

TANZANIA CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY

**A GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED POLITICAL PARTIES POLICY
DOCUMENTS IN TANZANIA**

FINAL REPORT

May, 2023

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report summarizes the state of gender equality commitments in five selected political parties. These include Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), Civic United Front (CUF), Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo), and National Convention for Construction, and Reforms (NCCR-Mageuzi).

In doing so, the analysis employed a number of methods including desk review, consultations and validation of findings with political parties, as well as casting a gender lens into the analysis. The parameters of analysis are drawn from a number of political rights related international and regional conventions that Tanzania is a member to. To this effect, the analysis focuses on party commitments on gender equality and women rights; political parties' leadership structures, decision-making organs, and composition; party candidates' nomination procedures; nomination of women special seats councilors and parliamentarians; utilisation of party resources and capacity building for women; and the position of women wings.

It is observed that overall, the recognition of equality and non-discrimination principles starts and ends with the preambles to the political parties' constitutions, recruitment of women members and the establishment of the women's wings. Critical parts of all party constitutions make minimal commitments to women's inclusion. Gender blind spots are generally seen in areas such as party membership; party leadership positions; representation in decision-making organs; candidates' nominations; allocation of political parties' resources; and capacity building. While the parties' constitutions safeguard the representation of the two parts of the Union – Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar – in the election of its national leaders, and in representation in key decision-making positions, they carry no safeguards in ensuring both genders are represented. The laxity in adopting significant gender inclusion commitments by the political parties is partly caused by gaps in the Political Parties Amendment Act, 2019.

Section 6 A (5) of Political Parties Amendment Act provides that “A political party shall promote the union of the United d Republic, the Zanzibar Revolution, democracy, good governance, anti-corruption, national ethics and core values, patriotism, secularism, uhuru torch, national peace and tranquility, 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.”

The Act contains no specific thresholds/numerical goal to measure political parties' compliance to gender and social inclusion principles in election of its leaders, and or nomination of its candidates. Political parties are left with wider discretion to decide the extent they can include women as leaders, and candidates, and the extent women can benefit from party resources.

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CHAPTER I: Introduction and Methodology

I.1 Introduction

The Tanzania Center for Democracy (TCD) with the support of the Embassy of Switzerland in Tanzania is implementing a fifteen-month project with the aim of strengthening electoral and political processes by enhancing multiparty dialogue and the participation of women and youth in electoral and political processes. The project recognizes the continuing underrepresentation of women in decision making positions, platforms, and processes, particularly in the political and electoral sphere. It further recognizes the particular role that political parties play as the primary vehicle through which women can take part in political life. The project therefore considers political parties as critical stakeholders in enabling or dis-enabling women's participation in electoral and political processes.

I.2 About the Consultancy

As part of the aforementioned project, TCD has commissioned this assignment to identify the existing gender gaps within political party leadership positions, structures, and procedures, and to propose recommendations that political parties can take forward to improve the participation and representation of women. In doing so, this assignment analyses the extent to which political parties' constitutions, manifestos, and internal regulations promote and protect women's political rights. Five political parties' members of TCD were selected for this assignment. These include Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), Civic United Front (CUF), Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo), and National Convention for Construction, and Reforms (NCCR-Mageuzi).

I.3 Methodology

Given the availed resources and time lines for this assignment, the following methods were applied in the course of undertaking this analysis:

- **Desk Review:** A desk review of the key party documents for ACT-Wazalendo, CCM, CHADEMA, CUF and NCCR-Mageuzi was done. The documents reviewed included party constitutions, internal party regulations regarding internal elections, women wings guidelines and the 2020 election manifestos.

- **Consultations with the parties:** The political parties' leadership and those of the respective party women wings were interviewed to provide practical aspects of implementation of gender commitments in their policy documents, and provide explanation for the existing gaps. The findings of the analysis were validated in a meeting that brought together all the 19 registered political parties, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, members of CSO, media, donor community and the academia.
- **Gender Analysis:** The main element of this analysis is the application of a gender lens in analysing political parties' commitments and implementation of gender equality, as captured in political parties documents. Measures relating to advancing women political participation pinpointed from the political parties' constitutions, regulations, and manifestos are analyzed and a determination is made on their strength, shortcomings and how they can be improved.

I.4 Parameters of Analysis

Tanzania is member to a number of political rights related international and regional conventions. The conventions have key directives to countries but also political institutions including political parties. Article 7 of CEDAW requires States Parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, to ensure women, on equal terms with men, have the right to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies.

At regional level, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (2001), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the rights of women in Africa (2003) and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) also carry great emphasis for States to take deliberate measures to provide, protect and promote civic and political rights for women.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995 contains specific language on the required behavior of the State and the political parties with regard to promotion of women political participation. Under Strategic Objective G, the Beijing Declaration requires the States to take measures, including: electoral systems that encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion and at the same levels as men;

to protect and promote the equal rights of women and men to engage in political activities and to freedom of association, including membership in political parties; to review the differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women in elected bodies and consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems. On political parties front, the Declaration calls upon the political parties to consider examining party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women; Consider developing initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policy-making structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes, and consider incorporating gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to ensure that women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.

Six years after the Beijing Declaration, UN Resolution of the General Assembly 66/130 was released in 2011 to provide guidance on inter alia how political parties can promote women political participation. Article 6 of Resolution 66/130 urges all States to take all appropriate measures to eliminate prejudices that are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women and that constitute a barrier to women's access to and participation in the political sphere, and to adopt inclusive approaches to their political participation. State parties are as well required to strongly encourage political parties to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women, to develop their capacity to analyse issues from a gender perspective, and to adopt policies, as appropriate, to promote the ability of women to participate fully at all levels of decision making within those political parties.

More recently, there is the Leave No One Behind agenda under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which all members of the United Nations including Tanzania are implementing. SDG 5 is grounded on achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls as an intrinsic enabler for sustainable development, inclusive and representative democracy for each country and the world at large.

According to the Beijing Declaration and UN Resolution of the General Assembly 66/130, key benchmarks for promotion of women political participation by political parties include

commitment to fight discrimination on the basis of gender and sex; provide equal leadership opportunities for men and women within the political parties' positions, structures and in contesting for local and national elections.

Capitalising on guidance from these international and regional conventions, each chapter considers a number of parameters when analyzing the party documents, including: -

- a) Party commitments to gender equality and women rights.
- b) Political parties' leadership structure, decision-making organs, and composition.
- c) Party candidates' nomination procedures.
- d) Nomination of special seats councilors and parliamentarians.
- e) Utilisation of party resources and capacity building for women.
- f) The position of women wing.
- g) The policy recommendations pertaining to gender equality and women.

I.5 Report Structure

The report provides an analytical breakdown for each of the five parties. Therefore, chapter One analyses ACT-Wazalendo's party document and manifesto; chapter Two covers CHADEMA; chapter Three analyses CUF; chapter Four is for NCCR-Mageuzi, and chapter Five covers CCM.

Each chapter also provides recommendations specific to each political party, highlighting where gaps are and how the party can address those gaps.

CHAPTER 2: GENDER COMMITMENTS IN ALLIANCE FOR CHANGE AND TRANSPARENCY- (ACT) WAZALENDO

2.1 Commitment to general principles of gender inclusion and human rights principles

The official ACT philosophy is ‘Politics is Development’, which includes the belief that all humans are equal; everyone deserves respect; all citizens should have the freedom of expression, association, movement, and worship; everyone has the right to protection of their life and property under the law; everyone has right to be paid for their labour; that citizens collectively own the natural resources of the country; and that the government has the responsibility to build the economy.¹

Similarly, the party constitution identifies 10 basic principles: patriotism; equality; to fight against discrimination; integrity; transparency; accountability; democracy; freedom of thought and action; dignity; and unity.² The philosophy and the principles, do not have a direct reference to gender or women and other marginalized groups, but it does include principles of equality and anti-discrimination.

The main objectives of the party, as outlined again in their constitution, do include two (out of eight) objectives that directly refer to women: objective 4- to ensure equality of all citizens, men and women, irrespective of their tribe, colour, religious belief, ideology, tradition, and socio-economic standing; and objective 7- to stimulate and advance the fight to protect the rights of children, women, and PWDs.³

In addition, the party regulations of 2015 also identify the party dream, which is to have a country that is economically and culturally independent and which protects and promotes equality, social welfare, accountability, democracy, and good governance.⁴

¹ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 4(2)

² ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 6 (1)

³ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 7.

⁴ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 5(5)

2.1. Leadership Structure and Composition

The ACT party constitution lays out some of the basic rights of party members, which includes the right to elect and be elected to leadership position within or through the party.⁵ It also maintains that party members have the duty to fight against all types of bullying, harassment, oppression, and discrimination.⁶

2.1.2. Leadership Composition at Various Levels

ACT has five levels of leadership within the party, namely: branch, ward (for Tanzania Mainland), constituency, region, and national.⁷

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.

- **Branch level**

- The Branch Leadership Committee includes spaces that are women only-chairpersons and secretaries of women wing at the branch level; two women (and two men) elected by *Mkutano Mkuu* to represent in the leadership committee; one woman *liwali* (and one man) from the area and elected by the leadership committee.
- The party secretariat also has one woman only space- secretary of women wing at branch level.⁸
- Key party decisions at brach level are made through *Mkutano Mkuu*. Members of *Mkutano Mkuu* at Brach level are all party members and leaders in that area. The *Mkutano Mkuu* at Brach Level elects two representatives, one man and one woman, who will enter the Ward's *Mkutano Mkuu*.

⁵ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 11(3)

⁶ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 12(10)

⁷ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 16 (1)

⁸ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 19- 28

- **Ward Level**

- i. The leadership committee at ward level includes women specific spaces- chairpersons and secretaries of the women wing, special seats councilors, and one representative (out of three) of chairpersons and members of street, village and hamlet leadership.
- ii. Similar to branch level, there are four seats reserved for representatives elected by Ward's *Mkutano Mkuu*, but it has not been specific if there is a gender quota here as is at branch level.
- iii. The party secretariat also has one woman only space- secretary of women wing at ward level.⁹
- iv. Key party decisions at ward level are made through *Mkutano Mkuu*. *Mkutano Mkuu* at the ward level includes women specific spaces- chairpersons and secretaries of women wing at ward level, and special seats councilor or MPs.

