

WOMEN IN LAW AND
DEVELOPMENT IN
AFRICA (WiLDAF)

A GENDER ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PARTIES POLICY DOCUMENTS IN TANZANIA

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June, 2020



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Tanzania has an obligation under the international, regional and sub-regional levels to ensure access to equal rights and opportunities of men and women in the enjoyment of political and electoral rights and duties. Under these Instruments, Tanzania has committed to embrace gender equality principle; eliminate all forms of discrimination against women; provide and protect equal rights of men and women in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights; work towards the realization of equal representation of men and women (50:50) in all decision-making levels; adopt Temporary Special Measures (TSM); review of its electoral systems and; ensure that conducive environment for women participation in political parties. Adoption of measures such as women reserved seats and the ongoing engendering of the electoral and political legal frameworks depict the country's strong commitment towards the realisation of equal representation of men and women in decision-making process. Special seats arrangement (a form of Temporary Special Measure applied in Tanzania) has for instance, been key in promoting gender sensitive policies and laws. It has also changed societies' mind-set on the role of women in leadership and political spaces and led to an increase in the number of women in the parliament from 7.5 women at independence to 37 percent after the 2015 general elections. Special seats arrangement has paved way for women to run in competitive seats while motivating many women to aspire for political careers. Special seats have also opened up doors for women to be accepted in high positions such as those of the vice president, ministers, deputy speaker and speaker of the National Assembly.

Despite the ratification of the international, regional and sub-regional human and women's rights instruments and the progress that Tanzania has achieved, women still fall short by 13 percent to realise 50:50 of men and women representation in Parliament. It should also be remembered that, while Tanzania has 37 percent women in the Parliament, only 7 percent (26 women) are elected from constituencies and 30 percent (118 women) are from the women special seats arrangement. At the local government level, women form 5 women of all the elected councillors.

There are challenges pertaining to the realization of the international, regional and sub-regional commitments towards attainment of equal participation of men and women in decision making processes. The challenges relates to First-Past-the-Post electoral system as the prominent electoral system in Tanzania; the implementation of women special seats arrangement as the main way under which women access decision-making positions in the country and the; gendered loopholes in the electoral laws including the Political Parties (Amendment) Act. At the party level, the analysis of political parties' constitutions, depict certain level of recognition of the role of women within the political parties. CUF Constitution specifically ensures not less than 30% of the nominees/delegates to the General Assembly and Executive Committee meetings are female. There is 50:50 men and women representation under CUF's Safety and Security Committee at each level. There is also a 50:50 men and women representation under ACT's leadership committee at all levels except at national level. Article 21(5) of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution provides that delegates at National Executive Committee meeting shall be of 50:50 men and women basis. CUF and ACT constitutions requires delegates from youth, elderly, diaspora and PWDs to consider the representation of men and women. Further, appointment of CUF's Board of Trustees observe the need to attain equal gender representation within the board. In addition, CHADEMA and ACT recognize women wing as part of their general leadership structure. CHADEMA recognizes BAWACHA meetings and decision as its own.

Despite such progress, several weaknesses are noted within the political parties' constitutions. Men dominate all decision-making positions and structures as attendance in parties' key meetings is by virtue of one's position. In electing the political parties leaders, all political parties elect their leaders without putting in place a requirement to ensure representation of both men and women at parties' leadership structures. Basically, there are no gender consideration/quota in election of parties' leaders such as party chairpersons, secretaries and treasurers in all political parties and at all levels-from cell/foundation to national level. In all parties and at all levels, key meetings such as general assemblies and executive committees are led by the chair and the secretary of the respective party administrative levels. Most of the times these happen to be men as parties elect its leaders without putting in place gender balance considerations. It is noted that, leaders from women wings have space in parties' key meetings but their participation is just a token, with no leadership, power or influence.

Also, the election/selection of leaders for different departments or directorates from national to lower level do not take into consideration the need to attain representation of both men and women. All political parties are silent on financing and capacity building for women wings. Except for CHADEMA, all political parties do not have operational gender policies. All political parties constitutions provides for no voluntary party candidate quotas, hence there is no guarantee that certain percent or number of parties electoral candidates are going to be women. While CHADEMA, NCCR-MAGEUZI, ACT-Wazalendo general assemblies and executive committee meeting discuss reports from women wings, there is no agenda for discussing reports from women wings under CCM and CUF. All constitutions are silent on prohibitions relating to acts of gender based violence and sextortion. Further, systems for fighting corruption and nepotism among the parties are weak. It is noted that, there are no clear provisions regarding the participation of women with disabilities within the political parties. At the moment, CHADEMA constitution notes that women with disabilities will be regarded as per the constitution and other guidelines, but both the constitution and the guidelines are silent on the same. On matters pertaining political parties' women wings, while in other parties women wings get to choose their leaders in their own meetings, in CUF, national JUKECUF Chairperson and her Deputy are elected by the CUF's National General Assembly.

On the side of political parties' manifestos, it is noted that all parties' manifestos take cognizance of human rights, non-discrimination and equality of all human beings. A mention of rural women and those with disabilities is observed, however there is a need for political parties to adequately appreciate the diversity of women and girls and design pledges which work for different categories of women. Also, political parties' pledges should adequately and comprehensively address challenges facing women and girls including issues of gender based violence, land ownership, safety and security, gender stereotypes, harmful practices and traditions and teen pregnancies-currently, these issues are superficially covered by the manifestos. The manifestos should also capture issues relating to reproductive rights, unpaid care work, unequal pay for similar jobs-currently, these issues are not covered in the parties' manifesto. Execution of gender equality promises require financial commitments. Parties' manifestos must contain concrete actions and depict financial sources to deliver such actions.

Lastly, this paper contains key recommendations towards the realisation of effective, substantive and equal representation of men and women in electoral politics. The recommendations are provided to the government, National Electoral Commission, Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, and Civil Society Organizations.

1.0 About the Consultancy and Methodology

1.0 Introduction

Through the support from African Women Development Fund (AWDF), WILDAF in collaboration with TAMWA and GPF are implementing Women's Political Participation and Leadership Empowerment Project. Known as "Wanawake Sasa Project" which is geared to ensure women including young women in political parties are actively participating in leadership and decision making roles so they can influence the gender equality, women advancement of the women agenda within the political parties and beyond. Women Sasa project seeks to expand democratic space, inclusive governance and equal participation of women in Tanzania, specifically in the regions of Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Arusha and Zanzibar. The program targeted young women, women engaged in political parties and women with Disabilities to actively participate in leadership and decision making and influence agenda which call for gender equality, empowerment and non-discrimination.

1.2 About the Consultancy

As part of "Women Sasa" implementing partners, WILDAF commissioned this consultancy to understand better the legal and policy environment and dynamics guiding the participation of women in the political and electoral processes. The aim is to underscore the extent to which national laws and political parties' constitutions, manifestos and policies provide, promote and protect women political rights and gaps therein. Using best practices from other countries, recommendations are provided to the Government, Political Parties, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP) and Civil Society organizations on strategies they can adopt in pursuing and realizing the 50:50 gender parity goal.

1.3 Methodology

The following methods were applied in the course of undertaking this analysis:

- **Desk Review:** A desk review of the international, regional, and sub-regional instruments was undertaken with a view to establish pre-requisites and benchmarks for advancement of women political rights and the realization of equal representation of men and women in all decision-making positions, processes and structures. National electoral laws, political parties' constitutions and manifesto were also reviewed.
- **Comparative analysis of the national electoral laws with the international, regional and sub-regional instruments.** Key pre-requisites, building blocks and principles for advancement of women political rights were deduced from international, regional and sub-regional conventions and agreements which Tanzania is a member to and has committed to provide, protect and promote the rights therein. The established pre-requisites and principles were used as benchmarks in establishing the extent to which national laws and political parties' constitutions provide, promote and protect women political rights as well as the extent to which they are at par with the international standards in pursuing the 50:50 gender parity goal.
- **Gender Analysis:** the heartbeat of this analysis is the application of gender lenses in the national electoral laws, and political parties' constitutions and manifestos. This has been instrumental in discerning the extent to which the national laws and political parties' constitutions and manifestos embrace the principles of gender equality and create favorable conditions for promotion of women meaningful and effective participation in leadership and electoral positions within the parties and in the national electoral processes. Measures

relating to advancing women political participation adopted in both the national laws and in the political parties' constitutions are analyzed and a determination is made on their strength, shortcomings and how they can be improved.

- **Best practice/fit analysis:** with the intention to support the key recommendations provided in this review, best practices in terms of legal measures and practices for advancing women political participation are borrowed from countries around Africa and beyond. Best practices are instrumental in portraying the feasibility of the recommendations and in providing examples based on where the government of Tanzania and political parties can learn, unlearn and relearn effective measures for a speedy realization of equal representation of men and women in decision-making positions, structures and processes.

1.4 Analysis Layout

Chapter Two of the analysis puts forth key underlying principles and/or prerequisites on how a country and its political institutions can promote meaningful women participation in political processes as emanating from the international, regional and sub-regional instruments that Tanzania is member to. Chapter Three analyses the extent to which Tanzania respects and implements the international, regional, and sub-regional commitments through its national laws and the practice around electoral processes. It highlights gender gaps in Tanzania's key electoral laws namely, the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Elections Act, and Elections Expenses Act. Given their critical roles in determining the fate of women participation in the political and electoral processes, a critical gender analysis of the First-Past-the-Post as the main electoral system in Tanzania; the practice of Women Special Seats arrangement as main method Tanzanian women access political positions and; the 2019 Political Parties (Amendment) Act as the law governing the operation of the political parties in the country is undertaken. This analysis is cognizant of the role of political parties' internal rules and regulations in barring or facilitating women's effective participation in party politics and beyond. As such, a gender analysis of the Constitutions of five political parties namely the CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, ACT-Wazalendo, and NCCR-Mageuzi and their respective elections manifestos is presented under Chapter Four and Five of this report. Chapter Six includes general conclusions and specific recommendations to the government, political parties and civil society organisations on furthering both the descriptive and substantive meaningful participation of women towards realization of equal representation of men and women in leadership and political positions, structures and processes.

2.0 Key International Instruments on Women Political Participation

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a synthesis of the key principles for promotion of effective women participation in political and electoral processes. These principles emanate from the international, regional and sub-regional conventions and agreements that Tanzania is a member to and has committed to implement. These principles bind the Government of Tanzania and all the political and electoral stakeholders tasking them to take all measures to address past inequalities that have led to minimum participation of women in decision-making processes. While the first section of this chapter puts forth a list of the international, regional and sub-regional instruments under review, the second section contains key principles for promotion of effective women participation in political and electoral processes emanating from the reviewed instruments.

2.2 International and Regional Commitments

Tanzania is a member state to international and regional conventions which provide for norms, standards and commitments relating to women leadership and political participation. State Parties to the international conventions on human and women rights including Tanzania have the obligation to ensure equal rights and opportunities of men and women in the enjoyment of various rights including political rights and freedoms. At the international, regional and sub regional levels, Tanzania is bound by the commitments to provide, protect and promote women political participation vide the following instruments:-

- i) The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
- ii) The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
- iii) The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)
- iv) The African Union Constitutive Act
- v) The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (the African Charter) and
- vi) The Treaty to the Establishment of the East African Treat
- vii) The African Agenda 2063 and
- viii) The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals

With a view to provide solutions to women's unique challenges, the international, regional and sub-regional communities came up with specific women's rights instruments which among other things encompass commitments to provide, promote and protect effective women political participation. These instruments include:-

- i) The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
- ii) The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol)
- iii) 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action,¹⁰
- iv) The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa,
- v) The East African Gender Policy¹²

¹In Kenya, the ICCPR was ratified on 1 May 1972 and came into force on 23 March 1976. In Tanzania, the ICCPR was ratified on 11 June 1976 and came into force in September 1976. In Rwanda, the ICCPR was ratified on 16 April 1975 and came into force on 23 March 1976. Available at https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?chapter=4&clang=_en&mtdsg_no=IV-4&src=IND accessed on 20th May 2020.

²UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 16 December

The above instruments recognize women's rights as inalienable, interdependent and indivisible part of universal human rights. They further acknowledge that low levels of women's representation in political decision-making structures negatively impact their contribution to the achievement of sustainable development and ability to derive full benefit from the democratization process.

2.3 Key Commitments/Principles for Realization of Women Political Rights

The analysis of the international, regional and sub-regional human and women's rights legal instruments depict key commitments that the government of Tanzania alongside with key political institutions such as political parties must embrace towards the realization of women electoral and political rights as follows:-

- i) **Embrace Gender Equality Principle:** Tanzania is bound to promote the realization of gender equality between men and women in all aspects including in the political sphere. The Africa Agenda 2063, envisions an African continent that has a universal culture of

good governance, democratic values, gender equality, and respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. The EAC Treaty encompasses in its key objectives the need to mainstream gender in all its endeavours and the enhancement of the role of women in all aspects including in political spheres. Gender Equality is also among the fundamental principles governing the achievement of the EAC objectives.

On the other hand, Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) calls Tanzania to take action towards achieving gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls. The target is to ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all decision-making levels in political and public life. Further, gender equality principle is stated under Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union as well as in the New Partnership for Africa's Development. These instruments requires African States including Tanzania to ensure the full participation of African women as equal partners in Africa's development.

In order to realize gender equality in decision-making processes, Tanzania has committed to:

- o Embrace gender equality principle
- o Eliminate discrimination against women. Ensure equal rights to men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights.
- o Adopt Temporary Special Measures (TSM).
- o Review of Electoral Systems.
- o Create conducive Environment for Women Participation in Political Parties.

- ii) **Prohibition of any kind of Discrimination Against Women:** Article 1 of CEDAW prohibits member states, including Tanzania, from practicing any distinction on the basis of sex which has the effect of impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms including in the political sphere.

Article 2 of CEDAW requires Tanzania to condemn discrimination against women in all its forms and pursue a policy of eliminating discrimination against women by embodying the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other legislations¹⁸ and take all appropriate measures to modify existing laws, regulations, customs, practices and repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex.

- iii) **Equal Rights to Men and Women to the Enjoyment of All Civil and Political Rights:** This is provided under Article 3 of the ICCPR but strongly covered under Article 9 of the Maputo Protocol. The Protocol calls upon Tanzania to take positive action to

³, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 993, p. 3, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36c0.html> [accessed 19 May 2020].

promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in political life and ensure women are represented fully at all levels with men in electoral processes. Tanzania has to ensure equal enjoyment of civic and political rights and ensure both men and women have right to take part in the conduct of public affairs and are able to vote and be elected at genuine periodic elections as provided under Article 25 of the ICCPR. Under Article 7 of CEDAW, Tanzania is supposed to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life and ensure to women, on² equal terms with men, the right to vote in all elections and be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies and; to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government.

