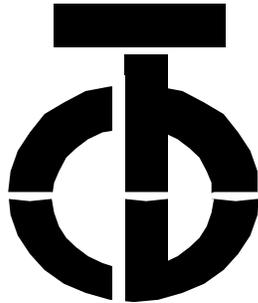TANZANIA CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY (TCD)

ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN TANZANIA FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

FINAL REPORT

BY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was commissioned by the Tanzania Centre for Democracy in partnership with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) to assess the state of local democracy in Tanzania from a gender perspective. The study therefore relied on the State of Local Democracy (SoLD) framework by the International IDEA in a gender perspective. The International IDEA's SoLD assessment framework places citizens at the centre of analysis thereby producing home-grown policy initiatives and internally driven reform agendas through a gender perspective. It is a framework that engages robustly with the dynamics of democracy with a clear focus on institutions and processes within it. This study made the following key observations:-

- Women are more likely to vote for their fellow women than men during elections. 76.4% of women who responded to the question as to whom they would elect into office between a male and a female candidate if the two contest one position said that they would vote for a female candidate while 18.8% of women would vote for a male candidate. This finding is quite contrary to the conversional wisdom which is popular in Tanzania that "*adui wa mwanamke ni mwanamke mwenyewe*" literally translated as "a woman's enemy is her fellow woman". On the other hand, 48.1% of men who responded to the same question said that they would vote for a female candidate while 44.1% of men would vote for their fellow men. Yet, women are still invisible in politics. The study noted some cultural, economic and political barriers that could not allow women to support their fellow women. Hence, women are in most cases seen as being divided and ruled by the patriarchal system which is favourable to men.

- Abusive language based on gender discrimination during electoral campaign is still a problem. Survey data indicate that 5.4% of respondents who replied to the question as to whether abusive language during election is a problem or otherwise said that it is frequently used. When this number of respondents is gender disaggregated it shows that males constituted 4.8% while females were 6.0%. Moreover, 22.9% of

respondents said that it is rarely used. Of these, males were 25.9% and females 20.0%. However, 65.3% of respondents opined that it is not used at all. Of these, males were 63.3% while females were 67.3%. Data from the Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) collaborate this finding. This is despite the fact that the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 in articles 9(g), 12, and 21 prohibits discrimination based on gender, colour, tribe, and religion. Discrimination of this nature constitutes a serious offense which can lead to nullification of results.

- Although 62% of respondents (65.2% of males and 60.0% of females) said that political parties provide equal opportunity to both females and males to contest at different levels of leadership during elections, a significant number of respondents 24.9% (24.5% of males and 25.3% of females) still maintained that parties are discriminatory along gender lines. This is despite the fact a review of political parties' documents (constitutions, manifestos, laws and rules, policies) reveals that they do not uphold any sense of discrimination. However, data from the National Electoral Commission (NEC) indicate that the number of nominated women for councillors' elections was extremely low in 2005 and 2010. For example in 2005 out of 7,561 nominated candidates, females were 441 which is 5.8%. Likewise, in 2010, the total number of candidates stood at 7,934 and female candidates were 559 which is 7.1%. This shows that political parties have not been able to support women proportionally as they do to men. In Tanzania, political parties which are the main gate keepers towards political leadership are male-controlled and hence they serve their interests.

- The majority respondents 53.1% (51.9% of males and 54.3% of females) opined that the electoral body supervising local elections is absolutely independent while 25.2% (27.1% of males and 23.3% of females) said it is somehow independent and 9% (11.0% of males and 7.7% of females) maintained that it is not independent. However, data from FGDs as well as existing literature suggest that such elections being directly under the supervision of the office of the Prime Minister is indeed problematic in terms of the independence and impartiality of that office in relation to

the management of multiparty elections. The election management body is not gender sensitive in terms of its composition contrary to the Resolution from the Africa Conference on Elections, Democracy and Good Governance held in Pretoria 7-10 April 2003, which requires the selection and appointment procedures for commissioners in this organ to be transparent, inclusive and sensitive to gender equality and the representation of diverse groups.

- Data from the survey shows that corruption is still a serious problem especially to low income candidates to participate during elections. Under this category male respondents who said that corruption limits candidates with low income were 48.6% and female respondents were 39.7%. The situation is more critical to women candidates due to the fact that the majority of them in Tanzania do not have formal employment; they do not own land, and are less educated. 10.6% of male respondents opined that corruption limits women to aspire for political leadership as candidates while female respondents were 15.2%. Data from FGDs further indicate that sometimes women are sexually abused in order that they can access power. However, due to the societal perception they never report such abuse. Moreover, election undertaking in Tanzania is very expensive. Indeed, for women, election is twice expensive in the sense that they have to incur indirect cost of making sure that their families and profiling are taken care by alternative means such as childcare services before they decide to venture into politics. Unemployment is 5.8% amongst women compared to 2.8 % amongst men (ILFS, 2006); and the former constitute about 89% of the labour force. The HBS (2007) estimates that the average earnings for men is 1.7 times higher than women. Respondents were asked their monthly income and 40.3% said that their income is below 50,000Tsh (eq. to 27USD). Of this figure, females were 44.0% and males 36.5%. Those whose income was between 200,000Tsh. and 300,000Tsh. (eq. between 115USD and 160USD) were 8.1% of which women constituted 5.6% and males 10.6%.

- Contrary to the dominant gender rubrics which hold that the legal framework as well as practices limit women to participate in decision-making, this study found that 90%

of all respondents were of the view that such laws, regulations and practices do not exist. It is interesting to note that 90.9% of all women interviewed held similar view while the number of men was slightly higher recording 93.4%. However, data from FGDs and reviewed literature indicate that patriarchal system is still a critical problem for women to participate in decision-making. In one FGDs in Hai, it was observed that one male candidate in the last elections was insulted, "*una sura kama ya mwanamke*" literally translated as "you have a face like a woman". Woman in this sense was portrayed as a "wife" and hence limited to the private sphere "home" to take care of her husband.

- Articles 145 and 146 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Local Authorities (Elections) Act, Cap. 292 provide that the village Assembly is the only organ within the legal provisions that can be considered to offer a kernel of direct democracy in Tanzania. However, these legal provisions are rarely translated into practice, raising questions about the political culture and the level of citizen political competence. In some instances village chairpersons usurp powers that they under normal circumstances do not have, including reluctance or even refusal to call meetings, for instance. Survey data indicate that 42.3% of respondents who replied to the question on how any times are the Village Assemblies held according to the law (i.e. once after every three months) said that they are frequently held. Of these male and female respondents were 40.8% and 43.8% respectively. Those who opined that they were rarely held were 43.1% of which male respondents were 43.2% and female were 43.1%. Moreover 9.0% of respondents opined that such assemblies are never held. Of these, male and female respondents were 10.5% and 7.6% respectively. Also many of the principles of transparency and accountability are not strictly adhered to. One of the areas that creates anxiety and is amenable to complaints is failure to post regularly and periodically, in public display, statements of income and expenditure.

- Water shortage is a critical problem in Tanzania particularly in rural areas. Survey data show that 46.0% of respondents who replied to the question as to whether they were satisfied with the availability of and access to water held that they were not satisfied at all. Of these male and female respondents were 46.8% and 45.2% respectively. 30.5% of respondents opined that they were highly satisfied with a gender disaggregated data of male and female respondents being 28.7% and 32.2% respectively. Those who partly satisfied were 23.2%. This figure included 24.2% male and 22.3% female respondents respectively. Indeed, this problem is at the heart of gender relations in the country. Data from FGDs show that women are more affected than men with the problem of water shortage. They have to walk long distances in search of water, in some cases forced to wake up very early in the morning before water wells are dried. This has an implication when it comes to access political information through media especially the radio which is the main source of information.

- Media is limited to urban areas. The dominant media in the rural area is the state radio. Newspapers do not circulate regularly and timely in the rural regions. When asked which type of information do respondents prefer to follow in media, news broadcast topped the list. 74.1% of male and 60.5% of female respondents prefer news to any other type of information. This was followed by sports in which 16.5% of male and 6.0% of female respondents opined to prefer it. Since women are pre-occupied by family roles of child care and food production, it follows that women have no adequate time to access political information as men do and develop political interests. Moreover, data from survey shows that men have time to follow sports which is part of their entertainment.

- CCM's influence over the grassroots politics is still high. In the 1999 local government elections, CCM garnered almost 95% of all the seats. In 2004 the proportion increased to 97%. It slightly dropped to 91% in 2009 elections. This implies that the vibrancy of multiparty political system at the local level has not been felt. There is the dominance of one political party thereby affecting plural politics at the grassroots.

Opposition parties are mostly urban based. Survey data indicate that 62.5% of respondents identified themselves as followers of CCM. Of these, 62.7% were male and 62.4% were female respondents. Again 7.7% identified as followers of CHADEMA of which male respondents were 9.6% and females were 5.9%. Similarly, 6.9% of respondents said that they were CUF's followers. Of these 8.2% respondents were males and 5.6% were females. Other political parties had membership of less than 1%. However, 20.2% of respondents opined that they were not followers of any political party. Of this figure, males were 16.4% and females were 23.8%.

- The relationship between the state and the civil society in Tanzania is ambivalent. The Non-Government Organisation Act. No. 24 of 2002 and the Societies Act. Cap. 337. Revised Edition of the Laws of Tanzania 2002 seem to marginalise space for the NGOs and CSOs to play their roles effectively. One of the explanations is that the state in Tanzania is not used to criticism and opposition especially from the grassroots level and has proceeded to react negatively to criticism from the civil society. Data from FGDs indicate that the state in Tanzania is a product of the single party regime and that legacy is still practised. A typical and historical case of suppression of the NGOs/CSOs happened in the first general elections in 1995 with devastating impact to women to date. In July 1995, *Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania*-BAWATA i.e. the Women Council of Tanzania designed a comprehensive manual to educate women voters for the October 1995 general elections and identify their agenda for the benefit of potential candidates. Besides, the document aimed at supporting those candidates who would address issues affecting women such as land ownership, health care, water, education, inheritance to mention some. BAWATA therefore presented its views on the qualities needed by any presidential candidate. After the 1995 elections, the government accused BAWATA, among others, that it was run more-less like a political party, and that it did not submit its annual accounts to the relevant authorities. This led to its de-registration on 30 June 1997. BAWATA filed a case against government's action and argued that it was unconstitutional and that it violated Articles 13(6)(a), 18, and 20 of the URT Constitution 1977 which provide for

the right of fair hearing, expression, association and assembly, respectively. The petition also alleged that the government of Tanzania was in violation of international human rights instruments, including the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the African Charter on Human Rights, and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In April 2009, the High Court of Tanzania ruled in favour of BAWATA and also challenged sections in the Societies Act. Cap. 337 R.E 2002 which are against the constitution by giving too wide discretionary powers to the President to abolish any civil society organisation, and called upon legal amendments within one year of the ruling. Such amendments have not been done. Sometimes the state accuses CSOs of being agents of powerful international agents who fund their activities. Yet, data from FGDs show that most NGOs are only limited to urban areas thereby failing to provide adequate awareness to citizens in order that they could effectively participate in democratic governance in their respective local areas. This data is also strengthened by the survey which indicates that 9.1% of male and 6.2% of female respondents were highly satisfied with the performance of CSOs at the grassroots. And 12.2% of male and 8.1% of female respondents were not satisfied with their performance. The majority respondents (53.5% of males and 70.8% of females) did not have knowledge of the performance of CSOs with the number of women being significantly higher.

- The central-local government relation does not accord local authorities adequate autonomy to decide on their affairs such as planning, staffing, resources, and power. Despite the commitment on decentralisation by devolution, local governments still depend much on what the central government will decide. Survey data indicate that about 50% (51% of male and 49% of female) of the respondents view the local government reforms as having brought the intended results. However, about 30% of respondents (34.2% of males and 28.4% of females) think that reforms have not brought the intended results at all. This number is significant to challenge the entire foundation of local government reforms based on devolution as it undermines the whole essence of local governments as mechanisms of promoting democracy and

development at the local level. Women being the majority in terms of population in Tanzania, their voices especially at the local level is not heard and worked upon effectively by the central government.

In order to address the above problems which relate to local democracy from a gender perspective, this study calls for the following major policy recommendations. These can be short, medium and long term:-

Long term

- There is a need of conducting continuous, massive civic education in a gendered perspective to ensure that the local people are civically competent in line to their rights and obligations as citizens of Tanzania. The ad-hock voter education which is provided during election season is insufficient since it does not reach majority people especially women who in most cases do not have enough time to access political information due to their roles in their families; such education is also election specific while women's issues are broader than that. Civic education is important taking into account that Tanzania was once a single party regime for almost three decades and that women's visibility and effective participation in politics was not given deserved priority.

- The quota system that will allow women participate in decision making organs should be extended to all political parties. It should be noted that, according to Articles 39 and 67 of the URT Constitution 1977; the National Elections Act. 1985 as well as the Local Government (Elections) Act. 1982, no one qualifies to be a candidate unless he/she, among other things, is a member of a political party and is therefore being sponsored by the same. In this case, political parties are the only gate-keepers as far as who should contest and how he or she should be supported. There is no way with the current legal system where one can contest a political position such as councillor, parliament or presidential seat without first and foremost belong to a political party.

- Local government elections should be supervised by an independent, autonomous and impartial organ. According to the Resolution from the Africa Conference on Elections, Democracy and Good Governance held in Pretoria 7-10 April 2003, the selection and appointment procedures for commissioners in this organ should be transparent, inclusive and sensitive to gender equality and the representation of diverse groups. The current National Electoral Commission has 7 members and only 1 is a female. The participation of females in the management of elections is vital in order that the managing body will appreciate women's needs as far as electoral politics is concerned.

- That the relation between central-local governments needs to be revisited to ensure that local governments are autonomous in terms of power, resources, staffing, and planning. The local governments should be founded on inclusive policies which will guarantee women participation in such organs so much so that they influence policies and decisions that have a bearing on women specific issues.

Short term

- Due to the significant underrepresentation of women in decision making organs, we recommend that an affirmative action which will guarantee 50% presence of women is attained to cure this historical imbalance.

Medium term

- The legal framework should be revisited to ensure that NGOs/CSOs operate without constraints. NGOs/CSOs which seem to mobilise women countrywide should be encouraged so that women can have one voice to influence major policies, laws, and decisions that affect their affairs. Moreover, there is a pressing need that their activities should now be extended to the rural areas to empower the marginalised groups especially women. The majority population of Tanzanians i.e about 70% live in the rural areas.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ARO	Assistant Returning Officer
ASP	Afro-Shiraz Party
AU	African Union
AULA	African Union of Local Authorities
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CSO	Civil Societies Organizations
CUF	Civic United Front
DC	District Commissioner
FPTP	First Past The Post
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Affairs
NCCR	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
PCCB	Prevention and combating of Corruption Bureau
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PR	Proportional Representation
RC	Regional Commissioner
REC	Regional Election Co-coordinator
REDET	Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania
RO	Returning Officer
SoLD	State of Local Democracy
TCD	Tanzania Centre for Democracy
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party
UMD	Union for Multiparty Democracy

UPDP	United People's Democratic Party
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
UTP	United Tanganyika Party
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission

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1.1 THE CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND TO THE ASSESSMENT

1.1.1 The Context

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 provides for full and equal participation of women and men in all aspects of the political process. Article 9(g) of the constitution provides that "the Government and all its agencies accord equal opportunities to all citizens, men and women alike without regard to their colour, tribe, religion, or station in life". This provision is founded on the fact that the constitution, through Article 12, affirms that "all human beings are born free and are all equal". The constitution therefore does not in any way promote discrimination. In fact Article 21 stresses that every citizen of the United Republic of Tanzania has a right to participate in the governance of the country directly or through their elected representatives.