- **Constituency Level**

- i. At the constituency level, the leadership includes chairpersons and secretaries of the women wing at that level, and also two representatives (out of four) elected by the *Mkutano Mkuu* at constituency level to represent at the leadership committee.
- ii. The party secretariat also has one woman only space- secretary of women wing at ward level.¹⁰
- iii. The *Mkutano Mkuu* at this level includes more women only seats- all members of the leadership committee (which includes the two women representatives),

⁹ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 29-38

¹⁰ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 39-49

chairpersons and secretaries of all women wing branch and wards in the constituency, special seats MPs from the area, and one member (out of two) elected by *Mkutano Mkuu* at Ward and Branch level.

- **Regional level**

- i. At the regional level, the leadership includes chairpersons and secretaries of the women wing at that level, and also two representatives (out of four) elected by the regional *Mkutano Mkuu* to represent at the leadership committee.
- ii. The party secretariat also has one woman only space- secretary of women wing at ward level.¹¹
- iii. Key party decisions at this level are made from regional *Mkutano Mkuu*. Women only seats at the *Mkutano Mkuu* at this level includes- all members of the leadership committee (which includes the two women representatives), chairpersons and secretaries of all women wings at constituencies in the region, special seats MPs from the region, and two members (out of four) elected by *mikutano mikuu* at constituency level.

- **National level**

- i. 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), National Party Secretary, Deputy Party National Secretary (Zanzibar), National Secretary (Mainland).

¹¹ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 54-60

- ii. 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.
- iii. *Mkutano Mkuu wa Taifa* happens every five years and reserves the following seats for women only- six representatives from the women wing; at least 30% of representatives from university members of the party; at least one (out of two) representatives from members in the diapora; specials seats parliamentarians; members of the leadership committee in reserved women positions.
- iv. The national level party secretariat also includes secretary of the women wing at the national level. ¹²
- v. The national level also has a national *Kamati Kuu*, which includes only one set of women specific seats- at least five women out of 15 members elected by the halmashauri kuu.
- vi. The *Halmashauri Kuu ya Taifa* also has some seats reserved for women- women wing national chairperson and secretary; two additional representatives from the women wing; at least one representative from women MPs and women ZHOR representatives, respectively; at least one (out of three) representative from university members; two women representatives of councillors; at least six other members (out of 15) elected by National mkutano mkuu; one woman with disabilities; at least two women out of 5 selected by the chairperson.

2.1.3 Women Special Seats

The 2015 party regulations set out the process for selecting women special seats MPs through ACT. It sets out clearly the objective of the special seats, which is to give preferential seats to

¹² ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 67-80.

women in order to increase their representation in decision making bodies.¹³ In order to be considered for a special seats position, a woman has to submit a letter of request to the Secretary General of the party, who will subsequently publish a full list of all the women who have requested. The secretariat of the *Kamati Kuu* will set up a specific committee, which will include no less than three women out of a maximum of seven members, who will sift through the names based on a set of criteria, and will score the candidates on various dimensions. The final selection committee/s will then rank the candidates.¹⁴

2.1.4 Party Wings

There are three party wings identified in the party constitution, namely: women wing; youth wing; and elder's wing.¹⁵ The party wings at different levels are accountable to the overall party leadership at that level.¹⁶

2.1.5 Board of Trustees and Ethics Committees

- i. The ACT party constitution sets out that the board of trustees will have not more than nine members, of whom at least one is a woman from Tanzania Mainland and one is a woman from Zanzibar.¹⁷
- ii. The party constitution also sets out the composition of the ethics committees,¹⁸ which have to exist at four levels of the party: branch, ward, constituency, region and national. The committees at each level other than at the national level should have no more than five members, of which at least two have to be women.
- iii. At the national level, the ethics committee is considered an independent body of the party and is composed of between five to nine members in addition to the chair of the committee, and at least two of those members have to be women.¹⁹

¹³ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 21 (1).

¹⁴ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 21.

¹⁵ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 94 (2).

¹⁶ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 94 (5).

¹⁷ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 95 (2).

¹⁸ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 97.

¹⁹ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 99.

2.1.6 National Leadership of the Party

The national leadership of the party comprises of the party chairperson, deputy party chairpersons, secretary general of the party, deputy secretary generals, party attorney general, and chief advisor to the party.²⁰ There are no gender threshold for this level of party leadership.

2.1.7 Regulations for Internal Party Elections

The Act party regulations set out that all party members and leaders have the duty to respect all women and to avoid performing any discriminatory act.²¹

Sections 15 ,16 and 17 of the 2015 party regulations lay out the process for internal elections, both for internal seats and for representative seats in the government structure. It sets out, amongst other things, the need to fill out the necessary forms, internal campaign period and procedure, and the threshold needed for having won a position (50%+ of all votes cast).²²

Similarly, the process for nominating councilors candidates,²³ for nominating candidates for the ZHOR and for the National Assembly,²⁴ and nominating candidates for the Presidencies of the URT and Zanzibar are also set.²⁵ Other sections also set out the basic requirements for being a party candidate.²⁶ None of the information for these nomination processes include any gender considerations or thresholds. Hence, candidates' nominations for local and national elections are male dominated.

The party regulations further set out key issues that will not be tolerated during internal party campaigns, including prohibitions on corruption, abusive language, and accusations against fellow candidates.²⁷

²⁰ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 82 (1).

²¹ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 13 (4)

²² ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 15 (1)- (8).

²³ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 15 (9)

²⁴ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 15 (10)

²⁵ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 15 (11)

²⁶ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 16.

²⁷ ACT-Wazalendo Party Regulations of 2015, Section 18

2.3. Capacity building of and Support to women in the party

2.3.1 Capacity Building of Women

Section 110 of the ACT party constitution sets out the responsibility of the party at all levels to provide civic education to party members.²⁸ There is no specific targeting of women members, or on gender equality topics.

2.3.2 Financial Resourcing for Women

Section 112 of the ACT party constitution sets out the sources of funds for the party, and how they are to be managed.²⁹ It does not set out any specific conditions on use of party resources or income in support women within the party.

2.4. Policy Priorities in the ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Party Manifesto

2.4.1 Women Specific Priorities

The 2020 Election Manifesto for ACT-Wazalendo notes the party's commitment to ensure implementation of international treaties such as CEDAW, Maputo Protocol, the Beijing Platform for Action, CPD, etc.³⁰

The ACT 2020 Election Manifesto starts with an introduction that has a clear prioritization of women and other marginalized groups, as well as more generally on inclusion. For example, it notes that the party aims to and is ready to build and lead a country where every Tanzanian has equal opportunity to reach their dreams, and each Tanzanian including children, youth, women, men, elderly, from rural and from urban areas. Similarly, the introduction states that an ACT government would strive to ensure equality and welfare for PWDs, children, and women. More specifically, it affirms that investing in women and other marginalized groups leads to sustainable progress economically and socially, and ensures equality and unity.³¹

The 2020 election manifesto posits three major election policy priority areas (see section below), with gender as a standalone priority area falling under the equality sub-section. Section 2.2.3 sets out the policy recommendations on furthering gender equality, including: 50-50 participation in

²⁸ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 110.

²⁹ ACT-Wazalendo Party Constitution, Section 112.

³⁰ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.2.3.

³¹ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Introduction.

leadership roles; reforming the women special seats system; ensure at least 30% of all domestic consumption by the government comes from women-owned businesses; removal of tax on menstrual products and free menstrual products for primary and secondary schools; fight FGM; safe environment for girls education in order to prevent early pregnancy, and implementation of laws that protect girls from sexual abuse and harassment; youth friendly SRHR education; allowing students with children to return to school; review and scrap discriminatory inheritance laws; equal treatment of children, including those born out of wedlock or from separated parents; fight abuse and harassment of women and children; nationwide campaigning to fight discriminatory traditions; support a national women's council.³²

2.4.2. Mainstreaming of Gender Equality

The overall manifesto is divided into three major policy areas:

- I. **Building of a nation with foundations of freedom, equality, rights, rule of law, accountability and democracy.**³³ This section includes a section on gender, which is covered above. The other sections include freedoms (of expression, of the press, of the arms of government, of association); equality (in front of the law, in service delivery, of gender); rights (to access information, to participate in decision making, of PWDS); and rule of law (a new constitution, union issues, oversight and legal protection institutions, economically enabling laws, accountability, anti-corruption, integrity of NAOT, professional ethics, international relations).

Out of these other sections, gender has only been mainstreamed in small ways. Under equality before the law, it mention gender as one dimension out of several that should not be used for discrimination; ³⁴ however there is no mention of gender in relation to service delivery. Under the rights of PWDs, there is specific mention of support to women with disabilities to access free menstrual products.³⁵ The full section on rule of law does not have a gender or inclusion element.

³² ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.2.3.

³³ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.1-2.3

³⁴ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.2.1

³⁵ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.3.3

2. **Efficiency and Quality of Social Services.** ³⁶ This policy area touches on education (primary, secondary, technical and vocational, and tertiary); health (health infrastructure, human resources for health, health service delivery, health insurance, health data, medicines and medical instruments); water; sustainable energy; social security; and better housing.

There are a number of areas where gender is explicitly mainstreamed. The section on secondary education mentions the need for boarding schools for girls in order to reduce early pregnancies.³⁷ Tertiary education recommendations include one to enact laws and regulations that stop sextortion.³⁸ The health sector mainstreams gender by recognizing free healthcare for pregnant and other women, and the need for specialist doctors for women and children.³⁹ The water sector policy mentions subsidized water for women-headed households.⁴⁰ Sustainable energy, social security, and housing policies do not include a gender perspective.

3. **A People's Economy (Inclusive Economy).** ⁴¹ The party's economic policy recommendations touch on sustainable and impactful businesses; jobs; sports, arts and entertainment; livelihoods; community wealth development; land; infrastructure; industry; natural resources; blue economy; minerals; strategic projects; environmental protection; and tax policy.

Gender has been mainstreamed in this section in a small number of areas. For example, the digital economy policy recommendation specifically addresses start-ups owned by youth and women, as does the recommendation on participation in international trade fairs.⁴² Under livelihoods, horticulture farming is seen as an important area for women

³⁶ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1- 3.6

³⁷ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1.2

³⁸ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1.4

³⁹ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.2. 3

⁴⁰ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.3

⁴¹ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 4.1- 4.12

⁴² ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 4.1

and youth.⁴³ Land rights and ownership for youth and women are also highlighted under the land section.⁴⁴ The major sectors that are often considered as the male dominion- i.e. energy, infrastructure, natural resources, minerals, tax- have no gender considerations.

