to pay off media, supporters, party members or others.

Hon. Mdee noted that while CHADEMA may provide some level of support through materials, it does not give financial support to their candidates' campaigns. What limited funds the party may have had in the 2015 election cycle were used to finance the presidential campaign, she noted. As a result she had to finance her campaign herself, including collaborating with smaller parties to pay for 1,600 party agents to observe the polling stations in her constituency in order to ensure transparency of the vote. When asked, she said that the biggest campaign expense is fuel and public events/rallies. She did note that the party occasionally gives small funds to candidates with zero resources of their own and that sometimes the women's wing can give small funds to its candidates, but primarily candidates are on their own to fundraise.

Speaking from her experience during the 2010 campaign, Hon. Mdee said, "I cannot say it was difficult because I'm a woman." Instead what was most challenging was simply being a first-time candidate who had a lot to learn about politics and campaigns. As an incumbent running for a second-term in the 2015 elections, she felt much more comfortable and confident in her campaign.



51. As of time of publication.

TANZANIA-LED INITIATIVES TO ADDRESS CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Women Candidate Training

Several local and international organizations contributed toward training and building the capacity of women candidates vying for elected office in Tanzania in the lead up to the 2015 elections, as well as in previous elections. UN Women, together with local CSOs including TWCP, TCD and the Legal and Human Rights Centre, trained roughly 1,234 women aspirants and 658 candidates in leadership and campaigning. Affiliated with the Christian Democratic Union, KAS trained candidates from CHADEMA (who is a member of the International Democratic Union) and in particular trained their youth, women and elder wings, each of which have a women component.

Gender Mainstreaming in Electoral Institutions

National Electoral Commission / Zanzibar Electoral Commission

In its interviews with electoral stakeholders, the IRI assessment team did not gain much evidence that NEC had implemented initiatives to mainstream gender in voter registration process or in ensuring that women have equal access to polling stations. However, NEC did incorporate gender policies in the election observer guidelines, voter education guidelines and the code of ethics for political parties. Additionally, it is worth noting that ZEC adopted and committed to implement a gender inclusion strategy that it developed in coordination with UN Women. Despite these efforts, IRI's assessment team noted the great difficulty in which citizens or observers could obtain accurate, reliable information on voters, candidates or other relevant election information that included gender disaggregated data. Also of note, women do not have strong representation within the electoral management bodies themselves (See Table 8).

Organization	Number of Women in Leadership	Percent Women (%)
NEC	3	43%
ZEC	1	14%

Security Forces

According to UN Women, the Tanzanian police force has a gender desk and many police officers participated in a UN Women-facilitated training workshop that aimed to sensitize the officers on gender, particularly the risk of election-related violence against women. The police officers received laminated cards on gender principles to carry with them and refer to as needed. Of note, IRI witnessed that roughly one of four security personnel at the polls were women.

52. "Women Claim their Space in Tanzania's Elections." UN Women. 23 October 2015. Web. November 2015.

Strong Civil Society Gender Network & Advocacy

The IRI assessment team interacted with representatives from several civil society organizations that are part of a larger women's movement dedicated to strengthening women's participation in politics. Organizations such as TAMWA, TAWLA, TGNP, TWCP, TCD and many others have been working tirelessly to encourage women's participation, build the capacity of women candidates and leaders, promote fair media coverage of men and women, and make sure that women have a voice in major decision-making processes, especially the constitutional reform process. For example, TWCP, an association of women's wings of all the parties that have a seat in parliament, has been working with the women's caucus – the Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group — to build their capacity for active leadership. They have also linked younger and new MPs with retired women MPs to foster mentorship opportunities across party lines. Furthermore, TWCP was actively engaged in the constitutional review process as a member of the women's coalition on the constitution. As all the TWCP members were also members of the CA, they served as a platform for the broader women's coalition to provide input on the CA.



RECOMMENDATIONS

What Policies/Actions Could Help Remove Barriers to Women's Participation?