Yet, Tanzania is signatory to several normative frameworks that serve to address issues of diversity to ensure inclusiveness. These frameworks set the international and regional standards which bind it morally and legally to adhere to equity and non-discriminatory policies in the development process. As a member of the United Nations, it is morally bound to adhere to principles of equality as spelt out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Bill of Rights which bans discrimination based on race, gender and ethnicity. Tanzania is also a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (2001); the New Partnership for African Development (2001), the African Peer Review Mechanism (2003), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the rights of women in Africa (2003), SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008), and the Constitutive Act of African Union (2000) to mention just a few.

The identified legal and policy frameworks notwithstanding, the actual state of women's participation in the political and development processes indicates a clear marginalisation. Indeed they face a triple oppression, as citizens, as peasants/workers, and as women. The current upsurge of land problem is of special concern to women, given their dominant role as food producers as well as food providers in the country. Women are especially vulnerable because of patriarchal structures of property ownership which often mean that

male household-heads sell family land without consultation with their wives and other female family members. Moreover, women register a higher rate of unemployment than males in all areas of Tanzania, except rural. For example, in Dar es Salaam alone, in the year 2006 the female unemployment rate stood at 40.3% compared to males which was 19.2% (TGNP 2011). Still, about 40% of farming women and men in the rural areas live below the basic needs of poverty line (TGNP 2010). Indeed, women form 66% of unpaid family helpers. Similarly, in terms of education, particularly in rural areas, 39.5% of women are illiterate compared to 25.3% of men (TGNP 2011). In political terms, women participation and representation in the major decision making organs is seriously curtailed. To be sure, at the national level, women's representation in the National Assembly is very low. The total number of women who aspired for the constituency seats in 2005 and 2010 is indicated in table 1 below:-

Table 1: Number of Nominated Women for parliamentary seats

S/N	Political Party	Election Year 2005			Election Year 2010		
		Male	Female	% of Female	Male	Female	% of Female
1	CCM	213	19	8.18	215	24	10.04
2	CHADEMA	133	11	7.63	154	25	13.96
3	CUF	200	13	6.10	168	14	7.69
4	NCCR	63	8	11.26	52	15	22.38
5	NLD	14	15	51.72	15	8	34.78
6	NRA	21	6	22.22	13	6	37.5
7	CHAUSTA	49	12	19.67	8	5	38.46
8	TADEA	32	2	5.88	20	12	37.5
9	TLP	104	11	9.56	36	6	14.28
10	FORD	8	3	27.27	-	-	-
11	UDP	28	10	26.31	31	14	31.11
12	UMD	15	6	28.57	13	10	43.47
13	UPDP	29	13	30.95	23	13	36.11
14	Jahazi-A	46	9	16.36	15	6	28.57
15	APPT-M	16	0	0	9	7	43.75
16	DP	34	11	24.44	24	11	31.42
17	SAU	42	10	19.23	26	6	18.75
18	D'Makini	16	0	0	12	5	29.41

19	AFP	-	-	-	11	4	26.66
	Total	1063	159	13.01	845	191	18.43

Source: Compiled from the National Electoral Commission 2005 and 2010 Reports

It should be noted that the strongest and largest parties like CCM nominated 7 candidates in 1995 and all won. In 2000 CCM nominated 13 and 12 of them won. In 2005, the party nominated 19 female candidates and 17 of them won. In 2010 it nominated 24 and 19 of them were successful. It is interesting to note that in Tanzania only women nominated by strong parties are likely to be elected through the constituencies. Women nominated by CCM which has resources and a well-established electoral support base from the national to the village level have a higher probability of winning than female candidates of other parties.

There is a large gender disparity in representation in the Local Government Councils where women's representation remains very low. For instance, during the 2000 general elections, only 3% of elected district councillors were women. Likewise, the number of women who were nominated by their political parties during the 2005 and 2010 general elections was only 5.8% and 7.1% respectively. Although one might think that this is an increase of 1.3%, it is actually a decrease. This is so because the difference between males and females who were actually nominated in 2005 was 6,679 males. In 2010 the difference increased to 6,816 males. Therefore the increase of 1.3% is actually an increase of males by 137. The disparity within the major parties is also alarming as shown in table 2 below:-

Table 2: Number of Nominated Women for Councillors' Election

S/N	Political Party	Election Year 2005			Election Year 2010		
		Male	Female	% of Female	Male	Female	% of Female
1	CCM	2,421	131	5.1	3,112	223	6.7
2	CHADEMA	1,037	56	5.1	1,786	78	4.2
3	CUF	1,779	71	3.8	1,510	65	4.1
4	NCCR	321	19	5.5	251	29	10.4
5	NLD	28	11	28.2	26	11	29.7
6	NRA	6	1	14.2	26	17	39.5
7	CHAUSTA	85	11	11.4	17	6	26
8	TADEA	22	6	21.4	11	4	26.5

9	TLP	941	64	6.3	258	27	9.5
10	FORD	15	3	16	-	-	-
11	UDP	188	16	7.8	167	21	11.2
12	UMD	17	6	26	25	17	40.5
13	UPDP	33	9	21.4	22	10	31
14	Jahazi-A	31	1	3.1	14	12	46.5
15	APPT-M	19	3	13	19	8	29.6
16	DP	78	12	13.3	33	8	19.5
17	SAU	76	18	19.1	81	16	16.5
18	D'Makini	23	3	11.5	8	5	38.5
19	AFP	-	-	-	9	2	18.2
	Total	7,120	441	5.8	7,375	559	7.1

Source: Compiled from the National Electoral Commission 2005 and 2010 Reports

Notwithstanding such marginalisation, women occupy central position in production process of wealth and labour. Women form the majority of the population in the country i.e. about 51% of the total population of 45million people (Census 2012). They also provide 80% of labour force in rural areas and 60% of food production.[1] In their 2010 election manifesto, the FemAct and TGNP noted the marginalization of women in all aspects of life (political, economic and social) to be critical.

Despite the identified challenges and obstacles, in Tanzania there are legal and institutional frameworks for participation and representation of citizens in local democracy. Citizens enjoy freedom to stand for elected offices and take part in voting fellow citizens as their leaders. With regard to political freedom to elect local representatives, the constitution and electoral laws provide for elections at all levels to be held once every five years using the "first-past-the-post" electoral system. The Local Government Authorities Election Act No.4 of 1979 is the principal law that governs election of councilors while elections of village leaders and sub-villages (known by their Kiswahili name *Vitongoji*) as well as the sub-ward committees in urban areas (*mitaa* in Kiswahili) are guided by respective clauses in the Local Government Authorities Acts No. 7 and 8 of 1982. Section 30(4) of the Local Government Act (District Authorities) No.7 of 1982 empowers the Minister responsible for Regional

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[1] Gender in Tanzania, www.tanzania.go.tz/gender.html 6 August, 2013

Administration and Local Government (RALG) to issue regulations for elections of *vitongoji* and *mitaa* chairpersons as well as their respective committee members.

Local governments are also required by law to conform to participatory process in planning and budgeting as well as other processes in their areas of jurisdiction. LGAs are required to prepare three-year development plans using a participatory method—the Opportunities and Obstacles to Development Planning tool (O&OD). This method becomes the basis of preparing the LGAs three-year development plans as stipulated in Act No. 6 of 1999 and includes people from marginalized groups/communities. This approach requires that all residents of a village or their representative come together for the planning exercise. No resident is legally discriminated from attending planning sessions. There is no doubt therefore that LGs and their various organs stand out as institutions for local governance and popular participation. To what extent are these organs effective and capable institutions for local governance remains an open question. What is clear though is that the law and procedures for managing these organs have provided the needed framework for people to be fully involved in the decision making process.

While these initiatives are commendable there is a danger that the efforts may not result into the intended outcomes as corresponding central-local relations, institutional arrangements and behaviour as well as personnel management in local government authorities inhibit actualization of participatory democracy at the grassroots/community level. The local government system in Tanzania does not provide for one level of local government to supervise the other. There is no hierarchical relationship with one level standing above the other. Each level is created by its own law and fulfils its tasks based on that law[2]. The geographical and administrative boundaries however place village councils under district councils and the two have the same relationship like that which exists between the central government and LGAs in general. District Councils do not treat village councils as full governments and instead of relating to them on the basis of government-to-government, the latter is regarded as an administrative agent of the former. To complicate

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[2] Rural and urban local government authorities are established vied Acts No. 7 and 8 of 1982 while village councils are established by the Villages and Village Registration Act, No. 5 of 1975.

this situation, the Ward Executive Officers (WEOs), Mitaa Executive Officers (MEOs) and Village Executive Officers (VEOs) (the equivalent of Council Directors in higher LGAs) are employed by their respective councils. In that regard they tend to pay attention to directives and orders from the top rather than accounting to the Village Assembly—a gathering of all adults of the village—in the case of the VEOs.

The above mentioned institutional shortcomings do not negate the fact that Tanzania has been attempting to implement policies and development strategies that aim at improving the livelihood of all citizens without discrimination. It has adopted decentralization as a means of ensuring effective participation in political governance. Social accountability has been instituted to strengthen transparency in the public sector while also empowering citizens and communities to give them more voice in public decision-making processes. Constitutional amendments of 1992 paved the way for the inclusion of marginalized groups (especially women) in the decision-making processes at various levels of government. It is provided in law that women must constitute at least 30% of the members of parliament as well as each local government council (i.e. city, municipal, town, district and village council)—affirmative action for gender equality.

The government developed the Gender and Women Development policy of 2000 which states that Tanzanians value human rights and equality as enshrined in the Constitution. Moreover, the local government authorities are the main implementing agencies of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) popularly known by its Kiswahili acronym of MKUKUTA, for such critical sectors as education, health and water. Also, village governments and assemblies are charged with various roles, including land management and administration. For instance, the right of women to acquire, hold, use and deal with land is provided in the Land Act no. 4 of 1999 and Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999, which specifically provide for gender balance in participation in land administration and decision making. In addition, following the ongoing process of enacting a new constitution for the country, the local government authorities are expected to play a major role in raising people's awareness and in collecting people's views about the content of the envisaged constitution.

In order to rectify the gender imbalance of representation at the local level, the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania provides that one third of all councillors must be women. These special seats for women councillors are allocated to different political parties depending on their share of seats acquired in the local government elections. Similarly, the law provides for women's special seats for members of village councils. A village council is composed of not less than 15 and not more than 25 elected members to have women's special seats not less than a quarter of all elected assembly seats. Thus, following the affirmative action, the number of women in the local councils has steadily increased over the years. During 2010 elections there were 3335 ward seats for contestation, which translates to 1,111 seats for women. Guided by the law that every council is required to have special seats for women councillors not less than one third (1/3) of the elected Councillors, women constitute 33.33% of the total number of councillors, excluding those elected from wards and nominated ones. It has to be noted however that special seats should be considered as only a temporal measure of addressing the historical imbalance between genders.

1.1.2 Background to the Assessment

This is a report on the assessment of the State of Local Democracy (SoLD) spearheaded by the Tanzania Centre for Democracy in partnership with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). The International IDEA's SoLD assessment framework places citizens at the forefront with the aim of producing home-grown policy initiatives and internally driven reform agendas through a gender perspective. It is a four dimensional design engaging robustly with the dynamics of representative democracy (elections, political parties, and elected officials); and participatory democracy (civic engagement, non-governmental and community-based organizations, and consensus-oriented policy making) and institutions and processes.

The State of Democracy Programme of International IDEA promotes the conduct of nationally/locally citizen-led and owned democracy assessments. International IDEA has in this regard facilitated and supported the conduct of assessments in difference parts of the

world, including in North Africa and the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, South and South East Asia and Europe. International IDEA has produced a State of Democracy (SoD) assessment framework that citizens can use to examine their own systems, leading to home-grown policy initiatives and internally driven reform agendas. The SoD assessment framework equips people to turn the spotlight on their own institutions, to recognise the strengths and weaknesses of their own governments and find out what fellow citizens think. They can then use this evidence to inform public debate and influence reform in a way that reflects local sensitivities and conditions.

The objective of achieving gender equality is indivisible from the International IDEA's goal of promoting sustainable democracy worldwide. Through the global programme on Democracy and Gender as well as regional programme initiatives, IDEA supports knowledge transfer and capacity building on gender equality and women's empowerment in electoral processes, political parties, constitution building processes, state of democracy assessments and democracy and development processes. As a cross cutting dimension of democracy, gender is addressed through two complementary and critical approaches; gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment. In the framework of the current initiative, International IDEA supported and cooperated with the Tanzanian Centre for Democracy (TCD) to undertake a local democracy assessment from a gender-equality perspective across eight regions of the United Republic of Tanzania. The inclusion and perspectives of both women and men in the periodic democracy assessments to raise awareness about the quality of the democracies can facilitate reform agendas that address identified democratic deficits especially from a gender perspective.

In 2003, International IDEA in partnership with African Union of Local Authorities (AULA) supported the local democracy assessment in Mwanza, Tanzania as part of an assessment of four municipalities in Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana and Zambia. The assessment was a pilot for a local democracy assessment instrument. A Policy Summary of the assessment states that "democracy at the local level—the tier of governance where citizens turn to meet their immediate needs—is a critical but underappreciated factor in the world's new democracies."

In view of the foregoing it was imperative to conduct a thorough analysis of the state of local democracy in Tanzania. From a gender perspective the study aimed at, among other things, assessing participation and representation of citizens in general and women in particular in local democracy and the differential effect democracy has on men and women at local level, i.e. villages, streets, hamlets levels of local government. The study also reviewed specific constraints against women in participation and representation. This implied taking stock of the current situation in relation to the strengths and weaknesses of the constitutional, legal and institutional framework for local democracy; comparing policy pronouncements and actual practice on the ground; identifying constraints that inhibit realization of local democracy as stipulated in the various instruments and mechanisms put in place for that purpose; carry out a detailed and systematic analysis of factors that exclude (or discriminate) women from taking their rightful place and playing a role in institutions of governance at the local level.

In the context of the above it was pertinent to ask a few questions regarding institutions of governance at the grassroots level:

- Does the local government system in Tanzania offer opportunity for participatory democracy at the grassroots/community level?
- What role should village assemblies and other local government structures of participation play?
- Does the electoral system at the grassroots address existing problems such as facilitating people in (i) deciding which problems concern them most and in what ways in order to set priorities on which to expend their energies and resources for their own benefits, (ii) planning the way their problems will be solved and their needs met?
- Are people's interests taken into account when representatives make decisions?

The purpose of this assessment was therefore to identify how gender aspects influence the state of the local democracy in Tanzania. Specific questions include:- how are women and

men able to participate in the local democracy processes? How do they encounter specific gender-based challenges at the local level either as representatives or citizens?

1.2   Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study is to enhance the understanding of the current situation regarding gender inequalities in participation and representation of women and men at the local governance and decision making levels. This will in the long run contribute in reinforcing local democracy in Tanzania. Specifically the study was guided by the following two overriding objectives:

(i) To systematically assess, from a gender perspective, the challenges that gender impacts on citizen's participation and representation in local democracy in selected councils.

(ii) To develop policy oriented recommendations that will promote more gender sensitive   dialogue processes in local democracy.