2.5 Discussion and Recommendations

2.5.1 Discussion

The ACT-Wazalendo party documents show strengths in a number of areas. There is a clear party and leadership structure from grassroots to national level, with gender quotas and women-specific seats identified at all levels of the party. The same holds for critical party organs such as the Board of Trustees and the Ethics Committee/s.

There is also some articulation of equality and inclusion in some of the party objectives. The party has also made considerable headway in articulating clear policy priorities for women, and in addressing gender equality in other sectoral policy recommendations. ACT-Wazalendo also have a shadow cabinet with a woman Prime Minister, and 53 per cent of women ministers.

Nonetheless, there are still gaps that the party can address and which could have significant impact in creating a conducive environment for women participation and leadership. For example, the national level leadership has no gender or inclusion considerations articulated, and there are no gender considerations in the internal election regulations for election of party leaders and candidates for local and general election. Further, the women threshold in leadership committees at regional, constituency, ward, and branch levels is small, and does not allow women to bring any transformation because the majority of members attend in leadership committee by virtue of their positions; most of them men. Leaders of the leadership committees' meetings are also by virtue of their positions; most of them men. Gender thresholds for board of trustees and ethics committees are also small.

⁴³ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 4.4

⁴⁴ ACT-Wazalendo 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 4.6

Although the 2020 election manifesto has its strengths in terms of gender, it is not sufficiently mainstreamed in sectors that are not considered 'women issues', for example, energy, infrastructure, natural resources, etc.

There also remains a significant omission in terms of specific capacity building and resourcing commitment to women within the party.

ACT-Women wing, *Ngome ya Wanawake*, is at the moment suspended due to internal disputes.

2.5.2 Recommendations:

- I. **Gender and inclusion considerations should be included in the elections for all leadership positions.** 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. Thus, the 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. There should be stipulated gender considerations in the election of ACT's national leaders:-Party leader, National Party Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson (Zanzibar), Deputy-Chairperson (Mainland), Party National Secretary, Deputy Party National Secretary (Zanzibar), National Secretary(Mainland). Election of board of trustees by the National Congress and National Executive Committee, as well as the ethics committees must include adequate gender considerations. Generally, the party should consider strengthening the **gender considerations of its internal election regulations**. At the moment, the regulations do not provide for gender or inclusion as a criteria when vying for internal elections. Nor does it consider the specific challenges that women face in internal elections, e.g. sextortion, abuse and harassment, lack of resources, etc. ACT-Wazalendo should also adopt voluntary gender quotas for candidates' nominations for local and national elections.

- II. ACT-Wazalendo should consider having a **clear and transparent criterion for Special Seats** elections. The criteria will help to ensure that there is a clear rationale

for who is eligible for special seats and on what basis, and will also allow the party to build in other inclusion elements into the special seats representation. For example, to ensure that women with disabilities, rural women, young women, etc, are included as well.

- III. The party should also strive to have an established protocol for **how party resources are to be used to advance women** and other marginalized groups within the party. At the moment there are no ringfenced funds, and there are also no set commitments to capacity building for women members and leaders.
- IV. The party election manifesto could also be strengthened by ensuring that **women rights and gender equality is considered across all the sectors and policy areas**, and not just in those issues that are generally considered 'women issues.'
- V. 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.

CHAPTER 3: GENDER COMMITMENTS IN CHAMA CHA DEMOKRASIA NA MAENDELEO (CHADEMA)

3.1. Commitment to Gender and Human Rights Principles

3.1.1 Overall Party Commitments

The CHADEMA party constitution identifies the need to build social democracy, without any discrimination on the basis of colour, tribe, zone, gender, party ideology, age and religion.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the constitution does not set out any gender or inclusion considerations in its ideology or philosophy.⁴⁶

The CHADEMA constitution, in its political objectives, commits the party to develop, protect, educate and defend human rights in line with international human rights conventions and treaties that protect those rights and that eradicate discrimination based on colour, gender, zone, age and ideology.⁴⁷ Similarly, the social objectives also refer to a commitment to further efforts to ensure the rights of, women, children, to address the effects of discriminatory traditions, and to implement international conventions on the rights of children, women, and PWDs.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the economic objectives do not make any reference to gender specific considerations.⁴⁹

The party regulations on ethics cover various types of unethical conduct, including: treachery; revolts against leadership; confidentiality of party affairs; corruption; misuse of power; language; economic dependency; cleanliness; affiliations; and community involvement.⁵⁰ Other than with regard to corruption, there is no gender or inclusion considerations in any of the behaviours deemed as unethical. Regarding corruption, there is reference to the code on corruption, which prohibits sexual corruption.

CHADEMA's policy document reiterates its commitment to human rights, including in alignment with international treaties and conventions on human rights; on political and civic rights; on

⁴⁵ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Preamble.

⁴⁶ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 3.

⁴⁷ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 4.1.

⁴⁸ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 4.3.

⁴⁹ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 4.2.

⁵⁰ Mwongozo wa Kamati Za Maadili ya Chama, Section 3.

economic, social and cultural rights; and African Treaty on People’s Rights.⁵¹ The policy paper further establishes how the party seeks to protect and progress human rights, through the push for a new constitution, media freedom and freedom of expression, access to justice, and rule of law.⁵²

3.1.2 Specific Gender Commitments

The party 2020 election manifesto outlines the party’s ideology, vision, and policies on areas that affect the lives of Tanzanians, including: leadership, governance and the economy; social services; energy and natural resources; health and social welfare; elderly, women and children; security and safety; and international diplomacy.⁵³ The key manifesto issues are summarized into nine promises, one of which speaks to prioritizing issues that affect marginalized groups such as women, children, the youth, elderly, and PWDs.⁵⁴

The election manifesto priorities also include, specifically:

- Quality healthcare for pregnant women, PWDs, children and the elderly.
- Build capacity of women to own and control the economy.⁵⁵

3.2 Leadership Structure and Composition

3.2.1 Leadership Principles

The CHADEMA party constitution sets out the requirements for being a party member, and the rights and responsibilities of being a member. None of these include a gender or inclusion element.⁵⁶ The responsibilities of a party member however does include being prepared to fight against exploitation, repression, harassment, and discrimination.⁵⁷

⁵¹ CHADEMA Policy Paper, Section 1.1.

⁵² CHADEMA Policy Paper, Section 1.1- 1.4.

⁵³ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 1.

⁵⁴ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 1 (c).

⁵⁵ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 1.1

⁵⁶ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 5.1-5.3.

⁵⁷ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 5.3

The party regulations set out further details on the characteristics to be considered when approving candidates for party leadership positions and representative roles in public bodies - ⁵⁸ and none of the characteristics include a gender or inclusion component.

3.2.2 Leadership Composition at Various Levels

There are seven party levels within CHADEMA, namely: the grassroots; branch; ward; constituency/district; region; zone; and national. ⁵⁹ There are also four types of party meetings identified in the party constitution: *Mikutano Mikuu* for policy decisions; leadership meetings responsible for implementation of policy decisions (this would include various committees, *Kamati Kuu*, *Baraza Kuu*, and *youth, women, and elders councils*); secretariat committee meetings; regional and district level meetings. ⁶⁰

Party membership and leadership composition at the grassroots level, the branch level, and the ward level, includes only a minimal gender quota or threshold. ⁶¹

- **The grassroots level:** there is no gender quota, threshold or other guaranteed women representation.
- **The branch level:** the leadership includes the chairpersons and secretaries of the party wings, including the women wings.
- **The ward level:** the leadership includes the chairpersons and secretaries of the party wings including the women wings. These roles are also represented at the *Mkutano Mkuu wa Kata*, *Kamati ya Utendaji ya Kata*, and the Secretariat. The *Kamati ya Utendaji* also includes (women) special seats councillors from that area.
- **The constituency/district level:** leadership of the party includes the chairpersons and secretaries of the party wings at that level, the women wing included. The *Mkutano Mkuu* membership also includes women wing chairs and secretaries at the constituency/district level and from the wards within the constituency/district. The *Kamati ya Utendaji* includes chairperson and secretary of the women wing, MPs from the area (assuming this also

⁵⁸ CHADEMA Party Regulations, Section 7.5

⁵⁹ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 6.1.

⁶⁰ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 6.2.

⁶¹ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 7

includes special seats MPs), at least two women out of four representatives chosen by the *Mkutano Mkuu*. Similarly, the party secretariat at that level also includes the secretaries of the party wings, women wing included.

- **The regional level:** the party leadership includes the chair and secretaries of party wings at the regional level, as well as members of the *Kamati Mkuu* from the party wings who live in that region. The regional advisory committee also includes party wings chairs and secretaries.
- **The zonal level:** The zonal level leadership committee does not have specific representation from the party wings, but it does include all the leaders from regional level, which would then presume to include party wings chairs and secretaries. It also includes MPs from all constituencies in the zone, assuming that this also includes special seats. Similarly, *Kamati ya Utendaji* at the zonal level also includes the chairs of the party wings. Party wing secretaries are in turn members of the zonal party secretariat.
- **The national level:** The national level leadership is deemed to be: national chairperson; deputy chairpersons for mainland and Zanzibar, respectively; secretary general; deputy secretary generals for mainland and Zanzibar, respectively. None of these positions have a specific gender quota. Women representation at the national level happens through party wing chairpersons and special seats MPs who are represented in the *Mkutano Mkuu wa Taifa*. The *Mkutano Mkuu* also includes 15 elected members from Mainland and Zanzibar- but there are no gender thresholds for that either.

The *Baraza Kuu la Taifa* in turn includes women wing leadership who are in the *Mkutano Mkuu*. The national chairperson also has powers to appoint six additional members, of whom two should be women. The *Baraza Kuu la Taifa* subsequently has the role of electing 6 people from Tanzania Mainland (3 men, 3 women, out of which at least 1 should be PWD) and 2 people from Zanzibar (1 man and 1 woman) to enter the *kamati kuu*.

In addition to the 4 women mentioned above, national chairperson of the women wing is also included in the *Kamati Kuu*. Women wing secretary is in turn represented at the national party secretariat.

