



Women Participation in Party Politics during the Multiparty Era in Africa

The Case of Tanzania

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Introduction

For scholars and activists writing on the participation of women in politics, the multiparty era presents fascinating and uplifting challenges.¹ The key concern is how to deal with the existing gender imbalances and, in particular, the insufficient involvement of women in political activities. By what precise struggles and dynamics is power redistributed within political parties? What constraints or challenges women face in accessing various positions within political parties? What efforts have been done by political parties do address the existing gender imbalances with respect to membership and or access to leadership position? What have been the outcomes of such initiatives?

It is pertinent to note that various organisations (including government, NGO research and training institutions) have organised various seminars and workshops to discuss various issues concerning women and politics both at national and regional level. For instance, at national level, the Institute of Development Studies Women Studies Group and the Gender Cluster organised a workshop on women and multi-party democracy in 1994 for women leaders in political parties. The workshop was held at the Tanzania Episcopal Conference and involved women leaders from all political parties. At that time, there was a serious concern that, debates on multipartism popularly known as men hijacked 'mageuzi'. There was a disturbing concern that men and other partners were attaining their political agendas without giving

¹ REDET (1997), Envirocare, (2000), TGNP (1999), TAMWA (2003) and IDS (1994)

adequate attention to the few women who showed interest. All this was happening under the pretext that the arena of politics is a male domain, as argued by Kabiru et al 1997. Likewise, in 1997, a local NGO Research, Education and Democracy (REDET) organised a national workshop that was attended by government representatives, NGO, political leaders and civil society to discuss various aspects concerning female involvement in party politics. At regional level, several NGOs such as EISA (formerly known as the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa); the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD); the Eastern and Southern African University Research Programme (ESAUERP) and the Centre for Collaborative Gender Research (CCGD) have organised workshops and symposia that directly or indirectly dealt with the issue of an insufficient female participation in politics, particularly during the multiparty era.

Thus, although there have been many articles and books written on various issues on multi-party politics none has solely focused on inter or inter party politics focusing on women and or on gender *per se*. In supporting this observation, Shayo and Koda (1994) noted that by 1994, the gendered implications of various political processes during the multi-party era were understood, probably due to being well documented only three years after the re-introduction of multi-party politics in Tanzania.

Growth and Development of Political Parties During the Multi-Party

In Tanzania, multi-party politics were re-introduced on 1 July 1992 following Nyalali Commission's recommendations after almost thirty years of one party state politics. According to Ngware (1998), the evolution and re-introduction of multi party politics "was neither automatic nor inevitable". Both internal and external factors contributed to this reality. Between 1992 and to date, 17 fully registered political parties have been established including the ruling party, Chama cha

Mapinduzi (CCM)². According to Liundi (1998) and Kiondo (2001) more than 60 political parties took forms of application for provisional registration but only 45 obtained provisional registration. From these, only 13 qualified for full registration after a stringent screening process. However, CCM gained automatic full registration under exceptional arrangements. Six other parties were registered by January 1993, two parties by February 1993, three parties by April 1993, and one party in November 1993. Thus between 1993 and 2004 only four parties were able to secure full registration.

In Tanzania, the National Electoral Commission has established rules and regulation for registering political parties including first and second stage registration. The first stage involves submission of an application from a founding member and a party constitution. The second stage involves fulfilling the following conditions within 180 days:

- Proof of not less than 200 party members qualified to vote, from at least ten regions in the country two of which must be regions in Pemba and Zanzibar
- Names of national leaders of the party coming from Zanzibar and Mainland Tanzania
- Submission of a location for the party head office to the Registrant of Political Parties

Women Participation in Party Politics Accounting/ For the Gap

Recent decades have witnessed an international move towards promoting women participation in various social and economic development processes, including political activities at all levels. A clear example, on the national level for the promotion a genuine inner party democracy is reflected in the Union Constitution, Articles 39 & 67 and the Constitution of Zanzibar, Articles 26 & 66 that clearly spell out the right to stand for

² National website 2004

election to members of and candidates nominated by a political party only.

