

*The Substantive Representation of Women in the  
Tanzanian Parliament*

Thesis Presented to  
The School of Law and Government  
Dublin City University

In Fulfilment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Masters in Government by Research

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September 2011

## CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of **MA by research** is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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# *The Substantive Representation of Women in the Tanzanian Parliament*

## ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates if the use of a reserve seat system of parliamentary quotas that has produced a substantial descriptive increase in the number of women in the Tanzanian parliament has translated into substantive representation for women in terms of either process or outcome.

It utilized the Tanzanian parliamentary database as its primary source of empirical data. From this it draws biographical details on the members of the parliaments, their membership of committees and their contribution to parliamentary debates.

The study finds that the increase in the number of women has not produced a significant enhancement of substantive representation. Although women contribute as frequently as men to the parliament they are disadvantaged in terms of their occupation of positions of leadership as they have a lower level representation in the 'prestige' ministries and committees. Also debates on the issues of direct concern to women remain at a very low level both in term of the volume of contributions and the progressiveness of the content. However the overwhelming majority of contributions on women's issues are made by women. The small number of contributions made by men tends to be of a conservative nature seeking to limit women's freedom of choice and action. In addition to this in contradiction of some of the current literature, the thesis found no evidence that the reserve seat system was a pathway for women into constituency seats.

## ABBREVIATIONS

CCM	-	Chama cha Mapinduzi (Tanzania Revolutionary Party).
CHADEMA	-	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo ( Party for Democracy and Progress)
CUF	-	Civic United Front.
DUP	-	Dar es Salaam University Press.
EISA	-	Electoral Institute of Southern Africa.
ESAURP	-	Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme.
GDI	-	Gender Development Indexes.
GEM	-	Gender Empowerment Indexes.
HDI	-	Human Development Indices.
IDEA	-	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund.
MPs	-	Members of Parliaments.
NCCR- Mageuzi-	-	National Convention for Constitutional Reform.
NEC	-	National Electoral Commission.
NLD	-	National League for Democracy.
NRA	-	National Redemption Alliance.
PONA	-	Popular National Party.
REDET	-	University of Dar es Salaam, Research and Education for Democracy.
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community.
TADEA	-	Tanzania Democratic Alliance.
TANU	-	Tanganyika African Nationalist Party.
TEMCO	-	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee.
TGNP	-	Tanzania Gender Networking Program.
TLP	-	Tanzania Labor Party.
TPP	-	Tanzania Peoples Party.
UDP	-	United Democratic Party.
UDSM	-	University of Dar es Salaam.
UMD	-	Union for Multiparty Democracy.
UPDP	-	United Peoples Democratic Party.
UWT	-	Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania
ZEC	-	Zanzibar Election Committee.
ZNP	-	Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

▪ Introduction to the study .....	01-04
▪ Research Structure .....	04-05
<b>Chapter I: Linking Women’s Descriptive and Substantive Representation</b>	
▪ Critical Mass Theory .....	06-10
▪ Debate on Critical Mass Theory .....	10-12
▪ The Politics of Presence .....	12-15
▪ Gender Quotas .....	15-19
▪ From Descriptive to Substantive Representation? .....	19-22
<b>Chapter II: Research Methodology</b>	
▪ Methodology .....	23-26
▪ Research Design .....	26-29
▪ Data collection approach .....	29-31
<b>Chapter III: Women and Politics in Tanzania</b>	
▪ Women in Pre- Colonial Tanzania and the Effects of Colonialism on Women’s Status .....	32-34
▪ Women Political Participation during Independence Struggle .....	34-36
▪ Women Political Participation in the One Party System .....	36-40
▪ Women Political Participation in the Multi Party System .....	40-41
▪ Why Reserve Seats in Tanzania .....	41-43
▪ Internal and External Factors for Implementing Quotas .....	43-48
▪ Reserve Seats Candidate Selection Procedures .....	48-51
▪ Debate on the Impact of Reserve Seats in Tanzania .....	52-55
▪ Conclusion .....	55-57
<b>Chapter IV: The Impact of the reserve seat in the Parliament of Tanzania</b>	
▪ The Composition and Structure of the Parliament .....	58-60
▪ Tanzania Parliamentary Profile .....	60-63
▪ Women in Ministerial and Committee Leadership Positions .....	63-73
▪ Women’s participation in the Parliamentary Debates .....	73-76
▪ Parliamentary Questions with a Women Agenda .....	76-84
▪ Conclusion .....	84-86
<b>Thesis Conclusion .....</b>	<b>87-89</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>90-109</b>
<b>Appendix I .....</b>	<b>1-2</b>
<b>Appendix II .....</b>	<b>1-25</b>

## **Introduction to the study**

The approach of using gender quota measures to increase the number of women in decision making institutions raised doubts as to whether or not women really have an impact once they become officeholders under this system. It is an undeniable fact that the number of women in politics was relatively small for many years and that it showed no clear trend towards improvement. Although the use of quotas has a long history but it was not until in the 1990's that many countries began to employ quotas to achieve greater gender equality in parliament. But even with the use of quota systems to date the number of women in the parliament worldwide is only 19.3% while that in the Sub Saharan Africa is 19.7% (IPU 2011). This absence of women from politics has been identified as a major hindrance to the advancing of a gender equality or pro women agenda, that would result in "transforming unequal and unjust power relations" in decision making posts (Cornwall 2007:69). The explanations in the literature for women absence emphasize cultural, socioeconomic and structural barriers as the main contributing factors (Bauer and Britton 2006, Jones 2005, Lovenduski 2005 and Shvedova 2005). Quotas it is argued will bypass these problems and produce positive results. The gender equalization phenomenon in institutions therefore has become a subject of great debate and interests. There is an ongoing discussion on whether it is still necessary to focus on the number of women elected or appointed to office, or whether go "beyond numbers" and focus on what women do when they are elected (Wallen 2005:18). It is this discussion that this thesis addresses.

Although the number of women in parliaments worldwide is not satisfactory, Africa has experience what is termed a "continental shift" a major increase in the number of women in the parliaments (Bauer and Britton 2006:1). There are 25 countries including Tanzania who have reached the critical mass of 30%, a Beijing platform of action (1995) requirement (IPU 2011). Tanzania is now aiming at 50/50 gender balance in the 2015 general election. Prior research on Tanzania's descriptive increase of the number of women in parliament and the substantive effects of their presence has revealed mixed outcomes. Despite the rise in the number of women in the political arena there are various problems identified with women's engagement with the political system, which include a lack of accountability, putting party interest

first before women and reducing women competitive power (Brown 2001; Kiondo 1994 and Meena 2003b). On the positive side the research done by Yoon (2008) suggested that reserve seats in Tanzania have helped reserve seat MPs to win constituency seats.

Although this thesis concentrates on the representation of women at national level, the value of women political representation in parliament is undermined by the numbers of women in local politics. There is a major contrast between the number of women at national and district level. Although the representation of women in the parliament is over 30% in contrast the representation of women in the local government remains low, for instance in the 2005 election only 5 percent of elected district councilors were female (REPOA 2010).

Tanzania has undergone different stages in its development as a nation which affect women positions and their functioning as decision makers. The global social, economic and political changes which require countries to adjust to numerous reforms have combined to affect positively and negatively women lives in Tanzania. Prior to colonisation in, indigenous society the division of labour did not give enough room for women to exercise public leading roles. Not only that, but in post-independence Tanzania “the customary laws have given men more power and control over resources and decision making processes, hence making the system both patriarchal and undemocratic” (Losindilo et al 2010:1). In similar manner reforms like Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) package have made more women poorer and increased women’s workload in various ways. For example privatisation of social services like hospitals has increased the general medical expenses, although currently the Tanzanian government policy stipulates that all pregnant women should have free access to clinic services this only happens in very few locations (REPOA 2010). Also due to the absence of government social welfare policy patients caring workload has increased- especially for girls and women. For example HIV/AIDs care relies on “home base care” which is provided mostly by women and girls, this “adds to their workloads, and may undermine the opportunity for girls to complete their education” (REPOA 2010:40).

On the other hand the stress placed on equal right for men and women made the country from an early stage establish a women's wing within the national independence movement which went on to become the main political party. Also the transition to multiparty democracy has open more doors for women's engagement in politics. This plurality system has allowed the establishment of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) which assist in pushing forward women's concerns in Tanzanian society. However although a good effort has been made to boost the number of women in parliament this is not reflected in the development of the country in general. Tanzania is ranked 125 amongst 155 countries in the Gender Development Index (GDI) and 69 in the total of 109 countries in terms of Gender Empowerment measure (HDI 2009). However Tanzania has well-recognized role models for women within and outside the region, for instance the deputy Secretary General in the United Nations, the highest position held by an African woman in the history of the United Nations is a Tanzanian. Also in the regional organization, the African Union, of the eight commissioners for rural economy and agriculture one is a Tanzania woman (Mascarenhas 2007), while in 2009 Tanzania opened the first women bank in Africa which aims at promoting economic activities undertaken by women (Riungu 2009).

Tanzania general economic condition is very poor it is ranked at 151 out of 182 countries (HDI 2009) report. One third of Tanzania population lives below the basic needs poverty line which is well under \$ 1 a day (REPOA 2010). For instance more working women than men have been retrenched in public sector cuts and this has forced women to seek employment in the private sector, normally in the small business sector which is frequently a harsh working environment accompanied by low wages (Lugalla 1995 and REPOA 2010). There is a wide gap which has also developed in recent years under neo-liberal reforms amongst different groups of women, rural –urban, rich-poor, and the educated and non-educated.

In leadership positions women still hold few posts as compared to men, as pointed by Mascarenhas (2007) who cites a report of September 2004 there were 40% women active as public servants amongst which only 24% held senior government positions. Not only that but

“Generally, Tanzania women have less access to and control over assets and



resources (including land, capital, credit and formal employment), information and decision making than men” (REPOA, 2010:5).

So Tanzania is an interesting case as it has had a strong women’s movement in the independence movement, good representation of women at the national level combined with multiple disadvantages for women in society. Given that the underlying assumption of much of the literature on gender quotas is that gender quotas that result in the election of a significant number of women will lead to increased attention to woman’s issues in the legislative process, even if policy outcome do not immediately change, has the fact that more than 30% of the parliament was composed of women for the period reviewed by this this had an impact on political debate.

The thesis, therefore, asks to what extent are the theories which address the link between descriptive representation to substantive representation applicable in a concrete case. Is there evidence that the increase in the number of women in the Tanzanian Parliament has produced any change in gender relations in Tanzania? Does the descriptive representation of women in parliament translate into substantive representation in terms of either process or outcome? Has the increase of women in parliament helped to engender parliamentary debates? Has it meant that the composition of the government in terms of cabinet posts and committee membership has changed in line with the increase in the percentage of the parliament that is female? How to women MPs differ from male MPs and do women in reserve seat differ from women constituency MPs? This thesis attempts to answer these questions using a case study of the position of women in the parliament of Tanzania 2005 - 2010.

### **Research structure**

The research is divided into four chapters. The first chapter examines two approaches that have been used in linking women descriptive representation to substantive representation. Firstly, there is the critical mass theory which deals with redressing the gender imbalance in the decision making institutions. It emphasizes that in order for a change to occur there needs to be substantial percentage of women, 30% or more, in

Parliament, rather than the small token. Secondly is the politics of the presence which stresses the importance of women as political representatives in promoting a woman centred agenda due to their feminine nature and their shared life experiences without which women interest would otherwise be overlooked.

The second chapter explain the methodology and the methods that have been used to collect the data. The Tanzania parliamentary website is the main source of data used to analyse the biographical information of MPs. The application of feminist principles will be used when comparing women and men MPs from their biography differences to the differences in the activities that they have been involved in the parliament.

The third chapter gives an overview of the social position and decision making roles of women in Tanzania in order to understand the range of topics that might be raised in parliament as part of a pro-women agenda. It provides the historical background on women's participation in politics during the following periods; the pre and post colonial periods; the campaign for independence; the single party period; and multiparty political system. The chapter also explores the reasons for the adoption of the reserve seats gender quota system in Tanzania.

Chapter four presents the analysis of the empirical findings. It explains the gender difference between women and men MPs based on their biographic differences; parliamentary committees engagements; leadership positions; and the contribution they make in the parliament. In particular it examines the content of the priority questions to determine their gender content. The chapter also ties the threads of the thesis together and returns to a discussion of the case study in the light of the general findings.

## **CHAPTER I: LINKING WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION**

The use of quota systems of various types, including a reserve seat gender quota system, has greatly increased the number of women representatives in parliaments internationally. This increase in women's parliamentary representation, which took off in the 1990s, raises the question of the substantive impact of women in parliament once they become officeholders. The literature acknowledges that there are complications in translating an increase in descriptive representation into an increase in substantive representation, and it is argued that the process "by no means guaranteed" the outcome (Reingold 2006:17) and that the relationship between the number of women in parliament and the introduction of pro-women legislation is "complicated rather than a straight forward" (Child 2006:8). There are two main approaches used by researchers when examining the potential link between the increase in the number of women legislators and the impact of those women legislators. These are: critical mass theory and the politics of presence. Critical mass theory, emphasises the necessity of having an adequate number of women legislators, estimated at approximately 30%, rather than a few token women, as a necessary condition for the transformation of politics to occur (Cool 2006; Dahlerup 2006b; Norris and Lovenduski 1989). The politics of the presence theory is based on the idea that because women share life experience and interests, once they have been elected women legislators will have common ground and on this basis will be able to transform parliament, making it more women friendly as an institution, and will also have sufficient common interest to make parliament's policy output more women focused (Lovenduski and Norris 2004; Steans 2006; UN 2007).

Although there does appear to be evidence that the presence of a significant number of women in parliament changes the institutional culture, there is not much evidence that this results in such parliaments producing women-friendly policy (Wangnerud 2009). Researchers have also suggested that the path by which women get into parliament could have an effect on how they act as legislators, which makes gender quotas, and particularly the type of gender quota employed an issue also. This chapter will discuss what theories of critical mass and the politics of presence tell us about the expected impact of increasing the numbers of women in parliament. It will then look

at the literature on quotas, especially research on the reserved seats system, which is the type of quota system used in Tanzania. Finally, it will discuss how the literature has theorised the link between descriptive and substantive representation.

Originally an idea from nuclear physics, critical mass theory refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction resulting in an irreversible turning point and leading to the take off of a new situation or process (Dahlerup 1988). Thus, critical mass theory posits a connection between a number which is the input and the end product or action. The relevance of critical mass theory to redress the persistent low numbers of women in decision making institutions lies in the hope that having increased numbers of women legislators will ultimately transform parliament. The belief is that if enough women are elected to reach a “critical mass” within parliament, the result will be legislative transformation in favour of a woman’s agenda (Norris and Lovenduski 1989:115). Critical mass links women’s descriptive representation to policy change through the linchpin of a threshold number, which, once surpassed, has a transformative impact upon legislators and serves to produce change (Beckwith 2007). It has been pointed out that critical mass theory shares ideas with Kanter’s (1977) work on the effects of sex rating group behaviour in organizational settings. Kanter’s 1977 study suggested that women need to occupy at least one-third of the available space in order to affect the cultural behaviour of the organization. The theory proposes that women need to be at between 15% and 30% representation within parliament to be able to reflect to a much greater extent woman’s concerns (Childs 2006; Tinker 2004). As Cool (2006) states, parliaments are expected to change as more women are elected.

The advocates of gender quotas use the critical mass standard as a reference point in lobbying for an increase in the number of women in decision-making structures. Activists seeking to implement this agenda argue for it by citing international recommendations such as those presented in the United Nation Platform for Action agreed in Beijing in 1995, and the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In these international policies, the words ‘critical mass’ or ‘quota’ are not directly used, but rather their meaning is indirectly implied. For instance, the Beijing Platform for Action talks about

setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions (Beijing 1995, section 192).

There is a connection between the theories and the arguments which have been used to justify the increase in women's representation in the decision making institutions. Critical mass theory has been applied to address women's absence in politics. In 1945, only 3% of Members of Parliament (MPs) globally were women. The increase in the number of women MPs has been very slow; it took 65 years to reach 19% worldwide in 2010 (IPU 2010). There is a consensus that there is a tendency to exclude women and, either intentionally or unintentionally, to place barriers in the way of their participation, which have prevented their entry into political institutions. As Phillips (2004:8) argues "...something is blocking the way...whether the obstacle is a male conspiracy to exclude women or the sexual division of labour: whatever it is, there is some illegitimate process of exclusion".

The significant underrepresentation of women in politics suggests cultural, economic, institutional and/or social factors that combine to unfairly limit women's access to equal representation in public office (Jones 2005; Lovenduski 2005). These factors vary with the level of socio-economic development, geography, and the type of political systems used in a particular country (Shvedova 2005). The root cause of women's exclusion begins with the socialization process, as this is where the set of rules that impact on women's political engagement are determined. In many cultures in the world women, from childhood, are socialized not to be involved in decision making positions or in public life. This process has an impact on women when they grow up and can be an obstacle to their performance as adults. As Connell argues, the

"new born child has a biological sex but not a social gender. As it grows old society provides a string of prescriptions, templates, or models of behaviour appropriate to one sex or the other. Certain agencies of socialization - notably family, the media, the peer group and the school - make these expectations and models concrete" (Connell 1987:190).

As a result of the socialization process, it is argued that “political life is organized to male norms and values, and in some cases, even male lifestyles” (Shvedova 2005:33). This means that activities related to decision making work to men’s advantage while causing short- and long-term problems for women. It becomes difficult for women to enter and effectively function in men’s environment. Women face many challenges in life generally that are structural and personal, and these challenges exist also at the level of political parties. For example, women may not be taken seriously by their male colleagues, their level of training and information is perceived to be poor, and this is compounded in some societies by an uneven gender balance within families, which continues to deter women from taking any independent stand on issues (Rai 2005).

In the long run, the socialization process leads to gender stereotypes and perceptions that not only discourage women from contesting elections for political office but also deter men from supporting women as legislators. It is still a norm in many societies that politics is regarded as the “the guys thing” and sometimes as a “dirty thing”, and even now women’s place is considered to be in the private sphere of the home, working as mothers. This also has the result that even women who do manage to get elected to parliament are lacking the back-up support to allow them to execute their functions effectively. For example, Britton’s (2002) study on the South African parliament found that women from all parties stated that men in parliament were outwardly supportive of women’s role and goals in politics, but that the majority of men were not genuine in their approval or proactive in their support.

In order to counter women’s comparative absence from parliament and the hindrances they face in entering parliament, activists have used the idea of a 30 % ‘critical mass’ to lobby for an increase in the number of women parliamentarians. Crucially, the justification used to lobby is the equality principle: activists have demanded an increase in women’s presence in parliaments as an entitlement based on equal citizenship and equal rights (Squires 2007). In recent years, arguing for the equality principle has intensified as part of the third wave of democracy which has seen major political changes in Africa. The third wave of democracy, dating from the early 1990s following the fall of communism and the ending of the Cold War, saw many African states introduce multi-party democracy. It has been claimed that this process of transition opened the door for women’s entrance into politics, as the model of

democracy that was implemented in this “third wave” put pressure on states to introduce rights-based measures to ensure the participation of women, along with men, in political life (Tripp 2009).

The idea of critical mass is still used to call for an increase in the number of women in decision making structures, and it is also credited with producing changes. For instance, it is claimed that as a result of the South African parliament gaining a critical mass of women, more women’s lavatories have been built; the temperature in the chamber was increased to accommodate thinner dresses worn by women (compared to the warmer suits typically worn by the men); the parliamentary calendar has been changed to reflect school calendars; a crèche has been set up to care for the children of MPs; and the meeting hours have also been changed so that mothers can be at home with their children (Britton 2002). To date, there is less evidence that a critical mass of women has been responsible for more far reaching policy change.

### **Debates on Critical Mass Theory**

The literature had raised the question of the adequacy of critical mass theory to account for a potential linkage between descriptive and substantive representation. Critical mass theory, as borrowed from physics, anticipated a direct output whenever there is an injection of an input. But in the world of human affairs, the outcome is not as automatic or straight forward as critical mass theory would suggest. Reingold (2006:17) argues that “...the link between women’s descriptive and substantive representation is by no means guaranteed”, and Child and Krook (2006:528) state “expecting an automatic change once women attain certain proportion of seats is theoretically dubious”. Childs (2006) is also of the opinion that the theory is conceptually weak, as it assumes the percentage of women within an institution alone is the key to understanding women’s behaviour and the effects that their presence might have. Also, by setting a fixed number on representation by women, critical mass theory is accused of creating a glass ceiling, making it difficult for representation by women to rise above the stated quotas (Tamale 2004). However, Goetz and Hassim (2003) are of the view that descriptive representation, such as advocated in critical mass theory, is the first necessary step to the transformation that is required if substantive representation is to be achieved.

Childs and Krook (2008) have revisited and analysed the shortcomings and ambiguities within the theory formulation of the two pioneer authors on critical mass theory, Dahlerup (1988) and Kanter (1977). They argue that a lot of critics have misread the earlier research, and that subsequent gender and politics research fundamentally misinterprets their contributions. More specifically, it frames ‘critical mass theory’ as if both authors had made only one claim about the impact of rising female representation, namely that increased numbers would enable women to form supportive coalitions among one another to promote feminist-oriented policy change (Childs and Krook 2008).

In general, the literature agrees that it is important to look beyond numbers alone and to incorporate other factors as well; as argued by Cool (2006), the task of ensuring that there are both women and men to influence decisions and resource allocations requires going beyond simply increasing the number of women parliamentarians to providing real opportunities for influencing the agendas, institutions and processes of decision making. In a similar manner, Norris (1996) commented that gender is just one factor affecting the behaviour of women parliamentarians, alongside other factors such as party, interest group affiliations, ideology, cohort of entry, status, and religion. It has been argued that it is necessary to examine these other factors, including institutional structures, and their impacts, as they could affect the capacity of women politicians to produce pro-women policies and to respond to women’s interests (Beckwith 2007; Zetterberg 2008)

The literature has expanded the meaning of descriptive representation to include a variety of characteristics of women MPs, not only their numbers. In an effort to move the scholarly research on gender quotas “beyond numbers”—that is, beyond quotas’ effect on the number of women’s descriptive representation to include not just how many women are elected but also the attributes of women who are elected (Francaschet and Piscopo, 2009:2). Such attributes include demographic data comprised of age; marital status; number of children; education and professional backgrounds of MPs; and the extent and the type of political experience had before being elected to office (ibid). There are other researchers who have argued against this approach, claiming that the patterns of the functional divisions between men and



women in parliaments cannot be satisfactorily explained by factors such as the number of years politicians have spent in parliament, their party affiliations or their age (Wangnerud 2009). Nevertheless, this thesis suggests incorporating these factors, as they help to provide a broader picture of the type of women elected compared to the type of men, and this might shed light on how effective these women might be as parliamentarians. For example, if women as a group in parliament have less political or relevant professional experience than men, this may provide a partial explanation for the comparative status of men and women in the parliament in terms of the allocation of government portfolios or chairs of parliamentary committees.