A. National Election Commission and the Zanzibar Election Commission

IRI commends the NEC for incorporating gender policies into its observer guidelines, voter education guidelines and code of ethics for political parties. Additionally, IRI notes that the future elections ZEC adopted and implemented a gender strategy for the 2015 elections⁵³ and considers this a best practice for NEC to consider. Based on its observations, the assessment team recommends that NEC/ZEC:

- Renew efforts to ensure that accurate, gender-disaggregated data on voters, candidates and other election-related statistics are made available to the public. The data made available i) had occasional errors (e.g. some voters in voter registrar with incorrect gender identification; NEC-issued women candidate list included some male candidates); ii) sometimes conflicted with data from other sources such as the Tanzania Bureau of Statistics or domestic or international observation reports, or iii) did not include gender disaggregated data at all. In order to gain a fuller understanding of women's participation in the electoral process, NEC and ZEC should take steps to improve the dissemination of accurate, gender-disaggregated data.
- Provide more advanced training to all polling station officials to ensure full compliance with election administration guidelines. IRI was encouraged to see women participating as election officials, however, it was observed that many would strongly benefit from advanced training in order to better understand their roles and the Election Day procedures.
- Consider locating polling stations in areas with access to sanitary facilities, particularly given that elections often require long wait periods in polling station lines. This is both a health and safety concern for women and children, in particular.
- Partner with civil society and civic education groups to implement women-targeted voter education efforts in future elections to ensure equitable access to information among marginalized groups. It was noted that NEC and ZEC included some women's groups among the CSOs that were accredited to implement voter education and ZEC specifically targeted women, youth, illiterate people and PWDs in some of its voter education materials. IRI encourages the electoral commissions to strengthen those efforts to streamline gender issues in all voter education efforts.

53. The ZEC Gender and Social Inclusion Policy

B. Political Parties

The assessment team commends Tanzanian political parties for the few high profile female candidates in the presidential race as well as the notable number of female polling agents who participated in the elections. Based on its observations, the assessment team recommends that Tanzanian political parties:

- Recruit more women party agents and conduct more comprehensive training for party agents on their roles and responsibilities in the election observation process.
- Increase transparency in the nominating process for elected and special seats and strengthen internal party democracy and candidate selection to ensure the fair and equal participation of women within their political parties. The issue of selecting women for elected seats or nominated seats is an issue that requires significant attention. The lack of transparency in the nominating process for elected and special seats makes it difficult for potential women candidates to navigate the process. This issue is essentially one of internal party democracy and candidate selection that Tanzanian political parties must address if they are going to ensure the fair and equal participation of women within their political parties.
- Establish or strengthen internal conflict resolution mechanisms that aspirants can utilize to lodge complaints and resolve conflicts during the nomination process.
- Strengthen party support to women candidates, particularly in terms of providing mentorship, skills training on campaign skills, media relations and fundraising, and financial and human resources. The assessment team encourages political parties, and specifically women's wings of the political parties, to provide a more comprehensive approach to capacity and skills training for their women candidates; play a role in promoting female members in the media and raising their profile among the public; and mentor young female party members and identify and support potential candidates starting at a much earlier stage in the election cycle. Additionally, parties should disseminate information to women aspirants earlier in the electoral period and send earlier submission of candidate names to NEC for special seats. The assessment team notes that even on the day of the election, at least one political party had not submitted the names of its candidates for nominated seats.
- Consider waiving or reducing nominating fees for female candidates. The assessment team notes that many women in Tanzania are at an economic disadvantage compared to male candidates.

C. Government of Tanzania

The assessment team applauds the Government of Tanzania's broad approach on gender inclusivity in government, including its government-wide gender strategy and the 30 percent gender quota in parliament. Based on its observations, the assessment team recommends that the Government of Tanzania:

- Ensure a more timely allocation of funds to the election process so that implementation of the election preparations and logistics can occur without delay.