1.3   Methods of Data Collection

This study on the assessment of the State of Local Democracy (SoLD) was commissioned by the Tanzania Centre for Democracy in partnership with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). The International IDEA's SoLD assessment framework was used. It places citizens at the forefront with the aim of producing home-grown policy initiatives and internally driven reform agendas through a gender perspective. The framework is a four dimensional design engaging robustly with the dynamics of representative democracy (elections, political parties, and elected officials); and participatory democracy (civic engagement, non-governmental and community-based organizations, and consensus-oriented policy making) and institutions and processes.

Data for this study was collected through a participatory approach with both qualitative and quantitative methods and analysis. Four main data collection techniques were used including a survey, focus group discussions (stakeholders' meetings), open-ended (in-depth) interviews and documentary reviews. Participatory approach allows respondents to air their own opinion and experiences about a certain social phenomenon. Respondents included the ordinary citizens, elected officials (councillors, village leaders), local government officials,

leaders of political parties, civil society organizations (CSOs), local media personnel, community-based organizations (CBOs), as well as gender and rights-based organizations. It is important to point out that this assessment used the questionnaire developed by International IDEA. However, the assessment team did some revisions in order to customize and contextualize the questionnaire to suit the Tanzanian context.

In order to ensure ownership of the assessment process and the assessment outcomes by the councils, the steering committee was formed composed of diverse groups including the representatives of councils taking part in the assessment, members from the academia, political parties and CSOs. The steering committee was basically an advisory board. Representatives fro the Councils acted as the focal points that assisted in implementing the coordination of the research. Thus, they were involved in the planning as well as implementation of the study. Council focal points coordinated council discussions and consultations and validation of the findings and recommendations from the assessment.

1.3.1   Scope of Fieldwork

This was a country-wide study conducted in both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar, notwithstanding the fact that local government is a non-Union matter. Each part of the Union has its legislation and regulations guiding the establishment and the functioning of the local government system. Still there was a felt need that this assessment needs to be representative of the United Republic whatever divergences may be between the two parts of the Republic. If major differences between the two were discovered in the assessment, that would still be an interesting finding.

The study involved a total of 600 respondents and was conducted in eight regions: Coast, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilimanjaro, Lindi, Simiyu, Tabora and Urban West. Regions were purposively selected in a stratified sampling to represent the eight zones of the country, namely, coast, central, southern highlands, northern, southern, lake, west and Zanzibar, respectively for each of the regions. One district council was then sampled in each region, also respectively: Kisarawe, Kondoa, Kilolo, Hai, Lindi Rural, Bariadi, Urambo and West. Two villages (rural areas) or streets (urban areas) were randomly selected from each council. In each district council a total of 60 questionnaires were administered to respondents

obtained randomly from resident registers. Out of the 60 respondents interviewed in each council, 30 were females and the remaining 30 males (except for Simiyu and Urban West where 120 questionnaires each were administered). Overall 51 percent of all the respondents were female.

Prior to execution of the field work a team of 10 research assistants and two principal researchers were trained. Research assistants were carefully selected from a pool of highly competent individuals with an impressive track record of conducting such surveys. Many of them had postgraduate qualifications with Master's Degree.

1.3.2   District and National-level Validation Workshops

TCD organized four regional workshops in eight councils where the draft report was presented to the key public stakeholders at the council level. This was to ensure that the assessment proceedings and findings were shared back with the local-level stakeholders and their feedback was obtained. The selection of participants to the workshops took into consideration the need for local level representation and ownership of the outcome of the report. Each regional workshop accommodated a maximum of 20 participants.

Immediately after the district-level validation workshops, TCD organized a one day National Report presentation conference. This was the main national roundtable whereby all major stakeholders from across the country attended and took part in the report dissemination. The report was presented and discussed by all the stakeholders and the major contributions were incorporated into the final report. The national conference comprised of a maximum of 100 participants.

1.4   Democracy and Gender Revisited

The invisibility of women in politics is as old as politics itself and its scope is worldwide. Although democracy as one of political systems claims to be founded on the philosophy of participation and inclusion, it has inherently been selective. It must be borne in mind that, the first democracy, that is, the Athenian democracy of Greek City states carried in itself the first original fault of not only excluding women from politics but also masculinising it. To be sure, women, slaves and metics were barred from participating in such democracy (Sanford

1996; Lakof 1996). Scholars like Yash Tandon would argue that the reason for such exclusion lies on the fact that Greek society was basically a class society founded on slavery (Tandon 1979). To put this state of affairs in a perspective, Nzomo (1988) would posit:

> …democracy in a class society is an ideological weapon that serves the interests of the dominant class, that the dominated class has, through history, been subjected to varying degrees of exploitation and oppression, depending on such intervening factors as the historical period, sex and cultural identity. It is argued that women, as an intra-class sexual category, have historically suffered and continue to experience the worst forms of oppression and exploitation, despite the central position they occupy in the production process of current and future wealth and labour.

Against this background, Ferree (1990) sees the invisibility of women in politics to be neither natural nor inevitable. While this may be the most common position shared among feminist theorists, they disagree on the causes of such invisibility and how to address the same. The chief proponents of the public/private dichotomy paradigm contend that, society is broadly divided into two spheres i.e. the public and private spheres. They provide two logical gender equations to argue their case. The first equation states that, *public=political*, and *political = man*, and therefore *man is public*. The public sphere, according to this thesis, is characterised by power, wealthy, rule, rationality, career and reasoning. In contrast, the second equation states that *private = apolitical*, and *apolitical = woman*, and therefore *woman is private*. This sphere is predominated by domestic activities as well as child bearing (Siltanen and Stanworth 1984, Gavison 1992, Heinen 1997 and Arneil 2001). It should be noted right from the outset that, political theory and the classical studies are accused to have a share in reinforcing and widening this dichotomy. They have constructed woman to reflect the apolitical nature of a subject in a political system. Man's behaviour, on the other hand, has always been taken as the standard political behaviour against which woman is supposed to measure herself. The dichotomy thus reduces politics to "man". By so doing politics is being masculinised. Nikolas (1987) reaffirms this view in a more explicit way:

The division between public and private is traced back in political and social philosophy at least as far as Aristotle's distinction between *polis* and *oikos* and up to the natural rights theories of John Locke. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the distinction is reposed in terms of the division between home and market. It is given a philosophical foundation in the liberal political philosophy of J. S. Mill and his followers, with the opposition between the realm of legitimate public regulation and the realm of freedom from intrusion, personal autonomy and private choice. Writers point to the particular associations in these texts between the public sphere—the world of work, the market, individualism, competition, politics and the state—and men, and the corollary association of women with the private, domestic, intimate, altruistic and humanitarian world of the home.

Similarly, Marxist Feminists would further argue that the source of women exclusion from politics is capitalism and its class structure. It is until and when socialist revolution is waged to abolish classes that women would be free and participate in politics (Hartmann and Markusen 1980, Chinchilla 1991). Contrary to this view, defenders of capitalism such as Anne Stevens argue that "The traditional division confined women largely to the domestic sphere and to the reproduction and nurture of children as their primary role, while generally affording a much greater share of both power and resources to men. However this division is being undermined...In particular, modern market-driven capitalism tends to treat everyone alike, whether as a factor of production (a worker) or a consumer" (Stevens 2007). The problem of this position is quite telling. First it concludes that capitalism is fair to everyone something which is not true. It merely looks at capitalism at the exchange level and ignores the production level. The questions of who owns the major means of production, who engages in the production of wealth and who ultimately earns profit are deliberately skipped out. A serious analysis would not be expected to ignore these variables. This is the fallacy of the *"Invisible hand"* of the market economy of the *"Wealth of Nations of Adam Smith"*. Second it fails to acknowledge that while both the property-less poor men and women are subjected to the exploitation and hardships of capitalism, it is women who suffer dual hardships at the workplace as labourers and at home as mothers.

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While the class argument is powerful in providing explanations on exploitation phenomenon of capitalism, it goes without criticisms. First is that it treats women as a class from property ownership point of view. To do that is misleading since it might be that both men and women who are property-less poor may constitute one class, and therefore any struggle will mean freeing such class and not necessarily women specific issues. Reaffirming this point, Anne Phillips would call this omission as the problem of universal pretensions in political theory (Phillips 1992). Second is that it ignores other important factors that shape gender relations in the absence of class such as culture. The socialist theorists argue that both classes as well as cultural institutions are the root causes of women problems and thus Cultural Revolution should be waged simultaneously with class struggle. In light of this statement, Mitchell (1974) posits that Marxism offers an account of class and capital whereas psychoanalysis offers an account of sex and patriarchy.

Liberal democracy just like its predecessor suffers from the same omission. It was not until, for example, 1918 and 1920 that women were allowed to vote in Britain and USA respectively following the "Franchise Victory". The major weakness of this struggle is that it was the struggle *"to vote"* and not *"to be voted for"* meaning that women were strategically made incompetent to lead. Gatens (1992) posits that "Liberal feminists conceive the problem of women's confinement to the private sphere as central to their low socio-political status. Equality, wealth and opportunity are located in the public sphere. Hence the issue of providing women with access to power becomes the issue of providing them with equal access to the public sphere. The state is obliged to provide women with the same opportunities it provides for men." This view presents a weak reasoning and avoids exposing the root cause. It should be understood that "low socio-economic status" is simply a describing feature of women in the private sphere and not the cause of the problem. The solution which is posed to address the problem is also unpopular. To think that the state is obliged to provide the same opportunities as it does for men implies three things. First is that, the root cause of women's exclusion from politics is the state. Second is that, emphasizing equality of opportunity and not of outcome or both may not solve the problem. This solution sounds to defend the interests of bourgeois women. Thus viewing civil society and the state along the public/private dichotomy two things stand out. First is

that, they are both public institutions and only men have assigned themselves an exclusive right of participating in them. Second is that those men in civil society struggle against their fellow men who are in the state. It is a struggle of power and resources. Women are kept outside this power game. From the discussion above, this work opts to be guided by the cultural argument. The central issue in this argument is that culture which is constructed by a particular society is the root cause of women exclusion from politics. Being constructed as inferior political beings, women are made unable to participate actively in politics. This construction informs the laws and other political institutions and processes to work in favour of men. The public/private dichotomy is thus a constructed phenomenon which benefits men at the expense of women.

While the literature on local democracy in Tanzania is plenty, that focusing specifically on gender perspective is scant. However, owing to the comparability of many African countries, this shortfall was addressed by using comparative literature from other countries in Africa. Generally, in Tanzania, women participation in politics is minimal. This is true in both local and central government (Tripp, 1994; Meena, 2004; 2005; Shayo, 2006; URT, 2009; Makulilo, 2009). The government has devised different strategies to ensure women participation within the local government is enhanced. The constitutional provision for special seats for women which is one of the forms of inclusiveness was introduced both in the local and central governments.

Shayo (2006) argues that unbalanced gender participation in the politics of Tanzania begins from the political party level. This is partly because political parties are male dominated, paying little attention for the women's participation in politics. For example, women are excluded from top leadership of all of the political parties in Tanzania. Related to this, political participation through election (for instance a Member of Parliament or a Councillor) is granted through political parties. Given the electoral system where political parties sponsor candidates in single-member constituencies, political parties have tended to favour men in fear of losing elections. This is also aggravated by the reality that elections are becoming very expensive in Tanzania and that many women are economically weaker compared to men.

However, this cannot explain why women representation is still low even in less competitive and partisan avenues such as membership in different committees formed at the local level, voting and advocacy. Tripp (1994) presents contrasting findings, arguing that the visibility and the potential of women participation at the local level especially during the post 1990 period when women groups started to emerge was a good indicator. However, two decades later the position of women has not significantly improved. This is partly attributed to the fact that the changes within the society are not controlled within a specific category. Also the ecosystem (including laws, rules and regulations) has not been friendly for the growth of civil society organizations in Tanzania. For example the government banned Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania (BAWATA), a very strong and promising women association aiming at collectively representing the voice of women in the socio-political realm (Makulilo, 2009). Moreover, Tripp contends that these women organizations are found within urban areas. Yet, women comprise more that 50 percent of the population, more than 75 percent residing in rural areas.

Drawing the experience of South Africa, Beall (2005) argues that the execution of the decentralization strategies limited equal participation at the local level and the policy debates to redress it. He notes that competing interests have remained clustered around power and resources at local government level in ways that exclude women. When power and resources are combined to guide the competing interests in the local government, often there is the likelihood for the entrenchment of gender inequalities within the local government. His second argument is that there are informal systems and relationships cutting across local governance that limit the space for women's participation and for taking up issues important to them (Beall, 2005). McEwan (2003) asserts that the invisibility of women within local governance is a result of malfunction of formal structures. He noted that local governments in South Africa do not have adequate autonomy. McEwan (2003) takes an example of the local governments in the Cape Town province where black women have continued to be infringed from participating in the affairs of local government due to the continuation of the initial (apartheid) practices. Even when gender equalization has been attempted, some scholars have still maintained that it has been male-controlled to ultimately

benefit them (Yoon, 2011; Meena, 2003). Meena (2003) argues that the process of changing the laws of the land to include more women has been patriarchy-controlled and led to further entrenchment of gender inequalities. One of the results of introduction of special seats, according to Meena (2003), is a divorce between special seat members of parliament and feminist activists. At the local level special seat representatives are misconceived as powerless and favoured women (Meena, 2009). It is important to mention here that in Tanzania political parties are simply required by the Constitution of the United Republic 1977, the National Elections Act 1985, and Local Authorities (Elections) Act. Cap, 292 to submit the list of names of candidates who can become members of parliament or councils through the special seats. For that matter every political party which is eligible to send its list to the election management bodies does select its members using its own way. In CCM the approach has been competitive and it is an elaborate system. After the 2010 elections CHADEMA declared to have used a consultant.