Under Article 7 of CEDAW, Tanzania is supposed to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life and ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to vote in all elections and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies and; to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government.

iv) **Commitment to Achieve Gender Parity in Decision-Making Processes (50:50):**

The Solemn Declaration commits to promote gender parity (50:50) principle and ensures its adoption to organs of the African Union, including the national and local levels in collaboration with political parties and the National parliaments. The Africa Agenda 2063 establishes a collective vision and roadmap for the next fifty years committing to speedup actions to achieve gender parity in public and private institutions. The Africa 2063 Agenda envisions a continent that has full gender parity, with women occupying at least 50 per cent of elected public offices at all levels and half of managerial positions in the public and the private sectors. It also envisions a continent where the economic and political glass ceiling that restricted women's progress is shattered. Further, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action set a target for women to hold 50 percent of managerial and decision-making positions in the UN by 2000. Strategic Objective G2 of the Beijing Declaration makes a specific call for an increase in women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership positions.

"The Africa 2063 Agenda envisions a continent that has full gender parity, with women occupying at least 50% of elected public offices at all levels ... in the public and the private sectors. It also envisions a continent where the ...and political glass ceiling that restricted women's progress is shattered."

v) **Adoption of Temporary Special Measures (TSM) and or Affirmative Action:**

informed the past inequality and injustices that have kept women out of political spheres, Article 4 of CEDAW requires Tanzania to adopt TSM to accelerate de facto equality between men and women. Also, through the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Tanzania commits to establish the goal of gender balance by setting specific targets and implementing measures to increase the number of women and

⁴Constitutive Act of The African Union, adopted by the Thirty-Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government 11 July, 2000 - Lome, Togo. It entered into force after two thirds of the 53 signatory states ratified the convention.

⁵Adopted in 1981 by the Organization of African Unity. The second draft of the Charter was prepared in

Banjul, The Gambia, in June 1980 and in January 1981. On 27 June 1981 at its 18th General Assembly Meeting in Nairobi, Kenya. The Heads of State and Government of the OAU adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. It came into force on 21 October 1986.

⁶Available at

http://www.eala.org/uploads/The_Treaty_for_the_Establishment_of_the_East_Africa_Community_2006_1999.pdf, accessed on 18th May 2020.

⁷Africa Agenda 2063, Final edition published in 2015 © African Union Commission ISBN: 978-92-95104-

⁸-5. Available at <https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview>, accessed on 18th May 2020

⁹Available at

<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf>, accessed on 18th May 2020. Rwanda, Kenya and Tanzania ratified CEDAW in 1984, 1981, and 1986 respectively.

¹¹African Union, Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 11 July 2003, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3f4b139d4.html> [accessed 21 May 2020] ¹⁰United Nations, *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women*, 27 October 1995, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3dde04324.html> [accessed 21 May 2020].

achieve equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action. Complementing CEDAW, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Article 9 of the Maputo Protocol calls upon Tanzania to take positive actions to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries including through affirmative action.

- vi) **Review of Electoral Systems:** Through the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Tanzania is advised to conduct a review of the impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women and consider reforms of those systems by adopting electoral systems that encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same level as men.
- vii) **Conducive Environment for Women Participation in Political Parties:** In order to increase women political participation, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action advises political parties to pursue the following measures: Examination of party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women; Adoption of deliberate initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policy-making structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes; Incorporation gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to guarantee women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men and; Provision of leadership and self-esteem training to assist women and girls, particularly those with special needs, women with disabilities and women belonging to racial and ethnic minorities to strengthen their self-esteem and to encourage them to take decision-making positions. Other measures include the need to have transparent criteria for decision-making positions and ensure that the selecting bodies have a gender-balanced composition; Creation of a system of mentoring for inexperienced women and offer training, including training in leadership and decision making, public speaking and self-assertion and political campaigning.

2.4 Conclusion

Tanzania has an obligation under the international, regional and sub-regional levels to ensure access to equal rights and opportunities of men and women in the enjoyment of political and electoral rights and duties. Under these Instruments, Tanzania has committed, together with its political and electoral stakeholders, to work towards the realization of equal representation of men and women (50:50) in all decision-making levels; embrace gender equality principle; eliminate all forms of discrimination against women; provide and protect equal rights of men and women in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights; adopt Temporary Special Measures (TSM); review of its electoral systems and; ensure that conducive environment for women participation in political parties. The next chapter reflects on the status of the implementation of the international, regional and sub-regional commitments and the remaining challenges as far as Tanzania is concerned.

¹²The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa was adopted by the AU Assembly in 2004. ¹² Adopted in May 2018, available at <http://www.mcdgc.go.tz/data/EAC%20GENDER%20POLICY.pdf> [accessed 21 May 2020].

¹³The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995.

¹⁴Article 5(3) of the EAC Treaty.

¹⁵Under article 6 of the EAC Treaty.

¹⁶To achieve NEPAD objectives, African leaders pledge to take joint responsibility for the following: i To make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in the enrolment in primary and secondary education by 2005

¹⁷Also, Article 2 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights enshrines the principle of nondiscrimination on among other things, grounds of sex. Article 18 of the Banjul Charter required Tanzania to eliminate every discrimination against women and to ensure the protection of the rights of women as stipulated in international declarations and conventions. African Platform for Action and the Dakar Declaration of 1994 and the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995 call on all Member States of the United Nations, which have made a solemn commitment to implement them, to take concrete steps to give greater attention to the human rights of women in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination. ¹⁸ Article 2 (a) of CEDAW.

¹⁸To Article 2 (f) and (g) of CEDAW.

¹⁹The TSM shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of

3.0 Status of the Implementation of international Commitments in Tanzania

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks on the status of the implementation of the international, regional and sub-regional instruments on promotion of women participation in the political and electoral processes in Tanzania. Despite the ratification of international, regional and sub-regional human and women rights instruments and the progress that Tanzania has achieved, women still fall short by 13 percent to make 50:50 of men and women representation in the Parliament. While Tanzania has 37 percent women in the Parliament, only 7 percent (26 women) are elected from constituencies and 30 percent (118 women) are from the women special seats arrangement which is a form of Temporary Special Measures applied in Tanzania. At the local government level, women form 5 of all the elected councillors.

3.2 Challenges facing the Realization of International and Regional Conventions

There are many challenges facing the full realization of the international, regional and sub-regional commitments to achieve equal representation of women and men in decision-making processes. The challenges are mainly entrenched in the:

- i) First-Past-the-Post electoral system (FPTP).
- ii) The implementation of women special seats arrangement.
- iii) Loopholes in the electoral laws including the newly enacted 2019 Political Parties (Amendment) Act.
- iv) The practice of gender equality principle within political organizations

Items (i)-(iii) are discussed in this chapter, while item (iv) is analyzed separately under chapters four and five.

i) First-Past-the-Post Electoral System (FPTP)

Since the 1961 independence of the United Republic of Tanzania, there is a normalization on the use of FPTP electoral system in the country. It is noted however that, the characteristics and practice of FPTP electoral system is against the commitments towards the realization of equal participation of men and women in the decision-making processes. In Tanzania, customs and traditions have since time immemorial informed the community perception on the role of women in the society. Unfortunately the women's roles do not include being in leadership positions. Consequently, traditions and customs have not only determined how many women are

"FPTP electoral system presumes that both men and women equally enjoy same status, acceptance and privileges by the voters and the political parties. The system takes no effort to recognize and address historical injustices that have historically pushed women out of politics and decision-making spaces."

unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved. Article 4 (1) of CEDAW.

²⁰Strategic Goal No. 1

²¹Strategic Object G1 of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action,

considered and nominated to run for office, but have had direct and indirect influence on how many female candidates win the election. Feeding the customs and traditions, FPTP

electoral system presumes that both men and women equally enjoy same status, acceptance and privileges by the voters and the political parties. The system takes no effort to recognize and address historical injustices that have historically pushed women out of politics and decision making spaces. Under the FPTP electoral system the success of the party depends on the single candidate it selects. The requirement to place one candidate by political parties puts pressure for political parties to place the most acceptable candidate in the eyes of the voters.

Evidence suggests that when there is only one candidate to select, the selection team becomes subconsciously reluctant to pick a woman as the party's sole candidate. This is because of the belief that voters are less likely to vote for a woman instead of a man who might be placed by another party. Through

the Beijing Declaration and Plan for Action, Tanzania is advised to conduct a review of the impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women and consider reform of those systems by adopting electoral systems that encourage

According to the IPU and International IDEA, women are generally three to four times more successful to be elected in Proportional Representation (PR) electoral systems than in FPTP

political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same levels as men. According to the IPU and International IDEA, women are generally three to four times more successful to be elected in Proportional Representation (PR) electoral systems than in FPTP. In Africa, countries such as Kenya, Rwanda and South Africa use PR electoral system. The PR electoral system has been instrumental in facilitating more women to access electoral seats in Rwanda and South Africa -which have 62 and 46 percentages of women in their respective parliaments.

ii) Challenges of Temporary Special Measures in Tanzania

Tanzania's ratification to the international and regional instruments has facilitated an increase in the number of women in decision-making processes through adoption of women special seats arrangement. Articles 66 1(b) and 78 (1)) of the 1977 Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania requires that women make up not less than 30 per cent of the members of the National Assembly through parliamentary women special seats arrangement. Women special seats are distributed among the political parties with more than five per cent votes in proportion to the number of seats obtained by the parties after the general elections. The women special seats arrangement has enabled Tanzania to increase the number of women in the parliament from 7.5 per cent during independence to 37.2 after the 2015 general elections.²⁸ Attributed to the contribution of women special seats measures in changing mindsets on the role of women in decision-making processes, Tanzania obtained its first female Speaker of the National Assembly in 2010-2015 and the first female Vice President in 2015-2020. The current Deputy Speaker is a female and among the 10 members of parliament appointed by the President. Special seats arrangement has also been instrumental in changing societies' mindsets on the role of women in leadership and political spaces; it paved the way for women to run in competitive seats and has; motivated many women to aspire for political careers. Further, although, women special seats arrangement has also resulted in the enactment of gender sensitive policies and laws, there are six main challenges facing the special seats arrangement from reaching full potential as follows:

- The Constitution of Tanzania sets women special seats set at 30 per cent. This is against the objective of Article 4 (1) of CEDAW and Article 9 of the Maputo Protocol which require temporary special measures to accelerate equality between men and women. The word equality is defined as a state of being equal, especially in status, rights or opportunities for

all⁴ the members of a society, group, or family.³⁰ The instigators of the 30 per cent rule believed that 30 per cent is necessary to form the so-called ‘critical mass’ for women to make a visible impact on the style and content of political decision-making processes.³¹ 30 per cent was adopted in order to take people through phases of consciousness, understanding and acceptance of women in leadership positions. However, when a 30 per cent ceiling is set, political parties which are by nature male dominated, will only allow women to hold decision-making positions to the extent of a constitutional ceiling and not beyond. Also, a 30 per cent ceiling inhibits the ability of women to have meaningful, substantive or equal voice in decision-making processes.³² When it comes to voting on issues that have a positive or negative impact on women, 30 per cent of women though can be significantly influential, cannot form the required votes to outnumber some of the gender insensitive male and female parliamentarians.

Challenges of Women Special Seats Arrangement in Tanzania are:

- i. It is set at 30% thus does not lead to equality of men and women in decision-making organs.
- ii. It promotes discrimination against women.
- iii. It is used to discourage women to vie for competitive seats.
- iv. It benefits few women due to absence of term limits.
- v. It does not have common procedure for selection/ election of women for special seats hence opening room for nepotism, favouritism and corruption
- vi. It does not have implementation, monitoring and evaluation framework hence it has gained permanency contrary to its establishing objective which requires TSM to be being temporary in nature

- Article 4(1) of CEDAW requires absence of unequal or separate standards to be maintained by the adapted TSM. However, the implementation of temporary special measures in Tanzania depicts several challenges.³³ The term ‘special’ conforms to human rights discourse and should be interpreted to refer to measures that are designed to serve a specific goal. However, in Tanzania, temporary special measures are used to cast women as weak, vulnerable and in need of extra or ‘special’ measures to participate in political decision-making processes. There have been incidences of nominated women being shouted down when they stand to speak, just because they are not representatives of constituencies. To quieten the women in special seats, especially during the heated debates, men parliamentarians claim that women special seats exist because they (the men) won constituencies in competitive elections, without which women special seats could not make it to the Parliament. There has been anecdotal claims that, political parties use the special-seats arrangement as a tool to discourage women from vying for electoral seats. They ask female candidates to step down from the election race, with a promise that they would be nominated under women special seats. In situations where a male candidate runs against a female candidate, the former will convince voters that the latter had already gained her place in a special seat, hence they shouldn’t vote for her.
- Temporary special measures exposes women to second-class treatment and further discrimination against Article 1 and 4 of CEDAW and Article 1 of the Maputo Protocol. In Tanzania, elected members of parliament receive about 40,000,000 Tsh (about \$20,000) as constituency funds, but women in the special seats receive nothing based on the presumption that they do not have constituencies. There is a common presumption that since women special seats are not attached to constituencies, they are also not entitled to receive constituency development funds (CDF). The definition of a constituency is mistakenly limited to physical boundaries of constituencies, and does not extend to the women’s interests that women special seats represent. Providing CDF to constituency members of parliament and denying the same to women parliamentarians sitting in special seats is contrary to the TSM implementation guidelines requiring TSM not to further discriminate against women under Article 4 of CEDAW.