Women with disabilities are only mentioned in the Mwongozo wa Baraza la Wanawake wa CHADEMA. Section 9.3.1 notes that ‘women with disabilities will be considered in line with the constitution and regulations of the party on leadership representation’.⁶² However, the party constitution and regulations remain quiet on exact ways to include women with disabilities.

3.2.3 Party Wings

The party has three party wings, namely: the youth wing; the women wing; and the elder’s wing.⁶³ The women’s wing comprises of all women party members above the age of 18 and is represented at all seven levels of the party’s structure.⁶⁴ *Kamati Kuu* has the role to call the date for elections for the party wings leaders, including the women wing.⁶⁵

There are regulations that cover each of the three-party wings:

- **Guidelines for CHADEMA Elders Council.** This sets out the composition, functions, rights and responsibilities of the elder’s wing of the party. There are minimal gender considerations: representation of members of the wing into Mikutano Mkuu at the next level should include gender balance.⁶⁶ There are however no gender quotas for leadership positions within each level. Member of the national Mkutano Mkuu of the elders wing also include two representatives from each region, gender balance included.⁶⁷
- **Guidelines for CHADEMA Women’s Council.** This sets out the composition, function, rights and responsibilities of the women wing of the party. The principal objective of the women wing is to ensure that women are fully involved in all political, economic, and social issues.⁶⁸ The women wing also vote for the preliminary list of special seats councillors and MPs before it goes to the *Kamati ya Utendaji ya Chama and Baraza Ngazi ya Taifa* for final decision making.⁶⁹

⁶² Mwongozo wa Baraza la Wanawake wa CHADEMA, Section 9.3.1

⁶³ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 7.8.2

⁶⁴ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 7.8

⁶⁵ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 6.3.3

⁶⁶ Mwongozo wa Baraza la Wazee wa CHADEMA, Section 4.

⁶⁷ Mwongozo wa Baraza la Wazee wa CHADEMA, Section 4.8.4

⁶⁸ Mwongozo wa Baraza la Wanawake wa CHADEMA, Section 3.

⁶⁹ Mwongozo wa Baraza la Wanawake wa CHADEMA, Section 7.4-7.8

- **Guidelines for CHADEMA Youth Council** sets out the composition, functions, rights and responsibilities of the youth wing of the party. There are no gender quotas, thresholds or considerations throughout.

3.2.4 Board of Trustees

The party constitution recognizes that there will be a board of trustees of between 5 and 9 people.⁷⁰ There are no gender quotas or thresholds for the board.

3.2.5 Internal party elections

Internal party elections follow an established process, starting with those vying having to fill out an established form; all eligible candidates are voted by the responsible party meeting; if there is a tie then the chair of the meeting has the veto. This process is the same applied to election for the different party wings (youth, women, and elderly).⁷¹

The party regulations spell out in detail the process through which internal party elections will be managed, including how the nominations and selections process will go.⁷² There is however no mention at any point in the process about gender and inclusion considerations, whether in regards to how the process is run or how candidates are assessed.

There is an overall lack of transparency regarding how special seats are allocated. The party regulations note that the *Kamati Kuu* will prepare the process transparently and with specific conditions on how to get candidates for special seats positions.⁷³

The party code regarding corruption includes a section on corruption in internal elections, which specifically recognizes and prohibits sexual corruption.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 8.3

⁷¹ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 6.3

⁷² CHADEMA Party Regulations, Section 7.

⁷³ CHADEMA Party Regulations, Section 7.4.3(vi)

⁷⁴ Mwongozo wa Chama Dhidi ya Rushwa, section I(v).

3.3 Women Special Seats

The party regulations also include directives for Members of Parliament through the CHADEMA ticket.⁷⁵ This includes the obligations of Special Seats MPs.⁷⁶ Neither the general obligations nor the specific obligations for Special Seats MPs mention the role of representing women and other marginalized groups.

It is noted that Special Seats MPs are to deliver their representation role within their respective region, including the respective districts and constituencies; women are not noted as a specific constituency for Special Seats MPs. In fact, section 4(a-iii) of the directives for MPs specifically notes that ‘the constituency for Special Seats MPs is the party.’ The regulations further note that Special Seats MPs are to contribute 30% of their monthly parliamentary allowances to the party, whereas constituency MPs contribute 10%.⁷⁷

CHADEMA Women’s Wing Guidelines highlights the process for selecting parliamentary and councillor special seats women. In summary, *Kamati ya Utendaji ya Baraza Taifa* develops suggestions for the requirements and process for selecting the special seats candidates and submits the suggestion to the *Kamati Kuu ya Chama*.⁷⁸

3.4. Capacity building of and Support to women in the party

3.4.1 Capacity Building of Women

The CHADEMA Women Wing, amongst other things, has been given the responsibility of developing and planning training of women on political, economic and social issues.⁷⁹

3.4.2 Financial Resourcing For Women

⁷⁵ Miongozo ya Kusimamia Wabunge, Halmashauri, Madiwani na Viongozi wa Vitongoji, Vijij na Mitaa Inayoongozwa na CHADEMA. Section A- 2.

⁷⁶ Miongozo ya Kusimamia Wabunge, Halmashauri, Madiwani na Viongozi wa Vitongoji, Vijij na Mitaa Inayoongozwa na CHADEMA. Section A- 2 (h).

⁷⁷ Miongozo ya Kusimamia Wabunge, Halmashauri, Madiwani na Viongozi wa Vitongoji, Vijij na Mitaa Inayoongozwa na CHADEMA. Section A- 7 .

⁷⁸ Miongozo wa Baraza la Wanawake wa CHADEMA, Section 10.

⁷⁹ Miongozo wa Baraza la Wanawake wa CHADEMA, Section 3.1

Chapter 8 of the CHADEMA party constitution sets out the different sources of income for the party. However, it does not indicate how the resources are to be allocated or prioritized.⁸⁰

The party regulations indicate that decisions on how party income, from whichever source, is used will be determined by Baraza Kuu la chama based on party priorities.⁸¹

3.5. Gender Policy Priorities from the 2018 Policy Paper and the 2020 Elections Manifesto

3.5.1 Women Specific Priorities

CHADEMA's 2018 policy paper includes a specific policy priority that covers gender equality, equal right and opportunities for all, and support to the most vulnerable.⁸² The specific objectives under this priority includes:

- Equality between men and women in access to education and the labour market, including equal pay for equal work.
- More women involvement in the private sector, in science and technology, and more rights for women to own assets and land.
- Universal health insurance.
- Old age pension.
- Increased SRHR education to reduce maternal and early childhood mortality.
- Public-private partnerships to address gender-based violence.

The 2020 CHADEMA Election Manifesto does not go to the same extent as the 2018 Policy Paper in articulating and amplifying the specific priorities for women and girls, or on gender equality. Gender equality and women rights have largely been addressed as a sub-section of the health and social welfare policy area.⁸³ The following policy promises on women and gender equality are included:

⁸⁰ CHADEMA Party Constitution, Section 8.1-8.2

⁸¹ CHADEMA Party Regulations, Section 5.12

⁸² CHADEMA Policy Paper, section 5.1

⁸³ 2020 CHADEMA Election Manifesto, Section 6.3

- End discrimination against women on issues of inheritance and divorce.
- Girls who dropped out of school due to pregnancy are allowed to return.
- Equal pay between men and women.
- Enactment of a Gender Based Violence Act, amendment of the Marriage Act to cover marital rape, and protection for domestic workers.

3.5.2. Mainstreaming of Gender Equality

CHADEMA's 2018 policy paper notes a number of areas that mainstream gender and social inclusion into its policy recommendations:

- The delivery of access to justice protects the most marginalized and other vulnerable groups.⁸⁴
- Create employment opportunities at sufficient pay for young people and women, including in the agriculture, manufacturing, and processing industries.⁸⁵
- Right to education for all, including girls who got pregnant while in school., and a conducive school environment for girl students.⁸⁶
- Removing gender discrimination in land laws and traditions.⁸⁷

However, there are several sectors where gender equality could have been easily mainstreamed but was not, such as: access to health services; agriculture; fisheries; natural resources and mining; tourism; energy and infrastructure; technology; clean and sustainable water; waste management; climate change and conservation.

The CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, in addition to the issues raised in previous sections, highlighted the key issues to be raised in the first 100 days in office.⁸⁸ Some of the issues raised,

⁸⁴ CHADEMA Policy Paper, section 1.3.

⁸⁵ CHADEMA Policy Paper, section 4.2

⁸⁶ CHADEMA Policy Paper, section 6.5

⁸⁷ CHADEMA Policy Paper, section 8.2

⁸⁸ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.

particularly those related to social services, could broadly be defined as ‘women issues’, such as: free education from primary to secondary; free primary healthcare; and removal of repressive laws and laws that contravene human rights principles. Only one priority in the first 100 days had specific considerations for girls and women: allowing students who had dropped out of school for various reasons including pregnancy to return to school.⁸⁹

However, compared to the 2018 policy document, the 2020 election manifesto misses out even more on areas to integrate gender equality throughout the document. For example, access to justice in the election manifesto does not refer to the specific needs of marginalized groups; the economy section does not refer to job for women alongside youth; the education section makes no reference to the specific needs of girl students, including those who have had children; and the agriculture section does not mention women smallholder farmers (the majority). There are no promises on promoting women’s political participation.

The party 2020 Election Manifesto touches on only a few areas in mainstreaming gender equality and women’s rights:

- **Economic:** women to be supported to establish economic groups and to manage them without interference from the government and from complex requirements.⁹⁰
- **Land:** participatory mechanisms for managing land conflicts, which will include the full participation of women and PWDs.⁹¹
- **Water:** recognition that women are the real victims of a lack of clean, safe and accessible water.

3.6. Discussion and Recommendations

3.6.1 Discussion

CHADEMA’s integration of women rights and gender equality has been stronger with regards to its policy priorities rather than with regards to party structures and processes. The 2018 policy

⁸⁹ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2 (x)

⁹⁰ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 4 (m)

⁹¹ CHADEMA 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 7 (d)

paper in particular does have a specific policy priority on gender equality, reflected to a lesser extent in the 2020 election manifesto where it is subsumed under the health and social welfare section. CHADEMA's code against corruption also recognizes and prohibits sexual corruption during elections- the only party to explicitly do so. The party also mentions women and gender equality in its political objectives within its party constitution. CHADEMA has a Gender Policy, as well as a Women's and Childrens Manifesto.