2.1   LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN TANZANIA: INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

Local governance is understood within the meaning of the International IDEA's State of Local Democracy. This assessment framework places citizens at the forefront of the democratic process. However, for the purpose of this study, the framework is customised in line with the Tanzania's context. The SoLD assessment is a four dimensional design, engaging robustly with the dynamics of representative democracy (elections, political parties, and elected officials); and participatory democracy (civic engagement, non-governmental and community-based organizations, and consensus-oriented policy making) and institutions and processes within. Figure 1 captures some salient features of the assessment:-

Figure 1: IDEA's key components of the state of local democracy assessment

LOCAL DEMOCRACY

Electoral Processes (Local Elections)

Participatory Processes (Inform., Consult., Decision-making)

Representative Democracy

Participatory Democracy

Political Institutions (Political Parties at Local Level)

Civil Society Institutions (NGOs/CBOs)

Local Government Institutions (mayors, councillors, administration)

PROCESSE

INSTITUION
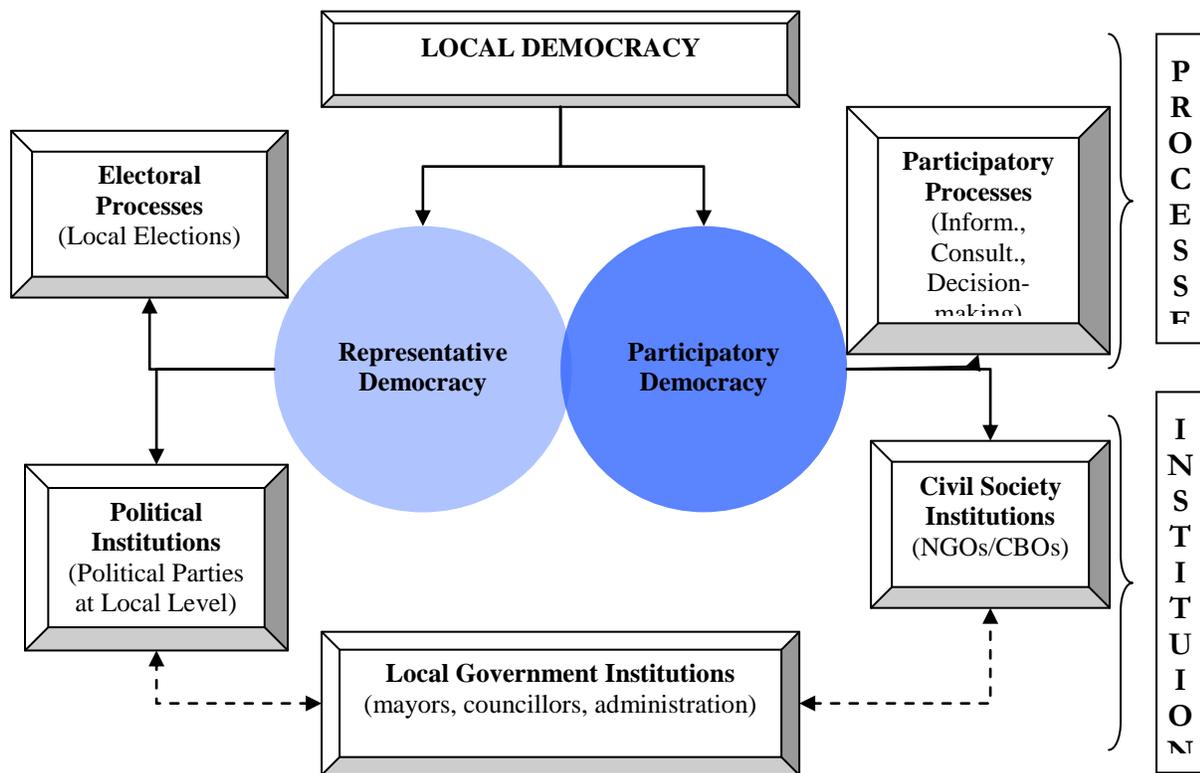
In its general sense, democracy can be defined as an arrangement designed to regulate societal co-existence (Hofmeister, 1997: 12). It therefore guides relationships between the rulers and the ruled. It determines how rulers come to power and how they can be tasked if they breach the mutual performance agreement. Indeed, democracy is about people's livelihoods. It entails, among others, competition, freedom, consensus and choice. Multipartism, for instance, paves the way for competition among political parties and candidates and offers people a choice among the competing parties in a free and fair election. Presumably, people ultimately choose a party that closely identifies with their interests. Therefore, 'regular, free and secret elections are irrevocable pre-conditions of democracy' (Hofmeister, 1997: 13). To its core, democracy is better understood along the principles of rule of law, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness and responsibility.

It is important to note that local government is gaining prominence as a form that brings democracy closest to the people as citizens. Through local democracy people can actively participate in all affairs affecting their lives. Locally elected representative bodies are

supposed to work very closely with people to identify their problems and work out appropriate plans of actions to tackle them. In sum, the assessments will inquiry on the following aspects: What are the elements of local democracy that are presently excellent, satisfactory or failing? How effective have previous reform efforts been and what lessons could be learned from the past? Have the mechanism and programmes established adequately addressed the gender gap and taken commensurate measures to address them? And, what actions can be undertaken by local authorities and other stakeholders to develop and sustain local democratic and gender friendly governance?

2.1.1   REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

This section assesses the institutional infrastructure of representative democracy at the grassroots level. It examines political party and other representative institutions, their functioning and effectiveness from a gender perspective. Furthermore, it assesses the number of political parties and their functional structure at local level, their representativeness, as well as the extent to which the electoral process is free and fair.

To start with, representative democracy is the most popular vehicle of citizen involvement in many countries today given the size and complexities of constituencies. In an ideal Greek City State citizens met face to face to take stock of how the state was run and decide how resources were authoritatively allocated. In actual fact, an assembly of all citizens in a large entity such as the modern state is impractical, can be counterproductive and generally undesirable. In looking at the effectiveness of representative democracy it is important to focus on the institutional infrastructure, including examination of political party and other representative institutions, their functioning and effectiveness. The number of political parties and legal frameworks also greatly impact representative democracy. Since in representative democracy citizens' voices are heard in the process of policy formulation and implementation by proxy through representatives, it is important to underlie five principles of representative democracy, according to Mushi (2004):

(i) Popular sovereignty (that the ultimate power lies with the people)

(ii) Deputation (popular power exercised by a selected few on behalf of the many)

(iii) Governance (decisions made and actions carried out by deputies have a bidding effect on the community)

(iv)Accountability (that as ultimate masters, the people remain the final judges of performance of the government and their deputies)

(v) Popular consent (deputies are mandated by the people through periodic elections)

According to Chaligha (2002: 1), representative democracy should lead to 'promotion of liberty and improvement in the quality of life for all citizens'. Representatives have to comprehend citizen's needs, articulate them and ensure that the national resources are distributed such that their constituents benefit. It can be adduced that the quality of representation may, therefore, differ. Mushi (2004:10) elaborates on some of the potential facilitating and constraining factors of representation. Some of them are structural, cultural and economic factors. Political structure variables include party system (multiparty vs. single party), political system (parliamentary vs. presidential and unitary vs. federal system). Against that backdrop, respondents were in the first place asked whether they were aware of laws, rules, and regulations that promote equal gender participation.

Table 3: Awareness of laws, rules and regulations promoting equal gender participation

S/No.	Response	Male (%)	Female (%)
1	Present and highly followed	45.9	43.3
2	Present and moderately followed	22.9	23.1
3	Present but not followed	7.2	6.6
4	Laws rules and regulations not good	1.7	1.9
5	Absent	11.3	10.3
6	Don't Know	11	14.7
7	Others	0	0.2
	Total	100	100

Source: Field Survey 2013

It can be deduced from Table 3 that over 66 percent of respondents indicated that laws, rules and regulations promoting equal participation in politics were available and followed.

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Only 10 percent of respondents pointed out that there were no laws, rules and regulations for promotion of gender equality. Indeed, in Tanzania, it is very difficult to explain marginalization and discrimination basing on the legal frameworks as laws, rules and regulations do not openly discriminate against any group. Data from all FGDs indicate that the laws in Tanzania are gender neutral. No one is discriminated based on the face of law. Members of the FGDs in Kilolo held that:

> *In Kilolo Municipal Council as in many other Districts there are Laws, Legislations and Guidelines that allow equal gender participation and representation in decision making organs of the local Government Council like the Local Government Act and Local Government Election Act.*

However, we noted from the literature on democracy that outcomes of the quality and diversity of representation depend on whether it is vested on single-member constituency, first-past-the-post/winner-takes-all or proportional representation. First-past-the-post encourages closer representative-constituency relations, while proportional representation encourages representative's loyalty to political party rather than to a population in a unit area. Despite this, competition in first-past-the-post is more of an intense nature, revolving around individuals rather than party policy and therefore is more likely to discourage female aspirants. Generally countries, including South Africa, using proportional representation tend to do better in terms of women representation than those that use first-past-the-post, such as Tanzania.

Power distribution among the three branches of government also affects the quality of representation. If power is more skewed towards the executive/presidency, as in the case of Tanzania, it may affect the quality of representation. Despite this seeming limitation, where there is a fair mix of opposition and ruling party representatives, the quality of representation and the robustness of the legislature's oversight have seen to be increased. In the 2010-2015 legislature, for instance, although opposition MPs makes up less than 40 percent (TEMCO, 2011), they have enliven the discussion, standing firm on some matters of national interest and sometimes forcing the government to change its position. Needless to say, the level of citizens' confidence in the legislature increased and there were a lot of

interest to follow the live debates in the House. The same observation can be made with regard to local councils. Where a council is composed of sufficient number of opposition councillors, it can be expected that the government will be kept on its toes. In Tanzania, it is possible to compare the performance of councils run by the opposition with those that are majority dominated by the ruling party. It should be noted, however, there are only a handful of opposition led councils in Tanzania.

Table 4: Effectiveness of diversification of councillor's political party membership

S/No.	Responses	M	F
1	Diversification has greatly helped to improve the debate	39.5%	29.9%
2	Diversification has improved the debates slightly	18.9%	19.7%
3	Diversification has only resulted in endless and unproductive debates	18.5%	21.8%
4	Don't Know	19.9%	27.2%
5	Others	3.1%	1.4%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

In Table 4 we see the perception of respondents being that diversification of membership of councillors has helped in improving the debates. Only 20 percent of the respondents had the opinion that diversification has resulted to endless debates. Perhaps they still prefer debates and proceedings to continue as they were during the single party era.

Moreover, respondents were asked whether or not political parties provide equal opportunities between men and women when it comes to contest leadership at different levels. Although the majority respondents (62.5%) said that political parties provide equal opportunity for both females and males to contest at different levels of leadership during elections, a significant number of respondents 24.9% still maintained that parties are discriminatory along gender lines. Normally political parties serve the interests of men. It was the opinion of 4.2% of respondents that such parties do not at all offer equal opportunity. The responses by gender do not provide any significant variation (See table 5).

Table 5: Do political parties offer equal opportunities between men and women?

	M	F	Total
They offer equal opportunity	65.2%	60.0%	62.5%
There are favours and discrimination	24.5%	25.3%	24.9%
They do not offer equal opportunity	4.5%	4.0%	4.2%
Don't Know	5.9%	10.7%	8.3%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Source: Field Survey 2013

It is important to note that almost all political parties have women party-wings. These are specific women organisations within political parties. They have their own leadership. However, during elections such recognition by parties is not allowed particularly in terms of their contribution and numerical number as members of political parties. Paradoxically, political parties use women in mobilising membership, in fundraising, and during campaigns to profile male candidates. This is however not reciprocated in terms of supporting women to winning stages in electoral processes. Political parties are not required by law to practice internal democracy or to institute affirmative action to support the historically excluded groups such as women in decision making organs. Meena (no date) puts clearly that:

> In Tanzania, most of existing political parties are male dominated in decision making positions. Information from a list of leaders submitted by political parties to the Registrar of political parties as of 2007 reveal that all major political parties are male dominated. Of the top ten leaders of the Chama Cha Mapindizi (CCM) which is the current ruling party for instance, all were male (interestingly, the list did not include the chairperson of the CCM women's wing). Of the 13 names submitted by the Civic United Front (CUF) they were all male. Similarly, of the 7 names submitted by CHADEMA, there were no females. Out of the 7 names submitted by NCCR-Mageuzi, there was only one female holding the position of the party treasurer. The National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA) had allocated positions of Director of Finance and Deputy Secretary General mainland to women, while Tanzania Labour Party allocated a position of Deputy Planning Secretary to a female. Chama Cha Demokrasia Makini had its Deputy Vice Chairperson a female, but the rest of leaders were all male. All in all, most of the parties did not have female leaders, except those who were leading the 'women's wings'. Male dominated political parties will only support some quotas or affirmative actions which favour their

position, rather than those which will substantially transform party politics and finally have a larger impact on the political play field.

The above paragraph explains partly why the number of men who show up for nomination through political parties has remained significant to assure them chances of being nominated as opposed to women. For example during the 2010 general elections, the number of male nominated candidates was 7,375 for the position of councillorship against 559 of women. This suggests that leadership within political parties would support the perpetuation of a patriarchal culture.

Notwithstanding, responds were also asked to indicate their preference over candidates by gender. The purpose was to investigate the level of electability of women. It was found that women are more likely to vote for their fellow women than men during elections. Table 6 indicates that 76% of women who responded to the question as to whom they would elect into office between a male and a female candidate if the two contest one position said that they would vote for a female candidate. This finding is quite contrary to the conversional wisdom which is popular in Tanzania that "*adui wa mwanamke ni mwanamke mwenyewe*" literally translated as "a woman's enemy is her fellow woman". Similarly, the likelihood of a man to vote a woman seems to be slightly higher (48%) than a possibility for voting their fellow men (44.1%). One wonders then, if women constitute the majority population as well as voters, how is it that they are seriously invisible in leadership positions? Electoral data show that female candidates who contest via strong political parties have a higher chance of being elected. In the case of the ruling party it was observed that the majority of its female candidates do win elections.

Table 6: Voting between a man or a woman if they contest one post during elections

Responses	M	F	Total
Vote male candidate	44.1%	18.8%	31.0%
Vote female candidate	48.1%	76.4%	62.8%
DK/RA	7.8%	4.8%	6.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2013

Data from FGDs indicate two limitations including (a) patriarchal culture whereby in some societies such as Hai and Lindi women occupy an inferior status. This in itself affects their level of confidence. It was voiced that culture is a hindrance towards participation and representation. Women do not participate equally in decision making mainly because of patriarchal arrangements that makes women develop inferiority complex common among many women. In several instances, during electoral campaigns, insults and demeaning language is used. Survey data indicate that 5.4% of respondents who replied to the question as to whether abusive language during election is a problem or otherwise said that it is frequently used. When this number of respondents is gender disaggregated it shows that males constituted 4.8% while females were 6.0%. Moreover, 22.9% of respondents said that it is rarely used. Of these, males were 25.9% and females 20.0%. However, 65.3% of respondents opined that it is not used at all. Of these, males were 63.3% while females were 67.3%. Table 7 is illustrative to the problem of abusive language:-

Table 7: Use of Abusive Language during Elections

Responses	M	F	Total
Frequently used	4.8%	6.0%	5.4%
Rarely used	25.9%	20.0%	22.9%
Not used at all	63.3%	67.3%	65.3%
Don't Know	6.1%	6.7%	6.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2013

 Thus, abusive language is used despite the fact that the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 in articles 9(g), 12, and 21 prohibits discrimination based on gender, colour, tribe, and religion. Discrimination of this nature constitutes a serious offence which can lead to nullification of results. For instance, one of the participants was quoted saying in last elections, a male candidate was insulted, *'sura kama ya mwanamke'* (b) there is also a problem of corruption. The FGDs indicate that corruption is one of the critical hindrances for women to be elected. To be sure, FGDs in Hai correctly hold:

> *There is also no fair play ground for women and men because of corruption.*
> *Corruption in elections favours males over women as the males are the ones*

in command of the resources like land, money and others. Moreover, women are more vulnerable especially when sexual corruption is involved.

In one in-depth interview with a woman contestant as a councilor at Kisarawe but who lost such election, she said, even male contestants are affected because they use a lot of money which could have been used somewhere productively. Now it is used to bribe people to vote for him, some do take credit from financial institutions. When they get the position, they are always frustrating the council because they look for money to pay back. Women are affected in sense that even if they have ability to lead they cannot be leaders because they have nothing to offer the voters during campaigning than promises. She gave her own experience:-

> *When I was contesting, the district chairperson was given T.sh 1,000,000 to make sure that they ruin my campaign and make me lose, so I had to work hard to convince the people. It is said that if a woman is nominated to stand for council, the party will lose because the competition is high (In depth Interview 18.10.2013).*

The problem of funding elections and corruption are very critical in Tanzania. Normally, candidates with low income are seriously affected. Since women occupy the majority of this group in society it follows logically that they are the ones who are seriously affected. The study observed that 41% of respondents were of the view that corruption limits people with low income to participate as candidates during elections. Moreover, 12% of respondents said that corruption constraint women to aspire for leadership positions. The responses by gender do not show significant variation. For example 15% of female respondents opined that corruption was a problem to women to aspire for leadership posts during elections while women who gave answers to the same were 10%. It is interesting to note that low income candidates are seriously affected as shown in table 8.