D. Civil Society

The assessment team notes the active role Tanzanian civil society plays in monitoring gender issues within the government. Particularly commendable was the influential role the Coalition of Women and the Constitution played in successfully advocating for provisions in the proposed constitution that promote and protect women's

equal rights in society and politics. Also notable are the countless initiatives that civil society has undertaken to engage women across political party divides, train women political candidates, sensitize media to gender issues, report human rights violations perpetrated against women and observe political and electoral processes to ensure women's equal participation, among others. Based on its observations, the assessment team recommends that civil society:

- Continue to work with partners across sectors to build a strong network of organizations and efforts supporting gender issues;
- Collaborate with the women's wings of political parties to assist in earlier identification and mentoring of potential women candidates and party leaders; and
- Strengthen its role in monitoring and holding government accountable on gender issues, especially during the constitutional reform process.

E. Media

The IRI assessment team commends media groups such as the Tanzania Media Women's Association, the Tanzania Media Council and other media associations for their efforts to sensitize and train editors and journalists on gender-sensitive reporting. Based on its observations, the assessment team recommends that members of the Tanzania media:

- Prioritize gender balance in its organization's news reporting by including women as sources (particularly on election-related and political news), featuring stories about women leaders in the community and contributing toward a broader public dialogue on gender-related issues without limiting the discussion to only the issues that have been labeled as "women's issues" (i.e. health, education, gender-based violence).

F. International Community

The IRI assessment team acknowledges the strong gender-focused work that many international donors and non-governmental organizations have been implementing in collaboration with Tanzanian local partners in the lead up to the 2015 elections. In particular, IRI notes the extensive efforts by UN Women to train women candidates and incorporate gender provisions in the proposed constitution and in NEC and ZEC's election guidelines, among other things. This invaluable contribution has helped to create a strong foundation from which additional interventions and assistance can build upon. Based on its observations, the assessment team recommends that the international community:

- Conduct earlier and longer-term interventions;
- Support capacity building efforts among women leaders, including improving women leaders' media relations skills, strengthening the skills of women who hold special seats to govern effectively and successfully run for elected office and training future women aspirants and leaders long before the next elections;
- Work more directly with political parties on how to improve the candidate selection process, identify potential women leaders, and increase the number of female party activists; and
- Continue to work with relevant stakeholders to strengthen the electoral and legal frameworks for women's full participation in the political process in Tanzania.

METHODOLOGY

IRI organized an international assessment team that visited Dar es Salaam, Tanzania October 22-27, 2015. The assessment team's goals were to:

1. Assess the current political and electoral environment for women voters, candidates and other stakeholders during the October 25 general election;
2. Assess the opportunities and challenges for women's full participation in the electoral process; and
3. Offer recommendations to enhance women's participation in political and electoral processes going forward.

The assessment team comprised prominent women leaders in Sub-Saharan Africa and IRI staff experts. The team included:

- Hon. Rachel Kamweru, Nairobi City Council Assembly member and chairwoman of the Nairobi Women County Assembly Caucus in Kenya;
- Hon. Speciose Nyirabahire, member of the Muhanga District Council in Rwanda;
- Ebere Ifendu, president of the Women in Politics Forum and national woman leader of the Labour Party of Nigeria;
- Gretchen Birkle, regional director for Africa at IRI;
- Robina Namusisi, resident country director for Tanzania at IRI and a Ugandan national;
- Kathleen Schmermund, program officer in the Africa division at IRI; and
- Nora Pendaeli, program officer for IRI's Tanzania program and a Tanzanian national.

Prior to Election Day, the assessment team met with 16 individuals representing religious groups, political parties, media, international organizations and civil society, including youth groups, women's groups, human rights organizations and democracy and governance groups. The assessment team expresses its deep appreciation to everyone with whom it met for sharing freely their views on the opportunities and challenges for women's participation in the electoral process.