As very few women belong to formalised political groupings, this means that most women will be left out. Likewise, the Political Act of 1992, which is expected to play an important role in promoting intra party democracy, is silent on many critical areas relating to female participation in political parties. In supporting this observation, Mmuya et al (1994) argued. "Although many parties have been formed they have not been able to mobilize people and particular women to take an active role in supporting the future of this country political parties are considered to be weak do not have clear policies for promoting women participation." Mwakyembe (2002) argues that the majority of the women have not joined because most political parties in Tanzania are managed like military regiments or at best "like family businesses in which the word of the head of the family is final and conclusive." Likewise, Mmuya et al (1994) viewed most parties as being weak and not deserving of a political party appellation.

In brief, it is sufficient to indicate that factors hindering women in effectively participating in political activities are well documented. Some authors argue that it is due to their major reproductive roles, (and in particular household chores including child care and family care) that women are unable to find adequate time to engage in active politics, including leadership positions. Thus the Commonwealth Secretariat, in an attempting to address women's unequal representation in political decision-making, including public and political decision-making, advocate the changing of cultural attitudes on women's natural role in socio-economic development, the legal framework as well as political institutions and mechanisms as reflected in the following box:

Box 1: It can be done, do something

In 1996, no Commonwealth country had reported achieving a critical mass of 30 percent of women in Parliament. However by 2000, seven countries had achieved between 20-30 percent of female representation in Parliament. South African reached the 30 percent critical mass bench mark *Commonwealth Report, 2003*

In retrospect, at their 1995 meeting, the Commonwealth Heads of States endorsed a Plan of Action on Gender and Development that urged governments to introduce measures for increasing the participation of women at national level to at least 30 percent by the year 2005. A series of preparatory activities were undertaken within the respective countries to attain these desirable outcomes, including capacity building and training for women with potential leadership skills.

Women Membership in Political Parties in Tanzania

An assessment of current women's membership of political parties has been constrained by lack of up to date disaggregate data with respect to gender. Although several publications have been written on various aspects of political parties, very few have addressed the issues of party membership directly from a gender perspective.³

For instance, in attempting to analyse the social character of membership to political parties in Tanzania during the multiparty state political period, Mmuya and Chaligha (1994) provided general remarks without differentiating between men and women. Indeed, Mmuya et al (1994) made the following remarks:

In spite of the fact that Tanzania now is legally a multi-party state, the monolithic culture still pervades the life style of members of the society. Thus, save for the leadership of the opposition parties and groups, ordinary members seldom come out and declare membership to a party. They are less declined to give more details about themselves and their relationship to a political party. (p. 48).

³ Mmuya & Chaligha (1994), Swai (1998) Malyamkono (1995) and REDET (2000).

Table 1 provides a summary of women membership to selected political parties in Tanzania

Table 1: Women Membership to Selected Political Parties as of 1994

Sex	NCCR-M	CHADEMA	CUF	UMD	TPP	NLD	PONA	YPDP	TOTAL
Male	1850	991	2609	1300	1537	1143	1852	2000	13278
Female	150	1009	394	700	463	858	146	80	3665
Total	2000	2000	2003	2000	2000	2001	1998	2080	16943
% F/T	8.1	50.4	19.6	35	23.1	42.8	7.3	3.0	21.6

Source: Mmuya and Chiligha (1994) p. 50

The same views are shared by Shaba M. (1995) in *Ulingo wa Jinsia* where she complained that “we do not know how many women have joined which political party and reasons thereof. However, it is encouraging to note that some authors examined the main characteristics of party members, seven out of 13 political parties that were fully registered by 1994 in terms of education, occupation, profession gender, residential, age and religious affiliations”⁴

The data contained in Table 1 reveals that overall, only 21.6 percent of women were members of these eight political parties. However at that time, only CHADEMA attained gender parity (50.4%). Two other parties that had surpassed the critical mass proposed by the Commonwealth Secretariat are NLD (43%) and UMD (35%) on the contrary, two parties, namely, CUF and TPP had attained 19.6 and 23.1 percent of women members respectively. Surprisingly, the remaining two political parties namely, NCCR-Mageuzi and UPDP had very few women, (less than 10 percent). We need to add a cautionary note at this point as this picture has probably changed because now it is almost ten years since this book was written.