Table 8: Corruption/Money and Politics during the 2009 civic elections

Responses	M	F
Limited female candidates to aspire for leadership	10.6%	15.2%

Limited low income/poor candidates to aspire for leadership	48.6%	39.7%
It did not affect candidates	8.2%	9.3%
No corruption at all	21.6%	21.5%
Others	8.9%	7.9%
Don't Know	8.2%	10.9%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Source: Field Survey 2013

It has to be emphasised that women aspirants have less access to resources due to their low economic status discussed in the previous sections of this report, as well as lack of economically powerful networks to support them accessing campaign resources. Due to existing gender division of labour, women aspirants to elected office have had to incur additional costs which are hidden, such as arrangements for alternative child care services, housekeeping chores, and other related responsibilities which demand their physical time and money (Meena 2003, Makulilo 2009).

In Tanzania corruption is pervasive. The Transparency International corruption perception index (CPI) which ranges from 10 point (highly clean) to 0 (highly corrupt) indicates that from 1998 to 2011, Tanzania's score has never exceeded 3. This qualifies Tanzania to belong to the most corrupt countries in the world. Similarly, between 2005 and July 2012, the Prevention and Combating Corruption Bureau (PCCB) of Tanzania acknowledged to have received 43,236 allegations related to corruption. Within the same period, it recovered 36,755,124,440 Tanzania Shillings (note that 1$ is equivalent to 1,600 Tanzania Shillings). This background shows an alarming increase in corruption activities. The Presidential Commission Against Corruption of 1996, commonly known as the 'Warioba Commission' noted that "The growth in corruption in the 1990s was accentuated by the close relationship between government and political leaders on the one hand and businessmen who engage in corruption on the other. This relationship was used to benefit the business interests of these businessmen and ultimately became a fertile ground for breeding corruption." The political leadership, especially from the ruling party seems to be the leading sector in accentuating corruption. Illegally, CCM has enjoyed "voluntary" contributions from individuals and other

private sources. The business men and women normally contribute to the ruling party for the fear of negative reprisal by CCM government. And in some instances a deal is reached between those business people on how they can assist the party while at the same time retain the power to win government tenders or avoid taxes. During the first multiparty election in 1995, a number of corruption acts were reported in CCM nomination process. The use of money to influence nomination was acknowledged by the party and the NEC of CCM but very few steps were taken to address this problem (TEMCO 1997:73). The 2000 elections saw the height and legalization of corruption in politics. Prior to the election, for example, the parliament which was dominated by CCM Members of parliament (MPs) for about 80% passed a law popularly known as *"Takrima Law"*. The law was meant to enhance what they called traditional African hospitality during electoral campaigns. This law was later on contested in the Court of law for fertilizing corruption, and it was repealed after the 2005 general elections. However, corruption did not end. Normally CCM distributes Khanga, sugar, salt, T-Shirts and caps. In some cases the party provides its supporters with food and drinks (Kamata 2006, Raphael 2011).

The results of the survey that was conducted by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Dar es Salaam to understand corruption in the previous civic elections particularly those of 2004 and 2009 are instructive (see Table 9). According to the survey, CCM involved itself in corrupting the "*Wananchi*" by 49.5% in order to solicit votes. Table 8 below summarizes the opinion of a sample of respondents from seven regions in Tanzania on the level of involvement in corruption by political parties. As can be seen from the table, CCM is invariably the most corrupt of the political parties among those who gave a response. Though the responses indicate other parties score low on the corruption index, this does not imply they would be any better if they were in the position of CCM. This is because the party deploys state instruments and resources to achieve its goals. It must be noted that the findings outlined in this report are in significant congruence with a response provided by Pinkney (1997:200-201) to the question "why do Tanzanians vote CCM against opposition parties?" He observes that CCM engages in a systematic vote buying exercise which targets the opposition to the extent of 38%, CCM members themselves at the level of 14%, and non-party members at 35%.

Table 9: Opinion of Respondents on level of Corruption by Political Parties (by region in Tanzania) in %

Region	CCM	CUF	CHADEMA	NCCR	TLP	Don't Know	No Response
Manyara	57.1	11.4	5.7	0.0	0.0	8.6	17.1
Arusha	48.6	0.0	13.5	0.0	0.0	10.8	27.0
Dar es Salaam	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tanga	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Kilimanjaro	31.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	20.7	41.1
Morogoro	50.0	3.8	11.5	0.0	0.0	11.5	23.1
Dodoma	48.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	4.0	4.0	36.0
Mean	49.5	2.7	7.0	0.5	0.5	9.1	30.6

Source: University of Dar es Salaam, Institute of Development Studies .2010.

Local government reforms were embarked in 1996 as a further indication of the commitment to local participation and democratization. Participatory and representative democracy was at the heart of local government reforms. The main principles of the reforms included (i) letting people participate in government at the local level and elect their councils; (ii) bringing public services under the control of the people through their local councils; (iii) giving local councils political powers over all local affairs (iv) improving financial and political accountability; (v) securing finances for better public services; (vi) creating local government answerable to the local councils; (vii) de-linking local administrative leaders from their former ministries; and, (viii) creating new central-local relations based not on orders but on legislation and negotiations (Baker and Wallenik, 2002: 10-11). Once completed, local government reforms are anticipated to bolster representation of women and other marginalized sections of the society and also emphasize the role of civil society organizations. According to Liviga (2009: 13) the process of decentralization enhances the opportunities for participation by placing more power and resources at a closer, more familiar, more easily influenced level of government. Nevertheless, local government reforms are said to have overambitious time schedules and inadequate sequencing (Baker and Wallenik, 2002). Even after the lapse of the five years set

up for the completion of the reform process, progress has by far lagged behind the expectations. As shown in Table 10, over half of the respondents view the local government reforms as having brought the intended results. However, about 30% of respondents (both males and females) think that reforms have not brought the intended results at all. This number is significant to challenge the entire foundation of local government reforms based on devolution.

Table 10: Whether local government reforms have brought intended results

S/No.	Responses	M	F
1	Yes, they have brought big changes	13.0%	17.2%
2	Yes, they have brought moderate changes	38.6%	32.8%
3	No, they have brought no changes	34.2%	28.4%
4	They have worsened the situation	2.7%	3.0%
5	Don't Know	10.9%	17.9%
6	Others	0.6%	0.6%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

2.1.1.1 Electoral System Design and Performance

Literature generally agrees that the electoral system in place has a direct bearing on electoral performance. Some electoral systems designs, such as first past the post, are candidate centred, single member constituency. Some, such as proportional representation, are party focused. The most important consideration of choice of a preferred design is 'to which electoral system can guarantee effective representation in a country like Tanzania which majority still leave in rural areas' (REDET, 2001: 25). FPTP and PR List are two most commonly used electoral systems designs in the world. The decision on which design to use cannot be a straight forward one. Each of the designs is likely to lead to some dilemmas.

In Proportional Representation design seats are allocated to political parties in proportion to the proportion of votes they obtained in an election. This system favours small political parties because it ensures their representation in the parliament. Also in this design, vote

wastage is minimal. If we take a hypothetical case of a typical single-member-constituency where candidate A scores 50.1% of votes and candidate B scores 49.9%. Candidate A will win and candidate B will lose, raising considerations of fairness and legitimacy where the margin is very small. PR system is also praised to be able to more realistically mirror the larger society. 'PR system recognizes encourages and perpetuates existing social divisions by entrenching them in the national legislature through the electoral system' (REDET, 2001: 27). Constituencies in a PR system are multi-member to ensure that each party obtains a fair share of seats in accordance with the proportion of votes it garnered. PR system is also said to facilitate arrangements of power sharing or consociation democracy. PR system has some weaknesses. This design does emphasize on the party. By so doing it alienates voters from their representative. It can work effectively where party policies exist and are easily differentiated from each other.

On the other hand, the first-past-the-post (FPTP) is the simplest and the most common electoral system design. In this system, the candidate who secures a simple majority in a single constituency electoral system becomes the Member of Parliament (REDET, 2001). This system is easy to operationalize, especially to relatively illiterate populations. It links the representative clearly and directly to his constituency. The weaknesses of this design are that first it tends to encourage majority party arrogance. Second it discourages smaller parties. It can also lead to perceptions of vote loss and legitimacy where the margin between the winner and the loser is very slim. In Tanzania, although the FPTP is used to elect majority of Members of Parliament, PR is used to obtain women special seats. For this reason, some people have referred to it as a 'mixed representation system'.

Tanzania's political system is best described as one dominant party (Whitehead 2009; Ruotsalainen 2009; Raphael, C. 2011; Moehler 2005; Mgasa 2011; Sansa 2004; Liviga 2009; Makulilo 2008; Kaya 2004; Ahluwalia & Zegeye 2001; Mtimkulu 2006). The ruling party CCM is indeed a dominant party. This state of affairs is however not natural. The party has enjoyed the history of this country which partly accounts to its dominance. The literature on the dominant party suggests that the ruling party initially fought for independence and subsequently managed to unite Tanzanians. Moreover, the three decades

of one party rule (from 1965 to 1990s) consolidated further the strength of CCM. It has to be noted that under the single party rule the political space was suffocated to the extent that it did not allow the existence of opposition parties as well as autonomous organizations. The workers, youth, parents, the military, and all agents of the state were under the party. This situation reached a climax in 1975 when the party became the supreme organ in the United Republic hence "party supremacy" (Msekwa 1977; Shivji 2006; Makulilo 2008).

This political dominance was furthered by the command economy whereby the state owned all major means of life. During the single party era it was difficult to get services or employment if one was not a member of the ruling party. Thus, the line between the party and the state was not possible to be drawn (Mwakyembe 1985). In describing this situation, Hyden and Mmuya have gone far to say that the state in Tanzania is in the pocket of the ruling party (Hyden and Mmuya 2008).

As can be noted from that background, the transition from the one party to multiparty system was indeed controlled by the ruling party to its advantages. Hyden describes this as "a top down democratization" (Hyden 1999). Under this state, opposition parties have to remain relatively weak (Bratton & van Walle 1997). This is despite the fact that there are other factors internal to opposition parties that undermine their performance (Raphael 2011).

A casual observation of electoral results since the inception of multipartism indicates that the ruling party has always won the popular votes above 60%. In 2005 it votes went up to 80%. In terms of seats in the Parliament, the party has won above 75%. Taking this situation, it seems that the opposition is numerically weak.

Yet on the other hand this country has been praised for maintaining peace and unity. Despite over 120 tribes, Tanzanians have downplayed the tribal identity unlike Kenya. However, religious cleavages are deep to the extent of threatening peace. In recent times religious tension and conflicts are central to Tanzania. Some people have lost their lives and others seriously been wounded. Economically, Tanzania falls under the poor nations. Just

like its counterparts in Africa, the country is heavily suffering from the debt crisis and at times high inflation.

After considering the models of electoral systems particularly their advantages and disadvantages as well as the social-economic and political conditions in Tanzania, and the opinions of different stakeholders, we have observed that the Presidential election in the Republican system seems not to be contested. What is contested is the lack of the majoritarian condition. Changes do occur in politics even is situations where a certain stability had emerged over the years. Britain for many years had been considered a two party system, yet in the last election a coalition government had to be established. Constitutional changes on the electoral system need to consider long term legitimacy and stability of the political system. Notably to place safeguards against possibilities of sectarian governments and those based on sub-national identities. The Presidential election need to be a majority system, the possibility of increasing costs notwithstanding here. Hence, for the presidential post, we recommend that the president to be elected based on the absolute majority votes (i.e. more than 50% of the total valid votes). This will assure the nation a president who has the support of the majority people beyond sectarian considerations.

As for the parliamentary elections, we find that under the dominant party system, the plurality system excludes severely other political parties in the National Assembly. Winner takes all system does not consider the votes obtained by the losing party irrespective of a small margin. For example in Zanzibar, the CUF had been excluded from participating in the government affairs notwithstanding its popular votes of about 49% in 1995, 2000 and 2005. This situation undermined the legitimacy and stability of the winning party which formed the government. So, the plurality system has a problem of wasting votes. It was in 2010 that in Zanzibar this problem was minimised by allowing the second winner at the set threshold to get included in the government.

Our recommendation therefore is to introduce a mixed system comprising of the PR system and the Plurality system. We propose that the ration of seats under this arrangement be that 50% seats to be obtained from the PR and the remaining 50% from the plurality. This

means that the SMC need to be reduced to give way to those to be elected through PR. The size of constituencies needs to take population as the major criteria and a limit in the differences in population between constituencies need to be set.

Women seat are important. The question is how the members are going to be accountable to women and not party leaders. Therefore criteria need to be set so that political parties can ensure an inclusive system of determining the PR lists.

Finally, a system of avoiding costly by-elections for constituency MPs and Councillors need to be put in place. A party of a dead MP could nominate a new candidate and subsequently would be appointed by the EMB. However, if an MP reigns then that MP makes his/her party lose the seat. The party which came second could nominate a candidate to be appointed by the EMB.

2.1.1.2   Party System

For the Tanzania's 52 years of independence up to 2013, 30 years were under the single party monolithic politics. Tanzania only reverted to multiparty plural politics in 1992 and multiparty general elections were held in 1995. A study conducted by REDET in the last part of the 1990s and published in 2001 concluded that Tanzania's political culture was highly associated with institutions and processes of the single party regime. Contrary to other countries in Africa, in Tanzania, the single party was also a populist party led by an equally charismatic leader, Julius Nyerere. The party largely identified itself with the mass of Tanzanians and called itself a party of peasants and workers. It was known as Chama cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution) and therefore resonating very well with the revolution in Zanzibar. It should, however, be adduced that the political culture of Zanzibar is slightly different from that of the Mainland Tanzania. The party and the government were fused to the extent that it was referred to as the 'state-party'. In Mainland Tanzania elections continued to be held every after five years and within that limited window people still practiced a modicum of democracy. Party membership was *de jure* mandatory and was tied to employment, scholarship, and generally socio-political prosperity and wellbeing. People were made to believe that multipartyism was equivalent to power mongering. Even earlier

on during the days of struggle for colonialism opposition was weak, different say from across the region in Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda.

In Mainland Tanzania political party performance in elections has been generally dismal. Studies indicate various sources of this weakness including the political culture, debilitating legal and institutional framework; electoral system design in use; and intra-party conflicts. Whitehead (2000) points, among others, the organizational strength of political parties. In Tanzania many political parties are blamed to be urban based without discernible strategies for penetrating the rural areas.

Table 11: Satisfaction with performance of political parties

S/No.	Responses	Opposition parties		Ruling party	
		M	F	M	F
1	Highly satisfied	30.0%	21.8%	39.7%	42.5%
2	Somewhat satisfied	34.8%	34.2%	36.6%	38.5%
3	Not satisfied	31.4%	35.2%	22.6	17.3%
4	Don't Know	3.8%	8.7%	1.0%	1.3%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

We asked respondents to tell us whether they were highly satisfied, somewhat satisfied or not satisfied with the performance of political parties in their localities. Table 15 shows that respondents were more highly satisfied with the ruling party (39.7% of male and 42.5% of female) compared to opposition political parties (30% of males and 21.8% of females). This shows that the ruling party is still strong in rural areas in Tanzania. This can also be seen in the proportion of respondents who indicated that they were dissatisfied with political party performance. While 20 percent said they were not satisfied with the ruling party, 33 percent were not satisfied with the opposition parties.