²² International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Constitution Assessment for Women’s Equality, ISBN: 978-91-7671-049-4, (2016), available at <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/constitution-assessment-for-womens-equality.pdf> accessed on 5th February 2018.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Directorate-General for Research, Differential Impact of Electoral Systems on Female Political Representation, Working document, WOMEN’S RIGHTS SERIES,

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/workingpapers/femm/w10/2_en.htm accessed on 6th April 2020

- There are no guidelines from National Electoral Commission (NEC) for selection or election of women in special seats. This gives avenue for each political party to come up with its own procedure for appointing women to fill the special seats. Absence of the guided uniform procedure for nomination of women special seats by the political parties has attracted nepotism, favoritism and corruption in obtaining the seats. This, in turn, undermines the quality and integrity of women in special seats and affects their acceptance by the constituents, as well as how they get elected in future. When this is coupled with minimum citizen awareness on the objective of women special seats, it leads to high opposition of the special-seats arrangement by common citizens.
- There are other practices that marginalize and discriminate against women in special seats. For example, women in special seats do not qualify to be appointed as prime minister, as only elected members of parliament are eligible. At the local government authorities, there are guidelines and practices that prohibit special seats councilors to be members of local governments' ethics committee. Even in those committees where special seats women can be members, such as the Committees on HIV/AIDS, Social Services, and Planning, the women holders of special seats are not allowed to chair such committees. Also, there are local government guidelines depriving special seats councilors from being mayors, deputy mayors, and chairpersons of districts, municipalities and city councils. In some wards, special seats councilors are not allowed to chair the Ward Development Committee (WDC) meetings even in the circumstance where an elected councilor, is for any reason absent. In these wards, it is better for a village or street chairperson to act as a WDC chair than a special seat councilor. This anomaly also hits women special seats parliamentarians, as by design, they also serve as councilors in their wards.
- Article 4 of CEDAW requires special measures to be temporary and to be discontinued when the objectives of reaching equality of opportunity and treatment is achieved. Depending on the context, level of past discrimination and inequality against women in a particular area, temporary special measures may apply for a long period of time, however, they should not be deemed to continue indefinitely.⁴⁰ The law in Tanzania provides no indicators for determination of when temporary special measures should come to an end. Also, the Constitution, electoral laws, and guidelines from the electoral commission do not include timeframes under which individual women should serve under temporary special measure. As such, temporary special measures have been benefiting few women, despite their objective of building political capacities and experience for many women, who afterwards transit to competitive politics. For example, since establishment approximately 35years ago (1985), special seats have maximally facilitated only 7 per cent of women to win constituencies in one election. The root causes for low progression from special seats to competitive politics is the absence of a term limit for women who serve under the special seats. One woman can serve in a special seat endlessly, and it is notable that some women have been in special seats for more than twenty years. There is an ill-founded argument that if a member of parliament or a councilor elected from a constituency or ward has no term limit, then why women special seats should be subjected to a term limit. It is worth noting that women in special seats, even though they have roles as ordinary parliamentarians or councilors, they serve an additional purpose. They are supposed to hold such seats 'temporarily' to gain political experience, financial muscles, and expand their networks to eventually transit to competitive politics, as per the requirement of Article 4 of CEDAW. Absence of a term limit gives women already in special seats additional advantage to continue holding such seats, since they have a big network and influence within the parties and the women political parties' wings - a benefit that aspiring women do not have.⁵

²⁵Rwanda's legislature is majority female. Here's how it happened. Available at <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/10/graphic-shows-women-representation-in-https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/10/graphic-shows-women-representation-in-government-around-the->

[world-feature/government-around-the-world-feature/](https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/10/graphic-shows-women-representation-in-government-around-the-world-feature/government-around-the-world-feature/) accessed on 22nd May 2020.

²⁶SOUTH AFRICA: GENDER AND ELECTIONS, available at <https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadchhttps://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/south-africa-gender-and-elections/gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/south-africa-gender-and-elections/> accessed on

iii) Loopholes in the Legal Framework

a. Selected Challenges from the Electoral Legal Framework

Apart from the challenges associated with the electoral system and the practice of the women special seats arrangement as presented above, there are other legal challenges hindering women effective participation in leadership and decision-making positions. The 1977 Constitution and other electoral laws are largely silent on women's rights.

- Article 41(7) of the Constitution bars any proceeding to challenge the presidential election once the Commission has declared the results. Also, the Constitution does not allow acts and omissions of the electoral commission in the course of managing the elections to be challenged. It excludes the possibility of judicial review or any proceeding to hold the electoral commission responsible for its act and omission. These state of affairs make it difficult for women to enter into a battle with no recourse in case of injustice.
- In Tanzania, one cannot become a politician without having affiliation with a political party. The Constitution does not allow independent candidates hence affecting the political dreams of women who may not be keen to exercise such dreams through a political organization. Article 75 of the 2003 Rwandan Constitution, and Article 99 of the 2010 Kenyan Constitution allows independent candidates.
- The elections deposits are huge and not affordable for most women. NEC guidelines may require a deposit of up to five million Tanzanian shilling for a presidential candidate and one million Tanzanian shilling for a constituency candidate. In Kenya, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) adopted the regulation that significantly subsidized nomination fees for women. Female candidates pay half of the nomination fee.
- The Elections Act of Tanzania provides for penalties on electoral offences. However, the penalties are small compared to the gravity of the offences. Offences such as discouraging people from seeking nomination, or procuring any person who has been nominated to withdraw his candidacy, engage in bribery or corrupt practices, undue influence, and interference with public meetings occur to both men and women. The penalty for these offences is minimal thus encouraging commission of such offences.⁴⁵

In Kenya, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) adopted the regulation that significantly subsidized nomination fees for women. Female candidates pay half of the nomination fee.

b. The Gender Analysis of the Political Parties Amendment Act (PPAA)

In a situation where independence candidates are not allowed in the Tanzania, political parties remain key goal keeper in determining electoral candidates. Internally, parties make their constitution and regulations, create party structures from local to national level, elect their leaders, provide campaign funding to their candidates and rally voters. Given the male dominated character of most political parties in the world, the law governing political parties is instrumental in providing guidance on how political organizations can be inclusive of men, women and other marginalized groups. Before the 2019 PPAA, the works of political parties in Tanzania were governed by the Political Parties Act which came into being after the re-adoption of multiparty system in 1992. In 2013, there was an attempt re-write the Political Parties Act.

The new PPAA recognizes the need for the political parties to include women, men and other social groups. It requires political party to promote gender, youth and social inclusion in the a) formulation and implementation of its policies; b) nomination of candidates for elections; and c) election of its leaders.

22nd May 2020. 28 The first post-independence Tanzanian Parliament (1962-1965) contained only 7.5 women of women, the number was maintained below 10 women until 1985.

The process however adjourned to allow the finalization of the new Constitution-making process which took place in 2012-2014. Upon the postponement of referendum on the new constitution, the process for review of the Political Parties Act was further adjourned to allow the 2015 general elections to take place. It was expected that the review of the Political Parties Act would resume soon after the elections. The process was however resumed in October 2018 with the gazetting of the Political Parties Amendment Bill. Following a highly contested ‘due process’ the new PPAA was assented into law in February 2019. The general outlook of the PPAA depicts great progress in terms of containing gender and social inclusion⁶ provisions compared to the 1992 Political Parties Act. However, the gender lenses on the Act depicts substantive gaps. The analysis of gender progressive provisions and their respective gaps are presented in the PPAA and the gaps thereto:-

- Observance of gender equality, social inclusion and non-discrimination principles in political parties’ structures, policies and in party nominations: Unlike the 1992 Political Parties Act, the new PPAA recognizes the need for the political parties to include women, men and other social groups. It requires political party to promote gender, youth and social inclusion in the a) formulation and implementation of its policies; b) nomination of candidates for elections; and c) election of its leaders. Also, the PPAA bars any political party from qualifying for provisional registration unless its membership is voluntary and open to all the citizens of the United Republic without discrimination including on account of gender and disability. However, the PPAA does not include a quota or threshold in terms of the number or percentage of women needed in political parties’ leadership structures or candidate lists to determine compliance of the gender and social inclusion provision by political parties as stated in the PPAA. Other jurisdictions establish specific threshold of women and PWDs a political party must have as its members, leaders and candidates. In Rwanda, political parties are required to ensure that at least 30 per cent of the party candidates are female. Sections 6 and 7 of Kenyan Political Parties Act requires political parties to ensure not more than two-thirds of its members and governing body are of the same gender before receiving provisional and full registration. Without quotas or threshold it is difficult to hold the parties accountable. For example, the main opposition party CHADEMA concluded its intra-party election in December 2019. A special seat parliamentarian-Sophia Mwakagenda aspired for a vice-chairperson position but withdrew her candidacy few days before the election. As a result, CHADEMA top national leadership positions are all occupied by men. It is noted that, no measures were taken against CHADEMA for such an omission. Also, ACTWazalendo finalized its internal elections in

The PPAA does not include a quota or threshold in terms of the number or percentage of women needed in political parties’ leadership structures or candidate lists to determine compliance of the gender and social inclusion provision by political parties as stated in the PPAA. In Rwanda, political parties are required to ensure that at least 30 per cent of the party candidates are female.

²⁷Women played role in the review of 12 pieces of legislation which discriminated against women in Tanzania. These are: the Law of Marriage Act; the Probation of Offenders Ordinance; the Affiliation Ordinance; the Adoption Ordinance; the Disabled Persons (Care and Maintenance) Act; the Employment Ordinance; the Education Act; the Penal Code; the Age of Majority (Citizenship) Act; the Customary Law Declaration Order; and the Probate and Administration (Deceased Estates) Ordinance. Further, due to strong recommendations and initiation from women parliamentarians and civil society organisations, the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania has enacted laws such as the Sexual Offences (Special Provision) Act, (SOSPA). SOSPA protects women and girls from rape, sexual abuse and female genital mutilation by subjecting perpetrators to a thirty-year sentence in jail. In addition, women parliamentarians have played a big role in the passing of the Land Act and Village Land Act 1999, which have succeeded in solving the problem of women and land ownership. The Land Act was amended in 1999 requiring spousal consent in mortgaging matrimonial homes. Also, women parliamentarians, in collaboration with women’s NGOs, were instrumental in passing the Labour Act of 1997, which protects female employees from sex discrimination and provides paid maternity leave of three months every three years. Further, Tanzanian women parliamentarians tabled and defended a bill providing maternity leave for married and unmarried women. They also pushed for a bill that allowed female students to enter university directly after high school, rather than waiting for two years to lapse. Women parliamentarians pressed for these laws through political party caucuses, women’s wings and the parliamentary standing committees. Recently however, women parliamentarians played significant role on the realisation of the removal of Value Added Tax (VAT) on menstrual towels in the financial year 2018-2019, but overpowered to influence its retention beyond one year-Tanzania reinstates taxes on sanitary wear, available at <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/business/Tanzania-reinstates-taxes-on-sanitary-wear/2560-5176202https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/business/Tanzania-reinstates-taxes-on-sanitary-wear/2560-5176202-td1gua/index.htmltd1gua/index.html>, accessed on 29th June 2019.

March 2020. ACT's Vice Chairperson is a woman. ACT's key departments including those of finance, ideology, ethics and external affairs are also headed by women either as secretaries or deputy secretaries. Though ACT and for the first time in Tanzania, the position of Party Secretary-Ideology is held by a woman. Despite having women in those positions it is difficult to establish if the level of ACT's compliance is adequate and in accordance to the PPAA. This is because the PPAA is silent on threshold of compliance. Absence of threshold does not only affect men and women composition in political parties leadership positions but also the how political parties place its electoral candidates. Although the PPAA require parties to promote gender equality in election of its candidates, this provision was hard to monitor in during the 2020 local elections as the benchmarks of compliance are not established under the law.

- Enforcement of the gender and social inclusion provision:** the gender and social inclusion provisions must be accompanied with effective implementation mechanisms. Under the PPAA, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP) has many powers. Ironically, observance of compliance to the gender and social inclusion by political parties is not one among the specifically stipulated roles of the ORPP. Therefore, despite the PPAA requires the political parties to promote gender and social inclusion principles in their undertakings, the ORPP who is the major overseer of the Act, is not actively reminded to oversee compliance to gender and social inclusion provisions by the political parties. The ORPP exercises a role of enforcing gender and social inclusion provision through the any other business 'AOB' section. Section 3(5) (j) of the PPAA requires the ORPP to 'undertake any other business required in the implementation of the PPAA.' For the case of CHADEMA which elected all men in its national leadership team, it was expected that the Registrar would note the omissions when CHADEMA published names of contesting candidates for the various leadership positions. Although observing compliance to gender and social inclusion principles is not listed among the roles of the Registrar, the Registrar could apply power of monitoring political parties' intraparty elections to provide guidance for CHADEMA to take deliberate efforts to ensure certain percentage of its national leadership is occupied by women. - but that never happened. It is likely that the 'AOB' treatment of the Registrar's role to supervise the gender and social inclusion provisions, subconsciously made the Registrar office turn a blind eye on CHADEMA's omission.
- Another challenge is that, the PPAA presents no rewards for compliance of the gender and social inclusion provisions, hence making the political parties unmotivated to comply. In Kenya, political parties are not entitled to receive funding from the Political Parties Fund if it has more than two-thirds of its registered office bearers in the same gender.
- The PPAA provides a list of offences together with their respective penalties. However, the law does not include breaching of gender and social inclusion provision as one of the punishable offences and hence no penalty for breaching the gender and social inclusion provisions is provided. The AOB treatment of the gender and social inclusion provision is also witnessed in this aspect as section 29 of the PPAA requires any political party contravening any provision to which no specific penalty is prescribed, to be liable to a fine of not less than ten million shillings and not exceeding fifty million shillings or to suspension or to deregistration. Sadly, the ORPP cannot successfully invoke this provision in dealing with gender and social inclusion omissions such as those painted by CHADEMA. This is because the PPAA is silent on the number of women the political parties should have in its leadership positions for compliance to be established. In Kenya, noncompliance to gender and social inclusion provisions is not among the reasons for a party to lose part of its subvention. Further, the Kenyan Political Parties Act provides for deregistration of political parties that do not include

In Kenya, political parties are not entitled to receive funding from the Political Parties Fund if it has more than two-thirds of its registered office bearers in from the same gender.

representation of special interest groups in their governing and functional organs. Article 58⁷ of Rwandan Constitution holds any political organization that violates gender and social inclusion obligations that are stipulated under Articles 10, 56 and 57 accountable. Depending on the gravity of the violation identified, the political organisation may face a formal warning, suspension of its activities for a period not exceeding two years, suspension of its activities for the entire parliamentary term, or cancellation of the certificate of registration of a political organisation.

- Incentives for Political Parties to Promote Women:** Research shows that providing financial and other incentives to political parties for better representation of excluded groups is an important motivator for political parties to place more women candidates on their nomination lists and in their party structures. To bring the expected outcomes the incentives and disincentives for including women need to be significant enough to impact party behavior. Therefore, incentives should not be based on the number of women on the candidate lists but on the percentage of women within a party who actually win a seat. Incentives can be in the form of additional public funds provided to political parties to ensure gender balance in their nomination lists. The PPAA does not provide any incentives to political parties with progressive policies and or large numbers of women in its structures. In Kenya, the 2016 amendment to the Political Parties Act provides under section 25 1(aa) that, 15 women of the Political Parties Funds should be distributed proportionately among qualifying political parties based on the number of its elected candidates from special interest groups, including women. A political party is not entitled to receive funding if it has more than two-thirds of its registered office bearers in the same gender; and does not have representation of special interest groups including women in its governing body.
- Prohibition of gender-based violence in formulation of political parties:** under the PPAA, one cannot form a political party if among other things, within five years has been convicted of offences including those relating to gender based violence.⁵⁴ The PPAA is silent on what happens when a person has an ongoing case pertaining gender based violence and seeking to form a political party. The PPAA is also silent on the acts of gender based violence happening or with potential of happening in the political parties that are already registered. This is because the prohibition of gender based violence only applies during the formation of a political party and does not extend to candidates and or leaders of political parties after a party is formed.
- Registers of Political Parties:** Data on members and leaders of a political parties at all levels is key in establishing the level of women inclusion and the positions they occupy within the political parties. Under the PPAA, every political party is required to maintain a register of its members, leaders of each administrative level, and members of party organs at each administrative level. Registrar is also required to keep and maintain political parties’ registers which shall include registers of political parties’ national

In Kenya, the 2016 amendment to the Political Parties Act provides under section 25 1(aa) that, 15 per cent of the Political Parties Funds should be distributed proportionately among qualifying political parties based on the number of its elected candidates from special interest groups, including women.