Nonetheless, these positives are generally outweighed by a lack of systematic consideration for gender quotas and issues within the party composition, leadership, and decision-making structures. For example, there is no gender consideration for leadership positions and all *Mikutano Mikuu* at grassroots, branch, ward, regional and even national level, other than the presence of women wing leaders and women special seats councillors or MPs. Similarly, there are no gender considerations in the board of trustees and in the ethics committee. There is also no clear criteria for special seats selections, and there is an absence of any attempt to focus resources on women within the party.

3.6.2 Recommendations

- I. There must be **gender threshold or quota in election of the main party leaders at each level**, from grassroot to national level. CHADEMA should consider instituting clear, consistent and adequate gender quotas or reserved seats for women in all decision-making levels and organs. This should go beyond those positions reserved for women wing leaders or special seats representatives. The quotas should be reflected from the lowest to highest-level of the party, in order to support women to grow and be represented within the party.
- II. **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 should be updated to include information relating to selection of women for special seats before submission to Central Committee for approval.

- III. 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 constitution and other guidelines, but silent on the exact ways to include women with disability.
- IV. CHADEMA must adopt **voluntary party candidate quotas for women** to ensure certain percent or number of its candidates for local and or national elections are women.
- V. CHADEMA should also look at having a **clear criterion for selection of special seats representatives, and should reconsider its current special seats regulations**. The regulations currently spell out that the party is the primary constituency and obligation of a special seats councillor or MP, rather than women as the key constituency. There could be more incentive built into the regulations to ensure that special seats leaders are incentivized to represent and support women.
- VI. The party should also strive to have an **established protocol for how party resources are to be used to advance women and other marginalized groups** within the party. At the moment there are no ringfenced funds, and there are also no set commitments to capacity building for women members and leaders.
- VII. The party can also consider **highlighting gender equality and women rights more strongly across its ideology, philosophy, party aims, and leadership criteria**. This would complement well its existing pro-democracy and social welfare objectives and would ensure that gender is placed more prominently within the ethos of the party.
- VIII. Similarly, CHADEMA should attempt to **develop and promote policy priorities that put women at the center**, more in line with its 2018 policy paper than its 2020 election manifesto. Women and gender should not just relegated to the social welfare section, but should be considered carefully and articulated clearly in more of its policy areas.

CHAPTER 4: GENDER COMMITMENT IN CIVIC UNITED FRONT (CUF)

4.1. Commitment to gender and human rights principles

4.1.1 Overall Party Commitments

The CUF party constitution sets out in its preamble the preeminence of human rights as the foundation for laws and regulations that govern a country, and that one of the jobs of the party is to bring out development by ensuring that state organs and institutions give equal rights to all citizens, and avoid bullying, harassment, and discrimination.⁹²

The party also sets out its beliefs as part of the constitution, the majority of which address dignity, rights, and freedoms of the people. For example, one of the core beliefs mentioned is that ‘the dignity of a human will not be reduced or repressed by anyone or any group on the basis of colour, tribe, religion, politics, nationality, traditions, or gender.’⁹³

Similarly, one of the objectives of the party is to unite Tanzanians so that they reject exploitation, humiliation, discrimination, harassment, and other destructive behaviours that go against the dignity of any people.⁹⁴ The objectives also include a commitment to protect and promote human rights as enshrined in UN and AU charters.⁹⁵

The party, through its 2020 election manifesto, also highlights its commitment to spreading publicly the human rights conventions, and the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights.⁹⁶

4.1.2 Specific Gender Commitments

As part of the preamble, the CUF party constitution explicitly refers to the fundamental belief that women have the right to participate in decisions that affect their lives politically, economically, and socially, with no discrimination based on gender or traditions.⁹⁷

⁹² CUF Party Constitution, Preamble.

⁹³ CUF Party Constitution, Section 6-1 (b)

⁹⁴ CUF Party Constitution, Section 7-1

⁹⁵ CUF Party Constitution, Section 7-2

⁹⁶ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.4

⁹⁷ CUF Party Constitution, Preamble.

The CUF party objectives also include a commitment to protect and promote the rights of women, the elderly, the vulnerable, PWDs, and children, by removing all conditions that disrespect, humiliate, and discriminate against them.⁹⁸

The CUF 2020 Election Manifesto sets out 17 core objectives. Out of 17, one of the objectives sets out a clear gender objective, namely that by 2030 there is gender equality and women's rights are protected.⁹⁹

4.2. Leadership Structure and Composition

4.2.1 Leadership Principles

As set out in the CUF party constitution, all party members have to respect other people and their freedom, their thoughts and opinions, and their human rights, amongst other things.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, all party members have the right to vote for and be voted for in various leadership roles inside and outside of the party.¹⁰¹

4.2.2 Leadership Composition at Various Levels

The CUF party structure comprises of five levels, namely: the branch level; the ward level; the constituency level; the district level; and the national level.¹⁰² The specific role of women at the different levels is as follows:

- **Branch level**
 - i. The Branch *Mkutano Mkuu* votes for five members (Tanzania Mainland), of whom at least two should be women, to represent the branch at the ward *Mkutano Mkuu*, and ten members (Zanzibar), of whom at least three should be women.
 - ii. The *Mkutano Mkuu* also elects 10 members, of whom at least three should be women, to be members of the Secretariat at branch level.

⁹⁸ CUF Party Constitution, Section 7- 12

⁹⁹ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Preamble.

¹⁰⁰ CUF Party Constitution, Section 9-2

¹⁰¹ CUF Party Constitution, Section 11-3

¹⁰² CUF Party Constitution, Section 13-1

- iii. The Protocol and Control Committee at branch level also has to include one man and one woman from the members of the branch *Mkutano Mkuu*.
- iv. There appear to be no women wing structures identified at the branch level. ¹⁰³

- **Ward level:**

- i. The members of the *Mkutano Mkuu wa Kata* will include two women representatives from each branch *Mkutano Mkuu*.
- ii. The Ward *Mkutano Mkuu* also elects 15 members, of whom at least five have to be women, to be part of the Ward Secretariat.
- iii. It also elects ten members, of whom at least three have to be women, to represent the ward at the district *Mkutano Mkuu*; two youth, one man and one woman, to also represent at the district level; four elderly people, of whom two have to be women, to represent at the district level; and finally, two women to represent at the district level *Mkutano Mkuu*.
- iv. The structure of the Protocol and Control Committee also includes a reserved seat for a woman. ¹⁰⁴

- **Constituency level**

- i. The structure at this level to a large extent mirrors that at the ward level.
- ii. Thus, the *Mkutano Mkuu* at constituency level includes the three women representatives elected by the wards within the constituency.
- iii. The constituency *Mkutano Mkuu* also elects five women (out of 15) to represent at the district level, one female youth, two women elders, and two women representatives to represent at the *District Mkutano Mkuu*.
- iv. It also elects three women to be in the Constituency Secretariat. Finally, the Protocol and Control Committee at this level also includes a woman representative. ¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ CUF Party Constitution, Section 15- 29.

¹⁰⁴ CUF Party Constitution, Section 30- 42.

¹⁰⁵ CUF Party Constitution, Section 43- 60.

- **District level**

- i. The *Mkutano Mkuu* at district level includes the three women representatives elected by the constituencies within the district (five women if it is Zanzibar).
- ii. It also includes all the female youth, female elderly, and women representatives from the lower levels that were elected to be in the district *Mkutano Mkuu*.
- iii. There is also one seat reserved from a woman representative from the women wing at ward or constituency levels.
- iv. The district *Mkutano Mkuu* also elects one women in case of Tanzania Mainland to represent at the national level or six women in case of Zanzibar.
- v. It also elects five women to be in the *Kamati ya Utendaji ya wilaya*. Finally, the Protocol and Control Committee at this level also includes a woman representative.¹⁰⁶

- **National level**

Unlike the lower levels, the national level has five bodies rather than three. The *Mkutano Mkuu* includes all the women representatives elected by district levels in Tanzania Mainland (one per district) and Zanzibar (six per district), as well as an additional five women representatives selected by the party chairperson and two women with disabilities also selected by the party chairperson. It also includes the chairperson, deputy chairperson, secretary general and deputy secretary general of the women wing.

The party wings also have additional representation with gender quotas- four women out of ten chosen by the youth wing, four women out of ten chosen by the elders wing, and 10% of all representatives from Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar respectively who were chosen by the women wing national council. The *National Mkutano Mkuu* also has the responsibility of electing 45 of its members, of whom 15 have to be women, to represent at the National Leadership Council, and approving 15 additional members selected by the party chairperson, of whom at least 5 need to be women.

¹⁰⁶ CUF Party Constitution, Section 61- 74.

The National Leadership Council has the following women specific seats: 15 women chosen from *Mkutano Mkuu*; an additional 30% of 10 members chosen by the party chairperson; one woman with disabilities chosen by the party chairperson; the women wing chairperson and one additional member.

In contrast, the national Leadership Committee has no woman specific seat, and the National Secretariat only has one seat for women, namely the Secretary of the women wing. Lastly, the national level Protocol and Control Committee ensures two spots for women representatives.

¹⁰⁷

4.3 CUF Party Wings

The party has established three party wings, namely: the women wing, the youth wing, and the elder's wing. ¹⁰⁸

Along with the party constitution, the women wing is governed through the regulations of the women wing of CUF. The regulations set out the objectives of the CUF women wing as being: to unite women under the CUF banner in fighting for their rights and the emancipation of the country; to build the political resilience, confidence, and experience of women; to support women in fighting for their respect, dignity and freedom; to ensure that enough efforts are made to get women into leadership positions; and to bring together Tanzanian women to share their experiences and skills. ¹⁰⁹

The women wing regulations further set out rights and responsibilities of women members, criteria for membership etc, ¹¹⁰ which largely reflect the standards set out for all members in the constitution and refer to commitment to the party rather than to women issues or to gender equality. The structure of the women wing broadly runs parallel to that of the wider party structure.