Other researchers, such as Dahlerup (2006b), who used the term “critical mass” in studies of women in decision making, later also emphasized the idea of “critical acts”, suggesting that it is not only the numbers of women but the actions taken by women representatives that matter. By critical acts she means initiatives that change the position of women as a minority in parliament and that lead to further changes. The capacity of women as a group in parliament to initiate critical acts, she believes, depends on their willingness and their ability to mobilize institutional resources. As part of the discussion on the actions of women in parliaments rather than their numbers, Childs (2006) discusses the failure of critical mass theory to provide an explanation as to why women might seek to act for women in the first place. A focus on what women do when in parliament, and why and when they might provide a ‘voice’ for women, has now emerged within research on ‘the politics of presence’.

### **The Politics of Presence**

The literature on the politics of presence argues that the most important reason for promoting women’s inclusion as members of parliament is that women are needed to speak for other women in those policy areas where they have a different experience and different interests from men as a group. It is claimed that shared experiences and their feminine nature mean that women as a group act differently from men as a group. The core argument of this perspective lies in the common understanding that women share various life experiences because of the kind of social roles they tend to fill, which generally have an emphasis on domestic and child-bearing responsibilities. There is also a perception that there is an inborn feminine nature which differentiates

women from men, thereby impacting on the way they organise and conduct business. In summary it is assumed

...that due to their particular life experiences in the home, work place and public sphere, women politicians prioritize and express different types of value, attitude, and policy priorities, such as greater concerns for child care, health or education, or a less conflictual and more collaborative political life (Lovenduski and Norris 2004:3).

The politics of presence emphasizes these qualities, and the nature of women politicians, which is claimed to be different from that of men. Although not always the case, women are generally considered to be “good planners, trustful, patient, caring, cooperative and care for the welfare of others”, in comparison with men, who are general categorised as tough and hard people (Maro 2010:1). These characteristics, it has been argued, influence women’s performance. For example, in times of war the justification for excluding women from combat roles has been couched in terms of women’s maternal instincts, with the implication being that women are instinctively unable to kill (Steans 2006). Furthermore, it is suggested that women would bring something positive to politics - such as a greater love of peace, and an awareness of the importance of caring activities - in addition to which women are perceived to be more opposed to corruption (Bacchi 2006; Baldez 2006; Carlos 2001). From this perspective men are not in a position to represent the interests of women and also do not have the qualities to influence politics in the same way that women would do. So, the politics of the presence moves beyond number and supplements the idea of critical mass by defining certain values possessed by women which define a need for women to be present in politics. This type of thinking has a wide influence; for example, the United Nation recognizes the importance of women’s presence in politics, describing the consequences of women’s absence in decision making institutions as a loss:

...nations that exclude women from decision making or are content with the low levels of participation by women are not only unwisely and unnecessarily depriving themselves of a rich reservoir of talent, experience and wisdom,

they are also missing out on the qualitatively different approach that women bring to the decision making process (UN 2007:7).

Mansbridge (2005) stresses the importance of group representation in political institutions, especially when the members of the group are affected by similar concerns. For example, Burden (quoted in Mansbridge 2005:625) demonstrates the importance of personal experiences of the members of the US House of Representatives, revealing that members who smoke are more likely than non-smokers to vote against, and speak against, tobacco control measures. Similarly, Reingold (2006:6) stressed that “across time, space, and political parties women more often than men take a lead on women’s issues no matter how broadly or narrowly such issues are defined”. Therefore, it can be argued that the presence of women in politics will have a wide range of effects, such as bringing women’s issues to the agenda, sponsoring bills on women’s issues and defending women’s-issue legislation during debates. In a study of women elected representatives in the USA, it emerged that throughout the policy-making process, female office holders are more likely than their male colleagues to act for women or in women’s interests (Reingold 2006). In a study conducted by Schwindt-Bayer (2006:575) on legislators in Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica in 2001-2002, it was found that female legislators place a higher priority than their male colleagues on issues of women’s equality and children/family affairs. It is not that men find women’s and children/family issues to be unimportant, but they do not place as high priority on them as women would do.

However, there is a debate relating to the issue of essentialism in the politics of presence theory. The theory is argued to be unrealistic: women collectively cannot represent women because women are not an homogenous group and have widely different individual political perspectives. Therefore, women cannot claim exclusively to represent women; men can also represent women with similar political interests. Activists such as Thenjiwe (1996) criticised the arguments made by the politics of presence on the grounds that women are not a monolithic group and that they do not necessarily share a common perspective. Thenjiwe argues that if careful consideration is not given to the issue, gender quotas will blindly advance women into political office without challenging the patriarchal foundations of political structures and thus

will not necessarily create change as its advocates hope it will (Mosha and Johnson 2004).

Wangnerud (2009) claims that ideology is what matters in politics and that social characteristics, such as class or ethnicity, are more decisive than gender. She goes on to state that parliamentary institutions influence politicians more than politicians are able to influence the institutions, meaning that women entering parliament become just like male politicians who preceded them.

From this discussion it is clear that there is no consensus in the literature on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation, or even if it is reasonable to expect that a significant increase in the percentage of women in parliament will bring change that will enhance gender equality. This has not prevented the international spread of gender quotas as a means of increasing the number of women in parliament.

### **Gender Quotas**

Translating descriptive representation into substantive representation is affected not only by the approach employed but also by the type of gender quotas used and also the involved actors. It has been argued that the type of quotas employed and the actors involved can predict the impact that increasing the number of women in parliament will make in specific contexts (Krook 2008). There are two main types of gender-quota policy measures that various countries have utilized for selecting women candidates for parliament. These include 'reserve seats', which set aside a certain percentage of seats for women among elected representatives, with the percentage being specified by constitutional reform or by legislation. This type of quota is used in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Krook 2008:348). Another method is party candidate quotas, which can be either voluntary or legal: individual political parties either introduce rules relating to the percentage of women they nominate to stand as electoral candidates, or the percentage of women candidates is enforced by electoral laws (Krook 2008).

Reserve seats can be established either through constitutional amendments or presidential decrees, and there are a variety of types. For instance, in Uganda it is required that there is one female representative from every district of the country (Schmich 2006). In Tanzania, 30% of the seats in parliament are reserved for women and allocated to the political parties in proportion to the number of parliamentary seats each party has won in that particular general election. Another category of reserve seat is the use of a women-only list, through which women can contest elections on a nationwide basis, regardless of party affiliations or constituencies. This is the type of quota system used in Rwanda. In other countries, such as Kenya, reserve seats are been filled by president's appointment. (Dahlerup 2005; Krook 2008; Tripp 2003).

The literature has identified a number of reasons that vary across national contexts why a state might implement gender quotas for parliament using reserve seat systems. Krook (2008:348) identified the following: gaining national or international legitimacy for a new or existing regime, (see Goetz 1998; Howard-Merriam 1990; Meena 2003b), building alliances with potential coalition partners (see Chowdhury 2002) and strengthening of the ruling party's base in parliament (see Shaheed et al 1998).

It has taken a long time for countries that started to implement gender quotas to reach 30 percent Beijing Platform standard. For instance in the Nordic countries, the increase in women's representation was very slow and was accompanied by structural change in the economy and society that impacted on women's lives. Over all, it took the Nordic countries 60 years to reach 20% female representation in their parliaments, and 70 years to reach 30% representation (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, quota provisions were first introduced in the 1980s, by means of party quotas, when women had already achieved more than 20% representation in the parliaments of those countries (ibid).

In contrast to this, the current "fast track" gender quotas seem to have no direct relationship with change in the social or economic status of women in the societies that implement them. For instance, in just one election, in 2003, Rwanda became the country with the highest number of women in its parliament. Though both the

incremental path and the 'fast track' method do increase the number of women political representatives, there are concerns about one of the side-effects of the fast-track approach. These concerns centre on the possibility that this approach might produce women parliamentarians who are assumed to be less effective than women who gain political office through the incremental track. This is because it is feared that they will lack a strong foundation in politics or a support base that will allow them to perform the work of a political representative effectively (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005).

The two approaches have been associated with creating a different relationship between women politicians, political elites and grass-roots voters; the 'fast track' quota system is described as delivering to women "power from above", and the incremental track increase in women's representation is seen as being a case of receiving "power from below" (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). The incremental track usually means that elected women have some power base outside the parliament. This power base can be built on different factors: either educational or job resources, or through the women's positions in political parties, trade unions or other organizations. On the other hand, the 'fast track' does not have these advantages, partly because of the quick speed of the changes facilitating women's entry to political life. Therefore, it is been argued that this approach can create problems. As, through quotas, women are given political position "from above", there is a danger that these women will be turned into tokens, leaving them relatively powerless, unless the quota initiatives are followed by capacity building and the provision of support for the many newcomers by women's organizations (ibid).

It is also argued that the impact that quotas will have on the status of women depends on the type of state that is implementing quotas. Krook (2009) argued that countries with a greater degree of power or a high rank in the international system are more likely to be able to resist quotas reforms, while countries with less power or of a lower rank will be more vulnerable to international and transnational pressures to approve quotas (ibid). Tripp (2009) has argued that this can mean that quotas, although similar to forms of gender reform introduced through external pressure, may be a form of window dressing that does not produce effective substantive representation. The literature has strongly identified the danger that the introduction of quotas may not

have the desired positive effect, as actors such as political parties, leaders and elites may not be genuinely supporting gender quota systems (Carlos 2001; Dahlerup 2006a; Geiger 1982; Longman 2006; Krennerich 2009; Rai 1999; Tsikata 2003; Waylen 2008). These arguments have drawn on various circumstances observed when quota systems have been implemented. For instance, Dahlerup (2006:4) is of the view that if the inclusion woman in politics is state - driven, then the effects of that inclusion become more symbolic. This same point is made by Wylen, who argues that

a favourable national political context is crucial. Governments and political parties that are sympathetic to gender equality are important, otherwise tokenism is a danger... a charge that has been levelled even at relatively sympathetic governments such as South Africa (Waylen 2008:531).

In a similar manner, if governments are authoritarian in nature it makes the capacity of women parliamentarians to make a substantive impact questionable. For example, the authoritarian nature of Rwanda's government raises serious questions about the meaning of women's participation in such a non-democratic political system, even though as noted above, Rwanda has the highest number of women in parliament in the world, and women have assumed important executive, legislative and judicial positions (Longman 2006). Similarly, when Uganda's quota policy was first implemented, it was men who became the first self-appointed identifiers of appropriate women to fill the newly created seats. This new political space created a top-down affirmative action policy which was introduced by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) political party. This approach proved to be nothing more than sites of accommodation and subject to the control of the state, without advancing women's strategic rights at all (Tamale 2004).

Operating in parallel with this is the strategic advantage that elites accrue for supporting quotas, and the role of the political parties that encourage them to engage in what is often an empty gesture - that is, expressing commitment to women's rights without necessarily altering patterns of representation (Rai 1999). Krook (2008) explains that because quotas are allocated within the discourse of democratic legitimacy and economic development, they have been hijacked especially by political elites in parties that have lost popularity and so use quotas to win women

voters and enhance their electoral fortunes. For instance, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in Germany adopted a women's quota because of fears of losing support from younger women; therefore quotas were used as a strategy to appeal to such voters (Schmich 2006). This example supports Yoon's (2001:21) claim that "political parties compete to appeal to female voters by placing women's issues on the political and electoral agenda and fielding female candidates" (Yoon 2001:173). As argued by Dahlerup (2006b), the main reason for political parties to increase the number of women selected is not transforming the political agenda, but merely to get more women's votes.

Women representatives elected via quota systems have been accused of lacking the quality needed for leadership. This is related to the accusation of such women being "tokens of their clans, families and parties, as if men never are" (Dahlerup 2006a:13). This argument is in line with the great fear among some feminist scholars and activists that the increase in the numbers of women in parliaments through the use of quota systems will generally have little substantive impact on their capacity to advocate a woman's agenda. They pointed out that there is the possibility that electing more women will result in selecting "only those who will enforce rather than challenge the status quo" (Krook 2008:358).

This analysis is based on the fact that since the selection of women candidates is in the hands of political parties, it is therefore controlled and manipulated. Thus, political parties select women who are not going to be a threat but will be loyal to the party leadership (Cowley and Childs 2003) and mostly non-feminists (Aboud-Zeid 2006; Navivadekar 2006). For example, in Rwanda after the genocide the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) leadership emphasized women's role in the reconciliation and reconstruction processes and encouraged women to enter public office. This won the RPF considerable support among the female population. The government now counts on them as a local cadre of supporters who will not challenge RPF authority (Tripp et al 2006). This ultimately affects women as political actors in addressing women's interests in parliament.

In general, the literature raises serious questions regarding the capacity of quotas to have a favourable impact on women's status, or on the implementation of pro-women



policies. It also seriously questions, in an African context at least, whether there is a positive and simple relationship between increasing the number of women in parliament and greater attention on the part of that parliament to issues of concern to women.

### **Conclusion: From Descriptive to Substantive Representation?**

This thesis will examine whether the increase in the number of women in the parliament of Tanzania has translated into substantive representation for women in terms of either process or outcome. The study will apply a combined approach, investigating descriptive and substantive representation at the same time, since prior researchers have pointed out the challenges that exist in studying the relationship between the descriptive increase in the number of women in parliament and the substantive impact of those women legislators. Researchers agree, as outlined in the critical mass approach described above, that increasing the number of women in politics does not guarantee an automatic outcome (Beckwith 2007; Childs and Krook 2006). In an effort at understanding the effects upon women of their numerical rise within parliament, researchers insisted on looking at factors other than the number of women. Among the attributes of women as parliamentarians that have been analysed are political party, group affiliation, ideology, and religion (Cool 2006; Franceschet and Piscopo 2009; Norris 1996; Zetterberg 2009).

Early studies (Brown 2001; Kiondo 1994; Meena 1997 and 2003b) done on the impact of women's reserve seats in the parliament of Tanzania has emphasised a more negative than positive side to this particular quota system. Reserve seats for women are criticised for eroding women's skills to compete in elections, since they are easier to secure than the constituency seats.

They discourage capable women from competing in the constituencies, and also led to backlash with male competitors who did not see the logic of the special seats, especially when they were benefiting very capable women who could have competed with men on an equal basis (Meena 1997:277).

Furthermore, there is the fact that the ability of women selected through the reserve seat quota system in Tanzania is questioned by the public, who fear that women who enter parliament through this system might lack the necessary qualities and skills required to execute their jobs. As argued by Ward (2006:87) in a case study of women selected through the reserve seats in Tanzania, women were “hand-picked by parties and may be there as a result of favouritism rather than ability.” This may affect women capability to challenge the patriarchal gender relations that exist in the parliament.

The research done by Meena on Tanzania (2003b) indicated that women holding reserve seats identified themselves as “national MPs”, meaning that they feel they are representing the nation rather than representing only women, although they had been selected expressly to represent women. When she asked women in reserve seats why they thought it was necessary for them to enter parliament on the women’s ticket, she was told: “women are practical; they deal with small details, which matter!,” seeing themselves as bringing a different approach to that of men (Meena 2003b:2).

While reserve seats have increased the number of women in decision making and leadership positions in various institutions, they have not significantly increased the amount of legislation reflecting a pro- woman’s interest. In Tanzania there are has been little legislation that directly addresses women interests; for example, the long-promised reform of the Marriage Act has not happened by 2010. As argued by Brown (2001:94):

Affirmative action has resulted in an increase in women’s representation at all government levels. Some women are given the opportunity to take on high profile positions, but it appears their presence has not resulted in too much new legislation supporting women.

Nevertheless, the use of quotas may improve the status of women in politics in other ways. Research conducted by Yoon (2008:61) claims that “... special seats can serve as stepping-stones to constituency seats”. But the movement from special seat to constituency seat accounts for only a few women, while the majority, including many capable women, opt for reserve seats. Yoon (2008:72) acknowledges this when she

says “according to my observation, many special-seat MPs have re-entered subsequent parliaments as special-seats MPs.” So, although there is some movement from reserve to constituency seats it is very minimal when compared to the number of women who have been elected through the reserve seats since 1975.

The objective of this research is to move forward the debate on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation for women by examining in more detail in the case of Tanzania parliament if women and men differ in terms of MPs characteristics and in promoting women interests. The thesis will employ components from Krook and Franceschet’s (2009) conceptual framework in linking descriptive and substantive representation. Using Tanzania as the case study the research will test if a descriptive increase in the number of women corresponds with an substantive increase in a focus on issues of interest to women as more women become office holders. The assumption guiding this research, based on Krook and Franceschet’s (2009), is that gender quotas that result in the election of significant number women will lead to increased attention to women’s interest in the legislative process, even if actual policy outcomes do not change.

## **CHAPTER II: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter describes and explains the appropriate methodology deployed to investigate whether the descriptive representation of women in parliament under a reserve seat quota system translates into substantive representation. The research uses Tanzania, which adopted gender quota system from women in the 1970s, “In recognition of low numbers of women being elected to political offices, the government and the ruling party designated at least 10 seats to be reserved for women in the 1970s, which was increased to 15 seats in 1985”, and to 30% of the seats in parliament since 2005 as a case study (Mosha and Johnson 2004:20) The chapter then outlines the research methodology, design and the data collection approach used to gather and analyse the information for this thesis.

### **Methodology**

The research methodology will focus on studying the gender relations between women and men in the Tanzanian parliament. The study has a feminist objective of investigating if women promote women’s interests while in office when compared to men. Brayton (1997) defined feminism as challenging gender inequalities in the social world or as a movement, and a set of beliefs, that problematizes gender inequalities (see also DeVault (1961). In the same vein, (Maguire 1987:79) identified feminism as consisting of three categories. Firstly, as a belief that women universally face some form of oppression or exploitation. Secondly, as a commitment to uncover and understand what causes and sustains oppression in all its forms, finally as a commitment to work individually or collectively in everyday life to end all forms of oppression.

In the literature there a variety of feminist types. For instance, Mohanty (1991) identified three categories: socialist, radical and liberal feminists. The categorization goes even further when distinguishing between Third World and other feminists (see Mohanty et al 1991). All these classifications are a result of the multidimensionality of feminist politics. As argued by Ferree and Martin (1995), feminism is a multifaceted mobilization that occurs at different times, in different areas of the country and in different socioeconomic and political contexts. But despite the

variations, feminists are “...united through various efforts to include women’s lives and concerns in accounts of society, to minimize the harm of the research, and to support changes that will improve women’s status” (DeVault 1996:29). Mansdrige (1995:27) argued that the purpose of their unity was to provide a “sense of accountability to a movement”.

Since it is generally agreed that there is no distinctive feminist methodology, the research will not rely on any feminist type in particular. Rather, it will adopt feminist approaches and concentrate on studying the gender inequalities that exist in the Tanzanian parliament. A feminist approach will be applied because of the interest of the researcher in investigating the gender differences that exist when parliamentarians are executing their jobs. The study is keen to understand how women are involved in various parliamentary activities. The purpose is to see how women are able or not able to push forward a women’s agenda.

It is also necessary to map the power differentials between women and men to understand how gender affects politics (Lovenduski 2001). One way this thesis captures this is by comparing the personal characteristics of female and male parliamentarians. On the other hand, feminism will be taken not only as a belief, as Maguire (1987) and DeVault (1996) pointed out, but as a reality that faces women in decision making across nations. The realities facing Tanzanian women in parliament will be captured by examining the activities in which the women are involved, by using data from the Tanzania parliamentary website supplemented with other sources from the literature.

The methodologies used to collect data will specify how social investigation should be approached...[by linking] a particular ontology “a realistic social theorizing” (Lawson 2003:119). For example, a belief that gender is social rather than natural construction) and a particular epistemology (a set of procedures for establishing what counts as knowledge in providing rules that specify how to produce valid knowledge of social reality (for example, the real nature of particular gender relations) DeVault 1996. Methodology generally comprises rules that specify how social investigation should be approached; it encompasses aspects of inquiry; it entails agenda, epistemology and ethics, as well as methods; it is a theory and analysis of how

research does and should proceed (Ramazanoglu 2002; Thompson 1992; Harding 1987). Thus, the feminist methodology has to be in line with the feminist theory. As argued by Lugones and Spelman (1990), whatever form they might take, feminist theories have to be based on the variety of real life stories that women provide about themselves.

In carrying out this study, two theories with feminist objectives are used. The first is critical mass theory, which aims at increasing the number of women parliamentarians in order, if possible, to ensure equality within the decision making institutions. Critical mass theory will be employed because, although it has been criticized and misinterpreted by some academics, it is highly advocated globally by gender activists. The initial descriptive demand for critical mass in relation to women's political representation was to have 30% of women in any decision making institution, but activists are now campaigning for a 50% gender balance (Lwiga 2006 and Kamwaga 2008).

Another reason why women need to be present within politics is that they pose different characteristics than men, and if they are not represented their point of views will be left out. Although this is not always the case a number of researches have shown women representing women than their male counterpart (Reingold 2006 and Schwindt-Bayer 2006). As this is not the end of itself, the theory of the politics of presence is also utilized in the present research as women's presence within political life is a necessary step for the transformation of parliament in terms of its structure and the advocacy of policies with a woman's agenda. The two approaches are used because of the need for enlarging the choices for all people, not just one part of society; as the Human Development report of 1995 states, if "... human development if not engendered, is endangered."(HD 1995:1).

Therefore, this thesis uses the critical mass and the politics of presence approaches in explaining the development pattern of the increase in the number of women in the parliament of Tanzania in various ways. It traces the historical background of the increase of women in decision making in Tanzanian political life from colonialism to multiparty democracy. It also highlights the influencing factors that led to women's involvement in politics and to the adoption of the reserve seat system. The politics of

the presence is employed in analysing the substantive impact women bring when they become office holders. This impact by women parliamentarians is observed through analysis of their involvement in parliamentary committees and debates. Critical mass theory and the politics of presence have been utilized simultaneously in undertaking this research; however, critical mass theory appears first in this thesis because of the priority given to it by previous researchers because of the acute shortage of women in politics. But when the number of women started to increase, more attention began to be paid to the effect of women within the political system once they are office holders. Therefore, both theories complement each other and it was thought appropriate to use them together in the present research.

### **Research Design**

When it comes to selecting research methods, feminists do not agree on whether some techniques are more feminist than others. As pointed out by Maguire (1987), there is no single set of agreed upon guidelines or methods for feminist research, nor have feminists agreed upon one definition of feminist research. Nevertheless, despite feminists not using or prescribing any single research method, DeVault (1996) argues that feminists are united through various efforts to include women's lives and concerns in accounts of society, in order to minimize the harm of research, and to support changes that will improve women's human status. However, Thompson (1992:3) classified three groups of feminist researchers. The first group comprises some feminists who argue that the prevailing quantitative methods have been used against women and who therefore advocate for more qualitative, interpretive approaches (Mies 1983; Reinharz 1983; Smith 1987; Stanley & Wise 1983).