Likewise, it is also heartening to note that data presentation on the remaining variables was not disaggregated in terms of gender and location. Malyamkono (1995) argued this lack of desegregation of party membership in terms of the above variables has been limited by existing regulations that state:

In Tanzania the political parties had to comply with rigid conditions for registration. According to the new law on

⁴ The 8 political parties there were analysed include NCCR-M CHADEMA CUF UMD, TPP, NLD PONA and YPDD

*political parties the parties are legally not to be based on tribe, religion, gender or race and they should draw members from both sides of the Union*⁵

However, as Moser (1993) argues, it is important to establish the gender profile of membership to political parties because this will enable them to address members needs with respect to age, location (rural – urban), occupation, income and level of education. Likewise, gender disaggregated data enables us to establish both the practical and strategic needs of members.

Moreover, Mmuya and Chaligha (1994) indicated very few elites and/ or educated people and in particular educationists joined the new political parties as founder members. Indeed, they indicate a higher proportion of party members in new political parties are farmers and in particular, peasants from rural areas mostly in the age bracket of 18-55 years. It appears that to date, there has not been significant changes in party membership as reflected by one prominent member of one of the newly formed political party known as Demokrasia MAKINI, “Most elite people and women in particular, do not want to join political parties even when persuaded to do so.”

In view of the above facts Mmuya and Chaligha (1995) also note that most of the newly formed political parties drew membership only from areas that were easily accessible by buses and trains or aeroplanes. Thus, it is not surprising that most of the members of the newly political parties were drawn mainly from regions with a good infrastructure (road, railway and air telephone service) especially Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kagera, Kigoma Kilimanjaro, Lindi Mara, Morogoro and

⁵ Malyamkono (1995), p24

Mwanza. In all these regions, membership was drawn at district level.

Likewise, noticeable party differences were noted with respect from the location of where membership was drawn. Overall, new political parties obtained more members from the regions from which founder members or heads of political were coming. From instance CUF, UMD TPP, NLP and PONA, have more members in the regions where the head of those political parties is located, including Zanzibar, Tabora and Ruvuma, respectively.

Furthermore, an analysis of available records shows that that most of the new political parties draw members both in urban and rural areas although there is

remarkable variation both within and across parties. For instance, although several parties were registered in one region there are remarkable differences with respect to the districts and wards where membership has been drawn. For instance, in Arusha region, NCCR Mageuzi drew members mainly from two districts, namely Arusha Urban and Arumeru Districts while CHADEMA drew members from fide districts namely; Arusha Urban, Hanang, Kiteto Mbulu and Loliondo. On the other hand, CUF drew members two district only namely Hanang and Mbulu Districts. Three other parties namely TPP, NLD and PONA drew members from mainly from Arusha Urban only and not in the other districts.

Table 2 provides a summary of regions from which party members were drawn

Table 2: Membership to Political Parties at Regional level by 1994

Party/ Region	TPP	NCCR-M	CUF	UMD	NLD	PONA	CHADEMA
Dar es Salaam	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Arusha	√	√					
Kagera	√						
Mwanza				√			√
Kigoma			√	√			
Lindi		√					
Mtwara			√		√	√	√
Ruvuma	√		√				√
Singida							
Coast	√						
Mbeya		√	√			√	
Tabora							√
Kilimanjaro							
Mara		√	√				
Morogoro			√				
Tanga			√				√
Zanzibar			√				√
Pemba			√				√

Source: Mmuya and Challigha (1994)

Interestingly, all parties drew party members from all the three districts in Dar es Salaam region, namely Ilala, Temeke and Kinondoni except for the UMD. In a nutshell, it appears that, the issue of party membership is quite crucial in understanding intra party democracy. Therefore there is a need to undertake an in depth study to establish the patterns and trends of party membership with respect to gender location and occupation, age, class, religion.