The assessment team used an IRI-developed "XYZ Tool" to conduct several interviews and small focus groups⁵⁴ with electoral stakeholders to discuss particular topics as they relate to gender, including: the electoral framework, governance, peace and human rights around the elections, political party internal democracy, media coverage of the elections, among others.

Lastly, on Election Day, the assessment team also used the tool⁵⁶ while visiting a 23 polling stations in Dar es Salaam to witness and assess first-hand women's participation in the elections.⁵⁷ The assessment was also informed by research and media monitoring leading up to and following Election Day.

54. See Annex A for full list of individuals interviewed

55. See Annex B for Focus Group Interview Guidelines

56. See Annex C for Election Day Gender Assessment Tool

57. Polling station areas visited included Kinonondi (including Msasani, Oyster Bay and Bunju), City Center, Buguruni, Temeke, Mbagala, Mjimwema, Kunduchi, Sinza, Temboni Saranga, Kimara, Ubungo-Kata Weo, Shule Ya Msingi, Nwenge-Zahanat

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ANNEX A: LIST OF GENDER ASSESSMENT INTERVIEWEES





1. Abella Bateyunga, Executive Director, Tanzania Bora Initiative
2. Valerie Msoka, Tanzania Country Director, Internews
3. Richard Shabda, Coordinator, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
4. Joram Rukambe, UNDP Chief Technical Advisor, Democratic Empowerment Project
5. Helen Kijo-Bisimba, Executive Director, Legal and Human Rights Center
6. Bernadetha Kafuko, Program Officer, Tanzania Center for Democracy
7. Likele Shungu, Program Officer, Tanzania Center for Democracy
8. Sara Negroa, Election Specialist, Gender and Social Inclusion
9. Rachel Boma, Program Analyst, Democratic Governance at UN Women
10. Ave Maria Semakafu, Coordinator, Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform
11. Godfreda Jalo, Program Officer, Tanzania Media Women's Association
12. Mary Massey, Executive Director, Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance
13. Rev. Cannon Godda, Executive Director, Inter Religious Council for Peace Tanzania
14. Wenceslaus Mushi, Conflict-Sensitive Journalism Trainer, Internews Tanzania
15. Honorable Halima Mdee, Member of Tanzanian Parliament, Kawe Constituency
16. Deus Kibamba, Executive Director and Policy Analyst, Tanzania Citizens' Information Bureau
17. Dr. Fenella Mukangara, Minister of Information, Culture and Sports, Tanzanian Parliament

ANNEX B: GENDER ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

IRI Pre-Election Interview Guidelines

Access to Information

- Do the electoral laws and guidelines mandate an inclusive electoral process?
- In your view, has the electoral process been an inclusive process of all citizens regardless of gender?
- Do you feel that women voters have been given adequate information about the election system (i.e. registration and voting procedures, how winners are determined, etc)?
- Did male and female voters have an equal opportunity to access voter registrars and correct any errors?
- In your view, do most Tanzanian women have access to information on how to report violations of electoral regulations?
- Have there been any special efforts that you know of to target women specifically to ensure their access to pertinent electoral information? If so, please describe?

Electoral Environment

- How would you describe the pre-election environment in Dar es Salaam and around the country?
- In your view, how has this environment impacted women's participation in events leading up to the election?
- How have the candidates/campaigns and their messaging/activities contribute to this environment?
- In your view, how have the women candidates and their campaigns, specifically, contributed to this environment?

Freedom to Campaign

- Were women candidates/party members able to implement their campaigns freely and in accordance with the election law?
- Did any candidates or campaigns face intimidation or harassment that you are aware of? If so, were any women specifically targeted?
- If so, were violations reported? Was anything done to address the issue?
- Have you witnessed or heard of any hate speech leading up to the elections specifically targeting women candidates or designed to incite citizens to discriminate against women candidates?