The view that quantitative research methods are biased against women was also highlighted by Smith (1974:7), who argued that "sociology ... has been based on and built up within the male social universe". Westermarland (2001:2) has also criticised the quantitative, positivistic methods for ignoring and excluding women. Such methods have also been accused of just "adding" women to male knowledge, in that the findings from research on men are generalised to women (Stanley & Wise 1993), or "malestream methods" are used to research the experiences of women (Bernard (1975 and Mies 1983).

The second group of researchers is made up of feminists who believe that any method can be feminist (Jayaratne 1983; Kelly 1978; Peplau & Conrad 1989; Yllo 1988). The last group probably represents most feminists, who loath to offer a creed of feminist methods, or a "correct" set of research procedures, and they fear that such a stance would close the debate too soon, resulting in misguided orthodoxy, and might exclude some of the best feminist research (Cook & Fonow 1986; Harding 1987). DeVault (1996:33) summarizes by pointing out that "What makes a qualitative or quantitative approach feminist lies in the commitment to finding women and their concerns."

Despite the lack of consensus on a feminist method of research to follow, researchers have recommended a variety of approaches to be taken into consideration. Poole (1997:122) argues that "...there is no distinctive feminist method, but rather there are feminist applications of the method...". Gorelick (1991:473) suggested that each piece of research must include an analysis of the specific social location of women involved in the study with respect to various forms of oppression. Researchers such as Dally (2000: 67) argues that "whatever research technique is used, it should be applied in an interactional rather than linear way (and should) yield information on the research process". For feminist research, some actors have recommended a visual technique, linguistic analysis, contextual analysis, collaborative strategies, triangulation of methods, and refined quantitative methods (Daly 2000; Sarantakos 1988). Other researchers are of the opinion that the research question in any thesis will determine the appropriate method(s) to be utilized. As Poole (1997: 122) argues, "a research question rather than the method should drive the research."

In the present research, in which gender is interpreted and viewed as being socially constructed rather than a natural occurrence, both quantitative and qualitative methods are utilized. The quantitative approach will be strongly relied upon, since it best captures the descriptive information contained in the parliament database. It also facilitates a fair and straight forward comparison between women and men in the parliament. The qualitative technique will be used in analysing the data, in line with Sarantakos's (1988) assertion that qualitative methods are used when there is a need to study reality from inside, to understand it from the point of view of the subject and to capture reality as it is. The qualitative method will be used in processing the



implications of the data or information obtained, particularly in analysing the content of the questions asked in the parliamentary debates

The qualitative and quantitative methods, rather than being seen as separate, in fact complement each other: various tables (quantitative) created based on the information from the parliamentary database will be interpreted in the analysis chapter to bring meaning (qualitative) for women in the parliament. Adopting this approach suggests that the quantitative method, which has been claimed to be non-feminist, is actually not. Rather, the effect of the method used depends on a variety of issues, such as the nature of the research question asked. As argued by Thompson (1992:1), “different feminist issues need different methods and...as long as they are applied from a feminist perspective there is no need for the dichotomous quantitative against qualitative debates.” Harding (1987) suggests to participants in the qualitative-quantitative debate that what is distinctive about feminist inquiry is not the methods (techniques used to gather and analyze data), but how we know what we know (epistemology) and how we apply theory to our agenda.

As noted above, this research study uses Tanzania as a case study. Eisenhardt (1989) defined a case study as the research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within a single setting. Case studies can be either single or multiple and they can also be undertaken at various levels of analysis (Yin 1984). There are various arguments about the pros and cons of case studies. The major problem is that one cannot generalize on the basis of a single case, and that case studies are arbitrary and subjective (Flyubjerg 2004). The nature of the subject examined will determine whether the research will be conducted as a case study or not. But as Zetterberg (2009:726) argued, “... large scale statistical analysis should be supplemented by the systematic case studies to shed further light on the issue.”

Bratton and Ray (2002) pointed out three necessary conditions that need to be met in order for the study of the translation of descriptive representation into substantive representation to be possible. First is the evidence of gender difference within the mass public regarding family policy. Second the country is required to have a long history of substantial female representation. Third the average female representation must be above 30% per cent. Tanzania qualifies for the study to be conducted. It

should be put clear that in Tanzania there are no family policy or social welfare policy as it is in the developed countries. So family policy is under gender and developed policy and there are no survey has been conducted to see how men and women ranking family issues. In this instance, there is a variety of other reasons why the case study approach has been chosen.

Firstly, the translation of descriptive representation of women in politics into substantive representation is not a topic on which there has been a lot of empirical research, therefore Tanzania is a “single heuristic case study”. Secondly, Tanzania was chosen because of its long history of applying the reserve seat quota system (since 1975, when ten seats in parliament were reserved for women). In the 2010 election it became the 15<sup>th</sup> country worldwide with 36% representation by women in parliament (IPU 2011). Thirdly, it has one of the strongest women’s movements in Africa. Therefore, if one is going to see descriptive representation translating into substantive representation anywhere one will see it in Tanzania. Tanzania is also interesting because it uses a reserve seat system which although fairly common in Africa is not widely used internationally. Women political representation is a new discipline in gender and politics, so there is a need for both case and cross country study which together broaden the understanding of the discipline. As argued by Thomas Kuhn in Fybjerg (2004), a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one. The case study information that will be obtained from the database for the current study will be supplemented by other sources of data. For instance, evidence such quotations will be utilized to support the arguments presented (Johnson at al. 2008:244).

### **Data collection approach**

The main source of data in the research conducted for this thesis is the Tanzanian parliament website. The research will start by creating a parliament database comprising of all members of the parliament. The database will comprise the following:

- MP profiles, consisting of identification data such as name, date of birth and gender.

- MPs education level attained: PHD, masters, diploma, graduate, certificate, secondary and primary school.
- MPs type of questions asked in parliament, which is divided into three groups: principal, supplementary and contributions.
- Parliamentary type, which means whether an MP is selected from the constituency, from reserve seat candidate or have been nominated by the president.
- MPs position held in the parliamentary committee, which is chairperson, deputy chairperson or member.

From the database, different records concerning legislators will be compiled in regard to issues such as age group, education level, leadership positions and the type of committees engaged in. Whenever possible, the study aims to analyse all MPs in the parliamentary database. As argued by Johnson et al (2008), the sample sizes are equal to the purpose of the research where the error should be very small. The quantitative approach is an appropriate method in examining the gender descriptive representation as it allows women and men MPs data from parliamentary records.

As there was no major debate or discussion on legislation of relevance to women's status or welfare in this study period (2005-2010), the principal questions examined will focus on the issues were being raised by MPs that are of relevance to gender relations or the position of women. Principal questions are the first main or priority questions that the members ask in the parliament. If the answer given is not satisfactory or needs more clarification, the MP may ask another question, known as a supplementary question. In analysing principal questions, only those questions with relevance for a woman's agenda will be discussed. There are several meanings that can be applied to women issues, interests, concerns or agendas. In this thesis, these terms will be used interchangeably. As defined by Lovenduski (2001), women's issues are those that mainly affect women, either biological matters such as breast-cancer screening or social issues such as child-care facilities. Therefore, in identifying principal questions relevant to a woman's agenda this study will be looking at all questions that are asked that specifically mention women or girls. In other words, in this context the women's agenda refers to question raised within the Tanzanian parliament which has directly pointed to girl's and women's issues.

Further information and data have been obtained from non-governmental agencies like the Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) and the Ministry of Community Development and women and children affairs. The websites of women's organizations or organizations with a focus on gender equality were surveyed in order to see what demands Tanzania women were making outside parliament to compare this to issues raised in parliament. To place the analysis of the parliamentary debates in context the following chapter will discuss gender relations in Tanzania and the use of reverse seats.

### **CHAPTER III: WOMEN AND POLITICS IN TANZANIA**

This chapter discusses the political engagement of women with the Tanzanian state, in order to help understand the gender relations that exist in Tanzania and the reasons why a reserve seat quota system was chosen to promote women's participation in parliamentary politics. It does this to provide an analysis of the past that will allow us to grasp the current impact of reserve seats in Tanzania. It also examines the status of women in Tanzania and what issues have been identified as being important for women, in order to access the range of topics that might be raised in parliament as part of a pro-women agenda.

While Tanzanian women's engagement in politics has changed as a result of the events which have shaped the role and the status of women from the traditional societies in the colonial period to the current use of a reserve-seat quota system for allowing women access to parliament, there remains an apparent contradiction between the fact that the number of women in the national parliament is at 36%, which is high by international standards (raising women's representation in parliament to 50% is currently under discussion) and the relatively weak status of women in other contexts in Tanzanian society. As the Tanzania gender profile report of 2007 explains, the status of most women and the harsh realities of their lives contradict their important role in the family and the national economy (Mascarenhas 2007).

#### **Women in Pre-colonial Tanzania and the Effect of Colonialism on Women's Status**

Before the establishment of colonial rule in most African countries, including Tanzania, women had a certain level of influence on formal and informal decision making structures (Mosha and Johnson 2004; Shayo 2005). Tanzania, which contained about 120 ethnic groups, was ruled by chiefdoms and the community council of elders (primarily men) who made decisions on issues like production of crops, distribution of land, expansion of village structures and security ( Mosha and Johnson 2004). The decision making process was based on a customary social organisation system organised along clan, age, profession or sex lines. This means

that all matters related to household composition, domestic authority, residence on or ownership of property and succession to socio-political positions were dependent on the role of an individual in the system (Wembah 1998). In this way in the traditional Tanzanian societies decision making was based mainly on a traditional system which was in turn based on the division of labour. This division of labour also had a gender dimension. For example, in the Zaramo tribe, whose main activity was agriculture, both men and women had different spheres of power in the household economy. Women's role in planting was recognized by their central influence in the Koleo cult, in the ritual of fertility and in selecting lineage heads (Sunseri 1997). So, Zaramo women's role was to produce food; even in times of famine and drought women still were expected to procure food, through trading commodities obtained from the environment such as rubber, charcoal and copal (Sunseri 1997). This gave them status and influence in their communities.

After the arrival of colonialism, the traditional gender relations pattern in decision making processes completely shifted. The dominant structure of chiefdom and clan government was replaced by the colonial government system. This saw the introduction of a cash economy, colonial forms of taxation and a wider range of consumer goods, which fuelled the demand for money (Holmes 2003). Gradually, women's ability to make decisions and to control economic activities in those areas where they previously had influence and control started to decline. As noted by Longman (2006:134), "colonial rule effectively undermined even these limited avenues of power to women." Women became landless, had no control of cash and their workload increased. It has been suggested that the changes that occurred with the onset of colonialism (and capitalism, its economic corollary) were responsible for the creation of strong hierarchical relations between the sexes (Sadarkasa 1986). This is because, as explained by Sunseri (1997), the traditional peasant economy was not prepared for the combined assault on its methods of determining labour allocation, land availability and resource use.

The introduction of a cash economy system limited women's access and control over land and resources, a fact that still impacts on women in Tanzania today. The colonialists used selected chiefs to rule the people. Under this system women did not feature in politics or any administrative roles. The chiefs were also allowed to own the

land; this created a class structure of feudal lords and tenants. Tenants became the taxpayers and women from a tenant social background suffered the most. They were required to share in the tribute to the landlords and at the same time provide for their households in difficult circumstances (Reining 1962). In order to pay taxes in cash men sometimes had to migrate in search of cash employment (Swantz 1985). This created an impoverished class of tenant women with a double labour demand and longer working hours (Bottelberge 2003; Sunseri 1997; Swantz 1985). In some cases, women were also required by law to provide wage labour for Europeans plantation owners. As Mbilinyi (1996) explains, women and children were the major sources of casual labour during labour peaks in the Rungwe tea industry and Mbozi coffee industry. “It is only at this point of change to a money economy and to large-scale marketing that women lost their influence in the family economy and in the wider society” (Swantz 1985:8).

In some other important ways women were also ignored in the colonial economy; for example, among the Haya tribe, when coffee was introduced it became a man’s crop. Men were taught how to care for it while women grew food crops for the family. “Increasingly the colonial economy sided with men, favouring their role in wage labour, cash crop production and control over material and human resources” (Sunseri 1997:258). Indeed, the Europeans’ expansion into Africa during the colonial period both undermined the sources of status and autonomy that women had enjoyed and strengthened elements of indigenous male dominance or “patriarchy” (Gordon 2007).

### **Women’s Political Participation during the Independence Struggle**

As part of the political developments that took place in the 1950s, the British Governor to Tanganyika introduced the first formal women’s organization in 1950—the Tanganyika Council of Women (TCW), which was led by his wife. The TCW acted as a social gathering, and its members were wives of high rank holders of colonial officials (Koda and Shayo 1994). This produced a response from the majority African population in the formation of another organization which was expected to serve the need of the majority of Tanzanian women and also to reflect their views. Hence the founding in 1954 of Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (UWT), which is translated in English as the Tanzanian National Women’s Organization. The timing of

the establishment of UWT was part of an attempt by Tanganyika African Nation Union (TANU) political leaders to gain credibility with a British Labour Party representative, Mr John Hatch, who had visited Tanganyika in support of Nyerere's<sup>1</sup> political activities. During one meeting, Mr Hatch asked if TANU had any women leaders. In response to the challenge this posed, members of the TANU Central Committee decided to approach Bibi Titi Mohamed's<sup>2</sup> husband to persuade him allow Bibi Titi to meet Mr Hatch and to become a member of the Central Committee. Thus, Bibi Titi became the first women to hold a leadership position in the TANU political party. (Geiger 2006).

Although the stimulus for the setting up of the UWT was the visit of the Labour Party representative, the UWT went on to play an active role supporting TANU's political activities during the initial stage of the struggle for independence. All women's activities were managed and coordinated by the UWT, led by Bibi Titi Mohamed, which in effect became the women's wing of TANU. The main motivation for TANU's continued encouragement of women's involvement in politics at this time was not a concern with correcting the gender imbalance in political participation; rather, it was a result of the constraints facing the political party, particularly the problems it faced in trying to increase membership. During the colonial period, there was a law that stated that once a person joins a political party they are obliged to leave a public job. As explained by Johnson and Mosha (2004), men employed by the government were nervous about being openly identified with the party. No such barrier to membership existed for women, however<sup>3</sup>. So, as a strategy for increasing its membership, TANU used the women's wing to accomplish its purpose, and so the organisation grew rapidly.

Unlike at the present time, during the period of the struggle for independence a woman's level of education or lack of other qualifications was not considered an impediment to her involvement in politics. As Swantz (1985) explains, most of the women who were involved in politics during Tanzania's struggle for independence were not very well educated, the majority were illiterate or semi-literate, but they had

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<sup>1</sup> Julius Nyerere, the leader of the Tanzanian Independence Movement.

<sup>2</sup> A famous and popular entertainer.

<sup>3</sup> In the 1950s most women in Tanzania were not government employees.



other types of useful experiences. For example, Bibi Titi Mohamed was a leader of the famous cultural dancing group that entertained the African urban-based population (Meena 2003a). She acquired influence and experience from her involvement with the dancing group that was later used to recruit new TANU members. By October 1955, when TANU held its first conference, Bibi Titi had enrolled five thousand members in the women's section (Geiger 2006). Women remained a highly mobilised and visible part of the independence movement, even though that engagement did not translate into emancipation for women post-independence.

### **Women's Political Participation in the One-Party System**

Tanzania adopted a single-party state political system in 1965, just four years after gaining independence from Great Britain. This system remained in place until 1992. Under the single-party system, the number of women in the parliament rose slowly: from 4% to 11% at the highest (Mosha and Johnson, 2004:20). After independence, Tanzania adopted a socialist model of economic development. Tanzanian socialism advocated equality and the rights of all citizens regardless of colour, race and gender. This belief is enshrined in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 (MCDWC 1992: 1). In 1967 the Tanzania state implemented the Arusha Declaration that aimed at making Tanzania a socialist and self-reliant nation, and in 1968 it embarked on national reforms based on "ujamaa" an African socialist. As part of this reform, a system of Ujamaa villages was established with the aim of collectivising agriculture and making it more productive and changing settlement patterns to group the population into villages where they could be more easily provided with basic services. Since women were disadvantaged with regard to access to land, capital and services, the Ujamaa village was thought of by the government as an appropriate policy vehicle to raise women's position in agriculture.

In the Ujamaa<sup>4</sup> village women were allowed to register as members in their own right and were allowed to receive their own share of any proceeds and were also provided with access to capital and other inputs (Ruhumbika 1974). On a practical level, however, these policies did not work; among the factors accounting for this failure

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<sup>4</sup> Ujamaa is a Swahili word meaning familyhood and it is based on the traditional Tanzania society practices.

were that all the village activities were conducted as a joint collective entity and were therefore viewed as “public work”, thus little effort was put in to work of this type. Also, women were never represented on governing committees and the land they were offered was rarely good land (Fortmann 1982). Despite the advocacy of popular participation by the people being an important principle of ujamaa socialism, and although

All adults were expected to participate actively in the decision making process by making maximum use of the village assemblies and their various committees. Unfortunately, it soon became evident that these structures existed only on paper without any functional reality whatsoever (Ergas 1980:398).

The idea of the “ujamaa village” as a policy was abandoned after a few years, though some ujamaa villages have continued to into the present. No other sustained attempt was made to improve the position of women in agriculture.

Following Tanzania’s independence, the new government did not actively focus on policies to improve the status of women, and few women from the UWT retained political positions in the new state. A relatively small group of educated women, especially those with training in nursing or a knowledge of child health or domestic science, were employed by the government, reinforcing a domestic view of the potential role of women (Geiger 1987).

In 1977 TANU from Tanganyika was merged with the Afro Shiraz Party (ASP) from Zanzibar to form the CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi - CCM Revolutionary Party). CCM became the sole instrument for mobilising and guiding the population in all significant social, political and economic activities. In an effort to enhance public participation in policy development, CCM established a political structure that was based on mass participation. The smallest unit of this structure was the “ten cell” unit; it was base on either ten households or social groups of a similar size, which elected a leader to attend a local forum. In a pyramid structure, that local forum would send a representative to a larger forum - linking the population to the leadership in a flow of information at least. This system has been criticised on gender grounds for being male

dominated (Mosha and Johnson 2004), as informal elections inevitably led to the selection of men, replicating the pattern of male dominance in the family. It was not capable of providing a platform for women to enter either local or national politics. So, the percentage of women in the national parliament remained low (although not unusually so by international standards), see table 3:1.

**Table 3:1 Composition of Tanzania’s Parliament by Gender 1961–2005**

Year	Total	Men	Women	% of Women	% Men
1961	80	74	6	4	96
1965	185	176	7	8	92
1975	234	218	16	7	93
1980	239	213	26	11	89
1985	244	217	27	11	89
1990	248	220	28	11	89
1995	266	222	44	17	83
2000	280	219	61	22	78
2005	322	223	99	30	70

Source: Mosha and Johnson 2004:20 and Parliamentary database 30 June 2010

During this one-party period, the level of women’s political representation in parliament began to change, especially from the 1975 election, and the pace of change accelerated in the 1990s. In 1975 the number of women in the parliament rose to 16, but the percentage remained virtually the same because the overall size of the parliament was increased. The increase in the number of women in parliament came about as a result of a growing global awareness of women’s rights, resulting from the activities of lobbyists. From the mid-1970s, a women’s rights agenda started to make headway in decision making institutions. In 1975 a major United Nations (UN) conference on women launched the UN decade for women and a series of major conferences culminating in Beijing in 1995. In an effort to achieve the goal of increasing the number of women in parliament, Tanzania introduced 10 reserve seats for women in 1975 and increased this to 15 seats in 1985. This was in keeping with the socialist idea of having different social groups represented in parliament.

Something that had a major impact on women between the 1970s and the 1990s was the severe economic crisis that most countries in the African continent faced. In the 1980s many countries were forced to implement International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank structural reform policies as a pre-condition to receiving aid and loans from these financial institutions. The detrimental impact of these programs on women has been well documented (Sparr 1994). In 1986 Tanzania signed an agreement with the World Bank and the IMF to adopt a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). This ended the 1967 Arusha declaration policies of economic socialism based on self-reliance, and introduced a liberalized free-market economy.

In the mid-1980s Tanzania abandoned its ideology of self-reliant, socialist development in the face of deepening economic crisis, political divisions within the ruling party, and international pressure (Brown 2006:58).

Women, because of their specific roles and position within society, have been among those worst affected by cuts in social-sector spending that were part of the SAP and that involved a substantial shift in costs from the state to the household. As a consequence, women were forced to take on an increasing burden of unpaid work in caring for the sick, obtaining food and ensuring the survival of their families. Furthermore, under privatisation women were more likely than men to lose their jobs, and they were also more likely to be employed in a casual or part-time position (Mbele 1996). As a result of this,

Most women are compelled to find employment in the informal sector, which includes business in petty trading in urban and rural areas, street trade food processing, local beer brewing and hair salons. A few employed and unemployed women become sex workers, usually to supplement their incomes (Akkaro 2010:1).

This period also saw a mushrooming of non-governmental organization (NGOs), in many cases emerging to fill the gaps in social provision left by reduced government spending, but also to occupy the political space that had also opened up. Of those NGOs concerned with women's welfare, some focused on income-generating activity

and ways of assisting poor women, knowing that women spend more on family necessities if earnings accrue directly to them (Gerhart 1989). Another group of NGOs emerged with the aim of pushing a women's rights agenda; these included the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) and Tanzania Women Media Association (TAMWA). "By 1992 TGNP coordinated strategies around legal reforms, policy change and public education" (Tripp et al 2009:57). The impact of these reform measures has been limited, as they have benefited professional women mostly; but it could also be argued that they have increased the general potential for women's empowerment at least in urban areas (Brown 2001).

### **Women's Political Representation in the multiparty system**

Economic liberalisation was followed by political liberalisation and the introduction of multi-party elections. It is in the area of political representation that Tanzanian women have made the most gains. In 1992 Tanzania experienced a remarkable political transition from a single-party system to a multiparty system, with the transition planned and controlled by the governing party, the CCM. Before Tanzania embraced the multiparty system, a public-opinion gathering committee—the Nyalali Commission—was established by the government to consult with the people countrywide about multiparty politics. According to the results of that survey, most Tanzanians preferred the single-party system, but it has been argued that the involvement of women in the process was minimal (Koda and Shayo 1994). The Nyalali commission

found it very difficult to get women to attend and vote at all; but those who did, nearly fourteen times as many wanted to keep the existing system while for men in mainland Tanzania the rate was 4 times for those supporting continuation of existing political system (Nyalali 1992:20).

But despite this, a multiparty political system was adopted in Tanzania because "although the reform process was government initiated, it, by no means, enjoyed unanimous support and represented, in large part, a response to external pressures" (Brown 2001:92). As Selolwane (2006) states that political reform was effectively imposed by the conditionalities attached to IMF/World Bank loans and SAP, so the

government had little choice but to implement multiparty elections. The beneficial impact of the multiparty political system on women's political representation was accelerated by the adoption of the 1995 Beijing platform for action. This platform for action endorsed the democratic demand for gender equality in political representation. In 1995 the Tanzanian government changed its approach to the provision of seats for women in parliament to allocating a percentage of seats, to comply with Beijing standards that applied the ideas of critical mass theory. From that time, the percentage of women in the parliament has increased from 15%, to 20% to 30% in the years 1995, 2000 and 2005, respectively, through a series of constitutional amendments.