Active Participation of Women in Party Politics During the Pre-Colonial Era

Several studies show that prior to the establishment of colonial rule in most African countries, Tanzania included, women enjoyed a much broader role in decision-making. Indeed, most hunting and gathering communities in Southern Africa were characterised by relative

political equity between men and women. There was no continuous political leadership and each sex had its own sphere of activity over which it exercised control. Both men and women participated in ritual making and other cultural events.

Likewise, in areas where agriculture was a dominant activity, women derived their political status from the key roles they played in production regardless of whether that society was ruled by patriarchy or matriarchy. Usually, women had political control over some activities such as farming, marketing, household and family affairs. Moreover, women had specific political institutions, known as Councils of Women where they made decisions on how to manage their own affairs or influence the affairs of men.⁶ Most African women are known for forming solidarity groups based on kinship age, culture and economic production poles. Those social networks were quite useful for African women and Tanzania women in particular, for they helped them not only in stressful periods but also endowed them with a psychological sense of self-esteem.

Moreover during the pre-colonial period, women had defined and respected political roles. For instance in some countries, there was a dual sex system in which a woman was responsible for women affairs and a man responsible for men's affairs. Thus available literature shows that some African societies had Queens or Kings. Among the women leaders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Africa was warrior queen, Yaa Asante wa of Ghana (1840-18921) who was outstanding among Asante queen mothers because she led her people in battle against British colonisers in the Angola Asanti War⁷ Likewise Queen Ranavalone III of Madagascar, who ruled between 1883-1910, successfully faced foreign threats and domestic tensions.

Others include, Empress Taitu (1883-1910) from Ethiopia made crucial contributions to both domestic and foreign policies. She was described as the most powerful women on the continent of

African in her time.⁸ Other renowned women leaders include Queen Amina of Zazzau who became famous in Nigeria, Chief Martha Yoto of Kpa Mende in Sierra Leone and female pharaohs of Egypt in particular Hatsheput, Hoda Sherawi who launched a Feminist Union in 1922 that fought for a girl's right to marriage at 16-18 years and the wearing of veils. These historical events reveal the capability of African women and dismiss allegations that a women's place is in the kitchen. However, post-colonial political structures have, in a way blocked women's natural propensity to participating in political life. The process began at the onset of colonialism.

Male Bias in Leadership of Political Parties

Available records show that national leadership positions in all political parties have been held by men, save for one party the TADEA. This included the Party chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary General Deputy Secretary General Publicity Secretary. Table 3 below provides a summary of leadership position with respect to gender

⁶ Kabiru (1997)

⁷ Synder et al (1995)

⁸ Ibid

Table 3: National Leadership of Selected Political Parties as of 1994

Party	CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR-M		TPP		TLP		NRA		TADEA	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
National Chairman		-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-		√
Vice Chairman		-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-		-
Secretary General		-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-		-
Deputy Secretary		-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-		-
Publicity Secretary		-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-		-
Treasurer		-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-	√	-		-

Source : Mmuya and Chaligha (1994): Summarised from Appendix 1 p. 200

The above picture is almost the same over the past ten years. The newly established party Demokrasia Makini has elected a woman as a Vice Chairperson. Likewise, the treasurer of CCM is a woman. In TLP, CHADEMA a woman contested the presidential position in 2000.

Similar patterns and trends were observed with respect to women's access to other key decision-making organs within political parties such as the National Executive Committees and National Central Committees. For instance, in 1994 CCM had 21 members in its Central Committee, none of whom was female. Records show that the position for a chairperson of the CCM Women's wing was vacant. The Central Committee is the highest decision-making organ in THE CCM. The head of the state is the Chairman. Other members to this organ are there by virtue of their political positions such as Ministers, the party publicity secretary, treasurer and chairpersons of party wings. Thus, the absence of women in key party leadership positions is partly accounted for by the fact that there are very few women in key decision-making organs. To date the situation remains the same but both the treasurer and the chairperson of the UWT do attend.