When we probed more to find out why they were not satisfied, 14 percent of respondents indicated that opposition leaders were not trustworthy, followed by 10 percent who said they propagate violence. Similarly on the ruling party, 17 percent of respondents indicated

their dissatisfaction with the ruling party because their leaders were not trustworthy, while 10 percent indicated that it has failed to combat corruption. An overall conclusion from the assessment of both the ruling and opposition parties points out to a critical leadership challenge in Tanzania. People are increasingly losing confidence in their leaders whether they are in opposition or ruling party.

As Table 12 indicates, CCM's influence over the grassroots politics is high. In the 1999 local government elections, CCM garnered almost 95% of all the seats. In 2004 the proportion increased to 97%. CUF came a distant and insignificant second with 1.7% in 1999, with the proportion declining to 1.5% in 2004.

Table 12: Grassroots election results, 1999, 2004, and 2009

S/No.	Political Party	Seats 1999	Seats 2004	Seats 2009
1	CCM	94.6%	97.2%	91.7%
2	CUF	1.7%	1.5%	3.9%
3	TLP	1.1%	0.3%	0.7%
4	UDP	0.9%	0.2%	0.4%
5	NCCR-MAGEUZI	0.8%	0.3%	0.3%
6	CHADEMA	0.9%	0.4%	2.8%
7	UMD	0%	0%	0%
8	TADEA	0%	0%	0%
9	PONA	0%	0%	0%
10	NLD	0%	0%	0%
11	NRA	0%	0%	0%
12	UPDP	0%	0%	0%
13	CHAUSTA	0%	0.1%	0.1%
14	DP	0%	0%	0%
15	DM	0%	0%	0%
16	PPT	0%	0%	0%
	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Source: Chaligha (2008) & Prime Minister's Office - Regional Administration and Local Government 2009.

Initially opposition political parties did not take the 'obscured' local government elections very seriously, instead concentrating efforts at the more 'auspicious' general elections. But it is becoming clear to political parties that competition at the grassroots level is as important as competition at the national level and that actually the two electoral processes are

interdependent. It pays political dividends to invest in the rural grassroots. This implies that the vibrancy of multiparty political system at the local level has not been felt. There is the dominance of one political party thereby affecting plural politics at the grassroots. Opposition parties are mostly urban based. Survey data indicate that 62.5% of respondents identified themselves as followers of CCM. Of these, 62.7% were male and 62.4% were female respondents. Again 7.7% identified as followers of CHADEMA of which male respondents were 9.6% and females were 5.9%. Similarly, 6.9% of respondents said that they were CUF's followers. Of these 8.2% respondents were males and 5.6% were females. Other political parties had membership of less than 1%. However, 20.2% of respondents opined that they were not followers of any political party. Of this figure, males were 16.4% and females were 23.8%. Table 13 is illustrative to this dominance.

Table 13: Political party membership and support

S/No.	Responses	M	F	Total
1	ADC	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
2	CCM	62.7%	62.4%	62%
3	CHADEMA	9.6%	5.9%	7.6%
4	CHAUSTA	0.0%	0.3%	0.2%
5	CUF	8.2%	5.6%	6.8%
6	FORD	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
7	NCCR-MAGEUZI	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
8	SAU	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
9	UDP	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
10	Others	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
11	Not a member	16.4%	23.8%	20%
12	Don't Know	0.7%	1.7%	2%
	Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

2.1.1.3   Election Administration

Local government election management in Tanzania is a prerogative of the Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government. According to Chaligha (2002), local

government elections in Tanzania are conducted in two levels, each with its own management authority. The Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government is responsible for the hamlet, village and neighbourhood level elections. Ward level elections are supervised by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) (Chaligha, 2002; TEMCO, 2011).

The minister makes rules and regulations to guide the local government elections. In the 2004 local government elections the minister for Regional Administration and Local Government made five such regulations which were consolidated in a form of a manual and made available to Executive Council Directors (DED). DEDs are the designated Returning Officers (Chaligha, 2008) for neighbourhood elections, while the Ward Executive Officers (WEOS) and Village Executive Officers (VEOs) are designated Assistant Returning Officers (AROs) (Chaligha, 2002).

There is a raging debate about the ward level elections being supervised by NEC and not PORALG since in practice councillors constitute the district council which falls in the jurisdiction of local government. Administratively, there are also some overlaps and frictions with regards to functions of NEC and PORALG. For instance, TEMCO (2011: 86) notes that under the Local Government District Authorities Act No. 7 of 1982 and Local Government Urban Authorities Act No. 8 of 1982, the Minister responsible for Regional Administration and Local Government is entrusted with the responsibility of demarcating ward boundaries. While this is the case, the minister is not obliged to inform NEC, which, nevertheless, has the mandate to oversee election at that level, including planning. This actually happened in the 1994 local government elections and it lead to considerable frustrations to NEC. To iron out this inconsistence, ward level elections can be brought under the jurisdiction of local government election management bodies. This will have an added advantage of boosting the status of the local government elections.

Table 14: Views on autonomy of the local government election management bodies

S/No.	Responses	M	F	Total
1.	Complete autonomous and cannot be interfered	51.9%	54.3%	53.1%
2.	Only moderately autonomous	27.1%	23.3%	25.2%
3.	Not autonomous	11.0%	7.7%	9.3%
4.	DK/RA	8.9%	14.0%	11.5%
5.	Others	1.0%	0.6%	0.9%
	Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

As shown in Table 14, over half of the respondents (53%) indicated that local government election management bodies were autonomous and could not be interfered with. Only 9 percent thought that election management bodies were not autonomous. Local government elections in Tanzania are institutionalized, as the 1977 Tanzanian constitution clearly provides for democracy at the grassroots level. Article 146(1) promulgates that "Local government exist for the purpose of consolidating and giving more power to the people". The evolution of local authorities dates back in 1984, following several laws that were passed in 1982 and 1983, including:

(i) The Local Government (District Authorities) Act 1982 (Act No. 7 of 1982)

(ii) The Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act 1982 (Act No. 8 of 1982)

(iii) The Local Government Finance Act, 1982 (Act No. 9 of 1982)

(iv) The Urban Authorities Rating Act, 1983 (Act No. 2 of 1983).

The constitution together with these enabling legislations indicate a desire of the government to decentralize power in Tanzania. According to Chaligha (2002: 9), 'local authorities are established as corporate bodies that can sue and be sued. They also have powers to perform administrative and regulatory functions'. It should be noted that when these legislations were passed, Tanzania was still under the single party rule and the democracy envisaged was to reflect the monolithic nature of the competition. However, the same legal framework is used to regulate the local elections at the grassroots level even after the adoption of multiparty politics with little modification. It should be noted, however, that there is a debate on whether, and to what extent, the local authorities are autonomous

of the central government. Answers to salient questions raised by both protagonists and antagonists in this debate provide a very important yardstick in assessing the quality of democracy at the grassroots. Those who view the local government as a mere extension of the central government cite the appointment and finance powers of the former over the latter (Chaligha, 2002). REPOA (2008) discussed the fiscal autonomy of councils, pointing out that councils' own contribution to budget is 10-20% of the budget while the remainder is inter government transfers. Definitely, councils need to do much more to become truly autonomous entities of local democracy and participation.

It is interesting to note that under local government laws citizens have powers to recall their village chairpersons and elect new ones if they are not satisfied with their performance. According to Section 59 (2) of the Local Government (District Authorities) Act No. 7 of 1982 'the village council may by resolution supported by two thirds of the members, remove the village chairman from office'. A similar process is followed in the recall of a neighbourhood (street/mtaa) chairman. Section 14(4) of the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act No. 8 of 1982 states that 'a neighbourhood chairman may be removed from office by the decision of a simple majority of votes in a meeting of all the adult members of the neighbourhood. The laws require that meetings of streets or villages be held at least once every two months (Chaligha, 2008).

Table 15: Mechanisms for holding responsible a local government representative

S/No.	Responses	Frequency	Percentage
1	Other means of pressurizing to resign	268	45.4
2	Petition by voters	120	19.7
3	Political party withdrawing membership	57	9.4
4	Don't Know	155	25.5
	Total	**600**	**100**

Source: Field Survey 2013

Table 15 shows whether respondents had an idea of mechanisms they can use to hold accountable their representative. Close to a half (45%) mentioned other means of

pressurizing a representative to resign. Some of the pressure mechanisms mentioned included peaceful demonstrations, withdrawal of cooperation, booing and requesting a resignation in a formal meeting. Although it is a mechanism that has been used several times, only 9 percent of respondents knew that political parties can withdraw membership to a representative, thus automatically deny them the pre-condition for representation.

As hinted earlier, local government elections in Tanzania, are held separately from the general elections and under different election management bodies. Local government elections are supervised by the Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government. Chaligha (2002: 12-16) has elaborated the regulations and administrative process of the local government elections in Tanzania that is worthy extensive noting here. Local Authority legislation has created two types of local authorities, namely rural authorities known as District Councils, and urban authorities. For administrative and electoral purposes rural authorities are subdivided into wards, hamlets and villages. Similarly, urban authorities (Town, Municipal and City Councils) are subdivided into wards and streets, or neighbourhood level constituencies. The Local Government (Elections) Act 1979 and Local Government (District Councils) Act, 1982 guide the conduct of village and hamlet elections. The Local Government (Elections) Act 1979 and the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act 1982 as amended by the Local Government Laws (Amendment) Act 1992 and Act 1993 guide neighbourhood (street) elections in urban areas. The Local Government (District Authorities) Act No. 7 of 1982 provides for the hamlet as the lowest local government unit in rural areas. Similarly, according to the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act No. 8 of 1992, Section 5, the lowest local government unit in urban areas is the neighbourhood (street). A hamlet is a part or division of a village. Within each village there are several hamlets but the minimum number of household in a village is 250, assumed to have 1,250 residents and a maximum of 9,000.

A representative organ at the local level is a village council, composed of not less than 15, and not more than 25, elected members, including the Village Chairperson and all hamlet chairpersons under the jurisdiction of the village. The village council includes women's special seats, which by legislation have to be not less than a quarter of all elected village

assembly seats. It is important to note that the position of women special seats while very instrumental in levelling the representation gap, has remained controversial. Meena (2003) argue that presence of women in legislative assemblies has led to an increase in the awareness on matters pertaining to women and other marginalized groups in the society. She makes particular reference to the passing of bills to address specific concerns about women, namely maternity leave, sex offences and waive of a two year delay before joining the university. However, Meena (2003: 3) cautions that increasing the quota alone may not go very far in ensuring effective women representation, posing intriguing questions: who are these women representing?; who decides the type of candidates entering parliament via this method?; what strategies are in place to phase out the quota or preferential treatment?; is the quota system an effective way of promoting women's access to positions of power and influence? If answers to these questions are overwhelmingly in the negative, then the utility of the quota system is flawed and questionable.

The legal framework for electoral conflict resolution is contentious. Chaligha (2008), for instance, observes that local government are managed by the Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government. By extension, the overall manager of elections is the minister in charge of the Regional Administration and Local Government portfolio in the Prime Minister's Office. In Tanzania, according to the Constitution, only Members of Parliament are elected Ministers. In this scenario, the minister is a stalwart ruling party (CCM) cadre. This creates an atmosphere of mistrust from stakeholders of other political parties. Section 4(5) of the regulations in the manual, for instance, states that those who are unhappy with the decisions related to nominations are supposed to send their complaints to the minister. However, this has not precluded the possibility of the use of the court of laws in other instances of dissatisfaction with the electoral process. For example, prior to the commencement of the 2004 grassroots elections, 12 opposition political parties lodged a constitutional petition in the High Court of Tanzania seeking an order to bar the use of the Resident Register for compiling the voter's list (Chaligha, 2008: 10). Local elections results are also amenable to contestation in the courts of law.

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Table 16: Whether candidates can contest grassroots election results in courts of law

S/No.	Responses	M	F
1	Yes, they have a big chance	56.6%	54.4%
2	Yes, they have a small chance	22.9%	17.8%
3	They do not have any chance to contest	5.2%	5.7%
4	Don't Know	13.2%	21.1%
5	Others	2.0%	0.9%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

In election administration, it is important to provide an opportunity for candidates to contest election results. In Table 16 the perception of the majority of the respondents (over 70%) is that candidates have a chance to contest election results in a court of law. Only 6 percent have a perception that they do not have any chance at all.

2.2   PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Overall, democratic local government could be characterized by four essential features: its openness towards the citizens, its fairness in treating them, the transparency of its structures and procedures, and its responsiveness to the needs of its citizens. Participatory democracy is an attempt by the people to determine their own fate and to correct the limitations of representative democracy. It can be argued that representative democracy and participatory democracy are flip sides of the same coin. In the contemporary socio-political setting they work interdependently and inseparably.

The most common forms of participatory democracy are referenda, recalls, initiatives, petitions and citizen assemblies for collective decision making. Referenda avail an opportunity to the citizens to decide something of a national significance. In recent times, the referenda have been used to endorse/reject constitutions in Kenya, Zimbabwe and in Zanzibar to decide whether the government of national unity should be adopted after the 2010 elections. Elections are also the popular format of participatory democracy. In an election citizens get an opportunity to directly air their views on the leadership they want in

place. In some cases citizens have to be registered prior to exercising this form of direct democracy (See also Ndumbaro, 2009).

2.2.1 Local Authorities

Participatory democracy occurs mainly through the involvement of the people in making decisions. In many cases formal and informal meeting in various levels are used as avenues of participatory democracy. The village assembly represents the foundation of democracy at the local level (Kelsall, 2004; Shivji, 2002). The assembly is composed of all the adult members of a village, and chooses a chairperson to execute decisions. Section 141 of the 1982 Local Government (District Authorities) Act describes the village assembly as:

(i) The supreme authority of all matters of general policy making in relation to the affairs of the village;

(ii) Responsible for the election of the village council of 25 members; and;

(iii) Responsible for the removal of the council or any or all of the members of the council.

Articles 145 and 146 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Local Authorities (Elections) Act Cap. 292 provide that the village Assembly is the only organ within the legal provisions that can be considered to offer a kernel of direct democracy in Tanzania. However, these legal provisions are rarely translated into practice, raising questions about the political culture and the level of citizen political competence. In some instances village chairpersons usurp powers that they under normal circumstances do not have, including reluctance or even refusal to call meetings, for instance. Survey data indicate that 42.3% of respondents who replied to the question on how many times are the Village Assemblies held according to the law (i.e. once after every three months) said that they are frequently held. Of these male and female respondents were 40.8% and 43.8% respectively. Those who opined that they were rarely held were 43.1% of which male respondents were 43.2% and female were 43.1%. Moreover 9.0% of respondents opined that such assemblies are never held. Of these, male and female respondents were 10.5% and 7.6% respectively. Also many of the principles of transparency and accountability are not strictly adhered to. One of the areas that creates anxiety and is amenable to complaints is

failure to post regularly and periodically, in public display, statements of income and expenditure. Table 17 provides responses for frequencies of holding Village Assemblies:-

Table 17: Frequency of holding Village Assemblies

Responses	M	F	Total
Yes, frequently held	40.8%	43.8%	42.3%
Rarely held	43.2%	43.1%	43.1%
I don't remember last meeting	4.1%	3.6%	3.8%
Not held at all	10.5%	7.6%	9.0%
Don't Know	1.4%	2.0%	1.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2013

Village chairpersons have also increasingly been implicated in fraudulent acts, especially in relation to allocation of village land to investors.