Once the multiparty system was established in Tanzania, different organizations, both inside and outside the country, were involved in promoting active female participation in the new electoral system; and these organizations were funded through external aid budgets. For instance, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Dar es Salaam organized a training seminar for women leaders who were elected to parliament in 1995. TEMCO included the topic of gender in its annual workshops. TGNP held a conference in 1999 on Gender and Political Empowerment that brought together activists and members of parliament from throughout the African continent (Shayo 2005).

The first multiparty election was held in 1995 and was won by CCM, which has remained the largest single party in parliament, winning over 80% of the vote in the 2005 general election and facing a weak and fragmented opposition. The 2005 election was the first to be deemed free and fair by international observers. That election produced a parliament 30% of the members of which were women. However, the substantive impact on gender equality of this increase in the number of women in parliament depends on the level of democracy being practiced by the political system, and particularly on the way in which candidates are selected for reserve seats as well as the system of reserve seats itself (Drage 2001).

### **Why Reserve Seats in Tanzania**

The reserve seat, or "special seat" system as it is commonly known in Tanzania, was formally introduced in 1975, but the actual practice of the allocation of special

parliamentary seats to women started right after Tanganyika received its independence in 1961. In addition to filling reserve seats, Tanzania uses the first-past-the-post, single member plurality system to elect members of parliament from constituencies every five years. The reasons why reserve seats were adopted in Tanzania, as well as the selection system used to fill reserve seats, has an impact on the capacity of women MPs to push forward a women's agenda once in parliament. The factors which led Tanzania to adopt and implement a reserve-seat system are both internal and external, and involved the particular circumstances in Tanzania favourable to the adaptation of reserve seats and pressure from national, regional and international actors.

One of the major factors that led to the introduction of reserve seats in Tanzania was the state's historic use of this type of mechanism for including women within the political system. The constitution of the Republic of Tanzania (1977) expressed a belief in democracy and basic human-rights principles and emphasised the equality of men and women, thus providing the basis for women's involvement in every sphere of life in society. These principles are also reflected in the constitutions and organization structures of Tanzania's political parties. The state has always paid lip service at least to the idea of gender equality, for example President Nyerere identified inequality between men and women as an impediment to socialist transformation.

By virtue of their sex, women suffered from inequalities which had nothing to do with their contribution to the family welfare. This is certainly inconsistent with the socialist conception of the equality of all human beings...If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live on the terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men (Nyerere 1968:109 quoted in Geiger 1982:45).

More recently, President Jakaya Kikwete has "pledged to increase the number of women in leadership and decision making positions by 2010" (Peter 2008:2). The gender equality principle is also manifested in the CCM's Constitution, which specifies "equal opportunities to all citizens, women and men alike, irrespective of a person's colour, tribe, religion or status" (CCM 2006). This has been demonstrated in

the party's operation structure, which has established party branches in order to accommodate women. Yoon (2008) has added that this was a moral justification for rectifying the exclusion of women from post-independence formal politics by considering women's active involvement in the Tanganyika pre-independence struggle in the 1950s and their contribution to the nationalist movement. On both the Tanzanian mainland and on Zanzibar, women's sections have been created within the party structures to provide room for women's full participation in politics (Koda and Shayo 1994).

Under the one-party system, the party reserved seats were used not only for women but for other affiliated groups, including youth organizations, co-operatives, workers' organizations, the parents' organization and the Union of Tanzanian Women (UWT). The party operated through these organizations, which are commonly known as "party wings". Normally these groups were allocated special seats in the national assembly and MPs who were selected through this process were known as national MPs (as opposed to constituency MPs). In the 1985 election, 15 seats were reserved for women and another 15 were reserved for the other CCM wings, so women could occupy 15 reserved seats through the UWT or another CCM organization. During this period men also occupied special seats through other wings of the party, including the trade unions. CCM continued to use the reserve-seat system to ensure an increase in the number of women in parliament, through, as noted above, a series of amendments that increased women's representation from 15%, to 20% and 30%, in the years 1985, 2000 and 2005, respectively (Mascarenhas 2007).

### **Internal and external pressure for implementing quotas**

Tanzania has faced pressure from activists both inside and outside the country in both the single- and the multi-party era, and such pressure was an important factor in forcing the Tanzanian state to implement a reserve-seat gender quota system. Activists have used various conventions and declarations as mechanisms for enforcing women's political participation in different countries, including Tanzania. Such mechanisms have laid out targets and goals which countries are required to commit themselves to, and for which they are sometimes to sign agreements for follow-up and implementation purposes. The international conventions on gender are used by



activists to lobby for change, but perhaps more importantly the conventions become part of the thinking of international organisations, so that gender equality measures are encouraged by, for example, the World Bank. An aid-dependent country can gain political status with donors and the international financial institutions if it is seen to be implementing a good-governance program and has a gender-equality policy in relation to political representations as part of that program (Tripp 2009). This provides as incentive for a government to implement gender quotas, especially if the outcome does not impact significantly on the existing policies or power relations in the state.

The commitments in international conventions act as a framework of standards which constrain countries morally and legally to adhere to equality and non-discriminatory policies and programs. Tanzania has committed to and signed many international and regional treaties, for example the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the Bill of Rights, which ban discrimination based on race, gender and ethnicity. Article 2(f) of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), ratified in 1985, calls for the elimination of all forms of existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women (Mascarenhas 2007). Tanzania is also a signatory to the World Conference of Women (1-4), resulting in the Beijing Platform for Action, which details different actions that stakeholders are required to perform and demands that governments “...commit themselves to establish goals of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, and in the judiciary...” (Beijing 1995, section 192). Following from the international regulations are the regional and sub-regional agreements made by organizations like the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC). On the 8th September 1997, SADC held a summit in Malawi, where heads of the states, including of Tanzania, signed the SADC Gender and Development Declaration. This declaration reinforced the commitment to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Article H reads;

we commit ourselves and our respective countries to, inter alia, (ii) Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at

least 30 % target of women in political and decision making structures by year 2005.

According to the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU 2010) database, Tanzania reached the 30% target by 2005 but has not reached the African Union (AU) target of 50/50 representation for women in leadership and decision making structures. In the AU, the declaration on the promotion of gender equality is major goal. Article 4(L) of the AU's Constitutive Act specifically states that the African Union "shall function in accordance with the promotion of gender equality". In the gender policy there is a gender action plan that requires each country to develop a strategic plan to implement their commitment. Tanzania declared its intention to reach the goal of 50/50 representation in parliament after the 2010 election. This is in line with the UN's Millennium Goal that outlined the need for parity at all levels of society by 2015, especially in promoting gender equality and empowering women (Kimaro 2007). CCM has formed a team that will work on proposals so that after the 2010 general election the number of women in parliaments equals that of men (Kamwaga 2008). This aim is supported by the Ministry for justice and Constitutional Affairs, headed by Dr. Mary Nagu, who has emphasized the need for unity and cooperation for achieving the goal (Herman 2007; Jumbe 2007), presumably in a reference to the need for cross-party co-operation.

Another pressure which has influenced the Tanzanian government to rectify political gender imbalance by adopting a reserve-seats system comes from the Tanzanian women's movement, including from such groups as TGNP (the Tanzanian Gender Network Program, founded in 1993) and Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) (founded in 1987). These organizations are engaged in civic education and lobbying the government to adopt gender policies which will increase the number of women in politics. For instance, TGNP and the Feminist Coalition (FEMAct) together conducted a gender analysis before the 2000 general election to identify opportunities for and constraints against women in various aspects of the electoral process (Mosha and Johnson 2004). One of their priority areas of action was to empower women aspiring for election in 2000 and 2005. TGNP provided training to help women understand election rules and regulations. The focus was to build the skills of women contestants on issues of gender and democracy, on how to conduct

opinion polls, on their rights and responsibilities as candidates, on how to develop campaign strategies and make simple messages, on how to build their public profile as candidate, how to write press releases and give radio interviews, and on lobbying skills and speaking in public. Out of 70 women contestants for constituency parliamentary seats in 2000, 25 were trained by TGNP (Mosha and Johnson 2004).

In response to demands from activist organisations, Tanzania has several times modified its constitution in order to accommodate more women in politics and leadership positions. These modifications are special measures to empower women, and in addition they are aimed at meeting regional and international commitments on gender equality. Tanzania selected four primary areas of focus out of 12 critical areas of concern which were agreed upon globally during the fourth World Conference on Women. The four priority areas include: enhancement of women's legal capacity, economic empowerment of women and poverty eradication, women's political empowerment, and women's access to education and training (URT 2003). The implementation of these critical areas involves a review of the Tanzanian Constitution and laws, enactment of new laws, formulation and implementation of policies, and strategies and programmes with gender perspectives.

In 1992 Tanzania's Constitution was reformed: Article 66 (1), (b) of the 8th constitutional amendment stipulates that women, including those elected, must constitute not less than 15% of the membership of the assembly elected by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and must hold 25% of seats on the local councils. Similarly, Act No. (35) of the Local Government (District authorities) Act of 1992, as amended by Act No. 192 (C) 2 of 1994, provided that not less than one-quarter of all elected councillors must be women. Each political party represented in the council is allocated a share of special seats proportional to the seats it wins in the election. Again in 2000, a constitutional amendment (Act No.3) resulted in the percentages of reserve seats being further increased to 20% in parliament and 33.3% on local councils. In the 1995 and 2000 the seats were allocated roughly in proportion to the number of constituency seats won by each party in the national assembly elections (see (NEC) 1997; 2001).

Another constitutional amendment was adopted, in 2005 (Act. 1 of 2005) to comply with the SADCC bench mark of 30% representation of women. In Zanzibar, Act No 10 of 2005, which adjusted the Zanzibar Municipal Council Act of 1995, as well as the District and Town Council Act No. 4 of 1995, have increased the number of women members of councils from 10% to 30%. The 2005 Constitution has also given power to the president to nominate 10 MPs, half of whom should be women. This was a change in the way of allocating reserve seats; previously all seats were allocated in proportion to the number of votes obtained, with a minimum vote threshold of 5% (NEC 2006).

These special measures increased the number of women's special seats from 47 to 75 in the 2005 general election. Out of 322 parliamentarians, 99 are women: 17 from constituencies and 75 from special seats, 4 nominated by the President and 3 from Zanzibar; this is equivalent to 30 % of the total MPs. The previous parliament had 280 MPs; of those there were 63 women - 16 from constituencies and 47 from women's special seats. This was equivalent to 21.72 % of the total membership. It is notable that the increased percentage of women in parliament has been in line with an increase in the size of the parliament itself. In effect, the reserve seats are added on to the constituency seats and therefore do not threaten the position of male politicians in the constituencies. Table 3:1 shows that while the size of the parliament has risen from 80 representatives in 1961 to 322 in 2005, the number of male MPs has remained virtually constant since 1975.

There has also been a significant rise in the number of women in decision making positions in other public institutions. In the government in 2008, 6 out of 27 Cabinet Ministers were women, equivalent to 22.2 % of ministries; and out of 30 Deputy Ministers, 8 - which is equivalent to 26.6 % - are women. Good as these figures are by international standards, it is notable that they are below the percentage of women in parliament. In the civil service, 8 out of 27 permanent Secretaries are women, that is 29.6% of the total; out of 15 Deputy Permanent Secretaries, 3, or 20%, are women; and 22 out of 77 Judges are women, which is 28.6%. The Government is now saying that it is working towards the benchmark of 50/50 representation in these areas by 2015, in line with the goal set by the African Union [AU declaration, of which Tanzania is a signatory (Lwiga 2006; Kamwaga 2008)]. The numbers of women in

decision making posts is good by international standards, but it is questionable if it corresponds to the status of women in the country generally. However the number of women holding other significant posts in the civil service and in the judiciary would also suggest that reserved seats must be more than window dressing.

### **Reserve seat candidate selection procedures**

The nomination process for candidates for reserve seats depends entirely on the political parties. There are no guidelines laid down in the election legislation. This permits every political party to adopt its own structure for candidate selection (Mosha and Johnson, 2004:108). The parties are only required to submit the names of their nominees to their National Executive Committee (NEC), which makes the final decision. For example, in the 2000 general election, CCM<sup>5</sup> candidates who aspired to a reserve seat initially had to be voted for at regional party level, after an intense campaign. The candidates had to pay Tshs 100,000 (Tanzania shillings)<sup>6</sup> for an application form to participate for selection, and these campaigns were carried out and paid for by the women themselves. The voting exercise involved only women from the party's women's wing-UWT. In order to incorporate various voices from a wide range of perspectives, UWT sets aside one seat each for women academicians, youth, disabled and professionals from NGOs.

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<sup>5</sup> The procedure for candidate selection can be found in the party constitution, 108(13) (b).

<sup>6</sup> Tshs 100,000 is approximately equivalent to 60 euro.

**Table 3:2: Number of Women and Men Candidates Nominated by Different Political Parties in the 1995, 2000 and 2005 Parliamentary Elections**

Party	Year of Election							
	1995		2000		2005		Total	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
CCM	07	225	13	218	19	213	39	656
CUF	04	165	06	132	12	200	22	497
TLP	04	74	09	103	11	104	24	281
PONA	03	35	06	31	00	00	09	66
NCCR Mageuzi <sup>7</sup>	03	197	05	88	08	63	16	348
UDP	10	104	09	57	10	28	29	109
UPDP	03	30	06	26	13	29	22	85
CHADEMA	04	156	05	61	11	133	20	350
NLD	01	52	04	02	15	14	07	68
TADEA	05	111	02	40	02	32	09	183
TPP	03	35	03	10	00	00	06	45
UMD	00	00	02	22	06	15	08	37
NRA	02	74	00	02	06	21	08	97
SAU	00	00	00	00	10	42	10	42
PPT- Maendeleo <sup>8</sup>	00	00	00	00	00	16	00	16
DP	00	00	00	00	34	11	11	34
FORD	00	00	00	00	03	08	03	08
CHAUSTA	00	00	00	00	12	49	12	49
JHAZI ASILIA	00	00	00	00	09	46	09	46
MAKINI	00	00	00	00	00	16	00	16
Total	53	1258	70	792	159	1063	282	3113

Source: NEC Statistical reports 1997, 2001 and 2006 general elections.

These groups of aspirants also have to undergo a similar process as the regional contestants (TEMCO 2000). The list of candidates is ranked according to the number votes and other party criteria and send to UWT national council for more discussion

<sup>7</sup> Mageuzi- Swahili word meaning construction and reforms.

<sup>8</sup> Maendeleo – Swahili word meaning development.

and screening. This is the last stage at which women make the decisions; the final decision on candidate selection is made by National Executive Committee (NEC) (Mosha and Johnson 2004). Within the NEC structure, which is the highest decision making body in CCM on all issues of managing elections and electoral process, there is gender imbalance. For example amongst the 7 Chairs of Standing Committees 6 were men (TEMCO 2000). What is remarkable about the CCM process for the selection of candidates for reserve seats is how much a separate process involving women's organisations it is - that is, until the final selection point is reached.

For the main opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF), the aspiring candidate fills in a nomination form at the ward level, and thereafter the forms are sent to the party district level for screening and selection. At the district level, only those candidates who qualify for the post are put forward, through a secret vote. The final nomination and approval happens at National Council of the party. This is different from the CCM nomination process, whereby candidates are selected by members of UWT section only; in the case of the CUF, both men and women are involved in decision making in nominating women for reserve seats at all levels of the process. CUF use the same nomination forms for constituency and reserve seats (CUF 2003).

Reserve seat candidates do not go through an election process, and this has become the way in which the majority of women not only enter politics but also continue as political representatives. The candidates for these seats have been, initially at least in the case of CCM, selected by the women's wing of the party. As a corollary to this, the number of women as compared to men selected by parties to contests constituency elections in 1995, 2000 and 2005 has been very small (see Table 3:2). This shows that women are not given enough opportunity to be elected through constituency seats. The data in Table 3.3 show that the probability of women winning constituency seats is higher when they are given the chance. The reasons for this are that the parties only select women they know can win, and also that women would be less likely than men to put themselves forward if they thought they did not stand any chance of winning. Nevertheless, the general trend is that few women aspire to constituencies compared to men, as Table 3:3 indicates.

**Table 3:3 Proportion of Women Aspirant (A) MPs and Selected (S) MPs from various political parties in the 2000 general elections**

Party	Women		Men		Total		% of Women	
	A	S	A	S	A	S	A	S
CCM	296	13	5097	218	5393	231	05.5%	05.6%
CUF	59	06	622	132	681	138	08.7%	04.3%
TLP	41	09	501	103	542	112	07.6%	08.0%
NCCR	28	05	377	88	405	93	06.9%	05.4%
CHADEMA	28	09	357	57	385	66	07.3%	13.6%
UDP	43	05	292	61	335	66	12.8%	07.6%
TADEA	12	02	41	40	53	42	22.6%	02.8%
UMD	1	06	28	31	29	37	03.4%	16.2%
PONA	4	06	21	26	25	32	16.0%	18.8%
NLD	10	02	15	22	25	24	40.0%	08.3%
UPDP	4	03	19	10	23	13	21.1%	30.0%
TPP	0	04	10	02	10	06	00.0%	66.7%
NRA	3	00	6	02	9	02	33.3%	00.0%
Total	529	70	7386	792	7912	862	06.7%	8.1%

Source: TEMCO field reports, 2000, adapted from Mosha A & Johnson M (2004:94) Promoting Women's Access to Politics and Decision making: The role of TGNP and other advocacy groups in the 2000 general elections.

Mosha and Johnson (2004) highlighted three main barriers to women contesting constituency seats: lack of clear strategies from political parties to support women candidates, including mobilizing resources; wide-spread corruption during the nomination process, which makes money the central issue in many campaigns rather than the candidate; and the misuse of special seats, whereby women aspirants are pushed out to wait nomination through the reserve seat system. In addition to this, TEMCO (2000) highlights the way in which the patriarchal structure rooted in Tanzanian society, which equates women with working in the home or as caregivers, affects the internal party nomination systems, causing them to favour male election candidates; for instance, in the Songea urban constituency, women election aspirants were harassed and abusive language was used against them.



## **Debates on the impact of reserve seats in Tanzania**

The lack of formal structures for the nomination of women to reserve seats by political parties has been identified as a key factor in undermining the status of women politicians who occupy these seats. The general public's attitude to reserve seats is that they are awarded by the party and not fought for, and this gives the seats lower status than constituency seats. Since women are selected for these seats by the party leaders, and the women's wing in the case of CCM, but not by the voters, the system has the effect of distancing women reserve seat MPs from voters. The procedure in turn makes it more likely that women will be loyal and accountable to their parties before the public (Meena 2003b). Hence creating a situation in which it could be difficult for them to challenge male domination in decision making institutions (Meena 2003b; Mosha and Johnson 2004).

Bauer (2008) highlights the risk for creating a ceiling through the use of the reserve seat system. As indicated earlier, women are encouraged to wait for a reserve seat and not contest the constituency elections. Activists like TGNP fear that, in the long run, reserve seats could have a crippling effect, because women can become scared to stand in their own constituencies (Lowe-Morna 2004). While Meena (1997) is of the view that special seats for women are eroding women's competitive skills in electoral politics and discouraging capable women from participating in electoral competition.

Taking a different perspective, Yoon (2001) has argued that women selected through special seats gain the ability to enter the parliament through constituency elections, and has suggested that special seats act as a stepping-stone to constituency seats. Statistically, however, the number of women MPs in constituency seats as a percentage of all women in parliament has not increased since 1995: 1985-6%; 1990-12%; 1995-18%; 2000-20%; 2005-18%. And if there were no reserve seats, after the constituency elections the number of women in parliament as a percentage of all constituency seats would be less than 1% in 1985 and 1990, going up in 1995 to 3.6%, 2000 to 5.4%, and in 2005 to 7.4%.

**Table 3:4: Comparative Analysis of Women Elected from Constituencies (C) and Special seats (S) under single (\*) and multiparty (\*\*) systems and the totals (T) from 1985 to 2005**

Party	Year of Election														
	1985*			1990*			1995**			2000**			2005**		
	S	C	T	S	C	T	S	C	T	S	C	T	S	C	T
CCM	15	01	16	15	02	17	26	07	33	40	12	52	58	16	74
CHADEM A	00	00	00	00	00	00	01	00	01	01	00	01	06	00	06
CUF	00	00	00	00	00	00	04	01	05	04	00	04	11	01	12
NCCR Mageuzi	00	00	00	00	00	00	03	00	03	00	00	00	00	00	00
TLP	00	00	00	00	00	00	01	00	01	01	00	01	00	00	00
UDP	00	00	00	00	00	00	01	00	01	01	00	01	00	00	00
Total	15	01	16	15	02	17	36	08	44	47	12	59	75	17	92

Source: TEMCO 2001 and Taarifa Rasmi za Bunge (Hansards) 2006.

In Tanzania for about 30 years, there has been a strong one-party state which controls political participation for both men and women. Since most of the political parties are male dominated, it leaves women who have been selected through this system not capable of substantively representing women. Meena (2003b) highlights a lack of serious party support for progress that will lead to women's political empowerment.

Although reserve seats have been used since the early days of the Tanzanian state, originally their use was intended only as a short-term strategy. As Johnson and Moshia (2004) claim, these seats were designed as a short-term, gap-filling measure to minimize the gender imbalance in parliament and at the local levels, at a time when other efforts were being made to influence long-term social change in decision making structures. As explained by Meena (2003b) the government's immediate aim was to incorporate voices which were at a disadvantage in the normal election process, like women. But as Kitabu (2008:12) suggests, "... once a women is offered a special seat for the first five years, then she should be ready to contest in the

constituencies using the already gained experiences and not back to special seat”. As it looks today, the reserve seat systems is there to stay in Tanzania, because of the massive support that exists for the system and pressure from activists, including influential leaders, to retain it.

In the multiparty system, since its inception in 1992, women have not challenged to any great extent the patriarchal system that was established since the colonial era. As argued by Gordon (2007), since independence Africa’s male political leaders have continued to add laminations to the patriarchal structures they inherited from their colonizers. As has been reported under TEMCO (2000), women today are more or less engaged in the same role during election campaigns that women played during the course of the struggle for independence: singing and chanting praises for party and candidate.

There is a lack of seriousness within government to alter gender relations in society which affect women’s presence in politics and their ability to aspire to constituency seats. Geiger (1982) did show that government policy in Tanzania has not seriously challenged the basic structure of gender relations, so inequalities between men and women still remain rooted, manifested and perpetuated in the sexual division of labour. Geiger also insists that, until the Government is committed to pay more than lip service to the core issue of unequal gender relations at all levels of Tanzanian society, it is just dealing with symptoms and leaving the core sources of gender inequalities unresolved (Koda and Mosha 1994).