In CHADEMA the same patterns and trends concerning male bias in national party executive committees are repeated. For instance, the national leadership constituted 24 members of whom there was only one woman, Mary Kabigi.

For NCCR-Mageuzi, the same male bias was observed. Of a national leadership comprising 16 members, only two women, (Chiku Abwao and Mosine Nyambambwe) were elected to the party Central Committee.

For TPP, from the 9 national leaders, only one was a woman (Asha Matata). She was elected in her capacity as the Director for Women and Children within the party. Interestingly, TLP did not have a woman in its party national leadership. Likewise, NLD had 16 members in its national leadership team, one of whom was a woman - the Regional Party Chairperson for Tanga region. Likewise, NRA had 11 members in its national leadership team, one of whom was a woman. She was the Head of the Organisation Department. Finally, TADEA has a national leadership of 5 members and it is chaired by a woman, Mrs Flora Kambona.

It was not easy to get access to the gender composition of the leadership on other levels such as National Executive Committees, as well as lower levels for all political parties. Table 5 below provides a summary of female leadership at regional level for the Dar es Salaam region in 1987.

Overall, it appears that even at lower levels, female representation in party organs is relative low compared to that of their male counterparts. Likewise, there are noticeable gender differences both within regions and districts. However there is need for an in-depth study to establish the current status in other political parties, particularly during the multiparty era.

Nomination of Presidential Candidates

Since the introduction of multiparty politics, Tanzania has undergone two presidential elections (i.e. 1995-2000 respectively). Preparations are underway for the forthcoming presidential and parliamentary elections in 2005. Political parties have instituted various processes for selecting candidates to stand for presidential elections. In the 1995 and 2000 presidential elections, two women, Rose Lugendo of CCM and Lucina of NCCR-Mageuzi respectively, stood for presidency but unfortunately they were not successful. There has not been any in-depth post-mortem to find out reasons for this failure. However, prior to that election there were negative comments from some women alleging that “time was not ripe for the country to have a woman President.”

It is important to indicate that political parties have established various criteria for nominating party candidates to campaign for a presidential position. However there are noticeable differences within these political parties. For instance, in the CCM the criteria include cleanliness, honesty and commitment to party policies and the election manifesto. For TADEA, three criteria are emphasised including commitment, long service and honesty. Most of the remaining political parties use *ad hoc* criteria or none at all. However, in all political parties, level of education is not an issue as long as the candidate possesses leadership skills and is in the age range of 18-59 years.⁹ Overall, it appears that these criteria are favourable to women as well but unfortunately the processes and procedures followed in nominating candidates leave much to be desired.

Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates

All parties nominated candidates for parliamentary seats. However, the number of women who aspired for nomination in 1995 at national level was quite small.

Overall, only 53 women out of 1300 were nominated as follows:

Table 4: Female Nomination

Party	Number of women
UDP	10
CCM	7
NCCR-M	3
CUF	5
TADEA	5
CHADEMA	4
TLP	4
UPDP	3
TPP	3
NRA	2
PONA	2
UMD	1

Given the history of new political parties, it appears that the above scenario shows that there is a willingness and commitment to promote female involvement in political parties.

Interestingly, the TEMCO (1997) Report reveals significant regional variations with respect to nomination of female candidates for parliamentary seats. Women candidates came from only a few regions such as Dar es Salaam, Tabora, Arusha, Ruvuma and Liundi. These included five female candidates from Morogoro region (3 for NCCR-M 1 from TADEA and 1 from UDP), 1 from Loliondo Arusha (UPDP). Overall, most of the remaining regions did not nominate any female candidates. However, things improved in the 2000 election. There is a need to conduct a comparative in-depth study to establish the main gender issues and/or imbalances in the selection of Members of Parliament with respect to location.