⁵²Article 51 (2) of the 1977 Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania provides that as soon as possible, and in any case within fourteen days after assuming office, the President shall appoint a Member of Parliament elected from a constituency of a political party that has a majority of members in the National Assembly or, if no political party has a majority, who appears to have the support of the majority of the Members of Parliament, to be Prime Minister of the United Republic, and he shall not assume office until his appointment is first confirmed by a resolution of the National Assembly supported by a majority vote of the Members.

⁵³Careful considerations must be taken for the system of special seats not be dismantled prematurely, to avoid regression of results. General Recommendation No. 25 on Article 4 paragraph 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, on temporary special measures. 40 Ibid.

⁵⁴Swai Idda & Anasel Mackfallen & Masue Orest, ‘Achievements and challenges of women special seats arrangement in Tanzania. (2013). Journal of Policy and Leadership. 2. 121-135.

leaders, members of the parties' national organs, and members of board of trustees. The registrar may at any time request a political party to submit the said registers. Despite the role of this provision in the promotion of record keeping culture by the political parties, it does not require the entries in the registers to be segregated by sex, age and disability. Sex disaggregation is key in determining the nature of women in the political parties, their location and situation.

- **Finances to support women in political parties:** Financial support is the heartbeat of women effective participation in political activities. Party resources must be used among other things to improve the effective and meaningful participation by women in political activities. The funds should be allocated among other things to provide skills-based training on campaign related topics, media management, public speaking, meeting procedures, fundraising just to name a few. In the PPAA, The registrar disburses and monitors accountability of government subventions and issues guidelines pertaining political parties' income, expenditure and their accountability. The Registrar can suspend grant of government subvention to the political parties if there

In Kenya, the 2016 amendment to the Political Parties Act provides under section 25 1(aa) that, 15 per cent of the Political Parties Funds should be distributed proportionately among qualifying political parties based on the number of its elected candidates from special interest groups, including women.

is evidence that management of political party and or the board of trustees are unable to account for the funds. Also, a political party which receives disclaimer report from the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) shall be denied of government subvention for a period of

six months. Registrar can call the CAG to undertake a special audit on a political party if he is dissatisfied with the management of a political party. However, the PPAA does not provide for guidelines on how subvention to political parties can be used to advance the participation of women, youth and PWDs in the political parties. In other jurisdictions, the more a political party embraces and promotes the participation of men and women, the more subvention it receives. Under the Kenyan Political Parties Act, a Political Parties Fund is established under Section 23.

Political parties qualify to receive funds, if their membership and governing body comprise of the two-thirds principle of representation. Section 26 of the Kenyan Political Parties Act requires the moneys

Section 26 of the Kenyan Political Parties Act requires the moneys allocated to a registered political party to be used for, among other things, promotion of the representation in Parliament and in the county assemblies of women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities, marginalized communities, and promotion of active participation by individual citizens in political life.

allocated to a registered political party to be used for, among other things, promotion of the representation in Parliament and in the county assemblies of women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities, marginalized communities, and promotion of active participation by individual citizens in political life.

³⁵International Republican Institute (IRI) Tanzania National Elections Gender Assessment October 25 2015 (2016) available at https://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/tanzania_gender_report.pdf accessed on 24 May 2018.

³⁶For parliamentary elections, section 108 of the National Election Act makes provision for election petition to the High Court.

³⁷Section 11 of the Elections Expenses Acts provides for prohibition for receiving funds within or from outside the United Republic of Tanzania within 90 days before the General Election. This provision is contested by women who claim to largely depend on volunteers and good will donors to raise money for elections. Women don't have a lot of resources like some other political parties and candidates, thus they largely depend on friends to run for party elections. It is difficult to know when someone will be able to give a supporting hand. Restricting candidates from fundraising 90 days before the General Elections is a clear ploy to keep women out of the elections.

³⁸Act no.5 of 1992

³⁹Section 6A (2) (5) of the PPAA

⁴⁰Article 56 of the 2003 Rwandan Constitution.

⁴¹Kenyan Political Parties Act of 2011. The Act has enabled Kenya to move from having 7 per cent of women in 2011, to 16 per cent after the 2013 general elections and currently 21 per cent after the 2017 elections.

- **Safety and Security:** Safety and security of political process is a major issue for women participation in political process. The PPAA requires political parties not to recruit, deploy or form militia, paramilitary or security group or any organisation of any kind which is intended to usurp the functions of the police force or any security organ. A political party is also not supposed to conduct, finance, coordinate or order to be conducted or coordinated any military style training or the use of any kind of weapon to its members or any other person. The issues remain whether Tanzania have enough police officers to provide day to day security services to all political parties especially during campaign period.
- **Schedule I of the PPAA,** contains the proposed checklist of the key provisions to be included in the political parties' constitutions. The checklist however, does not include a provision on gender and social inclusion. Therefore, in addition to the silence of the PPAA on the threshold for measuring compliance of gender and social inclusion provisions, the checklist does not proactively guide the parties to include gender and social inclusion provisions in their constitutions.
- **The PPAA regulations are underway.** Once they are released it will be paramount to follow how they have address whole or part of the gender gaps observed in this analysis.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the remaining challenges pertaining to the realization of the international, regional and sub-regional commitments towards attainment of equal participation of men and women in decision making processes. It has specifically analyzed the challenges related to First-Past-the-Post electoral system as the prominent electoral system in Tanzania. Implementation of women special seats arrangement as the main way under which women access decision-making positions in the country and the; gender loopholes in the selected electoral laws including the Political Parties (Amendment) Act. The next chapter examines how provisions of the political parties' constitutions promote or hinder effective participation of women within the political parties and beyond. ⁹

⁴²Section 3 of the PPAA

⁴³The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties can deregister parties that fail to meet gender requirements, do not promote free and fair nominations, and do not respect national values, which include equality and inclusiveness.

⁴⁴Article 58 of Rwandan Constitution.

⁴⁵Also, if the party does not secure at least three women of the total number of votes at the preceding general elections. 54 Section 6 of the PPAA Section 7 am

⁴⁶Section 7 amendment section 8A of the PPAA

⁴⁷A party may be suspended upon failure to submit the registers, and its leader shall be deemed to commit an offence and shall on conviction be liable to a fine of not less than one to three million, or imprisonment for a term of not less than three months but not exceeding six months or both. Section 9 amending section 8C of the PPAA

⁴⁸Section 3 (c) and (d) of the PPAA

⁴⁹Section 23 of the PPAA

⁵⁰The Fund shall be administered by the Registrar. The sources of the Fund according to section 24 of the Kenyan Political Parties Act are: (a) Such funds not being less than zero point three women of the revenue collected by the national government as may be provided by Parliament; and (b) contributions and donations to the Fund from any other lawful source.

⁵¹A party contravening this requirement shall be deregistered and every leader or member of the party concerned be liable on conviction imprisonment for a term not less than five to twenty years, section 8E of the PPAA.

4.1 Introduction

Political parties' internal rules, regulations and practice significantly affect how women take part in decision-making positions and processes within the parties and beyond. The international, regional, sub-regional and national laws shape how parties organize and the extent they embrace and practice gender and social inclusion principle. It is noted in the past chapter that the new Political Parties Amendment Act, requires political parties to be managed in a manner that promotes gender, youth and social inclusion in the a) formulation and implementation of its policies; b) nomination of candidates for elections; and c) election of its leaders.

This chapter presents a comparative analysis of the ruling party (CCM)'s Constitution, structures and the role of the women wing, with that of other parties such as Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), Civic United Front (CUF), Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACTWazalendo) and National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi). Specifically, the analysis looks how the provisions of the constitutions of the selected political parties:

- a) Take cognizance and embrace the participation of women in party leadership positions, decision-making structures and processes
- b) Place the women agenda within the parties decision-making organs and
- c) Take deliberate measures for women to stand and win intraparty and interparty elections.

In doing so, the analysis brings to the picture the political parties women wings, examining their autonomy, financing and positioning within parties' leadership and decision-making structures.

4.2 Gender Analysis of Political Parties Constitutions

The analysis of CHADEMA, ACTWazalendo, CCM, NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF depict the following commonalities:

1. **Commitment to achieve equal society and fight against discrimination including that of sex.** Equality is on one of the ACTWazalendo's guiding principles/values. Also, ACTWazalendo believes in a government whose laws and policies bring equal development for all people.⁵⁴ In its Preamble, CCM, ACTWazalendo, CHADEMA and NCCR-MAGEUZI constitutions cast belief in democracy and equality. CUF national emblem depicts equal rights for all. ACTWazalendo's main objective is among others, to ensure equality before the law for both men and women without any distinction, and to promote rights of women, children and PWDs.⁵⁵ Parties also promise to fight all kinds of discrimination. For example ACTWazalendo requires its members to strive for a society that is free from discrimination, exploitation and segregation.⁵⁶ CHADEMA strives to continue with efforts to ensure women and girls are free from harmful cultural practices, and discrimination.⁵⁷ It also believes in non-discrimination on the basis of gender and compliance to good traditions and customs.⁵⁸ CUF believes in non-discrimination, dignity and equality of the people without any distinction including that based on sex.⁵⁹ Also, CCM Constitution believes in equal opportunities for men and women without any distinction.⁶⁰ While other political parties' constitutions are silent, the NCCR-Mageuzi preamble believes in gender equality in all decision-making processes.

While other political parties' constitutions are silent, the NCCR-MAGEUZI preamble believes in gender equality in all decision-making processes.

⁵²Section 6A (2) (5) of the PPAA

2. Reference to International Conventions: CUF Constitution believes in human rights as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the African Charter as basic principles that national laws should reflect. CCM believes all people are equal and deserve respect and protection for their dignity⁶¹ as per UDHR.⁶² CHADEMA Constitution believes that women have rights to take part in the conduct of the affairs pertaining their countries.⁶³ Apart from the UDHR, CHADEMA believes in all international human rights instruments against discrimination including on basis of gender and sex.⁶⁴ CUF constitution commits to prosper the rights of the women rights, the elderly, children and those with disabilities and to remove any discrimination against them.⁶⁵ Apart from CHADEMA's constitution, other constitutions for other parties make no reference to women oriented conventions. CHADEMA constitution pledges to implement all conventions regarding women, children and people with disabilities.⁶⁶

3. Women Representation in Party Leadership Structures, Meetings and the Role of Women Wings in the Political Parties.

In order to get an in depth understanding on how political parties have taken into consideration gender equality issues, the CCM, ACTW, NCCR-M, CUF and CHADEMA constitutions are analyzed below:

A.CCM Constitution of 1977 Revised Edition 2017

CCM members have rights to air their views in meetings; elect their leaders and; stand for intraparty elections.⁶⁷ CCM establishes Women Wings Umoja wa Women wa Tanzania (UWT) under Article 124 of its Constitution. UWT make its own constitution and/or operating guidelines which needs to be approved by the Central Committee. The section below looks at how women are featured in CCM leadership positions and in key decision-making structures.

1. Women in CCM's Leadership Positions at all levels

- At Cell level, CCM is led by a cell leader and five members of the Cell Leadership Committee.⁶⁸ At branch, ward,⁶⁹constituency, ⁷⁰ and district levels, CCM is led by a chairperson and a secretary.⁷¹ The Constitution provides no gender considerations in electing these leaders.
- At regional level, CCM is led by Chairperson, Secretary, and members of the Executive Committee.⁷² While the onstitution provides for no gender consideration in election of these leaders, regional UWT Chair and Secretary are members to Regional Executive Committee.⁷³
- At national level, main CCM leaders are National Chairperson, two Deputy Chairpersons- one from Zanzibar and one from Mainland, and a Chief Secretary are key leaders.⁷⁴ Other CCM national leaders include, Deputy SecretaryMainland, Deputy Secretary-Zanzibar, Secretary for Ideology, Secretary for Finance and Economy, Secretary for Members Affairs and Organization, ⁷⁵ Secretary for Politics and International Relations who are all reporting to Central Committee.⁷⁶ CCM Constitution does not provide for any measures to ensure women are in these positions.
- Board of Trustees: The chair of the board is appointed by CCM National Chairperson while eight other members who are elected by Central Committee.⁷⁷ Board of trustees enter into contracts on behalf of CCM and supervises all party's movable and immovable properties including those of the women wing. The Constitution does not provide for a gender threshold in the election/selection of board of trustees' chair and the members.
- Advisory Council of the former CCM leaders: the council advises the party on various matters. It is composed of former Presidents who also served as CCM Chairpersons-for

both Mainland and Zanzibar. The Council also includes the former national party deputy¹¹ chairpersons. The members of the Council meet as they deem fit.⁷⁸ No woman has ever been CCM national chair or vice chairperson since its formation, hence the Advisory Council of former CCM leaders is composed of all men.

2. Women in CCM's Key Meetings

- Conferences/General Assemblies and Executive Committee⁷⁹ meetings at Cell, Branch, Ward, Constituency and District levels⁸⁰ compose among other delegates, UWT chairs and secretaries from the respective levels. At national level, National Congress and National Executive Committee⁸¹ compose among other delegates, national chair and secretary of UWT.⁸² Central Committee of the National Executive Committee compose of national UWT Chair.⁸³ Also, Special Committee of the National Executive Committee (Zanzibar) compose of national UWT Chair and Secretary.⁸⁴ It is noted that delegates attend party meetings by virtue of their titles/positions hence men dominate decisionmaking positions and structures as CCM Constitution provides for no gender considerations in the election of party leaders at any of its levels. UWT leaders are a token and do not hold any influential position in the meetings.
- Secretariat of the Central Committee of the National Executive Committee and Secretariat of the National Executive Committee include national UWT deputy chair. ⁹⁴
- Conferences/General Assemblies and Executive Committee meetings at all levels select delegates for its own meetings and for other meetings at party's lower and upper administrative levels, however, no gender threshold is observed in selecting such delegates. For example, during the ward conference/general assembly, five representatives are selected among the delegates to be members of the ward conference/general assembly, in the same meeting, five representatives are selected to be members of the constituency conference. At both meetings, there is no gender considerations in selection of such representatives.⁸⁵
- Conferences/General Assemblies and Executive Committees at each administrative levels are led by the CCM chair and by secretary of the respective administrative levels. Most of the times these happen to be men as there no gender considerations during their election.
- Committee on political affairs also exist at each level, the committee composes among others, the UWT chair. The committee composes of other three delegates selected from Central Committee of the respective levels but there is no gender consideration in the selection of such delegates.⁸⁶
- Secretariat at each CCM administrative level is composed of among other delegates, a secretary of the women wing.⁸⁷ However, the chair and the secretary of the secretariat meetings are already determined by the Constitution-namely the party secretary and ideology secretary at the respective level. Hence, a UWT secretary is just a member with no leadership power or influence.⁸⁸ The Secretariat plan all party meetings and oversee day to day implementation of party activities.⁸⁹
- The women agenda in party key meetings: CCM Constitution does not include in the agenda of CCM key meetings the need to discuss progress reports from party wings including the women wing.