In Tanzania, it is argued that women MPs have struggled to push forward the women’s agenda in parliament. According to Meena (2003b) and Shayo (2005), women MPs have tabled and defended a bill for maternity leave for married and unmarried women. They have also advocated a bill that allows female students to enter university directly after high school, rather than having to wait two years as was the case in the past. With strong support from women’s organizations, women MPs have also supported legislation that increased the severity of punishment for sexual offences, and have ensured that a land reform bill incorporated a clause that customary practices that discriminate against women be declared unconstitutional.

Although women have helped with the formulation of laws to enhance women's legal capacity as one of the priority areas selected by the country to implement the Beijing platform for action in Tanzania, these efforts are diluted by the way the government operates the legal system. For instance, under the sexual offences – sexual provision Act of 1998, female circumcision is illegal, but the practices continues.

The co-existence of these systems and the passing of new laws without making appropriate amendments to existing laws, often contribute greatly towards the denial of women's rights in Tanzania in spite of other good policies and laws (Mascarenhas 2007:1).

As elsewhere in Africa the law reform measures have more effects on urban elite population than in rural areas where also people are illiterate, access of information and legal centres is minimal.

## **Conclusion**

Within the pre-colonial societies, women in Tanzania had a minimum amount of power through which they could exercise control over the activities in which they were involved. The colonial system pushed things even further; with the introduction of the cash economy, land, which was the main source of livelihood to all people, began to be owned by chiefs, most of whom were men. Both in pre-colonial and during colonialism, the economic system sided with men by favouring men in wage labour, cash production, control over property and in leadership positions.

During the struggle for independence, women got involved in political life by chance. There were two motives behind facilitating women's involvement: the first was to enable the TANU party to appear to outsiders that it was inclusive to women; the second was to increase TANU membership, as government employees at that particular time were not allowed to engage in politics, otherwise they could risk losing their jobs. Even after independence, when the country adopted a socialist economic mode of development with ten household leadership committee structures, again the system become male dominated.

The only boost for women's engagement in politics in Tanzania has been as a result of the use of the reserve seat gender-quota system. Since 1975 the level of representation by women has increased, from holding 10 seats initially to comprising 30% of the parliament in 2005. Without the existence of the reserve seat system, the number of women in Tanzania's parliament today might be only 7%, the same as in the 1960s. These figures would appear to be contrary to some findings, which have suggested that reserve seats was acting as stepping stone to constituency seats (Yoon 2008).

Although gender equality principles have been encompassed in political party constitutions, and whereas Tanzania has signed various regional and international agreements, the political parties are not willing to select enough women to contest the mainstream constituency seats. This tendency reduces the chances for women to join as equals in political institutions. The main factor contributing to these practices is the gender stereotype that still exists in Tanzanian society, which views women's as belonging to the private/sphere, at home, and not in public or in the workplace.

Over the years, women who have been selected for the parliament have been able to push forward women's agenda in the area of legal and human rights. As a result, legislation such as the Sexual Offences Act of 1998, modification of the Marriage Act of 1971 and the Land amendment Act 2004 has been put in place. The limitations of these laws, however, become obvious during implementation, mostly because Tanzania permits the use of customary and religious law in addition to the civil law imposed by the government. The application of these three types of law neutralizes the potential impact of enhancing legal and human rights for women.

The economic reforms which were designed by financial institutions to combat Tanzania's economic crisis, such as the SAP and its accompanying policies of privatization, trade liberation and the introduction of a cost-sharing system in the provision of social services, had a negative impact on women's status in the country. Over the years, it has widened the gap between rural-urban, poor-rich, educated-uneducated women, especially in high schools and at college levels. The effects are very severe in the villages, where even information is inaccessible because of lack of

electricity and the inability to afford essential items such as a radio, batteries, mobile phones, newspapers and televisions.

Although Tanzania is doing well in the Human Development Gender Indices, the general condition of women in society is very low, the government seems to put more effort into raising the number of women in parliament by the reserve seat system using constitutional amendments. This was intended only as the temporary measure, but it seems that the reserve seat will stay for some years to come. As the government is campaign for 50/50 reserve seat gender parity, it is even more necessary to examine the role that women could play in bringing transformation and pushing forward a women's agenda. As Britton (2002:44) suggested, for the liberation for women to be complete, "the nation will need to go beyond legislative revision and focus on altering societal structures."

#### **Chapter IV: THE IMPACT OF THE RESERVE SEAT SYSTEM IN THE PARLIAMENT OF TANZANIA.**

The analysis in this chapter is based on the utilization of the Tanzania parliamentary database to answer the research questions. The information obtained from the database is supplemented by material from other sources to assess the link between the increase of the number of women in parliament and their impact in executing a women's agenda as legislative office holders. The database contains biographical details for MPs, which allows a descriptive comparison between men and women in parliament which could reveal differences that may account for differences identified in the leadership positions they hold or the type of policy issues they raise. The database also gives a detailed breakdown of parliamentary questions and other contributions by MPs, which allows the topics discussed to be analysed. It also provides information on their membership of parliamentary committees. However, the parliamentary database does not contain the totality of information about MPs. Therefore, in some cases the numbers of MPs in the tables appear to be less than the actual number of the MPs in the parliament. Explanations for the inconsistency within the data include: death of an MP, the status of an MP (for example, if someone is highly respected, no one may dare to ask their particulars) and the negligence of parliamentary database clerks in following up missing data. The principle parliamentary questions relating to a 'women's agenda'<sup>9</sup> that are analysed here have been translated, as the debates within the parliament in Tanzania take place and are recorded in Swahili. A full list of the questions is contained in Appendix II. The questions were used as the source of women and men's contribution to the discussion of 'women's issues'. As of June 30, 2010 there were 76 Acts and 72 bills between the years 2005–2010 considered by the Tanzanian parliament none for which were concerned with a women's agenda.

This chapter is divided into the following sections;

- Parliamentary composition and structure.
- Profile of MPs, including age and education level attained.

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<sup>9</sup> For the purposes of the current research, the term 'women's agenda' means all the questions that have been asked specifically about girls and women. The questions were then classified by topic.

- Women’s ministerial and committee leadership positions, classified in terms of gender and prestige types.
- Parliamentary debates, including the number of questions asked.
- A discussion of the content of the priority questions in the debates that focused on ‘women’s issues’.

In this regard, the final section discusses the top women’s agenda priority questions—health/women’s fund, education and local government—and thereafter analyses in general the other remaining questions.

### **The Composition and Structure of the Parliament**

The structure of the Tanzanian parliament indicates the level of women MPs to be 30%, the figure proposed by critical mass theory as the point at which women’s presence should make a difference. This figure is the combined number of all women who are currently present in the parliament, including women selected via the reserve seats system,<sup>10</sup> who are the majority of women in parliament. Apart from women elected in the reserve seats and constituency seats, other categories of MPs also include women members. These categories are the five MPs that are selected from the House of Representatives in Zanzibar to serve in the national parliament; the attorney general, and other members directly appointed by the president.<sup>11</sup> In these categories the number of women and men for the 2005-10 parliaments was almost equal: 7 women and 8 men see Table 4.1 below. The greatest difference in male and female MP numbers exists in the constituency election seats, which have 17 women and 215 men. For the general election held in 2005, 99 women entered the parliament; 17 of these are from constituency seats and 82 are from reserve seats plus other appointments. This indicates that the percentage of women in the constituency seats alone is 7%, which is far below the current world average figure of 19% (see IPU 2010). So without the use of the reserve seat quotas that have increased the number

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<sup>10</sup> Seats are reserved for women MPs to be elected by the political parties that are represented in the National Assembly in terms of Article 78 of the Constitution and on the basis of proportional representation amongst those parties. The proportion of women MPs elected to reserve seats is that which is necessary to ensure 30% of MPs are women.

<sup>11</sup> Not more than ten members appointed by the President.



women in the parliament, only a few women would be represented in the Tanzania parliament.

**Table 4.1: Gender Break Down of the Structure of the Parliament of Tanzania 2005-2010.**

Member Type	Women	Men	Total
Members elected from constituencies	17	215	232
Special seat members	75	0	75
Members elected by the Zanzibar House of Representative	3	2	5
Attorney General	0	1	1
Members appointed by the president	4	5	9
Grand total	99	223	322

Source: Parliamentary database 30 June 2010

It should be noted that the number of women selected through constituency seats since independence in 1961 has been fluctuating, but has never exceeded five and was actually zero for the period between 1980 and 1985 (Yoon 2008). The picture that this depicts is that there are still factors that hinder women in contesting constituency seats. These factors suggest the negative impact of the socialization processes that rob women with potential of the chance to strive for decision making posts. Other factors include the political parties' reluctance to select women to contest the constituency seats, the lack of financial resources for women to support themselves in campaigns, and family responsibilities. Bauer and Britton (2006: 2) summarize "gender inequality, patriarchal social relations, and historically male-dominated politics" as the main factors hindering women in the continent of Africa.

### **Tanzanian Parliamentary Profile**

Given the different ways men and women get into parliament the next question asked was do they have different profiles? Is there a significant difference between the descriptive representation of men and women apart from just the numbers of MPs. Two key aspects of their profile were analysed that the international literature

considers of significance to women’s capacity to provide leadership – age and education. Yoon 2011 suggested that

“ If the special-seat system is to remain, a new selection mechanism that allows direct cross-party competition among special-seat candidates should be considered to bring better qualified women into parliament”(Yoon 2011:83).

This implies that women in reserve seats may be of lower calibre than other MPs.

The general profile of women MPs is that, on the whole, they are younger than their male colleagues, for example the oldest age group, consisting of those born between 1931 and 1940, has 12 men and 1 woman. While the group of MPs born between the years 1971 and 1980 has 7 women and 6 men, which was 8% of all female MPs and 3% of all male MPs.

**Table 4.2: Parliamentary Members’ Age Group. The white side is women and the shaded area is for men<sup>12</sup>**

<b>Year and Age</b>	<b>1931-40 (70-79)</b>	<b>1941-50 (60-69)</b>	<b>1951-60 (50-59)</b>	<b>1961-70 (40-49)</b>	<b>1971-80 (30-39)</b>	<b>Total</b>
All Women	1 =1 %	20 =23 %	35 = 39%	26 = 29%	7 = 8%	89 = 100%
Reserve <sup>13</sup>	1 = 1 %	13 = 18%	29= 40%	23 = 32%	6 =9 %	72 = 100%
Constituency	0 = 0%	7 = 41%	6 =35 %	3 = 18%	1 = 6%	17 = 100%
Men	12 = 7%	55 = 29%	80 = 42%	36 = 19%	6 = 3%	189 = 100%
Grand Total	13	75	115	62	13	278

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted, however, that the analysis presented here does not include all MPs; though the total number of MPs in Tanzania is 322, information was available only for 278 MPs. This is because the year of birth for 44 MPs has not yet been entered in the database.

<sup>13</sup> Reserve seat include all non constituency MP members.

The highest number of legislators, both women and men, are on average between 50 and 59 years of age, this was 39% of all women and 42% of all men. The next largest group was those in their 60s, here again there were proportionally less women. This implies that most MPs enter politics late in life and also reflects male incumbency over a longer period. This relationship between men and women reverses for those in their 40s with 29% of women in this category but only 19% of men. Similar results were found in research done on the age-group of members of the French parliament, which also has fewer women in the oldest age group (Murray 2010) indicating an international trend. Although there are far fewer women constituency MPs compared to MPs in reserve seats they are on average a significantly older group of women with 41% of female constituency MPs over 60 years of age compared to 19% of reserve seat MPs, while 41% of reserve seat MPs are under 50 years of age compared to 24% of women constituency MPs. In fact as a group women constituency MPs have a more similar age profile to male MPs than to women in reserve seats.

Another element of the parliamentary profiles examined in the current study is education. A good standard of education is an important factor that enables parliamentarians to effectively execute their functions. From Tables 4.3 it is clear that women legislators are less educated when compared to men. Their lower level of education may prevent women effectively participating in politics or being as highly regarded by the public. The highest numbers of women MPs, 41%, only have secondary education compared to 21% of men. While for men, the largest proportion, 40%, are graduates, compared to 36% of women who are graduates. The gap widens at higher levels of education, 27% of men have masters degrees compared to 19% of women, and 12% of men have PhDs compared to 4% of women. The emphasis on high levels of education for members of parliament came to the fore because of the nature of the work, which requires reading and analysing large volume of documents and also the high status that is given to education in Tanzania society. Although in Tanzania the parliament's business is conducted in the local language, 'Swahili', nonetheless many documents such as bills and acts are written in English, which requires at least a graduate to understand and make a meaningful interpretation. On the whole, the membership of the Tanzania parliament has a high level of education, and it includes a very well-educated group of women. If, however, the MP is younger

(assuming that equals being less experienced) and less educated, it is more likely that she/he will not be selected to lead.

**Table 4:3 A Comparison of Educational levels of parliamentary members**

Education	Women	Men	Total	Women only	Men only
PHD	3 – 11%	24 – 89%	27 – 100%	3 – 4%	24 – 12%
Masters	17 – 25%	52 – 75%	69 – 100%	17 – 19 %	52 – 27%
Graduate	33 – 30%	77 – 70%	110– 100%	33 – 36%	77 – 40%
Secondary	40 – 50%	40– 50%	80– 100%	40 – 41%	40 – 21%
Total	93	193	286	93	193

Source: Parliamentary website Feb 2010.

### **Women in Ministerial and Committee Leadership Positions**

In general, the number of women in the cabinet has been increasing, but at low rate: 6, 9, and 12 in 1995, 2000 and 2005, respectively (see table 4.4). In percentage terms this has meant women representation at ministerial level has grown from 11% in 1995 when women were 16% of the MPs, to 14% in 2000 when women were 22% of all MPs and in 2005 women accounted for 27% and 24% in the ministerial and deputy ministerial posts respectively when women were 30.4% of the parliament (see table 4.4). It can be seen by this that the percentage of women holding high positions has trailed behind the percentage of women in parliament but that the gap is closing. Table 4.4a shows that the relationship between the numbers of men in parliament and the number of cabinet posts held by men and the relationship between the number of women in parliament and the number of cabinet posts held by women has become more similar over time , but that men still have the advantage.

**Table 4.4: The number of Men and Women, special seats and Constituency seats appointed as Ministers and Deputy Ministers in the year 1995, 2000 and 2005.**

Categories	Year		
	1995	2000	2005
<b>Ministers</b>			
Men	24 – (89%)	25 – (86%)	19- (73%)
Women-constituency seat	1 – (4%)	1 – (3%)	3 – (12%)
Women-special seat	2 – (7%)	3 – (11%)	4 – (15%)
Total	27	29	26
<b>Deputy Ministers</b>			
Men	13 – (81%)	13 – (72%)	16 – (76%)
Women-constituency seat	1 – (6%)	2 – (11%)	0 – (0%)
Women-special seat	2 – (13%)	3 – (13%)	5 – (24%)
Total	16	18	21

Source: Idara ya Taarifa za Bunge (Hansards), 1995, 2000; and Parliamentary website Feb 2010.

One of the explanations for this tendency, apart from women MPs being younger and less educated than male MPs and therefore not selected to lead, suggests the negative impact of cultural norms and practices. The traditional and cultural norms imposed in Tanzanian society, which does not see women as leaders, affect the president, who has always been a man, in his appointment of cabinet ministers. In the early 1990s Koda and Shayo commented that,

The head of the state is empowered to appoint cabinet ministers and principal secretaries. Much as there are adequate women in the pool, very few are nominated for this post, it is more likely that the list of potential candidates sent to the Head of the state contains very few women due to insensitivity among those who forward the names to relevant authority (Shayo and Koda 1994:12).

However this situation is changing and more women are now being appointed to these leadership positions. It is also noticeable that a high comparative percentage of women from constituency seats are appointed to cabinet positions rather than women from reserve seats this may reflect the fact that the women in the constituency seats are an older group of women who tend to have more political experience. However an increasing number of women from reserve seats are also in cabinet blurring the lines between these two groups of women.

**Table 4.4a: Comparison of the Number of Women in special seats, Women in Constituency seats, all women and all men as a % of those appointed Ministers and Deputy Ministers in the year 1995, 2000 and 2005.**

Categories	Year		
	1995	2000	2005
<b>Ministers</b>			
<b>From Constituency Seats (CS) as % of all women in CS</b>	12.5%	8.3%	17.6%
<b>From Special Seats (SS) as % of all women in SS</b>	5.6%	6.4%	5.3%
<b>% of all women</b>	6.8%	6.8%	7.6%
<b>% of all men</b>	10.8%	11.4%	8.5%
<b>Deputy Ministers</b>			
<b>From Constituency seats % of women in constituency seats</b>	12.5%	16.6%	0
<b>From special seats % of women in special seat</b>	5.6%	6.4%	6.6%
<b>% of all women</b>	6.8%	8.5%	5.4%
<b>% of all men</b>	5.9%	5.9%	7.2%
<b>All ministerial posts</b>			
<b>% of all women</b>	13.6%	15.3%	13%
<b>% of all men</b>	16.6%	17.4%	15.8%

Source: Idara ya Taarifa za Bunge (Hansards), 1995, 2000; and Parliamentary website Feb 2010.

The allocation of Tanzanian ministerial postings, even though it is slowly changing, still portrays a traditional model of parliament (seen table 4.5). By traditional, what it meant is that although women have started occupying what might have in the past been regarded as male ministries, such as finance, the majority of women are in

ministries related to family, social services, health, welfare and education. It is not a negative thing completely for women to hold these posts, but the concern is that if women continue to stay in these ministries they will not be able to bring about the desired feminist change and transformation. This is because the ministries they occupy are ministries that have less influence, often referred to as ‘soft’ ministries, the impact of women in these ministries on the political system is general on the government may be of less significance than if they headed other ministries which are considered to be more important ministries.

**Table 4.5: Tanzanian women’s cabinet positions for the years 2005-2010**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Cabinet Ministry</b>	<b>Deputy Cabinet Ministry</b>
1. Burian	Vice President’s Office (Environment)	
2. Daftari		Communication, Science and Technology
3. Ghasia	Public Service and Management	
4. Kabaka		Education and Vocational Training
5. Kigoda		Health and Social Welfare
6. Kombani	Regional Administration and Local Government	
7. Mahiza		Education and Vocational Training
8. Mangunga	Natural Resources and Tourism	
9. Nagu	Industries, Trade and Marketing	
10. Nkya		Community Development, Gender and Children
11. Simba	President’s Office (Good Governance)	
12. Sitta	Community Development, Gender and Children	
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

Source: Parliamentary website Feb 2010

The allocation of Tanzanian ministerial posts can be categorised using the framework developed by Krook and O’Brien (2010) from their study of the distribution of women in ministerial roles in over 150 countries. They categorise ministries by the assignment of gender type and prestige type, as shown in Table 4.6. Whereas the

break down of ministerial responsibilities and therefore the definitions of what constitute a gender or prestige type may slightly differ from country to country, for most countries they are very similar. For example, in Tanzania Communication, Science and Technology is considered as one ministry, while in many countries communication is separated from science and technology.



**Table 4.6: Distribution of Ministries by Gender and Prestige Type**

Low Prestige	Medium Prestige	High Prestige	Feminine	Neutral	Masculine
Aging/Elderly Children and Family Culture Displaced Persons Heritage Minority Affairs Regional/Reform Science/Technology Sports Tourism Heritage Women's Affairs Youth	Agriculture Fisheries, & Livestock  Civil Service  Communication & Information & Construction Public Works  Correctional Services/Police  Education  Energy Environment & Natural Resources <sup>14</sup>  Health and Social Welfare  Housing  Industry & Commerce  Justice  Labour  Planning & Development  Parliamentary Affairs  Enterprise Public Works  Religious Affairs  Transportation	Defence, Military & National/ Public  Security  Finance &  Economy  Foreign Affairs  Government/ Interior/ Home Affairs	Aging and Elderly  Children and Family  Culture  Education Health/Social Welfare  Heritage  Women's Affairs  Youth	Civil Service  Displaced persons  Energy Environment/Natural Resources  Housing  Justice  Minority Affairs  Parliamentary Affairs  Public Works Planning & Development  Regional Reform  Sports  Tourism	Agriculture, Food Safety Fisheries & Livestock Communication & Information Construction & Public Works Correctional Services/Police Defence, Military & National/ Public Security Enterprises Finance & Economy Foreign Affairs Government/ Interior/Home Affairs Industry & Commerce Labour Religious Affairs Science & Technology Transportation

The table is adopted from Krook and O'Brien (2010: 40 & 41) All the President's Men? Numbers and Portfolio Allocations of Female Cabinet Ministers.

<sup>14</sup> For OPEC members, any ministry having to do with natural resources, oil, or energy is considered to be high prestige. OPEC members include: Algeria, Angola, Ecuador, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Venezuela.

In the Tanzanian cabinet, as shown in table 4.7, five women are in feminine ministerial posts covering the following areas: Community Development, Gender and Children Affairs; Education and Vocational Training; and Health and Social Welfare. The five ministries which are categorized as gender neutral are also headed by women: one in the President’s Office (Environment); one in the Vice President’s Office (Good Governance); Natural Resources and Tourism; Regional Administration and Local Government; and Public Service and Management. There are two women holding offices in what are regarded as in the masculine group: the ministries of Industries, Trade and Marketing; and Communication, Science and Technology. The grouping of women’s ministerial positions agrees with beliefs about the general nature of the women. Some research argues that women are less corrupt than men, so they fit in well in dealing with good-governance sectors posts. The early research done across countries showed that ‘corruption is less severe where women comprise a large share of the labour force and where women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats’ (Azfar at al 1999:3). Not only that, but women are thought to possess a caring nature, which can relate well with environment, education and informal work-related activities.

**Table 4.7: Distribution of Gender and Prestige Type of Tanzanian women’s cabinet positions for the years 2005-2010**

<b>Ministries category</b>	<b>Number of ministers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Masculine	2	16%
Neutral	5	42%
Feminine	5	42%
Total	12	100%
High	0	0%
Medium	7	58%
Low	5	42%
Total	12	100%

Source: Parliamentary website Feb 2010

In many cultures in the world women are still considered not suitable to hold some key positions in government. A similar trend is evident in Tanzania's parliament, where there is no female in a high-prestige ministry position. At the medium prestige level there are seven ministries headed by women; one in the President's Office (Environment); two in Education and Vocational Training; one in Public Service and Management; one in Industries, Trade and Marketing; one in the Vice President's Office (Good Governance); and one in Health and Social Welfare. Five women ministers in Tanzania are in the lower prestige category: one in Regional Administration and Local Government; two in Community Development, Gender and Children's Affairs; one in Communication, Science and Technology; and one in Natural Resources and Tourism. In similar manner women also hold few parliament committee leadership posts as shown in table 4.8.