At the district level, a district council involves all councillors who elect a chairperson. The district council is a democratic participatory organ at the district level. It is supposed to closely reflect the working of the national assembly at the grassroots level. MPs resident or elected in the area of jurisdiction of a council are also eligible members of the council. In addition, three councillors are appointed by the minister responsible for local government (REPOA, 2008).

The council passes by-laws, approves the council budget and oversees its expenditure. It serves as a watch-dog to ensure checks and balances in the use of public resources. The District Executive Director is answerable to the council. Members of staff offer technical support to the council and serve as secretaries to various committees of the councils because of their professional and technical knowledge. To keep abreast of the developments in a ward, the councillor is a chair of a Ward Development Committee (WDC). The WDC includes all chairpersons of village government in the ward and all VEOs. The WDC coordinates development activities and planning at the ward and links it to the district level (REPOA, 2008).

It is also important to point out the significance of committees as vehicles of participatory democracy at the local level. At the council level, there are two main types of committees: standing committees and ad hoc committees. Committees are meant to enable councillors to follow very closely each of the mandates of the local government authorities and oversee implementation of council decisions. Act No. 6 of 1999, section 13, provides for the formation of three standing committees:

    (i) Finance, Administration and Planning Committee

    (ii) Education, Health and Water Committee

    (iii)Economic Affairs, Works and Environment Committee.

In the case of Urban Local Authorities, the law provides for the formation of three standing committees:

    (i) Finance, Administration and Planning Committee

    (ii) Economic Affairs, Education and Health Committee

    (iii)Urban Planning and Environmental Committee.

District and Urban Councils are allowed to add a maximum of three more committees, provided that the minister approves. Alternatively the councils can still simply broaden the mandate of the three standing committees (REPOA, 2008). More meaningful citizen participation happens at the village level through the planning and budgeting process. A tool that has been designed to identify local priorities is called Opportunities and Obstacle to Development (O&OD). Through this participatory process rolled out from 2002, the development plan is discussed by the village council then sent to WDC and then back to village assembly for final adoption (REPOA, 2008).

The study asked respondents whether or not there exist laws, regulations and or practices that limit women to participate in decision-making. It was found that 92.2% of all respondents were of the view that such laws, regulations and practices do not exist. It is interesting to note that 90.9% of all women interviewed held similar view while the number of men was slightly higher recording 93.4% (See table 18).

Table 18: Whether laws, regulations and practices limit women participation in decision making by gender

Responses	M	F	Total
Yes, there are present	0.7%	1.0%	0.9%
No, they are not present	93.4%	90.9%	92.2%
Others	1.0%	0.0%	0.5%
DK/RA	3.1%	5.1%	4.1%
Yes, they are present: Women are marginalized	0.3%	2.0%	1.2%
Yes, they are: Patriarchal system	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%
Yes, they are: Customs and culture	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
Yes, they are present: Women are prevented by their husbands	0.0%	0.7%	0.3%
Yes, they are present: Women are not aware	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

The above findings would be seen surprising taking into account that the marginalisation and invisibility of women in political arena is so critical. There are two explanations that could inform such kind of responses. One is that the majority of respondents in the sample, as shown in Table 19, had not acquired any education (15%) and or just completed primary education (52%). In that case they would just take such laws as neutral while leaving behind the actual practice. This is so due to the fact that their ability to analyse issues is limited. This fact is compounded by the problem of civic competence. Dahl (1992:45) argues that "If democracy is to work, it would seem to require a certain level of political competence on the part of its citizens. In newly democratic or democratizing countries, where peoples are just beginning to learn the arts of self-government, the question of citizen competence possesses an obvious urgency." Recognising the problem of citizenry participation, the African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance (ACDEG) puts citizens at the core of democratic and development processes and in governance of public affairs. Almost all the provisions of the charter have voice as its ultimate goal. Objective ten (10) thus reads "Promote the establishment of the necessary conditions to foster citizen participation, transparency, access to information, freedom of the press and accountability in the management of public affairs." It is on this basis that Article 4 of the ACDEG provides that

"State parties shall commit themselves to promote democracy, the principle of the rule of law and human rights. State parties shall recognize popular participation through universal suffrage as the inalienable right of the people". REDET survey published in 2001 described Tanzanians as exhibiting essentially "subjects" culture. This culture makes them to be only at the receiving ends of the political system. It is the culture that resulted out of the values of the Single party order (1965 – 1992) as well as "*Ujamaa*" a form of socialism. Hyden (1999:151-2) correctly observes that "Tanzanians still often tend to be deferential and prefer to keep quiet rather than to challenge authority in public". Taking into account that in Tanzania about 75% of the population is basically rural dwellers, it is imperative that they are not "citizens" enough to participate in the political processes. It is for this reason that even their ability to demand for accountability and transparency is curtailed. The Afrobarometer results of 2002 which described Tanzanians as "uncritical citizens" collaborate this observation when it was found that Tanzanians are not active to demand for their rights. Yet, another factor that might have informed this kind of responses is that about 62% of respondents identified themselves as followers of the ruling party CCM. The study by Grace Mgassa noted that party identification is the most important factor in determining voting preferences by most Tanzanians (2011). By the same logic, partisanship might have informed respondents not to challenge their party which is in power.

Table 19: Education by Gender

Responses	Gender		Total
	M	F	
No Schooling	11.6%	20.1%	15.9%
Adult Education	2.0%	1.0%	1.5%
Primary	56.7%	48.8%	52.7%
Secondary	23.5%	27.4%	25.5%
Certificate	1.4%	1.3%	1.3%
Diploma	1.4%	0.7%	1.0%
Degree			

		3.4%	0.7%	2.0%
Total		293	303	596
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2013

Effectiveness of local authorities

Effectiveness of local authorities is an important indicator of participatory democracy. Generally it can be said that the higher the level of satisfaction with the effectiveness of the local authorities, the higher the participatory democracy. It means that people participate in decision making and where there are shortfalls in the delivery of services they will be properly informed. They will have hope and so their satisfaction will be high. Table 20 indicates satisfaction level with the local government authority:-

Table 20: Level of satisfaction with local government authorities

S/No.	Responses	M	F
1	Highly satisfied	17.0%	15.2%
2	Somewhat satisfied	60.9%	58.6%
3	Not satisfied	20.8%	23.5%
4	Don't Know	1.4%	2.6%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

Table 20 presents an assessment of the performance of local government authorities. Respondents who seem to be highly satisfied were 17.0% of males and 15.2% of females. Those who were somewhat satisfied included 60.9% of male and 58.6% of female respondents. When we assess the level of satisfaction by combining those who said they were highly satisfied and somewhat satisfied, about 75% of respondents were satisfied with the performance of the local government apparatuses. Those who were not satisfied were about 20% of male and female respondents each.

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Table 21: What is the main problem facing people in your area?

S/No.	Responses	M	F
1	Water shortage	28.1%	36.9%
2	Shortage of employment opportunities	8.8%	9.8%
3	Poor infrastructure	15.4%	15.6%
4	Poor social services (education, health, electricity)	19.3%	16.9%
5	Others	28.4%	20.8%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

Table 21 summarizes responses in regard to a question probing about one major issue that they consider to be a critical problem facing people in the locality. As it can be seen water shortage tops the list of the problems facing people in the rural grassroots (28% of male responses and 36.9% of female responses), followed by poor social services (19% of male responses and 16.9% of female responses). Water shortage is indeed a major problem in many rural and even urban areas. According to official statistics only 53 percent of people in urban areas and townships have access to piped water. One of the areas that generated heated debates during the April-June 2013 parliamentary session was water shortages. Parliamentarians refused the budget for the Ministry of Water, demanding its recast to address critical shortages in rural areas.

In table 22, Survey data show that 46.0% of respondents who replied to the question as to whether they were satisfied with the availability of and access to water held that they were not satisfied at all. Of these male and female respondents were 46.8% and 45.2% respectively. 30.5% of respondents opined that they were highly satisfied with a gender disaggregated data of male and female respondents being 28.7% and 32.2% respectively. Those who partly satisfied were 23.2%. This figure included 24.2% male and 22.3% female respondents respectively. Indeed, this problem is at the heart of gender relations in the country. Data from FGDs show that women are more affected than men with the problem of water shortage. They have to walk long distances in search of water, in some cases forced to wake up very early in the morning before water wells are dried. This has an implication

when it comes to access political information through media especially the radio which is the main source of information. The government plan is to ultimately reduce the distance and ensure that in rural areas people do not walk more than 400 metres to look for water.

Table 22: Satisfaction with availability and access to Water

Responses	M	F	Total
Very much satisfied	28.7%	32.2%	30.5%
Partly satisfied	24.2%	22.3%	23.2%
Not satisfied at all	46.8%	45.2%	46.0%
Don't Know	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2013

2.2.2 Civil Societies

Civil society organizations are used as instruments to foster participatory democracy. The most common conception of civil society is the public realm between the family and the state and the associational life within (Baker and Wallevik, 2002). By elimination, civil society is neither the state nor the family but embodies activities, processes and institutions in-between. Civil society is understood as any group or movement that acts as a constant watch-dog on the state, its institutions and activities (Ngware, 1997: 237). It is a very essential component of a functioning democracy. It is not accidental, therefore, that the resurgence of civil society organizations in Tanzania runs parallel with the re-introduction of plural politics. 'Civil society needs to be independent from the state—to retain the capacity to challenge the state, ensure accountability, express discontent and opposition and represent grassroots interests' (Mercer, 1999: 250). It can take societal affairs in a less partisan way and can demand changes without the compromise and divisiveness of the political party. Since not all members of the community belong to political parties, civil society organizations can be used as reliable avenues for interest articulation and aggregation. They permit citizen agitations for change through mobilization, demonstrations and petitions, to mention just a few.

Table 23: Civil society organizations by activities at the grassroots

S/No.	Responses	Frequency	Percentage
1	Politics	3	0.5

2	Economics		106	17.4
3	Social		131	21.5
4	Don't Know		230	39.4
5	Others		130	21.2
	Total		600	100

Source: Field Survey 2013

Findings from the field in Table 23 indicate that a fair proportion of respondents, close to 40 percent, were not aware of any civil society organizations conducting activities at the grassroots. This is an indication of the fact that many of the civil society organizations carry out their activities in urban areas and very few in rural areas. It seems that the bulk of civil society organizations engage in social activities followed by economic activities. Only half a percent of respondents indicated to be aware of civil society organizations carrying out political activities. This should not come as a surprise as laws proscribe civil society organizations to engage in political activities. However, the demarcation of politics from other activities has remained a point of contention in Tanzania.

Table 24: Level of satisfaction with performance of CSOs

S/No.	Responses	M	F
1	Highly satisfied	9.1%	6.2%
2	Moderately satisfied	25.2%	15.0%
3	Not satisfied	12.2%	8.1%
5	Don't Know	53.5%	70.8%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey 2013

According to Table 24, 9.1% of male and 6.2% of female respondents indicated to be highly satisfied with the performance of CSOs at the grassroots. And 12.2% of male and 8.1% of female respondents were not satisfied with their performance. Possibly with more people becoming aware of the activities of CSOs the levels might change for the better. Our assessment was interested primarily in gender effectiveness of the CSOs. The majority respondents (53.5% of males and 70.8% of females) did not have knowledge of the

performance of CSOs with the number of women being significantly higher. This might be due to the fact that most CSOs are urban based.

Political culture variables (Mushi 2004: 33-34) include political competence of the citizenry. When the citizenry is competent enough it is more likely to produce a competent representative and vice versa. A competent citizenry will at all the time put the representatives at their toes and this will help in the delivery of promises they made to the people during election campaigns. Political culture also contributes significantly in the citizenry perception and choice of a female candidate as their representative. Some societies have very strong reservations about female representatives and in such cases representation tends to be skewed in favour of men. If the overall political culture impact is that only a modicum of women is elected, it is likely that their concerns will not be effectively represented in the national assembly. It is documented that the more the number of female representatives the more the policies that are increasingly gender sensitive (Meena, 2003).

Economic factors are important in determining the quality of representation as representation activities require a lot of resources. Resources are required to adequately remunerate the representative also as a way of attracting them. Resources are needed when representatives move about to meet with citizens in their constituencies. To be effective they need to conduct research from time to time on various socio-political and economic matters pertaining to the constituency. However, a disclaimer should also be added here: blowing disproportionately the costs of participating in the election debilitates certain candidates, especially women, to contest. In Tanzania money is becoming a very big consideration of how elections are organized and who could practically contest. Electoral campaigns are becoming increasingly exorbitant. But related to this is the debate about the amount of pay of the representative. This has caused a rift and has the potential to widen the gap between representatives and their constituencies. Citizens have a feeling that representatives have abandoned them, bending on self aggrandizement and advancement. Sometimes also using the economic muscle, incompetent and corrupt politicians have penetrated the system. This affects enormously the quality of representation and stifles competition.

Table 25: Mechanisms for holding the government accountable

S/No.	Responses	Frequency	Percentage
1	Demonstrations	111	18.5
2	Using the media to express dissatisfaction with the government	78	13
3	Petitions	76	12.7
4	Threatening or deciding not to vote for the ruling party	68	11.3
5	Suing the government in the courts of law	42	7
6	Withdrawing support to the government activities	26	4.3
7	Don't Know	88	14.7
8	Others	111	18.5
	Total	600	100

Source: Field Survey 2013

In Table 25 respondents were asked to mention mechanisms known for them for holding the government responsible in case of non-delivery. As shown in the table, demonstrations appear to be favoured by 19 percent followed by the media. Awareness on the possibility of legal recourse is increasing as 7 percent of respondents indicated that option. Demonstrations and the use of the media reflect the political trend in Tanzania as we move close to the 2015 general elections. Some political parties have made effective use of demonstrations in support or to express dissatisfaction with government decisions and policies. Demonstrations are also seen in many grassroots level political mobilization.

The relationship between the state and the civil society in Tanzania is ambivalent. One of the explanations is that the state in Tanzania is not used to criticism and opposition especially from the grassroots level and has proceeded to react negatively to criticism from the civil society. The NGOs policy in place is inadequate and has left many areas undefined. Sometimes civil society has been accused of being agents of powerful international agents who fund their activities. The argument is that many civil society organizations have been established by elites both at the national and grassroots level (i) to reap the benefit of international money as civil society and NGOs replaced the discredited state as trusted channels of funds to the poor, especially beginning in the 1990 decade; (ii) Elites were facing

the financial consequences of state withdrawal from the economy and retrenchment and were using civil society organizations as avenues of accumulation.

The state may be angered by the forceful entrance of the civil society as a provider of services. The pluralistic environment created by the failure of the state-centric model of development opened doors to other actors, including civil society organizations (Mushi, 2001). While some of them have been viewed negatively, majority of them have performed genuine altruistic functions in provision of social services: building schools, running hospitals, and provision of water wells to rural and urban communities—as Mushi (2001) puts it— midwives of development (REPOA, 2008; Mercer, 1999).

It can be summarized from this discussion that emergence, growth and effectiveness of civil society is context sensitive. Plural politics presents a favourable ecosystem for the growth of civil society while authoritarianism tends to muzzle civil society. Decentralization in general tends to be a catalyst for the growth of civil society. As Liviga (2009) pointed out, decentralization serves to create additional civic space. By generating more centres of power, decentralization inevitably creates more avenues for growth and sustenance of civil society.