¹⁰⁷ CUF Party Constitution, Section 75- 92

¹⁰⁸ CUF Party Constitution, Section 106-1

¹⁰⁹ Regulations of the CUF Women Wing, Section 1.1

¹¹⁰ Regulations of the CUF Women Wing, Section 2

The elders wing regulations reflect the women wings regulations to a significant extent.¹¹¹ The roles and functions of the wing at various levels is established, including its leadership structure. Although the regulations are careful to indicate the breakdown of leadership roles between Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar, there is no similar breakdown along gender lines.

4.4 Board of Trustees and other Committees

The party constitutions set out a board of trustees, with not more than nine trustees, of which three must be women.¹¹²

CUF's Ethics Committee also has a gender quota. Aside from the leadership of the Committee, an additional four members are included, of which at least one is a woman.¹¹³

4.5 National Leadership of the Party

The party constitution sets out the party national leadership, which is comprised of the national chairperson, two deputy chairpersons, and the secretary general.¹¹⁴ There are no gender quotas in the national leadership, and nor does it include the leaders of the women wing.

4.6 Internal party elections

The CUF internal elections are governed primarily by two sets of regulations, one for party elections and the other for government elections. The regulations for internal party elections for party positions sets out the required characteristics of a candidate,¹¹⁵ none of which include gender, inclusion or women rights elements. The breakdown of different party leadership positions, however, clearly stipulate gender quotas at the various levels and leadership positions. This includes for members of the Mikutano Mikuu at various levels, Kamati ya Utendaji at all levels, and Baraza Kuu la Uongozi la Taifa.¹¹⁶

The regulations for internal elections also include information on the identification, shortlisting and election of candidates,¹¹⁷ none of which has a gender or inclusion perspective other than the

¹¹¹ Regulations of the CUF Elders Wing.

¹¹² CUF Party Constitution, Section 101-2

¹¹³ CUF Party Constitution, Section 102-2

¹¹⁴ CUF Party Constitution, Section 93.

¹¹⁵ CUF Regulations for Internal Party Elections, 2018, Section 2.

¹¹⁶ CUF Regulations for Internal Party Elections, 2018, Section 3.

¹¹⁷ CUF Regulations for Internal Party Elections, 2018, Sections 4-7.

gender quota. Section 11 of the regulations set out ethical considerations during the internal election process, including prohibitions on abusive language and corruption.¹¹⁸ Again, there are no specific gender considerations such as sextortion.

The party regulations for primary elections covers similar ground to the afore mentioned internal elections. The required characteristics of a candidate does not cover gender of inclusion considerations, although it does include a mention that the candidate needs to know not just political and electoral issues but also social issues.¹¹⁹ The regulations include information on the identification, shortlisting and election of candidates,¹²⁰ none of which has a gender or inclusion perspective. However, the regulations also set out the establishment of election committees which include a gender quota. For example, at the district level, the election committee is required to have between 7-9 members, of which at least three should be women.¹²¹

4.7 Regulations on Women Special Seats

The CUF primary elections regulations include a brief section on election of women special seats councilors and parliamentarians. The section establishes that the process is generally the same as for other internal elections, except that the successful candidates who fit the criteria are listed out and the list is approved internally before going to the NEC/ZEC for final appointments.¹²²

4.8. Capacity building of and Support to women in the party

4.8.1 Capacity Building of Women

The CUF constitution identifies the responsibility of the party to educate its members, particularly on civic issues and on internal party procedures.¹²³ It does not reference any specific needs of women within the party, nor of specific education on gender issues.

¹¹⁸ CUF Regulations for Internal Party Elections, 2018, Section 11

¹¹⁹ CUF Regulations for Internal Primary Elections, 2019, Section 2.0 (k)

¹²⁰ CUF Regulations for Internal Primary Elections, 2019, Section 3-5.

¹²¹ CUF Regulations for Internal Primary Elections, 2019, Section 6.2

¹²² CUF Regulations for Internal Primary Elections, 2019, Section 10.

¹²³ CUF Party Constitution, Section 112

4.8.2 Financial Resourcing for Women

The CUF Women Wing resourcing recognizes that the women wing's own sources of income.

¹²⁴ However, it does not note how those resources are to be used and how they are potentially invested into women capacity building.

4.9. Gender Policy Priorities in the Elections Manifesto

4.9.1 Women Specific Priorities

The CUF 2020 election manifesto includes a sub-section that looks specifically at the needs of marginalized groups, including PWDs, youth, elderly, and women.¹²⁵ The women section includes a preamble highlighting the current condition of women in the country, and then proceeding to lay out specific policy recommendations:

- Enact tough laws on gender discrimination.
- Improve the current system of affirmative action for women in leadership positions.
- Improve loans schemes so that they impact women more.
- Establish a women council for all women, irrespective of political ideology.
- Tackle discriminatory social norms and attitudes through: more girls only schools; gender included in civic studies; public dialogues at various levels on gender issues; and special economic programmes directed at women.

4.9. 2. Mainstreaming of Gender Equality

The 2020 Election Manifesto attempts to mainstream gender equality and women's rights into a few sections of the manifesto. Specific instances include:

- The preamble sets out the need to establish a government of national unity, which will include any kind of discrimination is answered by the power of the law, whether it is discrimination based on gender, colour, religion or disability.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Regulations of the CUF Women Wing, Section 2.18

¹²⁵ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1.24

¹²⁶ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 1.1

- The preamble/ first section also sets out other policy priorities that directly relate to women, including ensuring nutrition for pregnant women and children, and ending maternal and childhood mortality.¹²⁷
- The party's commitment to a new constitution notes that the process will include the participation of marginalized groups, including women.¹²⁸
- The section on the economy refers to the dire state of the country since independence, referring to the still high rate of maternal mortality and their continued economic marginalization.¹²⁹ Unfortunately, none of the economic policy recommendations take a specific gender lens.
- The education policy sector acknowledges the challenges facing girls education and the importance of educating girls.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, none of the policy recommendations provided speak specifically to the needs of girl students.
- Women are included in the health section as one of the special groups that would get free healthcare; not all women, but specifically pregnant women, women who have undergone abortions, and women with tumors in the stomachs.¹³¹

4.10 Discussion and Recommendations

4.10.1 Discussion

CUF has generally made significant attempts to ensure women participation and decision making at various levels of the party. There is a clear party and leadership structure from the branch level to national level, including clearly enshrined women quotas and reserved positions throughout. The same is true for the Board of Trustees, the ethics committee, and the elections committees. The party has also attempted to include women rights and gender equality into its policy formulation and recommendations as captured in the 2020 election manifesto. One of the 17 objectives set out in the manifesto is specifically on ensuring gender equality and women rights.

Unfortunately, these attempts are not sufficiently sustained throughout. Gender is insufficiently mainstreamed within the election manifesto and a consideration of women is relegated to a sub-

¹²⁷ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 1.3 and 1.4

¹²⁸ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 2.1

¹²⁹ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1

¹³⁰ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1.21

¹³¹ CUF 2020 Election Manifesto, Section 3.1.22

section on marginalized groups. At the national level of the party, there are insufficient efforts to ensure women are present at the Secretariat and the party leadership.

4.10.2 Recommendations

- i. 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 at national level leadership.
- ii. **The party women wing, JUKECUF, leaders at branch, ward and constituency level should form part of the general assemblies.** There are women representatives in these meetings but they are not representatives from *JUKECUF*.
- iii. The CUF should also consider implementing **clear and transparent regulations and criteria for the selection of women special seats** representatives. At the moment the process is fairly opaque and at the discretion of national leadership bodies. It also does not enshrine other inclusion considerations such as disability, age, rural-urban, etc.
- iv. The **regulations of the party wings can also be revised to strengthen their gender equality and inclusion components.** The elders and youth wing regulations do not have any gender thresholds for any level of leadership and decision making. In addition, the women wing regulation includes roles and responsibilities that mirror those of the party overall without sufficient distinction for the women constituency.
- v. The party should consider strengthening its party manifestos in the future to ensure that the initial consideration of **gender permeates throughout the policy recommendations.** The 2020 manifesto included very detailed analysis and recommendations on the economic sector, for example, but was almost completely gender blind.

- vi. The party should also strive to have an established protocol for **how party resources are to be used to advance women** and other marginalized groups within the party. At the moment there are no ringfenced funds, and there are also no set commitments to capacity building for women members and leaders.

JUKECUF autonomy needs to be strengthened. At the moment, national *JUKECUF* Chairperson and her Deputy are chosen by National General Assembly instead of *JUKECUF* from its own meetings. 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.

- vii. CUF must adopt **voluntary party candidate quotas for women** to ensure certain percent or number of its electoral candidates are women.
- viii. A specific **gender policy** should be drafted, adopted and implemented.

CHAPTER 5: GENDER COMMITMENT IN NCCR-MAGEUZI

5.1. Commitment to gender and human rights principles

5.1.1 Overall Party Commitments

The Preamble in the party constitution includes reference to the revolutionary objective of 'emancipating the marginalized and building a new society that will protect and defend human rights, social democracy without boundaries and restrictions of political parties, equality and political, economic, social and legal rights.'¹³²

The party ideology is based on the concept of dignity, with a foundation of *undugu*, ethics, equality, rights, faith, transformation, freedom, accountability, *asili*, work and development.¹³³

Similarly, the foundations of the party include a recognition and acceptance of: equal rights for everyone politically, economically, legally and socially; and the rights of the marginalized to preferential treatment so that they can develop themselves.¹³⁴

The party objectives, amongst other things, also give priority or preference to those citizens who have been left behind though no fault of their own so that they can improve their lives; to have a society that does not discriminate based on colour, tribe, religion or gender, and ensure that there are equal rights between men and women in all aspects; and to have development plans that recognize the unique needs of people with disabilities.¹³⁵

5.1.2 Specific Gender Commitments

The 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi election manifesto sets out overall party commitments towards furthering gender equality. It lays out how an NCCR-Mageuzi government will implement the manifesto, it notes the need for a government with people who will 'value the foundations of gender equality in its full scope'.¹³⁶ The manifesto also has a specific election agenda on gender equality and vulnerable groups.¹³⁷

¹³² Party Constitution of NCCR-Mageuzi, Preamble.

¹³³ Party Constitution of NCCR-Mageuzi, Section 5.

¹³⁴ Party Constitution of NCCR-Mageuzi, Section 7.

¹³⁵ Party Constitution of NCCR-Mageuzi, Section 8.

¹³⁶ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section I.

¹³⁷ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section II.