⁵³Article 6 of the Article 6(4) of ACT constitution.

⁵⁴Article 4 (ii) of ACT-W Constitution.

⁵⁵As per Article 7 of ACT-W Constitution.

⁵⁶Under Article 13 of ACT-W Constitution.

⁵⁷Article 4.3 of CHADEMA Constitution

⁵⁸Article 3.2.5 of CHADEMA Constitution

⁵⁹Article 3 and 6 of the CUF Constitution

⁶⁰Article 5(16) of the CCM Constitution

- Voluntary party candidate quotas: CCM Constitution is silent on how it ensures certain percent or number of its electoral candidates are women.
- CCM is yet to have the operational gender policy.

Recommendations for CCM Constitution

In order to ensure meaningful and effective participation of men and women in CCM leadership positions and key meetings, CCM must consider to include in its Constitution the following prepositions;

- UWT leaders should form part of the main party leadership positions at all party administrative levels.
- There should be gender threshold in election/selection of party leaders at all levels. This will open up opportunities for women to be in leadership positions i.e. being chairs or secretaries of the key meetings. At all leadership levels, delegates are featured in the leadership positions based on those elected rather than on gender equality concept. Thus, if no woman is elected to assume any political office then women representation drops.
- CCM must adopt voluntary party candidate quotas to ensure certain percent or number of its electoral candidates are women.
- A specific gender policy should be drafted, adopted and implemented.
- There should be gender threshold in election/selection of representatives and delegates for all CCM's decision-making meetings.
- There should be a gender threshold in election/selection of members to different CCM committees and boards.
- There should be agenda to discuss progress reports from UWT in party's key meetings.
- The constitution must include its measures for financial support and capacity building to UWT.⁹⁰

B. ACT-Wazalendo Constitution, 2015

Equality is one among ACT-W key operating principles. The party believes in equal and inclusive development without any discrimination including on the basis of gender.⁹¹ ACT's key objective includes promotion and protection of the rights of children, women and people with disabilities.⁹² ACT is organized from branch, ward, constituency, regional and national level.¹⁰³ Membership to ACT-W is open to all people without any discrimination. It is noted however that, particulars on membership cards do not indicate sex of a member.⁹³ ACT members have the right to air out their views in the meetings, to elect and be elected as party leaders at each administrative levels.⁹⁴

As part of its strategy to open up the party to women, ACT establishes a women wing by the name of *Ngome ya Women* herein referred as *Women Ngome* under Article 31 (2) of the ACT-Constitution. The role of Women Ngome is to spread party ideologies, beliefs and to attract party following from the women. While Ward,⁹⁵ Constituency,⁹⁶ and Regional¹⁰⁸ General Assemblies choose main party leaders, the Women Ngome elects its own leaders in its own meetings. Women Ngome also makes its own regulations which have to be approved by Central Committee.⁹⁷ The section below looks at how women are featured in ACT-Wazalendo leadership positions and in key meetings.

⁶¹Article 4 of CCM Constitution

Women in ACT-Wazalendo top leadership levels

- At each administrative level, ACT-Wazalendo elects a Chair, General Secretary and Secretary for Communication and Ideology as key party leaders. However, election of these leaders is done without consideration of representation of men and women.⁹⁸ On a positive note, a chair and secretary of Women Ngome form part of ACT leadership at¹¹¹ branch, ward, constituency,⁹⁹ and regional¹⁰⁰ level.
- At national level, the ACT-Wazalendo Constitution is silent on gender considerations in the election of its national leadership positions. According to ACT-Wazalendo Constitution, national leaders are National Party leader, National Party Chairperson, Deputy-Chairperson (Zanzibar), Deputy Chairperson (Mainland),¹⁰¹ National Party Secretary, Deputy Party National Secretary (Zanzibar), National Secretary (Mainland).¹³ Absence of gender considerations poses a danger of the national leadership positions to be male-dominated. Currently, there is only one woman (Vice Chairperson) among the seven ACT-Wazalendo main national leaders.
- Election of board of trustees by the General Assembly and National Executive Committee does not pay attention to gender considerations.¹⁰²
- 50:50 composition of leadership committees except at national level: There is a leadership committee¹⁰³ which forms part of ACT-Wazalendo leadership at each administrative level, it is composed of two men and two women.¹⁰⁴ However, the composition of national leadership committee does not have gender consideration nor does it have representatives from Women Ngome, it composes of: a) National Party Leader b) National Party Chairperson c) Deputy National Party Chairperson d) National Party Secretary e) Two representative as selected by National Party Leader.¹⁰⁵
- Ethics committee oversees members and leaders' conduct and character at each party level. It composes of 3 to 5 members elected by the General Assembly at each party level. There is one or two women depending on whether the committees have 3 or 5 members. National Ethics Committee composes of two or three women depending on whether the committee is composed of five or nine members. Staff and ACT officials are prohibited to be part of the ethics committees at any level.

2. Women in ACT's Key Meetings

- ACT has three key meetings at each level, namely the Congress/General Assembly, Leadership Committee and Secretariat meetings.¹⁰⁶ Chair and secretary of the Women Ngome form part of the Branch,¹⁰⁷ Ward,¹⁰⁸ Constituency and Region's¹⁰⁹ General Assembly and Leadership Committee meetings. At national level, National Congress¹¹⁰ meeting are composed among other delegates, 5 women from the women wing.¹¹¹ In this meeting there are also four women from youth wing (Youth Ngome) and one woman among the three representatives from the diaspora.
- The Central Committee composes of among other delegates, the Women Ngome's national deputy secretary with other 3 women selected from the Ngome.¹¹² There are also other five women among the 15 members selected from the National General Assembly.
- Leadership of Special Committee of the Main Committee (Zanzibar) includes National Vice Chair and Secretary of the women ngome.¹¹³

⁶²Article 5(11) of the CCM Constitution

⁶³Preamble, Article 2 and 7(2) of the CUF Constitution

⁶⁴Article 4.1.2 of the CHADEMA Constitution

⁶⁵Article 7 of CUF constitution

⁶⁶Article 4(3) (1) and the Preamble of CHADEMA's Constitution

⁶⁷Article 14 of the CCM Constitution

- The secretary from Women Ngome forms part of the party Secretariat at the branch,¹¹⁴ward,¹¹⁵ constituency,¹¹⁶ and regional¹¹⁷ level. Delegates of National Secretariat includes secretary from national level Women ngome. Secretariat of the Zanzibar Special Committee includes Deputy National Secretary of the Women Ngome.¹¹⁸
- Women agenda in party key meetings: ACTWazalendo General assemblies at branch,¹¹⁹ ward, constituency, and regional levels discusses progress report from the women ngome.¹²⁰ However, there is no agenda to discuss progress report from the Women Ngome during the National Congress.
- Supervision of Women Ngome: The women Ngome is supervised by the Secretariat at each respective level,¹²¹ while at region level is done by the regional leadership committee¹²² it is not clear from the ACT Constitution, what body regulates the work of women Ngome at branch and Constituency levels. In Zanzibar Women Ngome is supervised by the Special Committee for Zanzibar.¹²³ Among the key roles of the National Executive Committee is to coordinate and supervise women ngome.¹²⁴ National Vice Chairperson plays a role of an advisor to the women ngome. He/she is a part of Women Ngome meetings in their respective areas by virtue of his position.¹²⁵

Permanent committees: There are permanent executive committees at national level. They include i)financial and resources committee, ii)Committee for Communication and Ideology, iii) Committee for planning and strategy, iv)committee for elections and campaigns, v)committee for the constitution and law, vi)Committee for research and policy, vii)the national ethics committee, viii)the Peace committee and foreign relations Committee. ¹⁴ There is no stipulated gender considerations in the selection of the committees' leaders.

Recommendations to the identified gaps to ACT

In order to ensure meaningful and effective participation of men and women in ACT leadership positions and key meetings, ACT must consider to include in its Constitution the following prepositions;

- Election of ACT Chairperson, General Secretary and Secretary for communication and ideology at all administrative levels should be done with gender consideration in order to provide both men and women equal chance to hold such positions.¹²⁷
- Election of board of trustees by the National Congress and National Executive Committee must include gender considerations. ¹²⁸
- Voluntary party candidate quotas: ACT Constitution is silent on how it ensure certain percent or number of its electoral candidates are women.
- Particulars in the membership cards must include sex of a member-Article 8. o Members register must be desegregated in terms of sex and age. (Article 12) o Members' promises to the party under (Article 13) must include, striving to respect and provide equal opportunities for both men and women at all levels.
- There should be stipulated gender considerations in the election of ACT's national leaders:-Party leader, National Party Chairperson, DeputyChairperson (Zanzibar), Deputy-

⁶⁸Article 22(4) of the CCM Constitution

⁶⁹Article 55 of the CCM Constitution

⁷⁰Article 68 of the CCM Constitution

⁷¹Article 68 of the CCM Constitution

⁷²Article 94 of the CCM Constitution

⁷³Article 68 of the CCM Constitution

⁷⁴Article 112 of the CCM Constitution

⁷⁵Coordinates party wings including UWT, supervises constitution, rules and regulation of the party and that of the wings

⁷⁶Article 116 of the CCM Constitution

⁷⁷Article 125 of the CCM Constitution

Chairperson (Mainland), Party National Secretary, Deputy Party National Secretary (Zanzibar), National Secretary(Mainland).¹²⁹

- Add offences relating to gender based violence and sextortion under Article 22 of the ACT Constitution. ACT must also include in its Ethics Code of Conduct prohibitions relating to acts of gender based violence and sextortion.
- ACT should consider including discussion on the progress reports from the Women Ngome during the National Congress. Unlike other Congress meetings in other party levels, there is no agenda to discuss progress report from the women wing during the National Congress.
- The composition of national leadership committee should have gender consideration and the representation from national chair or secretary of women ngome. The national leadership is composed of: a) Party Leader, b) Party Chairperson) Deputy Party Leader (if present) d) Deputy Party Chairpersons) Permanent Secretary, f) Party members not exceeding two (2) elected by Party Leaders.¹³⁰
- The leadership committee composes of Women Ngome’s chair and secretary at all party levels, except at ward level where only chair is allowed-secretary should be allowed as well.
- There should be an indication from the constitution on which party organ supervises the work of the women Ngome at branch and constituency level.
- Gender consideration must be employed in the selection of the three representatives from Ngome ya Vijana and councilors who attend National Executive Committee meeting.¹³¹
- A specific gender policy should be drafted, adopted and implemented. It should be stated from the constitution how women wings are funded or how women receive trainings from the party.

C. CUF Constitution, 2014

CUF constitution strongly believes in human rights, dignity and non-discrimination practices. CUF objective includes the desire to promote and protect women, children and PWDs rights.¹³² CUF members have the right to vie for leadership positions and choose their leaders. CUF operates at the branch, ward, constituency, district and national levels.¹³³ Key party leaders at branch, ward and constituency levels are the chairperson, secretary and treasurer.¹³⁴ At district level, key leaders are party chairperson and secretary.¹³⁵ National leaders are, National Chairperson, Deputy National Party Chairperson and National Party Secretary.¹³⁶ These leaders are elected during general assembly meeting of each respective level. CUF Constitution provides no gender considerations for men and women to hold higher level party leadership positions.

JUKECUF is established under article 103 of the CUF constitution. *JUKECUF* chair and deputy chair are elected by CUF’s general assembly. Its secretary and deputy secretary are appointed by the National Party Chairperson after consultation with National Deputy Chair¹³⁷ and they have to be endorsed by National Leadership Council. *JUKECUF* has mandate to make its own guidelines which are subject to approval by the National Leadership Council. ¹³⁸ The decision by *JUKECUF* can be agreed, invoked or revoked by National Congress as it deems fit.¹³⁹ There is at each level, a party coordinator who is elected by the Executive Committee.¹⁴⁰ Among other roles of the party coordinator is to mobilize members of the community to join party structures, such as *JUKECUF*.¹⁴¹

Women in CUF Leadership Positions

- National Leadership Council composes of, Forty five members (45) twenty five(25)¹⁵ from Tanzania Mainland, at least eight(08) will be women, and twenty members(20) from Zanzibar, from among whom (06) will be women elected from the National general assembly. It also composes of Five Members (05), three from Tanzania Mainland and two (02) from Zanzibar appointed by the National Party Chair after consultation with Deputy Party Chair from renowned party members, where not less than 30% of the nominees will be female. There are also two disabled members, one from Mainland Tanzania and one from Zanzibar nominated by the National Chairperson of the Party, one has to be a woman. The Chairperson of JUKECUF together with one member nominated by the National Council of JUKECUF are also part of the delegate.¹⁴²
- Delegates of National Leadership Council includes JUKECUF chair and one woman representative.¹⁴³ National Leadership Council has among other roles powers to discipline the chair and secretary of the JUKECUF.¹⁴⁴
- National party secretariat includes JUKECUF national secretary.¹⁵⁸ Deputy national party chair plays a role of JUKECUF advisor.¹⁴⁵
- The Board of Trustees composes of not more than nine (09) members, five (05) from Mainland-at least two(2) should be women and four (04) from Zanzibar-at least (1) should be a woman who shall be appointed in accordance with the requirements of the Board of the Trustees and the procedure laid down by the National Leadership Council.
- Disciplinary Committee compose of (i) Deputy Chairperson of the Party (ii) Deputy Secretary (iii) Director of Defense and Security (iv) Deputy Director of Defense and Security (vi) and three other members including in which at least one must be a woman.
- As part of CUF party structure there is executive committee at each administrative level. At branch and constituency level,¹⁴⁶ it composes among others, 3 women who are among the 10 members selected from branch and ward's congress meeting while at ward level it compose among others, 5 women among the 15 members selected from branch congress meeting.¹⁴⁷
- Executive Committee: At ward and constituency level,¹⁴⁸ among others, women form 5 representatives among the 15 members of the executive committee.¹⁴⁹
- JUKECUF National Secretary is also member to the CUF's national secretariat.¹⁶⁴
- Safety and Security Committee: At each administrative level, there is a safety and security committee. The committee compose of the party secretary, members of the Blue Guard group and two other representatives in which one has to be a woman.¹⁵⁰ At national level Safety and Security Committee there are among others, 2 women members among the four representatives chosen from district congress meeting for Tanzania mainland and 2 women members among the four representatives from Zanzibar.¹⁵¹ At national level there is a secretary and a deputy secretary responsible for safety and security but consideration is given for Zanzibar and mainland representation but there is no gender considerations.¹⁵²

⁷⁸Article 122 of the CCM Constitution

⁷⁹Article 36 (d,e and g) of the CCM Constitution

⁸⁰Article 46 of the CCM Constitution

⁸¹Article 101 of the CCM Constitution

⁸²Article 99 of the CCM Constitution

⁸³Article 103 of the CCM Constitution

⁸⁴Article 107 of the CCM Constitution. Because they are part of Central Committee from Zanzibar, and main committee of the Central Committee 94

⁸⁵Article 110 of the CCM Constitution

Women in Key CUF Meetings

- Key meetings at CUF'S party administrative levels are: the General Assembly, Executive Committee, and the Safety and Security meetings. At national level there are: the National General Assembly, National Executive Committee, National Secretariat and the National Safety and Security Meetings.
- General assembly meetings at each level: Women are represented at the national general assembly at each party level. For example at ward level two women are among the 5 members selected from the congress meeting at branch level.¹⁵³ At constituency and district level, 3 women are among the ten members selected from ward congress meeting to be among the delegates. In Zanzibar 5 women make among the 15 representatives selected from constituency congress meeting to join other delegates of the meeting.¹⁵⁴ At each general assembly, there is a gender consideration for youth and elderly representatives from lower levels.¹⁷⁰ At each executive committee level, there are five women among the fifteen members of the committee.¹⁵⁵
- The National General Assembly composes of Twenty (20) members, at least six (06) women elected by the Congress meetings of each District of Zanzibar; Fifteen delegates, nine (09) members from mainland Tanzania-at least three (03) must be women, and; six (06) members from Zanzibar- at least two (02) must be women; There are also five members with disabilities, three (03) members with disabilities from mainland Tanzania, and two (02) from Zanzibar at least two must be women; ten (10) members; six (06) at least two (02) women from mainland Tanzania, and four (04) members, at least two (02) women from Zanzibar elected from youth wing; 10 members, at least two (2) women in Tanzania, and four (04) at least two women from Zanzibar elected by the National Council of Elders. 10% percent of all members of the National Congress from Mainland Tanzania, and 10% of all members of the National Assembly from Zanzibar must be women.
- National Central Committee is compose of Forty five members (45), twenty five (25) from Tanzania Mainland, with at least (08) being women, and twenty (20) from Zanzibar, at least six (06) will be women elected from the National Congress; Five members (05), Three from Tanzania Mainland and two (02) from Zanzibar elected where (30%) should be women and; Two members with disability, one from Tanzania Mainland and one from Zanzibar-one shall be male and the other one female from the National General Assembly.