There is also a strong gender difference in the membership of parliamentary committees and in the type of committees in which women play leadership roles. Only six women hold a leadership position in these committees, women are 6% of committee chairs and 15% of deputy committee chairs. In both cases the figure has not reached the 30% proposed by critical mass theory, neither does it reflect the percentage of women in parliament. In the Tanzanian parliament the appointment of members to a committee is done by the parliament's speaker.<sup>15</sup> However, the selection of the chairperson and deputy chairperson is made by the members of the committee once it has been formed. In both the reserve seats and constituency seats, women have almost equal numbers of chairpersonships and the deputy chairpersonships. The distribution of MPs by political party shows the CCM to have a dominant share. The reasons for this are clearly that as it is the ruling party, the CCM has more women in reserve seats because it won more constituency seats and the reserve selection depends on the proportional number of seat the political party won in the particular general election.

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<sup>15</sup> In the rules and conduct of the parliament's business, no. 87(2) part 10, relating to the standing committee, states that, the national assembly speaker a) will select equal numbers of MPs in every committee, unless it is stated otherwise in a particular committee; b) will consider assigning equal numbers of MPs by gender in every committee, by using the percentage number of the gender present in the parliament; c) to a large extent, will consider the priority wishes of each parliamentarian; d) will consider the necessity for every committee to have experience or special skills concerning the committee involved.

**Table 4.8: Distributions of Women MPs in Different Standing Committee by Political Parties and type of seat 2005 – 2010 Parliamentary term. S-Special seat, C-Constituency seat, T- Total \*Chairperson, \*\*Deputy Chairperson**

Name of Committees	Women MPs Distribution in Political Parties											Total members and percentages		
	CCM			CUF			CHADEMA			Total				
	S	C	T	S	C	T	S	C	T	S	C	F	M	T
1. Finance and Economy Affairs	3	1	4	1	0	1	1	0	1	5	1	6= 27%	16= 73%	22
2. Public Account	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	4= 23%	13=77%	17
3.Social Services	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	5	0	5=28%	13=72	18
4.Social Welfare and Community Development	10	1*	11	2	0	2	0	0	0	12	1	13=65%	7=35%	20
5.Constitutional, Legal and Public Administration	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	2	4=23%	13=77%	17
6.Standing Orders	3	1**	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4=27%	11=73%	15
7. Parliamentary Privileges, Ethics and Powers	1*	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	3	1	4=28%	10=72%	14
8. Energy and Minerals	4	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5=33%	10=67%	15
9. HIV/AIDs Affairs	8**	2	10	1	0	1	1	0	1	10	2	12=46%	14=54%	26
10. Infrastructure	3**	1	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	5	1	6=30%	14=70%	20
11. Public Corporation Accounts	5	1**	6	1	0	1	1	0	1	7	1	8=42%	11=58%	19
12. Miscellaneous Amendments	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2=12%	14=88%	16
13 Land, Natural Resources and Environment	5	0	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	6=28%	15=72%	21
14. Agriculture, Livestock and Water	5**	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	7=32%	15=68%	22
15. Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3=13%	20=87	23
16. Industries and Trade	6	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	0	7=30%	16=70%	23
17. Local Government Accounts	5	1	6	1	0	1	1	0	1	7	1	8=47%	9=53%	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>325</b>

Source: Parliamentary database.www.parliament.go.t z- June 2010

In terms of women leading parliamentary committees, there are only 2 women Chairpersons; one heads the Social Welfare and Community Development committee and the second chairs the Parliamentary Privileges, Ethics and Power committee. In

Tanzania's parliament, there are 5 women Deputy Chairpersons. The deputy chair is the position whereby one can lead a committee when chairpersons are not present. There is one woman MP who is both the Chairperson of one committee and a Deputy Chairperson in another committee. She chairs the Parliamentary Privileges, Ethics and Power Committee and is deputy chairperson of the Infrastructure committee. The number of women deputy chairpersons in 'masculine' type committees is encouraging. Four of the committees are in the 'masculine' and one in the 'feminine' type position. In terms of prestige types, two of the committees with women deputy chairs are regarded as high, two as medium and one as being in the lower rank. However as women still hold very few positions in leadership posts in the parliament this can limit their power to influence decisions made in the parliament.

The highest proportion of women in a committee is in the social welfare and community development committee at 65%, while the highest proportion of men (87%) is in the foreign affairs, defence and security committee. This agrees with the finding from the literature that women are more likely to serve on committees relevant to women's issues (Diamond 1997; Carroll and Tylor 1989a; Thomas and Welch 1991; Thomas 1994; Reingold 2000 in Reingold 2006:6). As explained above, in relation to the women ministerial leadership posts, the first fall under the feminine gender and lower prestige type. The second is under the neutral gender and medium prestige categories see Tables 4.9.

**Table 4.9: Ranking of Women MPs in Different Standing Committee 2005 – 2010 Parliamentary term. Gender; M-Masculine, N- Neutral and F-Feminine. Prestige; H- High, M-Medium and L- Lower.**

Parliamentary committee	MPs total and percentage			ender	Prestige
	Women	Men	Total		
1. Finance and Economy Affairs	6= 27%	16= 73%	22	M	H
2. Public Account	4= 23%	13=77%	17	M	H
3.Social Services	5=28%	13=72%	18	N	M
4.Social Welfare and Community Development	13=65%	7=35%	20	F	M
5.Constitutional, Legal and Public Administration	4=23%	13=77%	17	N	M
6.Standing Orders	4=27%	11=73%	15	M	H
7. Parliamentary Privileges, Ethics and Powers	4=28%	10=72%	14	N	M
8. Energy and Minerals	5=33%	10=67%	15	N	M
9. HIV/AIDs Affairs	12=46%	14=54%	26	F	M
10. Infrastructure	6=30%	14=70%	20	M	M
11. Public Corporation Accounts	8=42%	11=58%	19	M	H
12. Miscellaneous Amendments	2=12%	14=88%	16	-	-
13. Land, Natural Resources and Environment	6=28%	15=72%	21	N	M
14. Agriculture, Livestock and Water	7=32%	15=68%	22	M	M
15. Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security	3=13%	20=87%	23	M	H
16. Industries and Trade	7=30%	16=70%	23	M	M
17. Local Government Accounts	8=47%	9=53%	17	N	M
Total	104	221	325		

Source parliamentary website 30 June, 2010.

In the parliamentary committees, women continue to be the majority in the traditional female-related committees, which means that the impact they make is mainly on the affairs that have been associated with women's interests. This contributes to the whole dilemma of women's impact in the parliament. Again, the picture which appeared for women as minister and deputy minister is reflected in the committees. Women are holding positions in and concentrated around committees responsible for domestic family issues, which is the same responsibility they hold in the society.

### **Women's participation in parliamentary debates**

To examine the impact that women MPs have on political debate once they occupy their seats in parliament, the research analyzed three types of parliamentary intervention; principal questions, supplementary questions and contributions. In Tanzania one of the major responsibilities of legislators is considered to be the

represent of the people by asking questions concerning people’s needs, hence the importance of parliamentary questions. On average, both women and men legislators do ask roughly the same number of questions. According to the study conducted by Yoon (2011:88) “MPs stated that the proportion of female MPs contribution to parliamentary debates has significantly increased as a result of the increase in women’s representation.” Yoon argues that women have been proportionately encouraged to contribute as their numbers increased. Certainly In the last parliament the number of women’s questions and contributions was very similar to that of men.

**Table 4.10: The number of Questions, Supplementary questions and Contribution made during parliamentary debates, and their ratio**

	Questions		Supplementary Questions		Contribution	
	Total	Ratio	Total	Ratio	Total	Ratio
Women	974	1 = 10	1477	1 = 15	4363	1= 43
Men	2470	1 =11	3680	1 = 17	9663	1= 44
Total	3444		5157		14026	

Source Tanzania parliamentary website, 30 June 2010

In order to analyse if there is a difference between male and female MPs in terms of the ratio of questions they asked that were related to nation political issues compared to constituency questions, the questions asked by a sample of 42 MPs, the 14 women in the Tanzanian parliament who were selected from constituencies in the 2005 general election who were not ministers (ministers do not ask any principal questions in the parliamentary debates), plus 14 women from reserve seats and 14 male MPs. The characteristics of the women MPs from constituency seats were used as the criteria to select the other MPs specifically, age group and academic qualifications (see appendix 2).

**Table 4.11: Comparison of 14 Men and Women MPs Questions from reserve and constituency seats**

Members of Parliament	Total Questions	Constituency questions	General questions
Women: Constituency	102	44 = 43%	58 = 57%
Women: Reserve Seat	160	53 = 33%	107 = 67%
Men: Constituency	131	85 = 65%	46 = 35%
Total	393	182	211

Source parliamentary website 30 June, 2010.

Table 4.11 shows a marked difference between men and women in their focus on constituency versus wider political questions. Nearly two thirds of the questions asked by men were constituency questions compared to only a third for women from reserve seats. Although the difference between women from constituency seats and men was not as big it was still very significant and indicates that the difference in focus is more than just a result of the type of seat. It could be that women are less embedded in local networks and in local political issues as suggested by Tripp at al (2009). This is particularly an issue in the promotion of legislation, Celis (2008:116) argues that “Where women did not meet [as a group or with local networks], they were less involved in legislation for women.”

However there are factors that mean women from reserve seats may be less focused on local issues and have less resources to deal with them. Under the constitution the reserve seats do not have equal right with constituencies MPs. When a reserve seat MP is elected they are responsible for a whole region containing a number of constituencies, which means that the geographical area coverage for reserve seat MP is equal or more than four constituencies. This is different to constituency MPs, who are responsible and accountable to their constituencies alone. In spite of this unlike constituency MPs reserve seat MPs do not have an assistant. Because of this discrepancy in terms of operation of reserve seats compared to constituency seats an MP raised the issue of assistants for reserve seat MPs (Session 9: Question 87:07/11/2007). The answer given from Prime Ministers’ Office with responsibility for policy, coordination and parliamentary affairs is that the assistants working with



the constituency MPs are there according to the Tanzania Constitution Law of 1977, section 73, and that the issue should be raised with the parliamentary committee who could recommend it for farther consideration by the government.

In the same manner there is controversy about funds for the development of constituencies for which reserve seats MPs are ineligible. In July 2009 the National Assembly passed the Constituencies Development Catalyst Fund (CDCF) which are intended to act as a 'kick start' for development projects. In August last year the president signed the Bill into law as the CDCF Act No. 16 of 2009. The question was brought up by a reserve seat MP in (Q19: session2:13/04/2010). The Minister of Regional Administration and Local Government, Mr Mwanry responded that the fund belongs only to constituencies and that the government does not foresee changing this;

“The government understands and appreciates the immense contribution by Special Seat MPs and there is no shred of discrimination in the disbursement of the constituency funds. According to Section Three of the Act, constituency implies the constituency established under sub-section 75 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977,”..... “Under the arrangement therefore, legislators mentioned in the Act are those representing constituencies through election process. The government has no plans to allocate funds to Special Seat MPs because that would imply a breach of the established laws,” (Quoted in the Daily News Reporter 2010 August 18:1)

Here it is suggested that it is the unclear work guidelines for reserve-seat MPs that partly explains the low number of questions with a constituency focus and it was notable that they did ask questions on issues covering the whole region that they represented.

### **Parliamentarians' Questions with a Women's Agenda**

According to the claims of the politics of presence theory, women are the ones who can best represent women's concerns. The underlying hypothesis of the theory suggests that the election of significant numbers of women will lead to increased

attention to women's issues in the legislation process, even if the policy outcome does not immediately change.

In order to discover if women were raising issues of concern to women the content of the priority questions was analysed. All of the priority questions for 2005 -2010 were surveyed and those that dealt with issues of concern for women/girls were listed.

There was a total of 3444 principal questions of which only 95 dealt with women's issues. Meaning that the total numbers of questions raised in Tanzania's parliament dealing with women's concerns amounted to only 2% of questions asked; 82% of those questions came from women and 18% from men. The small percentage of questions asked with a 'women's agenda' might suggest that such women's questions are hard to ask since they interfere with established gender relations that are imbedded in customary and religion practices and are therefore considered a sensitive issue by many. As a result, it may be that no one dares to ask these questions. Nor are such questions on the political agendas of the main parties and there was no bill or significant debate on a gender issue in this five year period.

Two tables list questions with a 'women agenda', the first table 4:12, present the questions asked using the categories to group them that are used in the parliamentary website the second table 4.12a reorders the questions by content to give a clearer picture of the key issues of concern.

**Table 4.12: Question related to a ‘women’s agenda’ 2005–2010 by parliamentary category**

<b>Sector<sup>16</sup></b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Total</b>
Culture	0=0%	1=100%	1=100%
Central government	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Communication/infrastructure	1=50%	1=50	2=100%
Cooperative society/market	2=100%	0=0%	2=100%
Development	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Education/Higher education	6=60%	4=40%	10=100%
Employment	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Foreign affairs	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Food and agriculture	2=100%	0=0%	2=100%
Health	17=77%	5=23%	22=100%
HIV/AIDs	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Human rights	4=66%	2=34%	6=100%
Industry	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Justice/constitution	4=80%	1=20%	5=100%
Loans	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Local government	9=75%	3=25%	12=100%
Security	2=100%	0=0%	2=100%
Tourism/natural resources	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Parliament	2=100%	0=0%	2=100%
Project fund	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Street children/orphans	2=100%	0=0%	2=100%
Water	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Women/women’s fund	17=100%	0=0%	17=100
Total	78=82%	17=18%	95=100%

Source: Tanzania parliamentary website, 30 June 2010

The analysis by parliamentary category shows that the top three issues on which questions were asked by women MPs falls under health and women’s funds with the highest number of questions at 17 each, followed by local government with 9 questions. For women education came in fourth place with 6 questions. While men MPs top priorities are health, education and local government with 5, 4 and 3

<sup>16</sup> Sector- is the implementing section under the ministry.

questions respectively. When the content of the questions is considered the most important issues for women emerge as health, economic issues and violence against women, while for men only two issues health and traditional culture are significant.

In relation to health, women MPs have asked questions mostly relating to diseases affecting women, childbirth and delivery, such as concerns with action on haemorrhaging and eclampsia<sup>17</sup>. They are for the most part questions motivated by the concerns of constituents for example, on the subject of delivery, conduct of some of private hospitals, who force women to undergo surgery during delivery for the sake of increasing their fees is raised (normal delivery is cheaper than surgery)<sup>18</sup>. Similarly women MPs have asked the government to bring back to the villages the Maternal Child Health Care Unit as training centres<sup>19</sup>. While other questions raise concerns about a shortage of infrastructure—such as requests for more female doctors, more children's wards and more delivery wards, as well as the need to educate society about the effects of menopause<sup>20</sup>. More critically female MPs have also asked about the government's failure to comply with health regulations in terms of entitlement to free treatment for pregnant mothers and children under five years old<sup>21</sup>, which exist on paper; but not in practice as it was claimed women were being charged when attending hospitals. The fact that most of these questions were not challenging or controversial is indicated by the question asking if the ministry of health was aware of the bad language used by some hospital staff<sup>22</sup>. In relation to health, women MPs have asked more questions than their male colleagues, which suggest their shared experience in their reproductive roles matters as the questions they asked, are associated with female biological issues, like pregnancy and delivery.

The questions about health issues asked by men MPs also include a demand for more doctors, strategies for specific illnesses, and action to reduce the maternal and infant

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<sup>17</sup>Session 5, question 13, 01/11/06; session 5, question 128, 13/11/06; session 12, question 7, 10/06/08; session 4, question 56, 02/02/09.

<sup>18</sup> Session 2, question 63, 14/02/2006, Session 5, question 5, 31/10/2006.

<sup>19</sup> Session 9, question 186, 15/11/07.

<sup>20</sup> Session 4, question 274, 25/07/06; Session 8, question 336, 01/08/07; Session 10, question 84, 05/02/08; Session 11, question 164, 24/04/08 and Session 16, question 212, 14/07/09.

<sup>21</sup> Session 16, question 8, 09/06/09.

<sup>22</sup> See session 19, question 36, 15/04/2010.

mortality rate.<sup>23</sup> Two particular questions that were asked by men MPs dealt with issues different from those that were raised by women: one was on abortion and the other on the side-effects of beauty products.<sup>24</sup> The question on abortion was asked in the context of the alleged large number of school girl abortions that take place in Tanzania; the question sought to clarify when women are allowed legally to abort and the types of qualifications were necessary for doctors who could authorize abortion to take place. This has to be seen as an anti abortion question as in Tanzania there is no law which allows women access to abortion. So most of the abortions that take place in Tanzania are illegal. This is an issue for young girls as even in primary school “pregnancy is reported to be the reason behind about 5 per cent of all dropouts,” (REPOA 2010:20).

The second question was about the effect of globalization on women, especially in relation to the use of beauty and makeup products and of different hair styles also from a negative perspective. The questioner went on to ask if there are any side-effects to using hair extensions, and requested the government to put in place strategies to educate society about the effects of some beauty products, in order for members of Tanzanian society to understand the dangers and encourage them to stay with their original hair. This question put an emphasis on women as subject to and controlled by men and also by traditional values in terms of make up use and type of dress.

There is similarity between the questions asked in regard to health and local government issues. Some questions about health involved matters of building construction and repairs, such as the provision of hospitals, health centres, children’s and women’s wards are allocated to the local government sector. Another question asked was about the upgrading of health centres and buying a speed boat to facilitate accessible transport for pregnant women during delivery. The questions about local government which were not related to the health sector include the request for catalyst development funds for constituencies, getting permission to contest for posts in the municipal offices, and establishing gender desks, like HIV/AIDs and Environment

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<sup>23</sup> See session 3, question 111, 06/04/06; session 6, question 71, 06/02/2006 and session 16, question 157, 03/07/09.

<sup>24</sup> See session 6, question 10, 30/01/07 and session 16, question 306, 29/07/09.

desks which are currently operating in the municipals offices around the country. Questions asked by men in regard to local government matters were requests for the hospital car. Other questions that have been asked by men outside the issue of health relate to women's loans. One was asked about the speeding up of the opening of the Tanzania Women's Bank, and a second related to the establishment of a basket fund to enable women and youths to obtain loans. These two questions are related directly to women's and were asked on the sector about women/women's funds. For this reason in table 12:4a has consolidated the grouping because of similarity within the questions asked to give an overview insight in the detailed of the questions asked.

In regard to the education sector, women have requested the introduction of counselling teachers for girls, in order to help prevent pregnancy in schools. They have also asked about promoting gender equality in education, including ways to increase life-skill training for girls or to boost girls' performance in schools and to raise vocational training courses intakes.<sup>25</sup> Simultaneously, men have asked for a law to enable pregnant girls to go back to school.<sup>26</sup> Men, likewise, have asked about the provision of loan's for women in universities in Zanzibar, and about having a gender balance in science and technology subjects.<sup>27</sup>

Men have also asked questions about women's freedom in regard to dress,<sup>28</sup> particularly in higher learning institutions, complaining that women are wearing very short and tight dresses. The question on this matter went further, to call for the government and the institutions responsible, if possible, to establish rules for the wearing of decent dress. Men's questions about society's compliance with Tanzanian tradition and culture such as women wearing long dresses, is of great interest. First, it is about the power relations currently prevailing in the society. Men seem to want to control, or perhaps simply guide, women on how they should conduct themselves. This became obvious when only men MPs asked questions about women's dress and other aspects of personal style including the use of hair extensions. More importantly

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<sup>25</sup> See session 7, question 92, 18/04/07; session 12, question 155, 03/07/08; session 13, question 11, 28/10/08; session 14, question 3, 27/01/09; session 18, question 156, 10/02/10 and session 19, question 57, 19/04/10.

<sup>26</sup> See session 9, question 7, 30/10/07.

<sup>27</sup> See session 3, question 57, 31/03/06 and session 4, question 31, 19/06/06.

<sup>28</sup> See session 16, question 121, 29/06/09.

a male politician also suggested that female circumcision<sup>29</sup> should be considered as part of Tanzanian culture. It might be that the motivation of those who have asked these questions is not control, or the desire to introduce a dress code and a make-up standard to be followed, but intentionally or unintentionally, when questions of these natures are asked, the implication is men wanting women to behave and appear in a way which is acceptable to a certain standard of behaviour, which must be pleasing to men.

The data indicate that women consider the issues of health and women's funds as their top priorities: 17 questions were asked in both of these sectors. The questions asked in relation to women's funds insist on various ways women can use funds to combat economic poverty or as start-up capital for small business development. Questions asked on the subject of women/women's funds include those about the establishment of small business centres, affordable loan conditions, lower interest rates, business training for women, and education for women without gender discrimination (see appendix II; pg 16-21). As argued by Khan et al (2005), in both developed and developing countries, poverty or low income is an important determinant of the health status of the nation and it is perhaps therefore not surprising that women give a priority to these two areas. This suggests that women MPs are identifying poverty, access to income generating resources and activities and also access to health care as the main issues for Tanzanian women.

However there are some important questions that have been asked by MPs which relate to the general standing of women in Tanzania before the law that would be more associated with the concerns of women in developed countries. These questions deal with violence against women, such as husbands beating wives; inheritance rights for widows; and also women's marriage rights (see appendix II; pg 8-9). An example of this type of question is a question posed about the Marriage ACT Law of 1971, which allows girls under 18 years of age to be married.<sup>30</sup> This was raised in the context of the situation in the Tanzania courts; there are three types of laws which operate: government law, religious law and traditional or customary law. Women therefore experience contradictions when searching for their rights before the law as the level of

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<sup>29</sup> See session 14, question 127, 10/06/09.

<sup>30</sup> See session 10, question 68, 04/02/08.

gender equality is determined by the type of law applied. Throughout the history of Tanzania's traditional system, women in most cases have been oppressed by customary law and religious beliefs. So, if these three types of laws are to continue to work together as they do now in the Tanzania courts and in the judicial system, women will be denied the equality before the law they are promised in the constitution.

**Table 4.12a: Question related to a Women's Agenda 2005–2010 by Issue Area**

Sector	Women	Men	Total
Health	25=78%	7=22%	32=100%
Economic issues	14=93%	1=7%	15=100%
Violence against women	12=92%	1=8%	13=100%
Gender equality	8=89%	1=11%	9=100%
Agriculture	7=100%	0=0%	7=100%
Education	6=87%	1=13%	7=100%
Employment	3=100%	0=0%	3=100%
Foreign affairs	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Social welfare	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Water	1=100%	0=0%	1=100%
Law and constitution	0=0%	1=100%	1=100%
Traditional Culture	0=0%	5=100%	5=100%
Total	78=82%	17=18%	95=100%

Source: Tanzania parliamentary website, 30 June 2010

The table above shows the women's agenda question reorganised into a smaller number of issue areas health was by far the most important issue for women with 25 out of 78 questions on this issue. It was also the most important issue for men with 7 out of 17 questions on this topic, making it even more comparatively important for men. Of next importance to men were questions promoting traditional culture, 5 in total, which demonstrated a conservative view of gender relations. For women the second area of importance was economic issues again reflecting an overriding concern with the need for women to be self-supporting and have access to an income. In third place for women was gender violence reflecting both the concerns of Tanzanian women and the prominence of this issue in the international discourse.