5.2 Leadership Structure and Composition

5.2.1 Leadership Principles

NCCR-M constitution recognizes the right of every party member to elect and to be elected into any leadership position within the party.¹³⁸ It also places the responsibility on members to ‘be on the frontline of defending human rights, to fight against intimidation, injustice, corruption and discrimination of any kind’.¹³⁹ Despite these human rights focused leadership rights and responsibilities, the character of leadership spelled out does not differentiate or make note of any gender dimensions.¹⁴⁰

5.2.2. Leadership Composition at Various Levels

There are six leadership levels within the party, namely: *grassroot (shina)*; hamlet; branch; ward; constituency; and national level.¹⁴¹ Each level of leadership represents a level of party meetings, at which attendance is dictated by membership to the party at that level and leadership position held. For example, at the grassroot level, the members of the Grassroot Party Meeting are the chairperson of the grassroot level, the secretary of the level, and all-party members registered at that grassroot level.¹⁴² Each level sends representation to the higher level, e.g. the hamlet level is comprised of all members of the grassroot level in the area.

NCCR-Mageuzi Constitution does not provide for gender consideration in election of key party leaders namely the chairpersons, secretaries and the treasurers of all respective administrative levels.

There is minimal guaranteed participation of women at any of the levels below that of the national level. The composition of leadership positions from grassroot to constituency level does not have a gender quota or threshold- the exception being at the national level- but it does include provisions for party wings representation, albeit only from the branch level up. From the branch

¹³⁸ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 10(1).

¹³⁹ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 11(6).

¹⁴⁰ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 13.

¹⁴¹ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 16.

¹⁴² NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 17.

level to the national level, there party general meetings which includes representation of secretaries of the party wings, namely the youth wing, women wing, and elder's wing.¹⁴³

At the ward, constituency, and national levels, the party structures and meetings also include those who have been elected into councillor or parliament seats on the party ticket.¹⁴⁴ At these levels, the party structure has decision making role on candidates for elected positions, internally and externally.

At the national level, 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.

Key decision-making organs at the national level includes National Congress (NC), National Executive Committee (NEC) and Central Committee of the NEC (CC). Representation at these meetings/bodies is slightly more inclusive and some include a gender quota. Members of the National Congress include the national and deputy chairpersons; secretary general and deputies; national treasurer; any elected officials on the party ticket; members of the NEC; members of the board of trustees; party wing national leaders; and constituency party leaders. Part of the role of the National Congress is to select 15 women, 15 men, four youth (with gender split) and three PWDs to enter the NEC.¹⁴⁵

The NEC in turns elects three women from the NEC to be part of the Central Committee.¹⁴⁶ The Central Committee also includes party wing chairpersons.¹⁴⁷

At each level of the party there is a party secretariat, which comprises of various departments, including: organization and management; finance, economy and planning; ideology, policy, research and training; publicity and public engagement; foreign affairs; constitution, legal affairs and human rights; campaigns and elections; and, public institutions and representative bodies.¹⁴⁸

The secretary of the party at the respective level is the leader of the secretariat and has the

¹⁴³ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 19-22

¹⁴⁴ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 20-22.

¹⁴⁵ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 22(3).

¹⁴⁶ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 22 (5).

¹⁴⁷ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 22 (10).

¹⁴⁸ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 23 (3).

power to appoint and remove members of the secretariat.¹⁴⁹ There are no gender thresholds or quotas for the formation of the secretariats.

5.3 Party Wings

There are three party wings- elders of the transformation; women of the transformation; and youth of the transformation. Chairs and vice chairs of the wings are elected by the NEC. The Secretary Generals of the different wings are also appointed by the NEC from a list of between 2-3 names. For the youth and elders' wings, at least one of these names has to be a woman. For the women wings, all the names will be of women.¹⁵⁰ Lower-level leadership of party wings are discussed and passed by the wing at the relevant level.¹⁵¹

5.4 Board of Trustees

The Board of Trustees of the party comprises of five members, of whom at least two must be women.¹⁵² The principal roles of the Board of Trustees is to oversee party assets, to enter into economic/income generating enterprises on behalf of the party, and provide oversight generally over party financial matters.¹⁵³

5.5 National Leadership of the Party

The national party leadership is recognized as being: the national chairperson; the vice national chairperson- mainland; the vice national chairperson – Zanzibar; the Secretary General; deputy Secretary General- mainland; deputy Secretary General- Zanzibar; and National Treasurer.¹⁵⁴ There are no gender thresholds or quotas for these leadership roles.

¹⁴⁹ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 23 (7).

¹⁵⁰ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 25 (5).

¹⁵¹ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 25 (6).

¹⁵² NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 26 (1).

¹⁵³ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 26 (2).

¹⁵⁴ NCCR-Mageuzi Party Constitution, section 27.

5.6 Rules on Internal Party Elections:

The regulations for internal party elections sets out the basic principles and procedures for electing officials and leaders at various levels of the party: ¹⁵⁵

- The ‘Leadership Characteristics’ do not refer to gender nor does it consider equality or inclusion as one of the necessary characteristics.
- The process starts with submission of a form or letter; internal meetings to sift through the candidates and rate them; primary election meetings held once the final list of potential candidates is agreed; a secret ballot for electing; and finally vote counting and vote announcement. There are no gender considerations when sifting through the list of candidates and in selecting the final list that goes for voting.
- Gender is only mentioned with regards to the election of Regional Party Leader. Members of the National Party Congress from the relevant region elect their regional party leader through a secret ballot. If there is only one candidate, then it is a Yes/No vote. If there is more than candidate, then the top 2-3 candidates- with at least one of them being a woman- are to be shared with the NEC for their final selection.

5.7 Women Special Seats

No stipulated procedure for nomination of women for special seats.

5.8. Capacity Building of and Support to Women in the Party

5.8.1 Capacity Building of Women

There is a department of ideology, policy, research, and training.¹⁵⁶ There are no further indication on how that training is applied, and the extent to which it supports the development of women in the party.

¹⁵⁵ Regulations for Internal Party Elections

¹⁵⁶ Party Constitution of NCCR-Mageuzi, Section 23 (3).

5.8.2 Financial Resourcing For Women

Similarly, the Financial Regulations of the party do not cover how party resources are used to advance gender equality and the role of women in the party.¹⁵⁷

5.9. Gender Policy Priorities in the Elections Manifesto

5.9.1 Women Specific Priorities

In its 2020 election manifesto, NCCR-Mageuzi sets out specific policy priorities for women and on gender equality. The manifesto includes a stand-alone policy section on gender equality and special groups.¹⁵⁸ The policy priorities from this section include:¹⁵⁹

- 50:50 representation of women and men in decision making.
- Implementation of international and regional treaties and conventions.
- To enact a law that will set out gender thresholds for all leadership roles, e.g. in parliament, the executive, cabinet, regional and district commissioners, and heads of parastatals.
- To ensure that political parties, public and private institutions implement gender equality values.
- To encourage the use of modern appliances in homes so as to make it easier for all genders to engage in household work.
- To collaborate with other stakeholders in protecting the girl child from early pregnancy, FGM, and other dangerous traditions.

In addition to this specific sub-section on gender equality, there is also a corresponding sub-section that focuses on marginalized groups. These groups include PWDs, elderly, children,

¹⁵⁷ Mwongozo wa Sera na Kanuni Za Fedha

¹⁵⁸ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 7.

¹⁵⁹ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 7(A)

women and youth.¹⁶⁰ The women-specific recommendations are similar to those on gender equality, but also include:

- To give women the right to be protected from discrimination, harassment, violence, and harmful traditions.
- To protect women's jobs during pregnancy and maternity leave.
- To ensure that SRH education is provided across the country.
- To support women economically by providing low interest loans.

5.9.2. Mainstreaming of Gender Equality

In addition to the specific sections on gender equality and women mentioned above, the NCCR-Mageuzi 2020 election manifesto also mainstreamed gender equality to some extent within other sections of the manifesto.¹⁶¹

- Section 2 of the manifesto refers to the need for a new constitution that will, amongst other things, include a policy on indigenous ownership of the economy and to empower youth, women and PWDs.
- Section 3 on education includes a number of gender equality provisions, including:
 - Pre-primary schooling for children which will allow mothers to have the time to engage in family and nation building activities.
 - Allowing girl students who have given birth to return to school.
 - Boarding facilities for girl students, to prevent early pregnancy, reduce long commutes to school, and reduce the burden of after school household work.
 - Establish a fairer balance of girls and boys entering higher education, and include gender into higher education curricula.

¹⁶⁰ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 7 (B)

¹⁶¹ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 2-4

- Section 4 on Health and Social Welfare notes the need to improve maternal and child healthcare.

However, the manifesto also misses opportunities to further mainstream gender equality provisions across other policy areas. For example, Section 8 on economic policies does not include anything regarding gender or the specific needs of women;¹⁶² Section 9 on national security does not speak to issues such as violence against women and other groups;¹⁶³ and Section 10 on the fight against corruption does not reference sextortion.¹⁶⁴ Lastly, although there is a women specific section (as outlines above), the section regarding youth, elderly and PWDs treat these groups as homogenous and do not provide consideration to how women within these groups fair.¹⁶⁵

5.10: Discussion and Recommendations

5.10.1 Discussion

NCCR-Mageuzi has a very strong and clear commitment to fighting for human rights, justice, and against discrimination. This ideological underpinning permeates throughout its internal governance documents and in its election manifesto. The election manifesto has a strong, stand-alone policy area on gender equality and special groups, which includes a number of well-articulated policy recommendations specifically focusing on women. There are also attempts in other parts of the manifesto to mainstream gender.

Unfortunately, despite its strong rhetoric on human rights, there is no distinct emphasis on women rights and gender equality within the party vision and objectives. This is also reflected within its leadership structure, where there are no gender quotas or consideration- other than the presence in some instances of women wing representation- at almost all levels of leadership and decision making. Only the national level NEC and Central Committee has gender quotas enshrined; albeit not on 50:50 basis.

¹⁶² 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 8.

¹⁶³ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 9.

¹⁶⁴ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 10.

¹⁶⁵ 2020 NCCR-Mageuzi Election Manifesto, Section 7(B).