Recommendations on the Observed Gaps

In order to ensure meaningful and effective participation of men and women in CCM leadership positions and key meetings, CUF must consider to include in its Constitution the following prepositions;

- There must be gender threshold in election of party leaders at each level, from branch to national level. At national level there is a consideration to balance two parts of the union i.e. if the chair comes from one part of the union, deputy chair and general secretary will be supposed to hail from the other part of the union.
However, there are no efforts to balance gender.
- Election of leaders of directorates established by the national leadership committees have to consider gender balance.¹⁵⁶
- *JUKECUF* leaders at branch, ward and constituency level should form part of the general assembly. There are women representatives in these meetings but they are not representatives from *JUKECUF*.

- *JUKECUF* leaders at branch, ward, and constituency level should form part of party secretariat. There are women representatives in these meetings but there are no representatives from *JUKECUF*.
- *JUKECUF* leaders at branch, ward,¹⁵⁷ constituency, district and national level should form part of the safety and security committees. There is one woman representative at each level and two women at national level but there are no representatives from *JUKECUF*.
- *JUKECUF* must be represented in the party constituency committee which also have women representative but they are not from *JUKECUF*¹⁷⁴
- *JUKECUF* are not part of the main leadership of CUF at any administrative level.

They only come in when there are meetings.

- *JUKECUF* reports must be made part of discussion in key meetings to bring everyone on board on the status of women mobilization and engagement.
- The constitution must state how *JUKECUF* is financially supported by the party to undertake its activities and training of its members and leaders.
- *JUKECUF* must be in position to choose their own leaders. At the moment, national *JUKECUF* Chairperson and her Deputy are chosen by National General Assembly instead of *JUKECUF* from its own meetings. It is astonishing that the *JUKECUF* Secretary and her Deputy are chosen by National Party Chairperson after consultation with National Deputy Chairperson.
- The autonomy of *JUKECUF* must be relooked, at the moment its decisions are subject to National Leadership Committee approval. They can be invoked or revoked.
- CUF must adopt voluntary party candidate quotas for women to ensure certain percent or number of its electoral candidates are women.
- A specific gender policy should be drafted, adopted and implemented.

D. CHADEMA Constitution, 2019

CHADEMA Constitution recognizes that women make up the majority of the population and that their creativity is important in bringing development. Within CHADEMA there is a specific section for women namely Baraza la Women la Chadema (BAWACHA) established under Article 7.8 and 7.8.3 of CHADEMA constitution. The aim of BAWACHA is to ensure women take part in all social, economic and political aspects of life.¹⁵⁸ BAWACHA leadership follows CHADEMA's leadership structure. It is from the foundation, branch, ward, constituency, district, region, zone and national level.¹⁵⁹ BAWACHA have mandate to make its own guidelines¹⁶¹ which are taken as part and parcel of key CHADEMA guidelines.¹⁶ BAWACHA meetings are recognized as CHADEMA's official meetings.¹⁶² BAWACHA elects its own leaders at its own meetings.¹⁶³

Women in CHADEMA Leadership

- BAWACHA leaders are part of the CHADEMA leadership at all levels i.e. the foundation, branch, ward,¹⁶⁴ constituency, district,¹⁶⁵ region, zone and national level. BAWACHA leaders are recognized among the four categories of leaders CHADEMA have.¹⁶⁶ The party protocol also includes BAWACHA and recognizes it as part of CHADEMA

¹⁵⁶ Article 48 of the CCM Constitution

¹⁵⁷ Article 38 and 51 of the CCM Constitution. Other delegates are chair, secretary, ideology secretary, Cell chair and councilor

¹⁵⁸ Secretariat is chaired by branch secretary and secretary is secretary for ideology. Article 40 and 53 of the CCM Constitution

¹⁵⁹ Article 92 of the CCM Constitution

¹⁶⁰ Article 41 of the CCM Constitution

¹⁶¹ Article 11 of the CCM Constitution

¹⁶² Article 6 of ACT-W Constitution

leadership.¹⁶⁷ Although BAWACHA form part of the leadership at all levels, the election of main party leaders such as chairperson, secretary, treasurer and secretary for ideology at all levels do not consider gender representation of men and women.¹⁶⁸ Also, there is no gender consideration in electing CHADEMA national leaders who compose of (a) National Chairperson (b) Deputy Chairperson Mainland (c) Deputy Chairperson Zanzibar (d) National Secretary (e) Deputy Secretary Mainland (f) Deputy Secretary Zanzibar.

- Executive committees at each level include BAWACHA chair and secretary.¹⁶⁹ The secretariat at each level includes BAWACHA secretary.¹⁷⁰ The Central Committee secretariat also includes BAWACHA secretary.¹⁷¹ The constitution provides clearly that the chair of the secretariat shall be the party secretary of a particular administrative level.¹⁷²
- Leadership Council at district and regional level compose among other delegates, BAWACHA chair.¹⁷³

Women in key meetings

- Delegates for Ward¹⁷⁴ Congress at all levels¹⁷⁵ includes a chair and secretary of BAWACHA. At national executive committee level, delegates include national chair and secretary of BAWACHA, however the secretary does not vote.¹⁷⁶ Members of Zanzibar special committee also includes deputy chairs of the BAWACHA¹⁷⁷ and its secretariat includes secretary or deputy secretary of BAWACHA Zanzibar.
- Consultative meetings at district level includes BAWACHA chair,¹⁷⁸ while those at regional level include both BAWACHA chair and secretaries.¹⁷⁹
- Women Agenda in Party Meetings: Congress at all levels discusses progress reports from BAWACHA.¹⁸⁰ Central Committee passes BAWACHA guidelines, and¹⁸¹ consider names of the candidates for special seats councilors as submitted by BAWACHA.
- Supervision of BAWACHA: The role of the Executive Committees at each level includes to supervise the performance of BAWACHA.¹⁸² BAWACHA at regional level BAWACHA is supervised by the Leadership Council.¹⁸³
- As per its guidelines, BAWACHA creates programs and fundraises money for its activities. BAWACHA also has a role to identify and groom girls and women to get in politics. They also propose names of women special seats from local to national levels. BAWACHA also has a role to prepare trainings for the members as well as evaluate the situation of women in the respective areas.
- BAWACHA has just adopted a gender policy

Recommendations

- There must be gender threshold or quota in election of the main party leaders at each level, from foundation to national level.
- Out of 8 objectives of the wing, only one is aimed at building the capacity of women to groom and prepare them for leadership positions. BAWACHA should include among its roles, a role to mainstreaming gender equality across the party; play an influencing role women for women to hold positions of power within CHADEMA and during elections; conducting gender analysis for the party and; gender mainstreaming of the key political parties documents. Further, BAWACHA guidelines does not contain information relating to selection of women for special seats before submission to Central Committee for approval.

- There should be clear provisions regarding women with disabilities, at the moment the constitution notes that women with disabilities shall be regarded as per the constitution¹⁷ and other guidelines, but the two are silent on the same.
- CHADEMA must adopt voluntary party candidate quotas for women to ensure certain percent or number of its electoral candidates are women.

E. NCCR Constitution, 2014

The Preamble to the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution believes in gender equality in all decision-making organs and enshrines equality as one of the principles in its ideology. NCCR-Mageuzi party logo contains among other things, a picture of a woman reading a book.¹⁸⁴ NCCR-Mageuzi includes in its key principles and party objectives a belief for positive discrimination with the view to uplift the marginalized groups.¹⁸⁵ The constitution states clearly on its desire to achieve equality between men and women in all aspects of life.¹⁸⁶ NCCR-members are allowed to vie for positions and vote for the preferred party leaders. Members also have responsibilities to stand against any kind of discrimination.¹⁸⁷

NCCR - Mageuzi operate within five levels namely the cell, branch, ward, constituency and at national level. The party also have wings for women, youth and the elderly.¹⁸⁸ The wings are free to make their own rules of operation which have to be approved by the National Executive Committee meetings. The wings conduct its activities and report to the secretary of the respective administrative party level.

Women in leadership positions

- NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution does not provide for gender consideration in selection of key party leaders namely the chairpersons, secretaries and the treasurers of all respective administrative levels.
- There is also no gender consideration in election of the NCCR's national leadership comprising of a) National Chairperson (b) Deputy Chairperson Mainland (c) Deputy Chairperson Zanzibar (d) National Secretary (e) Deputy Secretary Mainland (f) Deputy Secretary Zanzibar and the g) the national Treasurer.

⁹² Article 7 of ACT-W Constitution 103 Section 23 of the ACT-W

⁹³ Article 8 of ACT-W Constitution

⁹⁴ Article 10 of the ACT Constitution

⁹⁵ Article 25(5) (I) of ACT Constitution

⁹⁶ Article 27(5) (ii) of ACT Constitution 108 Article 26(5) (ii) of ACT Constitution.

⁹⁷ Article 29(9) (xv) of ACT Constitution

⁹⁸ For example, Article 26(2) of ACT Constitution 111 Article 15 (1) (v) of ACT Constitution.

⁹⁹ Article 26(2) (vi) and (vii) of the ACT Constitution

¹⁰⁰ Article 27(3) (iv) of the ACT Constitution

¹⁰¹ Article 29(2) of the ACT Constitution

¹⁰² Article 34 of the ACT Constitution

¹⁰³ For Example, Article 23 of CUF Constitution

¹⁰⁴ Article 24-28 of the ACT Constitution

¹⁰⁵ Article 29 (22)

¹⁰⁶ For example, Article 27(25) of the ACT Constitution

¹⁰⁷ Article 24(3) of ACT Constitution- other TAW leaders include (i.) Mwenyekiti wa ACT-Tawi; (ii.) Katibu wa ACT-Tawi; (iii.) Katibu wa Mawasiliano na Uenezi wa ACT- Tawi; (iv.) Mwekahazina wa ACT-Tawi (v.) Katibu wa Mipango na Chaguzi (Wajumbe wanne wa Kamati ya Uongozi watakoachaguliwa na Mkutano mkuu wa Tawi, wanaume wawili na women wawili.

¹⁰⁸ Article 25(3)(vi) of ACT Constitution.

¹⁰⁹ Article 27(3) (iv) of ACT Constitution

¹¹⁰ Article 29(12) (vii and ix) of ACT Constitution

¹¹³ Article 29(4) (iii) and (iv) of ACT Constitution

¹¹⁴ Article 24(4) (iii) of ACT Constitution

¹¹⁵ Article 25(10) (v) of ACT Constitution

Women in key meetings

- At each level there are two main meetings namely the General Assembly and the Executive Committee which are responsible for election of party leaders among other duties. There is no representation of NCCR's women wing at cell and branch level meetings.¹⁸⁹
- During the General Assembly at branch level, the meeting elects two to three people to be a party kamisaa in which one of them must be a woman.
- A chair and secretary of NCCR's women wing are represented at Ward Executive Committee, and at both the General Assembly and Executive Committee meetings at constituency level.¹⁹⁰
- National chair and secretary of NCCR's women wing forms part of the National General Assembly and National Executive c]Committee meetings at national level.¹⁹¹
- The national General Assembly selects eight women representatives for the National Executive Committee meeting. They also select two youth representatives to the National Executive Committee, one of them has to be a woman.

The National Executive Committee meeting include fifteen women from Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar and four youth representatives two of them women.

- Different from other political parties' constitutions, Article 21(5) of the NCCRMageuzi Constitution provides that delegates at national executive committee meeting shall be of 50:50 men and women basis.
- It is noted that NCCR-women wing do not have representation in the special committee of the national executive committee.¹⁹²
- Every administrative level has a secretariat but it is not stated in the constitution if the secretariat composes any representative from the women wing.¹⁹³
- Executive committee meetings at all levels discusses progress reports from the women wing.¹⁹⁴

Recommendations on the Noticed Gaps

- There must be gender threshold in election of main party leaders at each level, from the cell, branch, ward, constituency to national level.
- There should be representatives from NCCR-Mageuzi women wing at cell and small cell level.
- NCCR-women wing should be represented in the Special Committee of the National Executive Committee.¹⁹⁵
- Include among criteria for selection of its leaders(Article 13 of the Constitution), a person who respects and believes in the prosperity of both men and women
- Consider to state clearly composition of the Secretariat of each administrative level, which must include the secretary from the respective women wing.
- Article 21(5) of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution provides that delegates of the National Executive Committee meeting shall be of 50:50 men and women basis.
This provision must be extended to all partly meetings at all levels.