The low number of questions asked and the fact that they are not very contentious or radical does not mean MPs are ignoring feminists outside of the Tanzanian parliament. A survey of the website of TGNP (Tanzanian Gender Networking Programme)<sup>31</sup> reveals that it does not contain a set of feminists demands aimed at the Tanzanian government on which female MPs could base calls for reform. The website shared similar preoccupations with health and poverty displayed by the women MPs.

## **Conclusion**

In terms of descriptive diversity, women MPs are younger and less educated than their male colleagues and hold few leadership positions in cabinet ministries and in legislative committees. Not only that, but women occupy no prestige ministries and mostly are in feminine or neutral posts. This suggests that women do not hold posts which would allow them to influence decision making in what are considered to be the most important ministries or committees. In addition to this the type of ministries and committees on which women serve are mostly those that reflect traditional views of gender and of women's public roles.

There was a very low volume and a narrow range of questions asked within Tanzania's parliament that had to do with a woman's agenda, with 82% of the question asked that relating to a woman's agenda coming from women MPs and 18% from men. The politics of presence theory expects that women will stand up for and act for women because of their shared life experience. In general, however, if one compares the number of questions on women's interests with the total number of principal question asked in the parliament, the former make up only 2%. The questions asked are geared towards addressing the day-to-day practical needs of women. Amongst the questions asked by men are those demanding that women abide by traditional cultural practices. In general, most of the questions do not challenge the existing gender relations inequality in Tanzanian society. Few questions were asked

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<sup>31</sup> TGNP is perhaps the most significant NGO in Tanzania with a focus on gender and women's rights. It is highly regarded and receives significant international funding. <http://www.tgnp.org/>

which had transformative potential, as deemed desirable by feminist and gender-balance activists.

The other issue of note is the ambiguity of the limits of the reserve-seat mandate, which has resulted in unclear responsibilities for women in the reserve seats. This is also acknowledged as a problem by Meena (2003), who indicated the lack of accountability that arises because women reserve-seat MPs do not have a constituency to represent as do elected constituency MPs. The parliamentary debates, showed men asking questions about their constituencies more often than women from either reserve seats or constituency seats but that women from reserve seats asked the least amount of question relating to local or constituency issues. This difference in function has resulted in reserve-seat MPs being denied the privileges and supports that constituency MPs get, such as access to constituency development funding and an office assistant to help them execute their responsibilities. This has created a class of MPs who are exclusively women who have fewer resources than other MPs. This raises the whole issue of the genuineness and the willingness of institutions such as political parties and parliament to see women as political equals and to support them in the political process.

This outcome suggests that the working circumstances that surround reserve seat can act as hindrance for women to effectively execute their job. To put these finding into perspectives it is observed that on one hand the government has no problem with raising the percentage of women in parliament, but on the other hand the government is reluctant to fully support women reserve seat MPs with resources such as the fund for development asked by reserve seat MPs. At the same time reserve seat MPs have a higher workload than constituencies MPs as they represent a larger area. As highlighted by Ward (2006) it is difficult to establish the boundaries or the exact nature of their working area as in practice they overlapped with mainstream constituencies. A further limitation is that Reserve seats MPs are required to inform the relevant Constituency MP of a visit or planned activities in the constituency (Yoon 2008). This might curtail the freedom of movement for the Reserve Seat MPs and in effect give them a lower rank than Constituency MPs.

Overall the small amount of attention to issues of concern to women in the Parliament and the comparatively lower status of the reserve seat MPs calls into question the extent to which having women make up 30% of the parliament can be seen as advancing women's interests.

## **THESIS CONCLUSION**

Since the 1990s the number of women in the parliament has increased drastically in many countries. But to date the link between the increase in the number of women in decision making and the impact women bring once they become office holders is still questionable. This is especially so when a country implements a reserve a seat quota system. This research helps to fill this void through the study of women in the parliament of Tanzania. The result of this analysis helps to build a picture of the relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation of women in the Tanzanian parliament. The thesis applied the approach of ‘critical mass’ and the ‘politics of the presence’ in examining the link between the numerical increase of women in the parliament and their impact on political debate. It concludes that the descriptive increase in the number of women in the parliament of Tanzania has not significantly translated into substantive representation, in that it has not significantly altered either the content of debates or policy outcomes.

By using the Tanzanian parliamentary website, the research identified the biographical details of MPs, and the leadership positions women holds in both committees and cabinets. It also compared the contribution of women in parliament to that of men and also compared the contributions of women in reserve seats with women in constituency seats, through an analysis of principal priority questions. In the parliaments composition the profile of the MPs shows that women are slightly younger and less educated than their male counterparts. Although women contribute as frequently as men in the parliamentary debates they hold fewer leadership positions and have a lower percentages of prestige posts in both ministries and committees than their numbers in the Parliament would indicate. As ministers and members of parliamentary committees women are still confined to ‘traditional’ female gender roles, and their presence is not affecting the men’s position to a significant degree.

The principal questions asked that deal with women or women’s issues are at low levels in terms of both the volume and the progressiveness of their contents. Only 2% of the principal questions asked have a women interest perspective of these 82% have been asked by women and only 18% by men. The majority of questions asked are in the areas of health, women/women funds, education and local government with some

of the questions asked by men expressing the view that women should abide by traditional culture and practices. The fact that so few questions are asked that reflect women's interests demonstrates little political space for women's issues, however the fact that women ask the overwhelming majority of these questions few as they are it a positive outcome for the reserve seat system.

In Tanzania, and in other countries, the critical mass approach of putting a standard measure in place to achieve a specified percentage of women in parliament such as a reserve seat gender quotas system, although highly debated and criticised by some theorists has proved to be the crucial vehicle in changing the composition and the structure of parliaments and other decision making institutions. Without reserve seats the number of women in parliament in Tanzania would only be 7 per cent, between 2005 and 2010, while the use of reserve seats has allowed for a relatively uncontested increase in the number of women in parliament. Although the research done by Yoon (2008) suggested the possibility of women moving from reserve seat into constituency seats, in effect using reserve seat as a stepping stone to gain experience and become known as a politician. The analysis here indicates that since the introduction of reserve seat in the 1970s to date the rise in the number of women in the parliament still heavily depends on reserve seats. It does not appear that reserve seat have played this significant role assigned to them by Yoon, as the number of women MPs in constituency seats has remain constant, ranging between 6-7% since the independence of Tanzania. There has therefore been no increase in constituencies elected women MPs that is proportional to the increase in reserve seats MPs. This research finds no evidence in Tanzania for reserve seats acting as route to constituency seats as proposed by Yoon (2008). But the reserve seat system as it has been implemented in Tanzania has produced both positive and negative short and long term effects.

As argued by Krook (2008) Gender quotas have a somewhat complicated relationship with broader changes in women's overall status. The substantive impact of reserve seat depends very much on other factors such as the role actors are willing to play to make it effective. For the case of Tanzania it has been a one sided concentration mostly on constitutional modification for increasing the percentage number of women without a focus on what happens afterwards. The operation of the reserve seats has created a second class category of MP which is exclusively female and is not given

the same level of supports as is applied to the constituency MPs. This has created difficulties for the reserve seats MPs to effectively execute their jobs and must impact on their status.

While the gender quota reserve seat measures are part of the broader perspective of bringing gender equality in to society, despite Tanzania's support for gender reform mechanisms such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform of Action, the introduction of reserve seats was primarily a result of the international advantages to introducing such a measure. It has not displaced any men from membership of the parliament. The limited capacity of reserve seats to produce progressive substantive change in gender relations is demonstrated by the limited nature of other reforms, for example, the low level of women in local government that has already been mentioned. Also to date Tanzania still operates under three law system; religious; customary and statutory law, neutralizing the whole exercise of fighting for human right and gender equality in the Tanzania. If the use of reserve seats for women is to have a significant impact on the position of women in Tanzanian reforms are needed that equalise their status with that of other categories of MPs. Currently Tanzania only presents a weak case for a positive relationship between descriptive and substantive representation, but this relationship could be strengthened by changes in the political structures to increase the status and resources of reserve seat MPs that would also facilitate more linkages between women MPs and local communities including women's interest groups.

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## APPENDIX 1

### 14 Women MPs from Constituency Seat

No.	Name	Age	Education
1	Ruth Blasio Msafiri	1962	Masters
2	Fatma Mussa Maghimbi	1946	Masters
3	Lolesia Jeremiah Masele Bukwimba	1971	Masters
4	Anna Semamba Makinda	1949	Advanced Diploma
5	Zabein Muhaji Mhita	1950	Diploma
6	Jenista Joakim Mhagama	1967	Diploma
7	Monica Ngezi Mbega	1956	Masters
8	Zainabu Amir Gama	1949	Postgraduate Diploma
9	Tatu Mussa Ntimizi	1946	Certificate
10	Teddy Loise Kasella- Bantu	1950	Diploma
11	Estherina Julio Kilasi	1957	Advance Diploma
12	Beautrice Matumbo Shellukindo	1958	Masters
13	Rita Loise Mlaki	1954	Masters
14	Getrude Ibengwe Mongella	1945	Graduate

### 14 Men MPs from Constituency Seat

No.	Name	Age	Education
1	Kajege Muguta Charles	1962	Masters
2	Mrema Christopher Felix	1946	Masters
3	Mporogonyi Muhama Kilontsi	1949	Masters
4	Mohamed Rashid Hamad	1950	Diploma
5	Kimbata Godwin Fuya	1967	Advance Diploma
6	Nzanzugwa Nicodem Daniel	1956	Masters
7	Farrah Ali Saleh	1949	Diploma
8	Malima Kighoma Ali Adam	1966	Masters
9	Khatib Rjab Hassan	1946	Certificate
10	Issa Kassim Yahaya	1950	Diploma
11	Lembeli Daudi James	1956	Masters
12	Masilingi Mutagagaywa Masolwa	1956	Masters
13	Kijiko Ntibenda Felix	1954	Masters
14	Madeje Nehemia Ephraim	1946	Graduate

#### **14 Women MPs from Reserve Seat**

No.	Name	Age	Education
1	Fereji Abdulhabib Fatma	1961	Masters
2	Mikidadi	1946	Diploma
3	Ngoye Hilda Cynthia	1943	Graduate
4	Komu Maulidah Anna	1951	Diploma
5	Mayenga Thomas Lucy	1977	Diploma
6	Umbulla Jachi Martha	1956	Masters
7	Mkanga Agness Margreth	1948	Graduate
8	Wambura James Anastazia	1965	Masters
9	Kiwelu Sindaro Grace	1967	Certificate
10	Mushi Herial Dorah	1950	Diploma
11	Nyawazwa Kabadi Esther	1957	Diploma
12	Salehe Hamid Kidawa	1960	Masters
13	Kirigini Kasimbi Rosemary	1973	Diploma
14	Mushashu Kasabago Benadeta	1953	Masters

## APPENDIX II

**Table 11(a) Women asking question with women agenda**

Session no	Principal Question no	Ministry	Sector	Date	Question asked
13	23	Good government	Central government	29/10/08	<p>As there is a huge increase of some men who do not have sympathy and rape women and small girls particularly primary school students, as this is also contributed by the small punishment given to people who commit these offences.</p> <p>a) Does not the government see that it can control the increase by not allowing people who rape to be on bail and instead giving them life sentences?</p> <p>b) Why the Parole Boards Act pardons prisoners who are serving for rape offence?</p> <p>c) What is the government explanation to women of Tanzania about this situation since women are the ones who have much family responsible?</p>
10	97	Infrastructure Development	Communication/ Infrastructure	06/02/08	<p>Since during elnino rains in the year 1997, Sanyu bridge in the district of Magu was taken by the water which causes death to people and women who use it while going for delivery, because this bridge is very important as it joins Magu road, Misungwi village, Lumeji to Kabila and because the bridge is built with wood and now all rotten;</p> <p>a) Doesn't the government see that there is a need to build the bridge before the rain season begins?</p>
7	94	Community Development , Gender and Children	Cooperative Society/ Market	18/04/07	<p>Since many women have engage in small production groups but they lack an assured market to sell their produce like extracted cinnamon oil, fruit preservation, juice, honey etc;</p> <p>a)When is the government going to provide external market for them?</p> <p>b) When is the government going to support the small producers to continue with their production work?</p>

8	56	Community Development , Gender and Children	Cooperative Society/ Market	20/06/07	<p>Since spice business is flourishing in Arab countries and because women are suffering very much to secure market for their produce;</p> <p>a) When is the government going to prepare a concrete plan for securing market for women as they do in other countries?</p>
15	62	Community Development, Gender and Children	Development	27/04/09	<p>Since the budget for the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children has the smallest budget compared to other ministries;</p> <p>a) In what projects did the ministry involved itself in the year 2007/2008?</p>
7	92	Education and Vocational Training	Education	18/04/07	<p>Since, the plan for establishing MMEM in the country was for the purpose of boosting education standard in general, but the major problem are affecting girls the most;</p> <p>a) How has the MMEM program helped girls in terms of improving and boosting their education levels?</p> <p>b) How far has the level of girls passing rate increased?</p> <p>c) If there has been rise for girls rate of passing. What are government plans for increasing girls' secondary schools?</p>
12	155	Education and Vocational Training	Education	03/07/08	<p>Since the number of young women who join the vocational training (VETA) is small compared to men, as educating one women is like educating the whole nation;</p> <p>a) What are government strategies in motivating young women to join the vocational training centres in order to improve their lives?</p>
13	11	Education and Vocational Training	Education	28/10/08	<p>Since the government is insisting on girls to be given greater education opportunity, in recent days there is a big wave of many girls getting pregnant especially in primary schools;</p> <p>a) What are government plans in preventing these problems?</p>

					b) Until now how many students have been pregnant and which regions are leading?
14	3	Education and Vocational Training	Education	27/01/09	<p>Since Mbeya is among the region facing a big problem of primary and secondary school pregnancy and this is affecting the implementation of 1979 registration rule and attendance of children in schools;</p> <p>a) Is the government ready to offer fund for the institutions in Mbeya region which provide mass education and the construction of boarding schools?</p> <p>b) Why the government does not bring back the program which existed before of having counsellor teachers to help children maintain good behaviours?</p>
18	156	Education and Vocational Training	Education	10/02/10	<p>Since the government is promoting girls education to enable them take various executive posts in line with 50/50 representation concept, as there is a weakness for girls students with high performance getting pregnant;</p> <p>a) What are government strategies to reduce school pregnancy in order to meet 50/50 plans?</p>
19	57	Education and Vocational Training	Education	19/04/10	<p>Since the project PASHA has been sponsored by GTZ under The Ministry of Education and Vocational training is doing a very good job by educating youth in schools about the effects of early pregnancy, HIV and life skills in the region of Tanga, Lindi and Mtwara;</p> <p>- Is the government ready now to extend these service to other region with high level of school pregnancy such as Mbeya?</p>
12	262	Labour, Employment and Youth Development	Employment	22/07/08	<p>Since the government plan is to have an increase of at least more that one million new employment opportunities by the year 2010;</p> <p>a) Until now how many citizens especially youths and women have been employed in the villages and in the cities?</p>
11	77	Foreign affairs and	Foreign Affairs	15/04/08	As the government has a strategy of having a gender balance of fifty fifty percent;

		International Relations			a) How many women are there in the Tanzanian embassies?
7	97	Agriculture , Food security and co operatives	Food/ Agricultur e	18/04/07	Since the fourth phase government has intended to improve very much the agriculture sector in the country and because the main workers in agriculture sector are women; a) What are government concrete strategies geared towards educating more women and building their capacity for improvement?
12	305	Agriculture , Food security and co operatives	Food/ Agricultur e	30/07/08	Since women contribution is the basis for development and because women from villages are the main producers in the agriculture sector; a) What are government plans in facilitating the availability of working tools in order to improve their farming activities?
2	63	Health and Social	Health	14/02/06	Since many women die during delivery because of bleeding; a) What are the causes of mothers bleeding during delivering? b) What appropriate advice is required to enable women who have suffered from this problem not to happen it again?
4	134	Health Social Welfare	Health	03/07/06	Since the government has been offering free health services for children, pregnant women and delivering women, and this service has not been given as intended? a) Which steps is the government taking to ensure these services are provided to beneficiaries as intended?
4	274	Health and Social Welfare	Health	25/07/06	Since Amana hospital receives more patients than it's capacity to handle which lead to two or more patient to sleep in one bed the condition which lead to spread of contaminated diseases; a) Doesn't the government see this arrangement to be a torture especially for children and women? b) Does the central government recognize the significance of expanding hospitals such as Amana, Mwananyamala and Temeke in order to reduce this problem?



5	5	Health and Social Welfare	Health	31/10/06	<p>Since the government has decided to ensure that health services provided by existing hospitals observe the high standard put in place;</p> <p>a) What are the reasons which lead to some private hospitals forcing pregnant women to undergo surgery during delivery?</p> <p>b) Which hospital in Dar es salaam is leading in forcing women delivery through surgery?</p> <p>c) Which hospital in Dar es salaam has the highest number of women who have delivered through that method?</p>
5	128	Health and Social Welfare	Health	13/11/06	<p>As many women deaths during delivery are the result of eclampsia and other diseases, and because this is a huge problem in the country compared to developed countries, for example 800 women die every year as a result of this disease;</p> <p>a) What are the causes of eclampsia?</p> <p>b) Does the government see the need to search for the causes of eclampsia so that treatment or vaccination is given to these women before delivery?</p>
8	336	Health and Social Welfare	Health	01/08/07	<p>Because Singida region is lacking specialist doctors in the area of women and children diseases, which lead to improper treatment for these groups, a situation which lead to unnecessary deaths which could be avoided;</p> <p>a) How many women and children lost their life because of absence of specialized doctors in 2000-2005?</p> <p>b) What are short and long term strategies for dealing with the problem of shortage of specialists doctors?</p>
9	186	Health and Social Welfare	Health	15/11/07	<p>What is the government plan in bringing back the Mother and Child Health centres (MCH) in the villages which it helped very much training for youths?</p>
10	87	Health and Social Welfare	Health	05/02/08	<p>Since the government is facing the problem of shortage women specialist doctors in various diseases, because many women diseases which are related to child birth, such fistula are been handled with men doctors a</p>

					<p>situation which lead some women particularly in the rural areas to hide and not to open up and only speak when the situation has reached a critical condition;</p> <p>a) How many women specialist doctors are working in Tanzania?</p> <p>b) Are these doctors present in these hospitals?</p> <p>c) What are the government efforts in enabling girls student to pursue science subjects in order to join medical schools?</p>
11	164	Health and Social Welfare	Health	24/04/08	<p>Since more than 75% of women in the world when they reach 40 years and above they go through a very difficult period known as Menopause, this period changes women behaviour causing various problem which can also affect their families;</p> <p>a) What are the government plans for educating the society in order to understand these changes and be patient with women when they are going through this period as they do in the developing nations?</p>
12	7	Health and Social Welfare	Health	10/06/08	<p>Since Tanzania is among 20 leading nations in malnutrition in the world, 50% women with anaemia and 52 children under 5 years with various types of malnutrition;</p> <p>a) What are government attempts in tackling these problems?</p>
13	77	Health and Social Welfare	Health	04/11/08	<p>Since many women lose their life before delivery as a result of eclampsia;</p> <p>a) What is the government concrete strategy in dealing with this problem?</p>
14	56	Health and Social Welfare	Health	02/02/09	<p>Because many women with children in Dar es Salaam have problem to get medical treatment for malaria and sometimes cholera and as these situation affect women fully participation in economic activities;</p> <p>a) Is the government ready to have a concrete plan so as to assist the Dar es Salaam region by bringing pesticides for spraying malaria insects as it did in Zanzibar?</p>

					b) Does the government see that by preventing the occurrence of these diseases it will reduce the cost it incurs for the provision of medicines and treatments costs?
16	8	Health and Social Welfare	Health	09/06/09	Since the government has given a statement in regard to free medical treatment for children from 0-5 and pregnant women including delivery cots, because there is a difference between the statement and practice; a) When will the government give statement which goes hand in hand with practice? b) Does the government agree that follow up on this matter is very poor? c) And if follow up is not weak, where is the problem because these groups continue to suffer?
16	212	Health and Social Welfare	Health	14/07/09	Since one of the aim of the fourth phase government strategy is to increase the number of women delivery through the use of trained Traditional Birth Attendance(TBA) from 50 to 80 % in 2010; a) Up until now how far has that target been reached?
16	305	Health and Social Welfare	Health	29/07/09	Since pregnant women lose their life before the time for delivery due to eclampsia; a) What are the government purposed strategies in dealing with this problem?
17	52	Health and Social Welfare	Health	30/10/09	According to the Tanzania Demographic Health Survey (TDHS) 2005 between 100,000 pregnant women, 578 lose their life because of different problem during pregnancy, this is equal to 24 women everyday or 1 women every hour, also between 100 birth here in Tanzania, 144 infants and 68 under one year old lose their life; a) What are the government strategies in dealing with the problem so as to save the lives of women and children
19	36	Health and Social Welfare	Health	15/04/10	Because word is one of the thing which can either comfort or degrade a patient when they are in different environment especially at the hospital; a) Does the government understand the presence of hospital workers who use bad language for women who

					are delivering in government hospitals? b) What are government efforts to eliminate bad language spoken by hospital workers in women delivery wards?
5	13	Prime Ministers Office (Policy, Coordination and Parliamentary Affairs	HIV/AIDs	01/11/06	Since large number of people who are affected by AIDS are women, as AIDS is the natural calamity for Tanzania in general, as the government is planning to provide training for 200 women affected by AIDS in order to build capacity of these women to be good educators in this field in the country; a) Does the government see that this number is small compared to the large size of the country and the magnitude of the problem itself? b) What are the government plans in providing services for the affected people in poor condition by providing them with at least good food in order to make them endure the strength of the medicine they are taking?
4	235	Community Development, Gender and Children	Human rights	19/07/06	Since many times there are appears a need for suspect inspection, male police are the only one who do the searching even in women rooms; a) Is the government understand that this practice is against human rights? b) Does the government aware that this is gender oppression? c) Is that type of searching done purposely or because there are few women police? If it is because of few women police why the government is not giving police job opportunities for female youth in order to avoid the gender oppression?
10	68	Community Development, Gender and Children	Human rights	04/02/08	Since the government is against women oppression including rape, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), biting from husband, not allowed to inherit, girls early marriage etc and because the regions which are leading in these practices are Arusha, Dodoma and Mara?