Media

- Has the media allowed all candidates, including women, equal access to media coverage in your view? If no, please describe.
- How has media portrayed women candidates, generally speaking? Are there any examples of either flattering or unflattering coverage of women candidates that comes to mind?
- Has the media addressed issues of particular concern to women voters? If so, can you list some examples of what topics were addressed and how they were covered?

Women Participation

- Can you please describe the role of women voters or party members in campaign activities?
- Did women voters receive targeted education and outreach encouraging their participation?
- To your knowledge, has NEC made a concerted effort to recruit and train women to participate as election officials?
- Have you witnessed or heard of any voter intimidation leading up to the elections? If so, how might it impact women's participation in your view? Were women specifically targeted?



ANNEX C: ELECTION DAY GENDER ASSESSMENT GUIDE





Tanzania Gender Assessment Election Day Checklist

Please complete a new checklist for each Polling Unit you visit.

Team Number: _____ Area: _____
 Constituency Number: _____ District: _____
 Polling Unit Number: _____ Arrival Time: _____
 Polling Station Name: _____ Departure Time: _____

A. VOTING PROCESS

Please ask the polling official questions A1-A3 and fill out the rest from your observations

Y N

A1 Did voting start on time? Y N

A2 How many voters are registered at this Polling Unit? _____
How many of them are women? _____

A3 How many ballots have been cast so far in this Polling Unit? _____
How many have been by women? _____

A4 Approximately how many voters were waiting to vote or actively voting when you arrived? _____
How many of them were women? _____
Are there separate lines for women and men? Y N

A5 How many election officials are present in the Polling Unit? _____
How many of these election officials are women? _____
Is the Presiding Officer of the Polling Unit a woman? Y N

A6 Did you observe electoral officials giving preferential treatment to: (Circle all that apply)
i. Women with young children or pregnant women
ii. Elderly women
iii. Women with disabilities
iv. No preferential treatment was given to any of these groups
Please describe: _____

A7 Of the women voters being assisted, were most receiving assistance from men or women? _____
Did this assistance raise any reason for suspicion of interference/influence of the women's votes? Y N
Please explain: _____

A8 Did you observe a difference in the treatment of men and women by:
1. Election officials Y N
2. Security personnel Y N
3. Domestic Observers Y N
4. Party agents Y N
5. Other voters Y N
If yes, please describe: _____

A9 In addition to election officials, are any other people present in the Polling Unit? (If yes, choose all that apply) Y N
 Security personnel (police and military) # Total _____ # Women _____
 Authorized party agents # Total _____ # Women _____
 Authorized domestic observers # Total _____ # Women _____
 Other international observers # Total _____ # Women _____
 Media # Total _____ # Women _____

A10 Did you see any voters being turned away? Y N
If yes, please describe why and whether it seemed for legitimate reasons: _____

A11 Does anyone appear to be influencing the voting process in a way that is at odds with their role as prescribed under the election law? (If yes, choose as many as apply, and describe) Y N
 Security personnel (police and military) Authorized party agents
 Authorized domestic observers Other international observers
 Media Election officials
 Other (please describe) _____

B. OBSERVATIONS AROUND THE POLLING UNIT

Y N

B1 How would you describe the environment around the Polling Unit? (Choose one)
 Calm, no crowding Crowded, but peaceful Tense
 Violent Deserted

B2 Is the Polling Unit clearly marked? Y N

B3 Is the polling station in an easy to access location in the community? Y N
Please describe: _____

B4 Are security personnel present at the Polling Unit, and if so, are they interfering in the voting process?
 No security personnel present
 Security personnel present, not interfering in voting process
 Security personnel present, interfering in voting process

B5 Did you witness problems (i.e. conflict, arguments, violence, voter intimidation) in the vicinity of the polling station?
If so, were women involved mainly as:
 Instigators/Perpetrators or
 Victims?
Please describe: _____

NOTES:



INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

(202) 408-9450 PHONE

(202) 408-9452 FAX

INFOR@IRI.ORG

WWW.IRI.ORG | @IRIGLOBAL