¹¹⁶Article 26(5)(11) of ACT Constitution

¹¹⁷Article 27(10)(v) of ACT Constitution

¹¹⁸Article 28(4) (ii) of ACT Constitution

¹¹⁹Article 24(5) (vii) of ACT Constitution

4.3 Major Observations from Parties Constitutions

- There is no gender consideration/quota in election of parties' leaders such as party chairpersons, secretaries and treasurers in all parties and at all levels-from cell/foundation to national level,
- Men dominate all decision-making positions and structures because attendance in parties' key meetings is by virtue of one's position. As noted above, all parties elect their main leaders without putting in place gender balance considerations.
- Leaders from women wings have space in parties' key meetings but their participation is just a token. They participate merely as delegates with no leadership power or influence. In all parties and at all levels, key meetings such as general assemblies and executive committees are led by the chair and the secretary of the respective party administrative levels. Most of the times these happen to be men as parties elect its leaders without putting in place gender balance considerations.
- In most cases, election/selection of leaders for different departments or directorates at national to lower level do not take into consideration gender balance.
- All political parties are silent on financing and capacity building for women wings.
- All political parties do not have the operational gender policy.
- All political parties constitutions provides for no voluntary party candidate quotas- there is no guarantee that certain percent or number of parties electoral candidates are going to be women.
- CCM Constitution does not provide for a gender threshold in the election/selection of board of trustees' chair and members unlike CUF and CHADEMA constitutions.
- There is no consistency in ensuring women representation at all decision-making structures within parties.
- While CHADEMA, NCCR-MAGEUZI, ACTWazalendo general assemblies and executive committee meeting discuss reports from women wings, there is no agenda for discussing reports from women wings under CCM and CUF.
- Participation without participation: At CHADEMA's national executive committee level, delegates include the national chair and secretary of BAWACHA, however the secretary is not allowed to vote.
- All constitutions are silent on prohibitions relating to acts of gender based violence and sextortion

¹²⁰Article 24(5) (ix) of ACT Constitution

¹²¹At ward level, this is provided under Article 25(8) (xviii) of ACT Constitution

¹²²Article 27(8) (vi) of ACT Constitution

¹²³Article 28(3) (ix) of ACT Constitution

¹²⁴Article 29(13) (xxi) of ACT Constitution

¹²⁵Article 29(33) (b and c) of ACT Constitution

¹²⁶Article 30 of ACT Constitution

¹²⁷For example, Article 26(2) of ACT Constitution

¹²⁸Article 34 of the ACT Constitution

¹²⁹Article 29(2) of the ACT Constitution

¹³⁰Article 29 (22) of the ACT Constitution

¹³¹Article 29(8) (vii and viii) of the ACT Constitution

¹³²Article 7 of CUF Constitution

¹³³Article 14 of CUF Constitution

¹³⁴For example, see Article 23, 38 and 55 of CUF Constitution

¹³⁵Article 69 of CUF Constitution

¹³⁶Article 90 of CUF Constitution

¹³⁷Article 91(1)(l) of the CUF constitution and 103 (2c and d)

4.4 Notable Good practices

- CUF Constitution specifically ensures not less than 30% of the nominees/delegates to the General Assembly and Executive Committee meetings are female.
- There is 50:50 men and women representation under CUF's Safety and Security Committee at each level
- There is 50:50 men and women representation under ACT's leadership committee at all levels except national level
- Article 21(5) of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution provides that delegates at National Executive Committee meeting shall be of 50:50 men and women basis.
- In some places it is clear from CUF and ACT constitutions that delegates from youth,²⁰elderly, diaspora and PWDs should consider the representation of men and women.
- The Board of Trustees appointments observe gender representation within CUF. This feature is not seen with CCM, ACT and other parties.
- No clear provisions regarding women with disabilities, at the moment CHADEMA constitution notes that women with disabilities will be regarded as per the constitution and other guidelines, but the two are silent on the same.
- CHADEMA and ACT recognize women wing as part of their general leadership structure. CHADEMA recognizes BAWACHA meetings and decision as its own. This feature is not visible within CCM leadership structures.
- While in other parties women wings get to choose their leaders, in CUF, national JUKECUF Chairperson and her Deputy are chosen by National General Assembly instead of by JUKECUF own meetings. It is astonishing that the JUKECUF Secretary and her Deputy are chosen by National Party Chairperson after consultation with National Deputy Chairperson. The autonomy of JUKECUF must be relooked, at the moment its decisions are subject to National Leadership Committee approval. They can be invoked or revoked.

¹³⁸ Article 103(3) of the CUF constitution

¹³⁹ Article 103(4) of the CUF constitution

¹⁴⁰ Article 28 and 29 of CUF Constitution

¹⁴¹ Article 29 (1e) of CUF Constitution

¹⁴² Article 81 of CUF Constitution

¹⁴³ Article 81(1) (xi) of CUF Constitution

¹⁴⁴ Article 83(4) (h) (i) of CUF Constitution ¹⁵⁸ Article 84(20) of the CUF Constitution.

¹⁴⁵ Article 92(1d) of the CUF Constitution

¹⁴⁶ Article 48 of CUF Constitution

¹⁴⁷ Article 48(d) of the CUF Constitution

¹⁴⁸ Article 64 of the CUF Constitution

¹⁴⁹ Article 34 of the CUF Constitution ¹⁶⁴ Article 84 of CUF Constitution.

¹⁵⁰ Article 21(1) (3), 36 and 66 of CUF Constitution

¹⁵¹ Article 86 of CUF Constitution

¹⁵² Article 87 and 88 of CUF Constitution

¹⁵³ Article 31 of CUF Constitution

¹⁵⁴ Article 62 of CUF Constitution ¹⁷⁰ Article 62(4) of CUF Constitution.

¹⁵⁵ Article 64(2) of the CUF Constitution

¹⁵⁶ Article 102 of CUF Constitution

¹⁵⁷ Article 31 of the CUF Constitution ¹⁷⁴ Article 57 of the CUF Constitution.

¹⁵⁸ Article 103 of CHADEMA Constitution.

¹⁵⁹ Article 5(1) of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶⁰ Article 7.8.1 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶¹ Article 2.2 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶² Article 6.2 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶³ Article 7.2.4 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶⁴ Article 7.3.3(e) of CHADEMA Constitution

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter establishes some level of appreciation and recognition of the role of women in the political parties. It is noted however that, across all the parties there are no established gender quotas or thresholds to allow women to take part in the internal leadership positions and decision-making structures from grassroots to national level. There are also no measures to ensure certain number of candidates for external elections are women. While parties' decision-making organs discuss many issues, some parties discuss the reports from the women wings while others do not. Funding and training are key for the prosperity of women within political parties. However, constitutions of the selected parties are silent on how women wings are funded or whether they will receive training at all within the respective parties. The following chapter undertakes a gender analysis of the political parties' manifestos.

¹⁶⁵Article 7.4.3 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶⁶Article 6.2.3 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶⁷Article 2.4 of CHADEMA

¹⁶⁸For example, see Article 7.3.3 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁶⁹Article 7.3.8 and 7.4.8 (e and f) of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁰Article 7.6.8 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷¹Article 7.7.17 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷²Article 7.3.11 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷³Article 7.4.14 and 7.4.16 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁴Article 7.3.5 (d) and (e) of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁵Article 7.4.5 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁶Article 7.7.3 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁷Article 7.7.20 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁸Article 7.4.16 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁷⁹Article 7.5.4 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁸⁰Article 7.2.8 (g) of CHADEMA Constitution and Article 7.3.7 (j) for ward level

¹⁸¹Article 7.7.12 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁸²Article 7.2.11 (t), 7.3.9 (r) and 7.4.10 (w) of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁸³Article 7.5.4 of CHADEMA Constitution

¹⁸⁴Section 3 of NCCR-MAGEUZI Constitution

¹⁸⁵Article 7(4) and 8(9) of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution

¹⁸⁶Article 8(13-17) of the NCCR-Mageuzi- extends the provision to youth, elderly and children

¹⁸⁷Section 10 and 11 of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution

¹⁸⁸Section 24 of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution

¹⁸⁹Section 18(6) of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution

¹⁹⁰Section 19 and 20 of the NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution

¹⁹¹Article 21 of the NCCR-MAGEUZI

¹⁹²Article 21(8) of the NCCR-MAGEUZI

¹⁹³Article 22 and 23 of the NCCR-MAGEUZI Constitution

¹⁹⁴Article 20 (5) of the NCCR-MAGEUZI Constitution

¹⁹⁵Article 21(8) of the NCCR-MAGEUZI

5.0 Gender Analysis of the 2015 Political Parties' Elections Manifestos in Tanzania

5.1 Introduction

Women make up majority of the population¹⁹⁶ and a larger group of voters. Therefore political parties' pledges through their manifestos must strive to appeal and attract women votes. This chapter reflects on the 2015 political parties manifesto to identify and analyse political parties' pledges to women especially opportunities they provide to enhance their political participation. The chapter also provides recommendations to the respective political parties' manifestos on improvements they can make in their envisaged 2020 manifestos. The discussed political parties' election manifestos are for ACTWazalendo, CCM and CHADEMA. The CHADEMA election manifesto also communicates the 2015 election pledges from NCCR Mageuzi and CUF. This is because during the 2015 general election, CHADEMA joined with other political parties: CUF, National League for Democracy, and NCCR-Mageuzi to form Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (UKAWA). UKAWA fielded one presidential candidate, joint candidates at ward and constituency level, and used one manifesto.

A. ACT-WAZALENDO 2015 MANIFESTO

Commitments: ACTWazalendo manifesto promised voters a nation that embraces equality, dignity, patriotism, unity and cooperation among all Tanzanians without any discrimination including on the basis of gender.¹⁹⁷ ACTWazalendo's key pledges were to ensure inclusive economy to all Tanzanians and access to quality social security, health and education services.

Gaps: Although most of ACTWazalendo's pledges to the general population would benefit both men and women, they carry no gender dimension and considerations. The entire manifesto does not carry any specific promises for women. ACT Wazalendo's 2015 manifesto mentions the word 'equality' eight times, the word 'gender' two times and there is no mention of the word 'women.'

Recommendations: Towards the 2020 general elections, ACT must conduct a gender analysis on how women and men are impacted differently by the current social, economic, political, technological and environmental issues. Such analysis will be key in engendering ACT Wazalendo's 2020 priorities and the framing of specific priorities for women constituency.

B. CHADEMA, CUF, and NCCR-Mageuzi (UKAWA) Manifesto

Commitments: CHADEMA, CUF, and NCCR-Mageuzi (UKAWA) election manifesto promises to protect human rights and equal rights. The manifesto has a specific section for women, youth and employment. It takes cognizant of the fact that women are still exploited and discriminated especially in the areas of land ownership, inheritance and whenever divorce comes into play. The manifesto further recognizes teen pregnancies, gender based violence, marital rape and violence against domestic workers as main challenges facing girls and women.

With regard to women political participation, UKAWA Coalition made a commitment to strengthen women participation in decision-making processes with a view to achieve 50:50 men and women representation in the country's leadership positions by 2020. The manifesto also committed to guarantee women effective participation in the economy, whenever necessary through affirmative action. The manifesto further promised to establish an Independent National Women Council to connect women beyond their political, religious, economic and tribal differences. In addition, the manifesto believes in the existence of Civil Society Organisations(CSOs) working on gender issues and its commitment to promote gender equality

as key opportunities quicken the process of legislating laws for protection of women and girls²² rights. In its pledge to promote women rights, UKAWA expected outcomes include the desire to see children and women protected in the political, social and economic spheres and live in a dignified world. UKAWA manifesto mentions the word ‘women’ 12 times, ‘equality’ 10 times, but there is no mention of the word ‘gender.’

Gaps and recommendations: In the upcoming 2020 manifesto, CHADEMA, CUF, and NCCR-Mageuzi election manifesto should aim at strengthening its gender analysis to ensure systematic gender mainstreaming of the manifestos. In addition, there should be a specific section on pledges to women. The current UKAWA/CHADEMA manifesto contain combined pledges on issues affecting youth, women and employment in one section of its manifesto. However, the three are wide subjects that needed to be dealt with separately. Further, CHADEMA, CUF and NCCR-MAGEUZI should consider making firm commitments with clear implementation plans. For example, the current commitment to improve women participation in decision-making process in order to achieve 50:50 men and women representation in the decision-making processes, does not carry specific actions for its realization.

Finally, CHADEMA, CUF, and NCCR-Mageuzi promised to ensure all government appointments and employment opportunities are equally competed for with a view to abolish acts of nepotism and favoritism, including in the selection of key judicial officers such as chief justice, principal judge and other judges who must be vetted by the parliament. This pledge presumes there is a fair playing field for men and women access to employment and appointment positions. Pledges around clear affirmative action measures should be considered to enhance equal access of employment and appointment opportunities by men and women.

C. Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)

Commitments: CCM manifesto recognizes violence against women, children and those with disabilities as one of the safety and security issues facing the country.¹⁹⁸ The manifesto pledges to take initiative to improve women’s access and ownership of land, and improve access to credit facilities to enhance women’s access to quality agricultural inputs.¹⁹⁹ The manifesto further promises to deliver free education²⁰⁰ and work to improve knowledge and usage of technology by women. There are specific sections on CCM promises to women. The sections recognize women as major players in bringing the desired change in the community, thus they should be treasured, protected and prospered to allow their active participation in the nation’s development endeavors.²⁰¹ The manifesto promises to implement the following during the course of 2015-2020 period.²⁰²

- a. Continue to make constitutional and legislative arrangement for the realization of 50:50 men and women representation in all decision-making processes,
- b. Ensure women get their legal rights and get equal rights in all aspects,
- c. Women are protected against discrimination, exploitation, gender-based violence and against traditions and customs,
- d. Protection of women employment during pregnancy and after child delivery,

In another section the CCM manifesto promises to continue working toward realization of women rights; address unfavorable customs and traditions that discriminate against women and; implement all international conventions pertaining the rights of women.²⁰³ Also, the manifesto promises to mobilize and build the capacity of women to effectively take part in all decision-making bodies.

¹⁹⁶Women make 50.05 percent of the population, available at <https://tradingeconomics.com/tanzania/population-female-percent-of-total-wb-data.html> accessed on 15th May 2020

¹⁹⁷Specifically in its key operating principles ACT promised to fight all kinds of discrimination and strives/dreams for the realization an equal nation.

In order to improve women's economic conditions, CCM manifesto recognizes that, women engagement in economic development has benefitted families and the nation at large, and has impacted food production and security. As such the Manifesto promises to take measures to encourage women to form economic groups such as SACCOS and VICOBA; start 500 women groups; provide entrepreneurship capacity building trainings; mobilize women to join social security schemes and facilitate access to affordable loans; ensure municipalities are procuring from women businesses and that; challenges relating to doing business by small business men and women are eradicated. CCM manifesto further promises to ensure municipalities designate '*women development fund*' for women businesses as per the law.²²¹ In addition, the CCM manifesto promises to come up with a plan to ensure 30 percent of local government tenders benefit women and youth businesses, companies and groups.²²²

Unlike other parties, CCM manifesto takes cognizant of gender issues across the whole manifesto; contains sex desegregated data and; provides a clear picture on how both men and women have or will be impacted by its pledges. It also shows progress made from the previous elections to the time the party makes new promises. The manifesto carries women-specific promises especially on issues such as women participation in the economy and in politics. CCM Manifesto desegregates its data on the basis of sex even when referring to other social groups such as youth and the elderly. The word women is mentioned 66 times, 'gender' three times, and equality is mentioned four times.