The Table (Table 5) below indicates female leadership in the CCM in the Dar es Salaam Region in 1987.

⁹ TEMCO (1992)

Table 5: Female Leadership in CCM in Dar es Salaam Region as of 1987

Position	ILALA	F/T	KIONDONI	F/T	KEMEKE	F/I
	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL
Village Chairperson	2	192	1	155	11	1
Village Secretary	19	192	25	156	11	200
Ward Secretary	5	18	2	18	11	16
Council Secretary	0	3	2	4	0	3
Executive Committee	4	11	5	15	3	15
Member of EOR	3	10	4	10	3	10
Members of ExCo-N	3	15	3	10	3	10

Source: *Ulingo wa Jinsia* 1990, January and *Meena na Migiro* 1988, *Wanawake na Uongozi katika Siasa*(1990)

Participating in Party Politics

The main concern is why there are so few women elected as representatives to political or national leadership positions. According to the existing literature, the main problem stems from political structures and processes within political parties.¹⁰ Some of these obstacles include:

- Lack of political support for female candidates including financial and political networks to run for office
- Lack of coordination and networks of women groups with other key public organisations such as trade unions
- Male norms and structures that mitigate against female participation including campaign meetings and political relies and patriarchal ideology
- Insufficient mobilisation of media support
- Lack of leadership oriented training and education for women
- Electoral systems and procedures that are not gender friendly
- Inadequate financial resources
- Lack of support from fellow women
- Lack of political experience
- Prohibitive cultural norms and attitudes about the 'proper' place for women. These are reflected in voting patterns, media coverage of female politicians and political campaigns full of rampant intimidation and harassment.

Other problems include the women's own lack of interest in taking an active role in formal politics. Indeed their reluctance has been caused by both social cultural and

religious beliefs. In most societies, strong men do not listen to women who take the podium or public office. There is a known case of a woman who was elected as District Commissioner who men initially found it a bit difficult to accept. However, after sometime they found that a woman leader is as good as a male leader and therefore accepted her.

Box 2: WHEN THE HEN CROWS

- When I was elected as a village secretary some people told me that I would become loose, a prostitute I told them that I could never do such a thing and second, I asked them whether they had any proof of the misbehaviour of any women leaders to whom they referred. Their answer was "No" this is just what we have heard" (Young women CCM party leader)"
- There are women who are capable of being leaders and indeed good leaders too. But it is not easy. Men do not often trust their wives and they think that if they go for seminar or political parties they will betray then. They argue that a woman is like a child as far as her brain is concerned she can easily be convinced by another man to give way for sex" (Young male CCM Part leader")
- Normally, husbands are the main causes for their wives not to be leaders. Many of the women are keen to be leaders. But your husband can ban you and then that is the end.... Here there are many women who can lead, after all some are highly educated but because the husband is in a panic, his wife remain a housewife (A woman from CCM)

Source: Tripp, (2003)

Likewise, political campaigns involve regular travelling and being away from the home, going to bars to meet people and men in particular. Most husbands and family member are not prepared to accept this and hence women aspiring for political leadership are forced to make a choice between their marriage or politics as reflected in Box 2 depicted above.

¹⁰ Tripp, (2003), and Woroniuk (1998)

Enhancing Women Participation in Party Politics

Existing records suggests that various stakeholders including government and Non-Government Organisations, both within and outside Tanzania, were directly or indirectly involved in promoting active female participation in politics especially during the multiparty era. As mentioned earlier, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) based at University of Dar es Salaam organised a training seminar for those women leaders who were elected to the 1995 Parliament. Likewise, the Research Education and Democracy (TEMCO) always include several topics on gender in its annual workshops that have been organised since the early 1990s. Likewise, the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) held a conference in 1999 on Gender and Political Empowerment that brought together women activists and Members of Parliament from throughout the African continent.

Other NGOs, such as ENVIROCARE and Legal Human Rights Centre (LHRC) have produced various training manuals to help women aspiring for various electoral positions within political parties or Parliament to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills.