					a) How many offences have been reported in the same region and reached court and been sentenced and how many are in the waiting stage to be judged?
16	13	Community Development, Gender and Children	Human rights	10/06/09	<p>Since in this country there are traditions and cultures which are now outdated like Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and child marriage but these practice had a huge consequences in the district of Serengeti and Tarime in Mara region they reduce the number of girls in secondary schools;</p> <p>a)What are the government strategies in reducing the number of girls who get marriage under age?</p> <p>b) Because FGM cause a number of problems to women like fistula and complication during delivery, How is the government prepared in educating the society on the consequences of these practices in these districts?</p> <p>c) Because of number of girls in schools is very low in these districts as a result of the bad traditions and customs which allow girls early marriage; What are government strategies in increasing the number of girls in both girls only and mixed(co) secondary schools?</p>
16	180	Community Development, Gender and Children	Human rights	08/07/09	<p>Since aggressive acts against women such as severe biting seems to be flourishing in Tarime district, as various civilian institutions and other organizations have shown to get tired to deal with these issues which are taken to be as normal in the areas concerned;</p> <p>a) What is government effort in making sure that it completely abolishes these cruelty practices?</p> <p>b) Because this aggressive behaviour sometimes create permanent disability which result from cutting hand, legs, ears etc. What are government steps taken to help these women considering that they are the guardians and provisions of large family support care?</p>
19	15	Industries, Trade and Marketing	Industry	13/04/10	<p>Since, SIDO is the organization which helps entrepreneurs in Tanzania particularly women;</p> <p>- Does the government see the importance of SIDO working with women in Pemba island?</p>
4	73	Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Justice/Constitution	23/06/06	<p>Since in the past the parliament passed a law called Affiliation of Ordinances which states that a man who</p>

					<p>impregnate women who is not his wife especially a student is required by law to provide care for the child and the women;</p> <p>a) Is this law in action?</p> <p>b) How many men have been convicted under this law?</p> <p>c) What are challenges which the government have see in the implementation of this law which can be rectified by the parliament?</p>
4	162	Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Justice/Constitution	06/07/06	<p>Since the Sexual Offences Special Provision Act of 1998 was enacted so as to reduce women and children oppression in the country;</p> <p>a) How far has this law reduced the number of women and children oppression especially regarding rape?</p> <p>b) Does the government have any data indicating how far the incidence from rape have decline?</p> <p>c) If there is no any reduction, what are government steps taken in order to rescue women and children from the consequences of rape?</p>
5	100	Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Justice/Constitution	09/11/06	<p>Since the government of Tanzania has put in place plans to raise the standard of living for Tanzanians including women, and as good education is one way of liberating women from poverty;</p> <p>a) What are the government strategies concerning Marriage Law of 1971 which allow girls to be married under 18 years, as it affects them psychologically and prevent them to avail for good education opportunity and get enough education?</p>
6	61	Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Justice/Constitution	05/02/07	<p>Since there are some families with bad habit of oppressing, segregating and taking by force women widowers possessions whose husband have passed away, because the suffering they get is against human rights as they have the right for the possessions they acquired when they were together with their husbands and these possessions could help in children care?</p>

					<p>a) How many widows are abandon and oppressed for their rights from 2005-2006?</p> <p>b) What are the actions taken for people who have committed oppressing act against widow women?</p>
6	75	Labour, Employment and Youth Development	Loans	06/02/07	<p>Since the government is giving one billion Tshs for every region so as to help citizens including women and youth to establish, develop and increase project investment capital for poverty reduction purposes, but by government reducing interest many people will be able borrow;</p> <p>a) Which banks have received the money and are there record documents for parliamentarians showing the breakdown on how the money should be divided so as to enable legislators to sensitize citizens about the credit?</p> <p>b) Is the government ready to require banks to provide terms of conditions for loans to be available up to the villages so that citizens will be able to read, understand and be able to borrow?</p>
8	421	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	16/08/07	<p>Since corroboration between cities or municipal from Tanzania and outside the country is good idea for development, as people especially women in the municipal of Tunduru, Mbinga, Namtumbo, Songea town and villages have for a long time tried to establish this relationship without any success;</p> <p>a) Is the government willing to help this municipal within six months to build the relationship for the purpose of speeding up there development in their municipal localities?</p> <p>b) Have the government received any request from municipals/cities outside the country requesting friendship with cities or councils from our country?</p>
5	42	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	03/11/06	<p>Since Kiomboi district hospital does not have a fence and children and women ward are worn out;</p> <p>a) What is the government plan in building a fence and repair the children and women wards?</p>
8	194	Regional, Administration and Local	Local Government	12/07/07	<p>Since reserve seat councillors is one of the method used to increase women councillors in the Municipal or in</p>

		Government			<p>district, as many loans which are provided for district councils are directed towards womens groups, but in the Municipal/District of Sengerema women’s councillors from reserve seat are removed from loan committee and at the moment there are vacancied to contest among councillors but reserve seat women are not allowed to avail for the post such as chairperson assistant of the Municipals/District or deputy Mayor of the City, chairman of the discipline committee etc;</p> <p>a) What are the criteria used to remove special seat councillors in the loan committee?</p> <p>b) Which law prevent councillors from special seat to contest for the above mentioned posts and if that law is present does the government understand that it is not doing justice for women councillors and in fact is against the constitution?</p> <p>c) And if that law is present does the government realise that it is outdated so it should be presented in the parliament for modification?</p>
8	356	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Governme nt	06/08/07	<p>Since for important issues like HIV/AIDs and Environment Municipals have formed a committee;</p> <p>a) Is the government ready to request Municipals to form gender committee in order to increase equal gender power in the country?</p> <p>b) Is the government aware that in the ministries and many municipals activities are not gendered, there is no any desks for gender or an officer who is supervising gender equality in every day activities in the these offices.</p>
9	187	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Governme nt	16/11/07	<p>Since, despite various effort the government is taking to improve the provision of health services in the country, still there is a big problem in Kigoma region as a result of absence of district hospital, the situation which lead the regional hospital to be overburden with more patients than it could handle, this cause unintended death for pregnant women and children who normally require operation after failure for normal</p>



					<p>delivery;</p> <p>a) Does the government recognize that there is a need to construct district hospital for rural Kigoma in order to avoid problem which occur at regional hospital?</p>
10	118	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	14/02/08	<p>Since Ludewa district is very big with scattered wards and villages which are far from district hospital because of its geographical location, this situation leads to pregnant women to be forced to deliver at the district hospital;</p> <p>a) When is the government going to build a ward for women who are waiting to deliver in Ludewa so as to reduce the disturbance and reduce deaths which are related to pregnancy?</p>
16	109	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	26/06/09	<p>Since in 2006-2008 in the ward of Kalya Kigoma rural six women and four children passed away as a result of delivery problems, and as Buhingu Health Centre is very far from ward which comprise villages Kalya, Kashagulu, Sibwesa and transport through lake Tanganyika is very difficult:</p> <p>a) Why the government is not buying speed boat in order to serve these women lives?</p> <p>b) Because Buhindu health centre is very far why the government is not building a health centre to provide services to these women?</p>
19	2	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	13/04/10	<p>Since the government recognize equality between reserve seat and constituency parliamentary members in their work performance;</p> <p>- What are the government plans for giving special seat members, the Constituencies Development Catalyst Fund (CDCF) for speeding up the development of their constituencies?</p>
20	1	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	08/06/10	<p>The health centre at Chiluluma is serving the ward of Butundwe which has 4 division covering the total of 35 villages but it does not provide major surgery and these led to many deaths particularly pregnant women who require surgery during delivery because of the necessity travelling 50 km to Geita district hospital;</p>

					a) Does the government see the need to upgrade the health centre in order to reduce the pregnant women deaths?
8	94	Public Security and Safety	Security	26/06/07	<p>Since many women who are in the custody are there for murder case and since the accused of this nature stays for a long time;</p> <p>a) Does the government understand why is it that many cases about murder the accused are mostly women?</p> <p>b) Does the government understand why the accused for this type of case especially women stay for a longer time?</p>
9	121	Public Security and Safety	Security	09/11/07	<p>Since security and safety is the right for all gender, the number of women police is very small in the police centres in the country, there is a great chaos when something happen to a women;</p> <p>a) What are government strategies in providing a solution for this long term problem?</p> <p>b) Why is that the destined women stay with men police, a situation which can lead to gender provocation?</p>
5	37	Natural resources and tourism	Tourism/ Natural resources	02/11/06	<p>Since seaweed is the source of investment for the nation and the higher percentage of people who are involvement in the production are women, and because this project does not have any expertise and the market price is very low;</p> <p>a) How is the government helping woman to enable them reduce their severe economic hardship?.</p>
9	87	Prime Minister's Office (Policy, Coordination and Parliamentary Affairs)	Parliament	07/11/07	<p>Since the Union Constitution has explained parliamentary responsibility without distinguishing between constituency and reserve seats, hence reserve seat legislators have a enormous responsibility for the whole region;</p> <p>a) Does the government see the need to have an assistant just like constituency legislators?</p>
16	139	Prime Minister's Office (Policy, Coordination and	Parliament	01/07/09	<p>Since in the CCM manifesto is clearly stated that in 2010 there will be 50/50 men and women representation in the parliament. Since this issue is now changed to refer 50/50 percent for the 232 present constituencies</p>

		Parliamentary Affairs)			where half of it is 116, this means that if all women will failed to be elected the percentage will be 30.2% a) Following that formality does the government of Chama cha Mapinduzi see that it has fail to implement the promise?
7	101	Planning, Economy and Empowerment	Project Fund	19/04/07	Since the government is implementing TASAF II in all the district in the country and because the fund for these project are for targeted groups like disabled, orphans and widow; a) How many widowed women in the region of Ruvuma have benefited from these funds? b) What cause targeted group not benefiting from funds or opportunity available for them. Is it because of these people not utilizing the information they receive about the opportunities they have or that they don't have any information about the opportunities because of their Councils not having the list of people with these needs? c) What is the government doing in order to allow people to receive and utilize these opportunities?
6	86	Home Affairs	Street Children/ Orphans	07/02/07	Since it is clearly that in this life human being can find themselves being accused of criminal case or allegations in which the accused are given variety of punishment according to weight of the problem, as some of the people who are accused and later jailed are pregnant women who afterwards deliver while in jail, and at the same time other women get these sentence while caring infant babies; a) What are the government saying about providing care for infant babies whose mums are serving in jail? b) Does the government see that leaving these children staying in jail with their mums is not treating them fairly by making them serve a sentence while they have not committed any offence? c) Why the government is not preparing a way to enable these women serve their prison term outside jail to allow their babies receive a proper care?
9	50	Health and Social Welfare	Street Children/	02/11/07	Since the number of women who abandon their children is said to be increasing;

			Orphans		<p>a) How many girls and boys have been found since 2005 to 2007?</p> <p>b) How many children amongst them were rescued dead and alive?</p> <p>c) Which regions are leading by having the highest number of the abandon children?</p>
11	170	Water and Irrigation	Water	24/04/08	<p>Since water problem at Ifunda village in Iringa District is chronic this causes huge disturbance for women, children and even to secondary school students who are in this village;</p> <p>a)When is the government going to improve the provision of water in order to remove the huge problem facing women and children.?</p>
2	21	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	08/02/06	<p>Since many women in Pemba are good in business and they do business depending on loan, as the loan provided apart from PRIDE Tanzania, the loan conditions are difficult and the interest is high, the situation which pushes these women backward in development;</p> <p>a) What are government efforts in helping these women tackle the severe economic hardship they face in their lives?</p> <p>b) Isn't a high time that the government should examine the high interest issue?</p>
3	37	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	30/03/06	<p>Since the government was giving 4,000,000/=Tshs every year in Councils for the purpose of providing loans for women but the fund basket is no longer provided, as many women are faithful in returning the loan;</p> <p>a) Why the government has stop providing the 4,000,000.00 basket fund?</p> <p>b) When is the basket fund is going to start again to send loan money in the councils?</p> <p>c) How is the government helping women and youth to participate in the growth of the economy?</p>
3	38	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	30/03/06	<p>Because many women are living in difficult condition and find themselves in danger of being affected with diseases like HIV this situation leads to the increase of orphan children in the country;</p> <p>a) What are government strategies for providing business training, parallel with education about HIV/Aids</p>

					and cooperatives? b) What are plans for the responsible ministry about the whole issue about poverty reduction among women?
4	101	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	28/06/06	Since women from the region of Mtwara are backward in development; a) What are the government concrete plans in giving priority for various economic training and affordable credit in order to help them purchase agricultural tools? b) What are government efforts in persuading various NGOs to go to south where the real absolute poverty lies rather than been concentrated only in the cities?
3	37	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	30/06/06	In previously years the government was given Tshs 4,000,000/= for all Municipal Council but now the funds are no more given, as many women are faithful in returning the loans given; a) Why these funds are no longer given ? b) When this fund is going to be available as credit to Municipal Council? c) How is the government going to help youth and women to participate in the growth of the economy?
4	180	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	11/07/06	Since the government has put in place regulation for sending money to every council for the purpose providing loan for women and youth, women have shown a good effort and faithfulness for returning loan, as the money given is very small to enable them run their project for profit and sustain operating costs and getting a subsistence profit; a) Until now how much money has been given to every council? b) When is the government going to increase that amount? c) Is it the same money expected for bank establishment?
4	216	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	17/07/06	Since one of the government strategy for reducing poverty and promoting economic growth MKUKUTA recognize the need for Tanzania national women development bank as one of the strategy for fighting against

					<p>poverty and that the government has already decided that a bank should be established;</p> <p>a) What are the Ministry for Community Development, Gender and Children steps taken for bank establishment?</p> <p>b) Is the government aware that the delays for bank establishment reduce women morale and speed for their development?</p>
4	342	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	03/08/06	<p>Since, despite government efforts for assist women and liberating women economically by providing credit loans through the government, there are various condition attached to it;</p> <p>a) What are the steps in enabling women from the village to obtain credit?</p>
5	35	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	02/11/06	<p>Since the 4<sup>th</sup> government phase has promised to enable women economically for the purpose of reducing poverty under MKUKUTA and hence absolute poverty is been measured by different factors;</p> <p>a) What are government instruments used to measure absolute poverty in order to enable the government considerable weight and know where to start?</p> <p>b) Does the government know that the region of Manyara comprise the poorest tribes such as Hadzabe and therefore qualify for the government to start working with this society.</p>
6	2	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	30/01/07	<p>Since, women participation in the development plans and WDC committees is very important especially at lower levels , villages, wards and because the official members of WDC are the chairman of the Ward and since many wards do not have a women chairman;</p> <p>a) How are women ideas presented in WDC with men only?</p> <p>b) Does the government understand that it deprives women right participation in the Ward level and instead continue with patriarchal system?</p>

					c) Why the 30% representation policy which is used for selecting members of parliament does not apply for selecting councillors?
7	65	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	16/04/07	Since women from Pemba are working hard towards poverty reduction by establishing various cooperative groups(SACCOS), but the challenge they facing is the availability of affordable credit and market for their produce; a) What are the government efforts for loan provision and aid together and finding for assured market for these women investors?
8	44	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	19/06/07	Since the government through the responsible ministry is against traditions and customs that are misleading and oppress women in various tribes in the country, as the implementation of this exercise is taking a long time now; a) What are the government methods that are going to be used to minimize the time?
14	10	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	27/01/09	Since SIDO is helping investors in Tanzania especially women a) Does the government recognize the need now for requesting this organization start its work in Pemba island?
15	61	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	27/04/09	Since last year during the celebration of women day the theme was women and making baskets, many women agree and started making many baskets; a) Does the government recognize the importance of searching market outside the country to help these women? b) Is the government ready to support women by giving them business education and affordable credit?
16	66	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	18/06/09	Since the government of Tanzania has put in place good policy for educating children without discrimination of their gender but still there are a few women in decision making posts such as professors in higher learning

					institutions, government departments and in private sectors; a) What has the government done in identifying where the problem lies? b) Does the government have any new plans in tackling these challenges?
18	30	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	28/01/10	Since the government has established women bank, the plan which will liberate many women in saving and obtaining credit for business development; a) What are government plans in opening women bank branch in Zanzibar so that women from Zanzibar could also benefit from the service provided by the bank?
19	82	Community Development, Gender and Children	Women/ Women fund	21/04/10	Since the government is implementing well the election manifesto of 2005-2010, and in order to do that the government together with other things have prepared loan basket fund to help its people which is known as Honourable Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete and Aman Karume; a) For the purpose of implementing loan provision for its citizens, how many women entrepreneur group from south Pemba region have received loan? b) How much money has been provided?



**Table 11(b) Men asking women agenda**

Session no	Principa Question no	Ministry	Sector	Date	Question asked
16	121	Information, culture and sports	Culture	29/06/09	<p>Since many times the government has been boasting that it has formed a committee for protecting Tanzanian culture and decent dressing;</p> <p>a) Does the government see the inappropriate dressing especially from young women, what effort has the government taken?</p> <p>b) Does the government see that not interfering in this matter is not development or going with the current trend but rather is to mislead the society and the future generations?</p>
7	39	Infrastructure Development	Communication/ Infrastructure	12/04/07	<p>Because river Simiyu is in the side of the province of Sume passing through Maligisu and at the side of Magu province is passing through the area Kabila, and since in these sides they built a drift 30 years ago, and because this river causes much floods during the rain season and cause difficult for people in both sides to pass as the river is very big which caused ambassador of Japan Mr. Sato to postponed his visit when he was in this area he witnessed big flooding while women and children were assisted to cross through boats, this situation led him to promise to give Tshs million 60 for the construction of bridge in the area (the money is not yet released), and because the analysis for building is already done by regional engineer;</p> <p>- When is the bridge going to be constructed in order to remove the disturbance for the people who are using this route in this area?</p>
9	7	Education and Vocational	Education	30/10/07	<p>Since inspite of punishment of expelling school girls who become pregnant, there has been an increase of student</p>

		Training			<p>who become pregnant year after year;</p> <p>a) For the purpose of protecting the rights to receive primary school education, Does the government agree to put in place a law which could allow student to return to school after delivering like some other countries?</p> <p>b) To eliminate discrimination in giving punishment and perhaps to reduce the increase of pregnancy, Does the government recognize the importance of distributing DNA machines to identify men who make student pregnant so that they can also be punished?</p>
14	62	Education and Vocational Training	Education	02/02/09	<p>Because now there is a big freedom for university students to wear any type of cloth they want; but the majority of female/women students are using that freedom badly by wearing very short and tight dress;</p> <p>a) Does the government recognize that this freedom is been used badly and therefore there is a need to put in place laws which allow student to wear decent cloths?</p> <p>b) Does the leadership of the concerned institutions agree with that situation, and if it doesn't agree, what measures have been taken to address this issue?</p>
3	111	Health and Social	Health	06/04/06	<p>Since for many years Singida regional hospital does not have any specialized doctors, the doctors which were helping were brought from Cuba they did work only for few months and then disappeared without any information given to resident on their disappearance, many deaths for women and children is associated with absence of specialized doctors;</p> <p>a) When is the fourth government going to provide Singida region with specialized doctors in order to remove this problem to people?</p> <p>b) What are the reasons which made doctors from Cuba to move?</p>
6	10	Health Social Welfare	Health	30/01/07	<p>Since there are many cases of abortion in this country, and many who do abort are school students?</p>

					<p>a) When is the time where women are allowed to do abortion?</p> <p>b)What type of doctors are allowed to give permission for women abortion in case of emergency?</p>
6	71	Health and Social Welfare	Health	06/02/07	<p>Since cancer is now one of life threatening especially breast and uterus cancer for women. The cancer centre at Ocean Road is the only treatment place in the country and the centre can no longer manage the volume of cancer patient;</p> <p>a) Doesn't the government see that this is the right moment to establish cancer centre in all regional hospitals in the country, and by doing that it will dramatically reduce the congestion of patient at Ocean road centre and also reducing huge treatment cost for patients and relatives which they incur for transport and accommodation while receiving treatment in Dar es Salaam?</p> <p>b) Together with recognizing huge efforts which are taken by women doctors in Tanzania through their organisation MEWATA in fighting against breast cancer. Which are the immediate action the government is taking in order to confront this disease in general?</p>
16	157	Health and Social Welfare	Health	03/07/09	<p>The object of primary health care MMAM is to reduce death of pregnant women and children, maternal mortality rate and infant mortality rate;</p> <p>a) How are death figures for women and children between 2007-2008?</p>
16	306	Health and Social Welfare	Health	29/07/09	<p>At this period globalization we are witnessing women, our sisters and daughters using various beauty products together with new hair styles and clothes which changes all the time:</p> <p>a) Does the use of hair extension have any health effect for the user?</p> <p>b) What are the government efforts in providing education for society on the consequences of using beauty products in order for them to know and respect their original hair type?</p>
3	57	Higher education, science and	Higher education	31/03/06	<p>In the Tanzania Zanzibar there are about three universities and because there is basket fund which aim to help</p>

		technology			<p>disadvantaged youth;</p> <p>a) In the board for student loans how many representative are from Zanzibar?</p> <p>b) How many student were given loan between the year 2003-2004 and 2004-2005 , how many are from Zanzibar and from which institutions?</p> <p>c) How many student are studying outside the country Tanzania who have been given loan and how many are women?</p>
4	31	Higher education, science and technology	Higher education	19/06/06	<p>Huge effort is been taken to bring gender balance in science and technology subjects;</p> <p>a) What are the affirmative actions taken to raise female in all institutions?</p> <p>b) What are statistic average of female and male in institutions?</p>
17	70	Home Affairs	Human rights	17/04/07	<p>Since some of the women who are sentenced to go to prison are pregnant and they deliver while on prison;</p> <p>a) Does the government see that it is good for these women to serve in prison for half time since there became two people mother and child?</p>
14	127	Community Development, gender and children	Human rights	10/06/09	<p>Since many times the government together with international organization are against the tradition of female genital mutilation in the republic of Tanzania, many regions such as Manyara, Singida, Dodoma, Mara and Arusha still these traditional are continuing, as many seminars have been for parliamentarians about the consequences of this practice at the same time the government has been emphasizing the whole issue of preserving Tanzanian culture;</p> <p>a) Does FGM not part of tradition to some tribes in Tanzania?</p> <p>b) Together with highlighting the effects of FGM, what effort is the government doing to discover reasons which some tribe continue persist with this practise?</p>
11	116	Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Justice/Constitution	18/04/08	<p>Since the marriage act law of 1971 does recognize single wife, more than one wife and traditional marriage;</p>

					a) Why the government when it comes to receiving benefits like hospital treatment etc, does recognize only one wife?
5	14	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	01/11/06	<p>Since the government plan was to enable youth and women to have access to loan, councils have been contributing 10 per cent of the income in the basket fund;</p> <p>a) Does the plan continue to be implemented?</p> <p>b) Is the 10 percent equals the total council income together with initial compensation?</p>
12	95	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	25/06/08	<p>Since Kibondo health centre used to get a car from the organization which was helping refugees IRC, because organization have now closed their operation in the area Kifura health centre has no not yet received patient car despite long time government failure to provide transport;</p> <p>-How is the government helping the health centre to get patient car and reduce deaths which occur because pregnant women failure to arrive at the hospital on time?</p>
12	238	Regional, Administration and Local Government	Local Government	18/07/08	<p>Since the Honourable prime minister when he was Deputy minister for TAMISEMI promised that the government will provide patient car and baby clothes at Kasanga health centre Mufindi, the promise when opening the health centre</p> <p>- When is the government going to fulfil that promise?</p>