Gaps and Recommendations: In its 2020 election manifesto, CCM should consider making firm commitments to women rights. The current pledges range from making plans to improve laws, come up with procedure to implement, review, or consider taking actions-with no real commitments. For example, the commitment to deliver 50:50 male and female parity is not concrete- CCM promises to continue making plans around constitutional and legislative arrangements for realization of 50:50 men and women representation in all decision-making processes. When political parties manifesto contain loose pledges, usually accountability tends to suffer.

D. Key Observations and Recommendations

- All parties' manifestos take cognizance of human rights, non-discrimination and equality of all human beings. This can be easily interpreted as indicative of the parties' seriousness and commitment towards tackling challenges facing women and children although the situation may be different on the ground. A gender-sensitive manifesto integrates gender issues across the document, on top of or rather than include a narrow set of 'women's issues'.
- Close look up in the parties' manifestos depicts inexistence of gender analysis to inform parties' full understanding of the challenges facing girls and women and the kind of pledges they can make to address such challenges. Civil Society Organisations (CSO) can leverage this opportunity by timely sharing of their gender analyses on various sectors with political parties. Constitutions of most parties allow engagement with experts.
- A mention of rural women and those with disabilities is observed, however there is a need for political parties to adequately appreciate the diversity of women and girls and design pledges which work for different categories of women. This is also an opportunity for CSO to help parties to fully understand challenges and needs of different categories of women in the society.
- Political parties' pledges should adequately and comprehensively address challenges facing women and girls including issues of gender based violence, land ownership, safety and security, gender stereotypes, harmful practices and traditions and teen pregnancies.

- Currently, these issues are superficially covered by the manifestos.²³
- The manifestos should also capture issues relating to reproductive rights, unpaid care work, unequal pay for similar jobs. Currently, these issues are not covered in the parties' manifesto.
- Execution of gender equality promises require financial commitments. Parties' manifestos must contain concrete actions and depict financial sources to deliver such actions. For a country with a young economy such as Tanzania, parties must be clear on what it will do to balance the shaking economy with the need to promote gender equality. In most cases, whenever the economy is weak, gender equality commitments tend to suffer.

¹⁹⁸Article 14 of the CCM Manifesto

¹⁹⁹Article 22 of the CCM Manifesto

²⁰⁰Article 52 of the Manifesto

²⁰¹Article 167 of the Manifesto

²⁰²Article 168 of the Manifesto

²⁰³Article 133 of CCM Manifesto 221 Article 63 of CCM Manifesto, 222 Article of 57 CCM Manifesto.

6.1 General Conclusion

Tanzania is praised for ratifying key international, regional and sub-regional human and women rights instruments which among other things lay the basic principles and prerequisites for attaining meaningful and effective participation of women in political and electoral spaces. Adoption of measures such as women reserved seats and the ongoing engendering of the electoral and political legal frameworks depict the country's strong commitment towards the realisation of equal representation of men and women in decision-making process. Special seats arrangement has for instance been key in promoting gender sensitive policies and laws. It has also changed societies' mindsets on the role of women in leadership and political spaces and led to an increase in the number of women in the parliament from 7.5 women at independence to 37 percent after the 2015 general elections. Special seats arrangement has paved way for women to run in competitive seats while motivating many women to aspire for political careers. Special seats have opened up doors for women to be accepted in high positions such as those of the ministers, deputy ministers, vice President and speaker(s) of the National Assembly.

Despite the ratification of the international, regional and sub-regional human and women's rights instruments and the progress that Tanzania has achieved, women still fall short by 13 percent to realise 50:50 of men and women representation in Parliament. While Tanzania has 37 percent women in the Parliament, only 7 percent (26 women) are elected from constituencies and 30 percent (118 women) are from the women special seats arrangement. At the local government level, women form 5 women of all the elected councilors. There are many challenges facing the full realization of the international, regional and sub-regional commitments to achieve equal representation of women and men in decision-making processes. The challenges are mainly entrenched in the First-Past-the-Post electoral system (FPTP); the implementation of women special seats arrangement loopholes in the electoral laws including the newly enacted 2019 Political Parties (Amendment) Act as well as the de jure and the practice of gender equality principles within political organizations. For political parties, the recognition of the role of women is noted in parties' constitutions. Parties have established women wings among their structures with the main role of spreading parties' ideologies to women and mobilize their support. However, a minimum involvement of women in decision-making positions and structures from the lower to higher party levels is noted. There are no measures to ensure women are part of the main party leadership positions at all levels. As women are not in the key decision-making positions within the party' administrative levels, a tokenism approach is witnessed. Women get few 'representative' seats during the key decision-making meetings such as general assemblies and the executive/central committee meetings. Further, parties have not adopted voluntary candidate quotas to ensure certain number of candidates are women. While each party has an established women wing, their autonomy, funding and capacity to influence gender sensitive policies and practices remain the biggest challenge.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Recommendations to the Government

- i) Consider reforming the electoral system from First-Past-the Post to the equality-based list Proportional Representation (PR) electoral system. In the equality-based list PR electoral system, political parties are conditioned to balance and alternate names of men and women candidates in the party lists. PR electoral system operates through the multi-member constituencies rather than single-member constituencies, thus encouraging parties to craft diverse and balanced candidate lists to appeal all categories of voters. Under PR electoral system, each vote counts, hence ensuring a legislature that includes members and

interests of both majority and minority groups. In the PR, voters vote for the party and its ideologies without going deeper into who they are voting for. This helps voters to avoid becoming entangled in concerns about culture, tradition, gender and abilities or inabilities of the candidates. PR electoral system reduces violence and fatal competition caused by the 'winner-takes-all FPTP syndrome' which has been pushing women out of political spheres. The PR electoral system also increases voter turnout, and enhances the country's diversity and national unity. The equality based - list PR electoral system promotes political parties' internal democracy, forces parties to have a national outlook and ensures that parties are guided by ideologies, not individuals. PR electoral system is predominantly used in Rwanda and South Africa.

- ii) Consider an overhaul of special seats arrangement through a new constitution or a constitutional amendment which may lead to either a change from FPTP to Equality-based PR electoral system as explained under recommendation number (i) or introduction of a new strategy to accelerate the attainment of equal representation of men and women in decision-making processes. In case the FPTP remains in place, a shift from the current constituency setting to district-based-constituencies needs to be adopted which each district having two elected representatives (a male and a female). This arrangement addresses the cost issue which arises each time the 50:50 conversation is under discussion. It will provide a chance for both men and women to lead while keeping the current number of MPs even less. A similar measure was attempted to be included in the First and Second Draft Constitution during the 2012-2014 postponed constitutional reform process. It goes without say that, although perceived as a progressive provision, article 124(4) of the 2014 Proposed Constitution needs reworking before the Proposed Constitution is passed into the law of the land. The article is narrow and is silent on critical aspects of the modalities for attainment of equal representation of men and women in the parliament and beyond.
- iii) Allow independent candidate as per the decision of the African Court on Human and Peoples Rights. Article 75 of the 2003 Rwandan Constitution, and Article 99 of the 2010 Kenyan Constitution allow independent candidates.
- iv) The Elections Act must provide for adequate penalties as per the gravity of the offences. The offences such as discouraging people from seeking nomination, or procuring any person who has been nominated to withdraw their candidacy, engaging in bribery or corrupt practices, undue influence, and interference with public meetings occur to both men and women. The penalty for these offences is minimal thus encouraging commission of such offences.²⁰⁴

6.2.2 Recommendation to the National Electoral Commission (NEC)

1. While waiting for an overhaul of the electoral system and replacement of women special seats arrangement with a more workable and fair strategy, the following measures should be adopted to improve and reap the intended benefits of the women special seats arrangement. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) has the constitutional mandate to regulate the women special seats. NEC must come up with guidelines to regulate special seats arrangement in line with Article 4 of CEDAW and Article 9 of Maputo Protocol. The guidelines should include:

- i. Uniform procedure and criteria for selection of women special seats across all political parties.
- ii. A plan on how citizens can be involved in electing or selecting women special seats.
- iii. Specific geographical areas where women special seats can serve and be accountable for.

- iv. Duration/tenure for one woman to serve under special seat should be specified to accelerate progression from special to competitive seats with a view to allow more women to benefit on special seats opportunities.
- v. Women special seats must be availed with constituency funds and be allowed to be in all committees and hold any position at all levels at the council and parliament level.
- vi. Percentage of women special seats in the parliament and in councils should be increased to accelerate reaching the target of equal participation of men and women in decision-making processes. This can be done through, in addition to women special seats,
 - a) Adoption of 20 women women only constituencies (women only constituencies are successful practiced in Rwanda and Kenya) and or:-
 - b) Increasing women special seats to 40 percent as it is in Zanzibar.
- vii. Special seats arrangement is supposed to be used as a temporary measure to elevate women to political spaces. They are supposed to exist for certain period of time and then be eradicated. It is paramount for NEC to reflect on 35 years since the adoption of women special seats in Tanzania and be able to determine how they can be adjusted/improved and when they should be eradicated.

2. Reduce elections deposits for women and other marginalized groups. NEC electoral deposits guidelines may require a deposit of up to five million Tanzanian shilling for a presidential candidate and one million Tanzanian shilling for a constituency candidate.²⁰⁵ In Kenya, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) adopted the regulation that significantly subsidized nomination fees for women. Female candidates pay half of the full nomination fee.

6.2.3 Recommendations for the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties

A consideration must be made to include the following prepositions under the envisaged Political Parties (Amendment) Regulations or the PPAA itself should be amended, whichever is applicable:

- i. Establish number or percentage of women, men and PWDs a political party must have to receive provisional and permanent registration. Sections 6 and 7 of Kenyan Political Parties Act requires political parties to ensure not more than two-thirds of its members and governing body are of the same gender before receiving provisional and full registration.
- ii. The PPAA should instruct political parties to adopt specific quota in terms of the number or percentage of women who should occupy political parties' leadership structures and candidate lists. The current gender and social inclusion provision is generic and devoid of strong compliance measures leaving parties with wider discretion to comply or not. In Rwanda for example, political parties are required to ensure at least 30 women of the party candidates are female.
- iii. Observing, monitoring and promoting compliance to gender and social inclusion provisions must be included among the specific roles and responsibilities of the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties. Currently, the Registrar has many roles but observing, monitoring and promoting compliance to gender and social inclusion is not one of them.
- iv. The PPAA should require part of subvention to political parties to be used to advance participation of women, youth and PWDs in the political parties. Law 60 of the Electoral Code in Panama requires parties to spend at least 25 percent of public funds for capacity-building, at least 10 percent of this must go to female candidates. In Costa Rica, 15 percent of all contributions to the Citizen's Action Party is targeted at training women and youth. The 1974 Elections Act of Canada allows childcare expenses to be included in a candidate's personal expenses during a campaign. The PPAA must also issue incentives to political

parties to pursue progressive gender and social inclusion policies. In Kenya, the 2016 Amendment to the Political Parties Act provides under section 25 1(aa) that 15 women of the Political Parties Funds should be distributed proportionately among qualifying political parties based on the number of its elected candidates from special interest groups, including women.

- v. Breach of gender and social inclusion provision must be specifically stipulated as an offence and must have a corresponding penalty. For example, the Kenya Political Parties Act provides for deregistration of political parties that do not include representation of special interest groups in their governing and functional organs.
- vi. Schedule one which provides for the content of political parties constitution, must include a gender and social inclusion section. While the PPAA requires political parties to promote gender and social provisions, the proposed sample content for the political parties' constitution is without gender and social inclusion section.
- vii. The PPAA should provide clarity on acts of gender based violence happening or with potential of happening within the political parties that are already registered. The current prohibitions only apply during the formation of a political party and does not extend to the registered political parties and its leaders. The PPA should also indicate the potential implications if a person seeking to register a political party has an ongoing case pertaining gender based violence. The current prohibitions only apply to cases finalized within five years.
- viii. The PPAA is commended as far as promotion of record keeping culture by the political parties is concerned. This provision should further require the entries in the registers to be segregated by sex, age and disability. Sex disaggregation is key in determining the nature of women in the political parties, where they are, and their situation.
- ix. After amending the PPAA and or adaption of PPAA regulations which encompasses the actual number and or levels of compliance to gender and social inclusion provision, the Registrar of political parties should consider writing and requiring political parties to amend their constitutions to comply with gender and social inclusion requirements under the PPAA. The Registrar have such powers under section 8D of the PPAA.

6.2.4 Recommendations to Political Parties

In order to increase women political participation, political parties are advised to pursue the following measures:-

- i. Establish intraparty leadership quota to bring more women into the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.
- ii. Establish party voluntary candidate quotas to ensure equal proportion of candidates for political offices are women.
- iii. Have transparent criteria for political and electoral decision-making positions and ensure that the candidate selecting bodies have a gender-balanced composition.
- iv. Incorporate and ensure gender equality agenda is an integral part of the entire political parties' agenda.
- v. Ensure part of the subvention is used to advance women participation in party politics and beyond.

- vi. Create series of trainings and mentoring between experienced and inexperienced women to improve training on leadership and decision-making, public speaking and self-assertion, and political campaigning to increase women's political knowledge, skills and capacity.
- vii. Provide leadership and self-esteem training to assist women and girls, particularly those with special needs, women with disabilities and other minorities to strengthen their self-esteem and to encourage them to take decision-making positions
- viii. Provide gender-sensitive training for women and men in the political parties to promote non-discriminatory working relationships and respect at the political party level.
- ix. Ensure functioning, resourced and autonomous women wings
- x. Strengthen collaborations with CSOs to benefit from gender analyses and trainings.
- xi. Adopt and operationalize a gender policy at a political party level

6.2.5 Civil Society Organizations (CSO)

- i) Demonstrate to political parties why it matters for women to be included in political parties' leadership structures, positions and processes.
- ii) Conduct research/gender audit on number of female members/followers in the political parties versus how many women are actually in the political parties' leadership positions, processes and structures from the lower to higher level.
- iii) Provide technical support for each party to have and operationalize a gender policy.
- iv) Work with parties key structures such as secretariat, executive committees and women wings to identify opportunities for advancement of gender equality agenda within the parties. Some political parties allow in their constitutions, different stakeholders to attend and provide technical support on various issues during key meetings.
- v) Provide gender training to political parties' leaders and members.
- vi) Provide to Political Parties gender analyses on how men and women are affected differently in key social, economic, technological, environmental and political sectors with a view to inform and integrate the gender equality agenda during the making and or revision of parties constitutions and or manifestos.
- vii) Provide timely and ongoing trainings for women electoral aspirants, candidates and leaders.
- viii) Work closely with women wings and expose them to best practices from other women wings outside the country on how they can influence gender mainstreaming of parties' processes and structures.
- ix) Provide technical support in the gender review and engendering political parties key policy documents, structures, systems and ways of working

The End.