Within political parties, other direct measures have been instituted including affirmative action and, in particular, quota systems. Quota systems are a form of affirmative action in favour of women. Indeed, available records show that most of the higher figures for female representation worldwide have been a result of a quota system of one kind or another.

As mentioned previously, both the Commonwealth Secretariat (1995) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (1997) made a commitment to attain at least 30 percent of female representation in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005. Indeed, although much remains to be done, remarkable achievements have

been recorded worldwide as reflected in Table 6 as result of instituting various forms of quota systems.

Surprisingly Rwanda is almost at the stage of attaining gender parity as far as Africa is concerned. Overall, data in Table 6 reveals that countries that have instituted more than one form of quota system have attained relatively higher percentage of female representation in key decision-making organs including political parties and Parliament. Likewise, other authors show that the use of quotas systems for women is widely common worldwide. About 30 of the world's more than 190 countries apply one or several forms of quota system to increase the number of women in various key decision-making organs. Indeed, according to the *Afro Newsletter* 2004, between 2000 and 2002 several elections were held in 23 sub-Saharan African countries that resulted in an increase in the number in women parliamentarians in these countries. As mentioned, most of these achievements were obtained through the use of different forms quota systems.

In Tanzania, as in most African countries, women are benefiting from the implementation of various forms of quota systems. In brief, "Quota systems aim at ensuring that women constitute at least a critical minority of 30 or 40 percent."

Table 6: Impact of Quotas for Women in Parliament in Selected African Countries

Country	Type of Quota	Result of Last Election	% Women in Parliament
Eritrea	Constitutional Quota for Electoral Candidates	33 of 150	5.0
Kenya	Constitutional Quota for National Parliament. Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	15 of 224	6.7
Mali	Political Quota for Electoral Candidates	15 of 147	10.2
Namibia	Constitutional or Legislative Quota, Sub National Level	18 of 72	25.0
Mozambique	Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	75 of 250	30.0
Rwanda	Constitutional Quota for National Parliament Election how Quota Regulation. National Parliament constitutional or Legislative Quota, Sub National Level	39 of 80	48.8
South Africa	Constitutional or Legislative Quota Sub-National Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	131 of 400	32.8
Tanzania	Constitutional Quota for National Parliament, Election has Quota regulation, National Parliament constitutional or Legislative Sub-National	61 of 274	22.3

Forms of Quota Systems

The main objective of instituting quota systems is to ensure that women are recruited into political positions within the Parliament or political parties. There are different types of quota systems that are being applied by different countries worldwide. The most common form of quota systems in Africa and Tanzania in particular include the following:

Constitutional Quotas for National Parliament

These are quotas provisions mandated in the national constitutions. For instance, according to Chaligha (2001) Article 66 (1) (6) and Article 78 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania reflects the issue of proportional representation. Article 66(1) provides for special seats for women based on not less than 15 percent of the total of all elected members plus five members from the House of Representative and the Union Attorney General.

Election Law Quota or Regulation for National Parliament

These are quotas that are provided for in the national legislation or regulations of the country. For instance in Tanzania, prior to the introduction of the multiparty era, the ruling party, the CCM introduced a quota system allowing 15 percent of the parliamentary seats to be reserved for women. In 1992, after the re-introduction of multiparty politics, the Election Law increased the number of seats reserved for women to 30%.

Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates

These include rules or targets that are set by political parties to include a certain percentage of women in various positions within political parties. In Tanzania, political parties nominate women who represent their parties in the National Assembly and currently the percentage of women representatives has been raised to 30 percent.

Constitutional or Legislative Quota for Sub-national Government

These are quotas provided in the Constitution or legislation that requires the country to set targets for women to constitute a certain percentage of candidates at local level. These include regional, district, village or ward levels. In Tanzania, the government has instituted 25 percent for local government seats reserved for women including councillors and representative to Village Councils and District Councils

Differences Made by the Quota System

“The participation of women in government makes a difference, leading to more gender sensitive policies and programmes and improvements in the legal, economic and social status of women, as matters which impact more heavily on women and children are likely to be addressed”¹¹

¹¹ Chipso Simweemba Lungu of Zambian National Womens Lobby Group (2003).