5.10.2 Recommendations

- i. NCCR-Mageuzi should strongly consider revising its party constitution in order to **enshrine gender quotas and reserved seats for women across all levels of the party** structure and in all decision-making bodies, and in local and national elections, on an equal basis. This should start from branch level, all the way to national level, in order to ensure that women representation is institutionalized and consistent.
- ii. The party would also benefit from including **gender and women rights as part and parcel of its strong commitment to human rights and democracy**. This would mean that the introductory sections of the constitution would embed gender equality consideration alongside other democratic ideals, including in the preamble, objectives, values etc of the party.
- iii. In order to complement its strong policy section on gender equality, the party should consider **embedding gender equality and women rights considerations across a broader swathe of the election manifestos**. This should not just be restricted to what can be considered 'women issues' but should also be included in sectors such as infrastructure, energy, natural resources, etc.
- iv. The party should also strive to have an **established protocol for how party resources are to be used to advance women and other marginalized groups** within the party. At the moment there are no ringfenced funds, and there are also no set commitments to capacity building for women members and leaders.
- v. The party should consider **strengthening the gender considerations of its internal election regulations**. At the moment, the regulations do not provide for gender or inclusion as a criteria when vying and being nominated for internal elections. Nor does it consider the specific challenges that women face in internal elections, e.g. sextortion, abuse and harassment, lack of resources, etc.

- vi. A **gender policy** should be put in place, resourced, and implemented.

CHAPTER 6: GENDER COMITMENTS IN CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI (CCM)

6.1 Women in CCM's Leadership Positions at all levels

CCM established the Women Wing *Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania* (UWT) under Article 125 of CCM Constitution.¹⁶⁶ UWT makes its own constitution and/or operating guidelines which needs to be approved by the Central Committee. CCM have leaders at cell, ward, constituency, regional, and national levels.

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. Other CCM national leaders include, Deputy Secretary Mainland, Deputy Secretary-Zanzibar.¹⁶⁷ No voluntary gender quotas exist in election/nomination of these leaders.

Delegates to key decision-making organs are elected or nominated. Key decision-making organs include the general assembly, national executive committee, and central committee. The participation of women in decision-making organs is limited to the women wing leaders, and a few elected/nominated women positions. Among the 201 members of the national executive committee, women are constitutionally guaranteed of 13 positions; four positions are reserved for women among the 20 positions for delegates for Tanzania Mainland four positions among 20 positions for delegates for Zanzibar; and five positions for women wing among 15 seats allocated for party wings.¹⁶⁸ Women make up six out of 24 members of CCM's Central Committee. Among other delegates, six members are voted as delegates of CCM's Central Committee, three from Zanzibar and three from Tanzania Mainland, one of each group must be a woman. Women wing leaders are also represented in the CCM's Central Committee.

Other national leadership structures within CCM include secretaries of key departments, board of trustees, the advisory council. CCM have no voluntary numerical gender representation goal to guarantee the representation of men and women in such positions. Consequently, such positions are male dominated. CCM's Board of Trustees is composed of a chairperson and eight

¹⁶⁶ 1977 CCM Constitution, 2022 Edition.

¹⁶⁷ Article 115, 116, 117, and 118 of CCM Constitution.

¹⁶⁸ Rule 100 and 108 of Elections Rules for CCM, 2022 Edition.

other members,¹⁶⁹ of which only one is a woman.¹⁷⁰ At departmental level, the departments of Ideology and Publicity, Finance and Economy, Members Affairs and Organization, International Relations and Administration and Operations are established under the CCM Constitution. Only the department for Publicity and Ideology is led by a woman (Sophia Mjema), the first woman to hold the position.

CCM has leadership at lower levels, the Cell level is led by a cell leader and four delegates of the cell leadership committee, elected without gender quotas.¹⁷¹ 22 positions make CCM leadership at Branch level. They include CCM's branch chairperson, secretary, and secretary for politics and ideology, 10 delegates of the branch executive committee, five delegates of ward assembly, and one delegate of constituency for Zanzibar and or district general assembly for Tanzania Mainland, and three delegates of branch politics committee.¹⁷² Among the 22 positions, only 4 seats (18 %) are reserved for women; among the 10 delegates of the branch executive committee, four must be women.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, there are no gender quotas are see in election of CCM's ward leadership including in the election of ward chairperson, secretary, and secretary for politics and ideology, five delegates of the ward executive committee, five delegates of constituency general assembly, five delegates of district general assembly, one delegates per each ward and five per each ward in Zanzibar, and three delegates of ward politics committee.¹⁷⁴ Absence of quotas is also seen in the election of CCM leadership at constituency level for Zanzibar. CCM's constituency leadership including in the election of chairperson, secretary, and secretary for politics and ideology, five delegates of constituency executive committee, five representatives of district general assembly, three delegates of regional general assembly, and three members of constituency politics committee. Gender quotas are seen in election of CCM district leaders. The leadership at this level includes district chairperson, secretary, secretary for politics and ideology, 10 delegates of the district executive committee, two delegates of region general

¹⁶⁹ Article 126 of CCM Constitution.

¹⁷⁰ The current Chairperson of CCM Board of Trustee is a female, Anna Abdallah.

¹⁷¹ Article 22(4) and 28 of the CCM Constitution.

¹⁷² Rule 48 of CCM Election Rules, 2022 Edition.

¹⁷³ Rule 56 of CCM Election Rules, 2022 Edition.

¹⁷⁴ Rule 61 and 68 of CCM Election Rules, 2022 Edition.

assembly, three delegates for national general assembly and three delegates of district politics committee.¹⁷⁵

Similar to branch level, only 4 seats are reserved for women-among the 10 delegates of the district executive committee, four must be women.¹⁷⁶ Absence of gender quota is also seen in election of CCM regional leaders. The elected leaders at this level are regional party chairperson, one delegate for the national executive committee for Tanzania mainland from each region for Tanzania Mainland, and four from each region for Zanzibar. Delegate for regional national executive committee include two delegates from each district for Tanzania Mainland, and five delegate from each district for Zanzibar.¹⁷⁷ The Secretariat at each CCM's administrative level is composed of among other delegates, a secretary of the women wing.¹⁷⁸

6.4 Gender Commitments from the 2020 CCM Manifesto

The CCM 2020 Manifesto covers several commitments on women's rights.

- Recognition of Women in the Community: CCM pledges to continue to address key challenges facing women, children, youth and persons with disabilities.
- Respect of international conventions and national laws: CCM pledges to implement all international conventions on human rights and those related to women's rights. On women-specific conventions CCM makes no specific mention of CEDAW, Maputo Protocol, Beijing Platform of Action.
- Women and Decision-making process: CCM promises to design and implement plans to increase women participation in leadership up to 50:50.
- Role of Women Political Wing: As per the 2020 CCM Manifesto, UWT leaders are tasked equip themselves and prepare women to practically fight patriarchy and any sort of violence against women. UWT is also tasked to provide training so as we women can actively take part in the economic, political and traditional activities.

¹⁷⁵Rule 79 and 88 of CCM Election Rules, 2022 Edition.

¹⁷⁶ Rule 87 (e) of CCM Election Rules, 2022 Edition.

¹⁷⁷ Rule 90 of CCM Election Rules, 2022 Edition.

¹⁷⁸ Article 40, 53, 66,79, 92 of the CCM Constitution.

- Women and the Economy: CCM promises to promote gender equality and promote women economic empowerment by setting up incubation centres for women; promote use of technology to strengthen production, marketing and packaging of women products; help in locating internal and external markets and ensure women get government tenders. CCM also promises to design and implement plans to increase women in decision-making and leadership in political and economic aspects up to 50:50. CCM is also going to start specific fund for women. CCM also promises to promote women to take part in horticulture business and further promises to make guidelines for better functioning of the 4/4/2 interest free loans from municipal councils. In addition, CCM promises to continue to take efforts to enable women employ themselves, receive entrepreneurship training and skills and formalise their business by 2025.
- Gender Based Violence: CCM promises to protect children strengthening committees on protection of women and children against gender based violence to provide better services for women and children. To reduce violence against women and children, CCM promises to strengthen groups for promotion of positive behaviour and to ratify and implement ILO conventions which have bearing with the interest of the nation and that of Tanzania workforce. Further, CCM promises to strengthen provision of legal aid for women and children and increase speed in addressing GBV cases including sextortion against women and children.
- Employment opportunities: CCM promises to direct the government to increase 7,000, 000 million formal and informal employment opportunities by ensuring municipalities designate areas for women, youth and PWDs' economic activities and investment; put strategies to enable talented youth, women and other groups to engage in self-employment activities and employ others and ensure municipalities continue to provide interest free loans for women, youth and PWDs fund.
- Child pregnancy and Sexual Reproductive Health: CCM manifesto also makes a mention on the efforts it has taken in the past years to orient students on effects of early pregnancies and importance of sexual reproductive health education, it mentions nothing on its future plans for providing reproductive health education for youth.

6.5 Recommendations for CCM

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;

- 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.
- CCM must adopt voluntary party candidate quotas to ensure certain percent or number of its candidates for local and national elections 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.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Article II of the CCM Constitution

Conclusion- Major Observations from the Five Political Parties

Across all the five political parties, there is no numerical gender representation goal/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. It is also noted that 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 leaders without any gender representation numerical goal, hence such positions are male dominated. Leaders from women wings have space in parties' key meetings but their participation is just a token, those elected in the substantive seats, most of them men, are the majority and have greater influencing power. The women 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 considerations. In addition, and in most cases, election/nomination of leaders for different departments or directorates at national to lower levels of the political parties do not take into consideration gender balance.

It is also noted that, all political parties are silent on financing and capacity building for women within the party. Except for CHADEMA, no political parties have an operational gender policy. Further, no political parties' constitutions provide for voluntary party candidate quotas; there is no guarantee that certain percent or number of political parties' candidates for local and national elections are going to be women. There is no consistency in ensuring women representation at all decision-making structures within parties. It is further noted that, while CHADEMA, NCCR-MAGEUZI, and ACT-Wazalendo 's respective 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.

The CUF Constitution specifically ensures that 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. Also, there is 50:50 men and women representation under ACT's leadership committee at all levels except national level. In addition, 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 theyouth, elderly, diaspora and PWDs should consider the representation of men and women.

There is a lack of clear provisions regarding women with disabilities. At the moment, only the CHADEMA constitution notes that women with disabilities will be regarded as per the constitution and other guidelines, but unfortunately the two documents are silent on the same. It is further noted that, 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.

The End.