"I know one woman who was elected through the special seat system. She is my age. One day I met her in Dodoma and she told me she is a Member of Parliament. I did not know that she was aspiring to become a politician or she is able to become a politician. Perhaps she will perform well, but I am somehow worried. If you try to find out why she was elected, you will realize that it is because of her family background"¹²

The two quotations cited above suggest that although quota systems are good in terms of bridging the gender imbalances albeit in quantitative terms, there have been concerns on the qualitative aspects. The latter concern evident in the quotation above, are due to lack of uniform criteria in implementing the quota system. According to TEMCO (2001) it is only the CCM that has an elaborate and clear system of nominating women who are aspiring for various political leadership; in most of the other political parties women were handpicked. Indeed, this is not accidental. According to Mmuya et al (1994), most political parties except for CUF had clear policies for promoting women such as NCCR-M, Chadema and UMD. Overall, the use of the quota system has enabled more women to access political positions including the Parliament and other key positions in the government.

Female leaders have been active in parliamentary debates and discussions on various bills and budgets oppressive laws including the Sexual Offences Provisional Act (SOSPA) and the Land law.

Recommendations

In this section, an attempt has been made to provide recommendations for addressing the existing gender imbalances other than affirmative action and the institution of quota systems. In fact, there are several direct measures that could be implemented to deal with the qualitative aspects. These include reviewing the design of the electoral systems within political parties to make them more gender sensitive. For instance, one of the

requirements to qualify for the presidency is the payment of 1.000.00 shillings. This constitutes an almost insurmountable obstacle to most women due to their low economic status. Likewise, there is need to mainstream gender in the party process and procedures used for nominating candidates to both parliamentary and presidential positions.

Finally, there is need to undertake in-depth research on intra-party politics from a gender perspective. Research findings from this study should be able to provide guidance to political parties on the following issues:

- Designing of electoral system that captures the diverse needs and interests of the majority of the party members including men and women
- Improving voter registration system to ensure that an adequate numbers of women are registered and do vote.
- Promoting gender sensitive approaches that will address problems during political campaigns and voting processes
- Analysis of the results of party elections from a gender perspective
- Establish gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation tools for advocacy purposes.
- Establish membership with respect to gender and location
- Establish creative ways of marketing political parties that are gender friendly
- Mainstreaming gender in party politics.

¹² Young girl in Dar es Salaam, 2001

ABBREVIATIONS

CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi 01/7/92 Kuu Street Dodoma
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo 21/01/93 Ufipa Street Kinondoni
CHAUSTA	Chama cha Haki na Ustawi 15/11/03 Drive Inn
CUF	The Civic United Front 21/03/93 Mtendeni Street Zanzibar
DP	Democratic Party 7/6/2002 Mchichini Ilala DSM
FORD	The forum for Restoration of Democracy Rufiji Street Kariakoo
NCCR-MAGEUZI	National Convention for Construction and Reform 21/03/93
NLD	National League for Democracy 21/03/93 Sinza (DSM)
NRA	National Reconstruction Alliance 8/02/93 Bububu Street Tandika Kimahewa (DSM)
MAKINI	Demokrasia Makini 15/1101 Kibo Ubungo
UDP	United Democratic Party 24/03/94 Mbezi Juu (DSM)
UMD	Union for Multiparty Democracy Kagera Street DSM 21/01/93
UPDP	United People's Democratic Party 4th Feb 1993 HQ – Zanzibar
PPT	Maendeleo Progress Part of Tanzania 4th March 2003 Hq Kawawa DSM
TADEA	Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party 8 February 1993 Buguruni kwa Malapa
TLP	Tanzania labour Party 24/11/1993 HQ = Argentina Manzese (DSM)

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