The relationship between the state and the civil society in Tanzania is ambivalent. The Non-Government Organisation Act. No. 24 of 2002 and the Societies Act. Cap. 337. Revised Edition of the Laws of Tanzania 2002 seem to marginalise space for the NGOs and CSOs to play their roles effectively. One of the explanations is that the state in Tanzania is not used to criticism and opposition especially from the grassroots level and has proceeded to react negatively to criticism from the civil society. Data from FGDs indicate that the state in Tanzania is a product of the single party regime and that legacy is still practised. A typical and historical case of suppression of the NGOs/CSOs happened in the first general elections in 1995 with devastating impact to women to date. In July 1995, *Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania*-BAWATA i.e. the Women Council of Tanzania designed a comprehensive manual to educate women voters for the October 1995 general elections and identify their agenda for the benefit of potential candidates. Besides, the document aimed at supporting those

candidates who would address issues affecting women such as land ownership, health care, water, education, inheritance to mention some. BAWATA therefore presented its views on the qualities needed by any presidential candidate. After the 1995 elections, the government accused BAWATA, among others, that it was run more-less like a political party, and that it did not submit its annual accounts to the relevant authorities. This led to its de-registration on 30 June 1997. BAWATA filed a case against government's action and argued that it was unconstitutional and that it violated Articles 13(6)(a), 18, and 20 of the URT Constitution 1977 which provide for the right of fair hearing, expression, association and assembly, respectively. The petition also alleged that the government of Tanzania was in violation of international human rights instruments, including the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the African Charter on Human Rights, and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In April 2009, the High Court of Tanzania ruled in favour of BAWATA and also challenged sections in the Societies Act. Cap. 337 R.E 2002 which are against the constitution by giving too wide discretionary powers to the President to abolish any civil society organisation, and called upon legal amendments within one year of the ruling. Such amendments have not been done. Sometimes the state accuses CSOs of being agents of powerful international agents who fund their activities. Yet, data from FGDs show that most NGOs are only limited to urban areas thereby failing to provide adequate awareness to citizens in order that they could effectively participate in democratic governance in their respective local areas.

2.2.3 Media

The role of media in Tanzania's politics is increasing in prominence commensurate with the depth of democracy. It has played its central role as a provider of information to the society. In reflection of the plural political atmosphere, the media could be divided between the state and privately owned. Media ownership in turn influences the policy of the media outlet. The most common forms of media outlets in Tanzania are newspapers, radio, and television. Social media (including blogs) is becoming common although largely due to technological constraints, it is urban based. The media has helped a lot to unearth fraudulent practices of national and grassroots leaders. For instance, the live broadcast of national assembly sessions became hotly contested, following a trail of broadcast of 'shameful'

episodes of parliamentary debate sessions, one of them forcing the Speaker to adjourn sessions for the day. This triggered the demand from the Speaker and some MPs to suspend live coverage of sessions and instead resort to the recorded broadcast, ostensibly to edit out some 'humiliating' sections. The other argument was that some MPs indulge in violations of assembly rules seeking 'cheap popularity'. Again this proposal met round condemnation from the general public (The Citizen, 27 February, 2013). Within one week after it was issued, the office of the Speaker of the national assembly apologized for being 'misunderstood', explaining that live coverage of sessions has not been annulled.

TEMCO (2006) explains the importance of the media to democracy. It points out that it is inconceivable to organize elections in the modern democratic practices and processed without active engagement and involvement of the media. The functions of media include (i) collection, processing and dissemination of news and information on a daily basis (ii) informing the public (iii) investigating and exposing misuse of power (iv) mobilizing and influencing (v) entertaining. Political actors use the media to communicate their agendas, programmes and party manifestos.

Table 26: Level of satisfaction with the performance of the media

Responses	M	F
Very much satisfied	27.5%	25.1%
Partly satisfied	54.5%	37.1%
Not satisfied at all	8.3%	7.5%
Don't Know	19.6%	30.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2013

The summary of responses in Table 26 proves the feeling that media is mostly urban based institutions and therefore not so much is known in the rural areas. Nevertheless, 27.5% of male and 25.1% of female respondents were very much satisfied with their performance. Also 19.6% of male and 30.3% of female seems not to know about the media. When asked which type of information do respondents prefer to follow in media (see Table 27), news broadcast topped the list. 74.1% of male and 60.5% of female respondents prefer news to

any other type of information. This was followed by sports in which 16.5% of male and 6.0% of female respondents opined to prefer it. Since women are pre-occupied by family roles of child care and food production, it follows that women have no adequate time to access political information as men do and develop political interests. Moreover, data from survey shows that men have time to follow sports which is part of their entertainment.

Table 27: Type of information followed in media

Responses	M	F
News broadcast	74.1%	60.5%
Sports	43.2%	43.1%
Politics	1.4%	0.3%
Gender	0.0%	0.7%
Economy and development	1%	0.3%

Source: Field Survey 2013

3.1   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was the assessment of the state of local democracy in Tanzania in a gender perspective. It relied on the State of Local Democracy (SoLD) framework by the International IDEA. The study made the following major observations and recommendations:-

- Women are more likely to vote for their fellow women than men during elections. 76.4% of women who responded to the question as to whom they would elect into office between a male and a female candidate if the two contest one position said that they would vote for a female candidate while 18.8% of women would vote for a male candidate. This finding is quite contrary to the conversional wisdom which is popular in Tanzania that "*adui wa mwanamke ni mwanamke mwenyewe*" literally translated as "a woman's enemy is her fellow woman". On the other hand, 48.1% of men who responded to the same question said that they would vote for a female candidate while 44.1% of men would vote for their fellow men. Yet, women are still invisible in politics. The study noted some cultural, economic and political barriers that could not allow women to support their fellow women. Hence, women are in

most cases seen as being divided and ruled by the patriarchal system which is favourable to men.

- Abusive language based on gender discrimination during electoral campaign is still a problem. Survey data indicate that 5.4% of respondents who replied to the question as to whether abusive language during election is a problem or otherwise said that it is frequently used. When this number of respondents is gender disaggregated it shows that males constituted 4.8% while females were 6.0%. Moreover, 22.9% of respondents said that it is rarely used. Of these, males were 25.9% and females 20.0%. However, 65.3% of respondents opined that it is not used at all. Of these, males were 63.3% while females were 67.3%. Data from the Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) collaborate this finding. This is despite the fact that the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 in articles 9(g), 12, and 21 prohibits discrimination based on gender, colour, tribe, and religion. Discrimination of this nature constitutes a serious offense which can lead to nullification of results.

- Although 62% of respondents (65.2% of males and 60.0% of females) said that political parties provide equal opportunity to both females and males to contest at different levels of leadership during elections, a significant number of respondents 24.9% (24.5% of males and 25.3% of females) still maintained that parties are discriminatory along gender lines. This is despite the fact a review of political parties' documents (constitutions, manifestos, laws and rules, policies) reveals that they do not uphold any sense of discrimination. However, data from the National Electoral Commission (NEC) indicate that the number of nominated women for councillors' elections was extremely low in 2005 and 2010. For example in 2005 out of 7,561 nominated candidates, females were 441 which is 5.8%. Likewise, in 2010, the total number of candidates stood at 7,934 and female candidates were 559 which is 7.1%. This shows that political parties have not been able to support women proportionally as they do to men. In Tanzania, political parties which are the main gate keepers towards political leadership are male-controlled and hence they serve their interests.

- The majority respondents 53.1% (51.9% of males and 54.3% of females) opined that the electoral body supervising local elections is absolutely independent while 25.2% (27.1% of males and 23.3% of females) said it is somehow independent and 9% (11.0% of males and 7.7% of females) maintained that it is not independent. However, data from FGDs as well as existing literature suggest that such elections being directly under the supervision of the office of the Prime Minister is indeed problematic in terms of the independence and impartiality of that office in relation to the management of multiparty elections. The election management body is not gender sensitive in terms of its composition contrary to the Resolution from the Africa Conference on Elections, Democracy and Good Governance held in Pretoria 7-10 April 2003, which requires the selection and appointment procedures for commissioners in this organ to be transparent, inclusive and sensitive to gender equality and the representation of diverse groups.

- Data from the survey shows that corruption is still a serious problem especially to low income candidates to participate during elections. Under this category male respondents who said that corruption limits candidates with low income were 48.6% and female respondents were 39.7%. The situation is more critical to women candidates due to the fact that the majority of them in Tanzania do not have formal employment; they do not own land, and are less educated. 10.6% of male respondents opined that corruption limits women to aspire for political leadership as candidates while female respondents were 15.2%. Data from FGDs further indicate that sometimes women are sexually abused in order that they can access power. However, due to the societal perception they never report such abuse. Moreover, election undertaking in Tanzania is very expensive. Indeed, for women, election is twice expensive in the sense that they have to incur indirect cost of making sure that their families and profiling are taken care by alternative means such as childcare services before they decide to venture into politics. Unemployment is 5.8% amongst women compared to 2.8 % amongst men (ILFS, 2006); and the former constitute about 89% of the labour force. The HBS (2007) estimates that the average earnings

for men is 1.7 times higher than women. Respondents were asked their monthly income and 40.3% said that their income is below 50,000Tsh (eq. to 27USD). Of this figure, females were 44.0% and males 36.5%. Those whose income was between 200,000Tsh. and 300,000Tsh. (eq. between 115USD and 160USD) were 8.1% of which women constituted 5.6% and males 10.6%.

- Contrary to the dominant gender rubrics which hold that the legal framework as well as practices limit women to participate in decision-making, this study found that 90% of all respondents were of the view that such laws, regulations and practices do not exist. It is interesting to note that 90.9% of all women interviewed held similar view while the number of men was slightly higher recording 93.4%. However, data from FGDs and reviewed literature indicate that patriarchal system is still a critical problem for women to participate in decision-making. In one FGDs in Hai, it was observed that one male candidate in the last elections was insulted, "*una sura kama ya mwanamke*" literally translated as "you have a face like a woman". Woman in this sense was portrayed as a "wife" and hence limited to the private sphere "home" to take care of her husband.

- Articles 145 and 146 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Local Authorities (Elections) Act, Cap. 292 provide that the village Assembly is the only organ within the legal provisions that can be considered to offer a kernel of direct democracy in Tanzania. However, these legal provisions are rarely translated into practice, raising questions about the political culture and the level of citizen political competence. In some instances village chairpersons usurp powers that they under normal circumstances do not have, including reluctance or even refusal to call meetings, for instance. Survey data indicate that 42.3% of respondents who replied to the question on how any times are the Village Assemblies held according to the law (i.e. once after every three months) said that they are frequently held. Of these male and female respondents were 40.8% and 43.8% respectively. Those who opined that they were rarely held were 43.1% of which male respondents were

43.2% and female were 43.1%. Moreover 9.0% of respondents opined that such assemblies are never held. Of these, male and female respondents were 10.5% and 7.6% respectively. Also many of the principles of transparency and accountability are not strictly adhered to. One of the areas that creates anxiety and is amenable to complaints is failure to post regularly and periodically, in public display, statements of income and expenditure.

- Water shortage is a critical problem in Tanzania particularly in rural areas. Survey data show that 46.0% of respondents who replied to the question as to whether they were satisfied with the availability of and access to water held that they were not satisfied at all. Of these male and female respondents were 46.8% and 45.2% respectively. 30.5% of respondents opined that they were highly satisfied with a gender disaggregated data of male and female respondents being 28.7% and 32.2% respectively. Those who partly satisfied were 23.2%. This figure included 24.2% male and 22.3% female respondents respectively. Indeed, this problem is at the heart of gender relations in the country. Data from FGDs show that women are more affected than men with the problem of water shortage. They have to walk long distances in search of water, in some cases forced to wake up very early in the morning before water wells are dried. This has an implication when it comes to access political information through media especially the radio which is the main source of information.

- Media is limited to urban areas. The dominant media in the rural area is the state radio. Newspapers do not circulate regularly and timely in the rural regions. When asked which type of information do respondents prefer to follow in media, news broadcast topped the list. 74.1% of male and 60.5% of female respondents prefer news to any other type of information. This was followed by sports in which 16.5% of male and 6.0% of female respondents opined to prefer it. Since women are pre-occupied by family roles of child care and food production, it follows that women have no adequate time to access political information as men do and develop

political interests. Moreover, data from survey shows that men have time to follow sports which is part of their entertainment.

- CCM's influence over the grassroots politics is still high. In the 1999 local government elections, CCM garnered almost 95% of all the seats. In 2004 the proportion increased to 97%. It slightly dropped to 91% in 2009 elections. This implies that the vibrancy of multiparty political system at the local level has not been felt. There is the dominance of one political party thereby affecting plural politics at the grassroots. Opposition parties are mostly urban based. Survey data indicate that 62.5% of respondents identified themselves as followers of CCM. Of these, 62.7% were male and 62.4% were female respondents. Again 7.7% identified as followers of CHADEMA of which male respondents were 9.6% and females were 5.9%. Similarly, 6.9% of respondents said that they were CUF's followers. Of these 8.2% respondents were males and 5.6% were females. Other political parties had membership of less than 1%. However, 20.2% of respondents opined that they were not followers of any political party. Of this figure, males were 16.4% and females were 23.8%.

- The relationship between the state and the civil society in Tanzania is ambivalent. The Non-Government Organisation Act. No. 24 of 2002 and the Societies Act. Cap. 337. Revised Edition of the Laws of Tanzania 2002 seem to marginalise space for the NGOs and CSOs to play their roles effectively. One of the explanations is that the state in Tanzania is not used to criticism and opposition especially from the grassroots level and has proceeded to react negatively to criticism from the civil society. Data from FGDs indicate that the state in Tanzania is a product of the single party regime and that legacy is still practised. A typical and historical case of suppression of the NGOs/CSOs happened in the first general elections in 1995 with devastating impact to women to date. In July 1995, *Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania*-BAWATA i.e. the Women Council of Tanzania designed a comprehensive manual to educate women voters for the October 1995 general elections and identify their agenda for the benefit of potential candidates. Besides, the document aimed at supporting those

candidates who would address issues affecting women such as land ownership, health care, water, education, inheritance to mention some. BAWATA therefore presented its views on the qualities needed by any presidential candidate. After the 1995 elections, the government accused BAWATA, among others, that it was run more-less like a political party, and that it did not submit its annual accounts to the relevant authorities. This led to its de-registration on 30 June 1997. BAWATA filed a case against government's action and argued that it was unconstitutional and that it violated Articles 13(6)(a), 18, and 20 of the URT Constitution 1977 which provide for the right of fair hearing, expression, association and assembly, respectively. The petition also alleged that the government of Tanzania was in violation of international human rights instruments, including the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the African Charter on Human Rights, and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In April 2009, the High Court of Tanzania ruled in favour of BAWATA and also challenged sections in the Societies Act. Cap. 337 R.E 2002 which are against the constitution by giving too wide discretionary powers to the President to abolish any civil society organisation, and called upon legal amendments within one year of the ruling. Such amendments have not been done. Sometimes the state accuses CSOs of being agents of powerful international agents who fund their activities. Yet, data from FGDs show that most NGOs are only limited to urban areas thereby failing to provide adequate awareness to citizens in order that they could effectively participate in democratic governance in their respective local areas. This data is also strengthened by the survey which indicates that 9.1% of male and 6.2% of female respondents were highly satisfied with the performance of CSOs at the grassroots. And 12.2% of male and 8.1% of female respondents were not satisfied with their performance. The majority respondents (53.5% of males and 70.8% of females) did not have knowledge of the performance of CSOs with the number of women being significantly higher.

- The central-local government relation does not accord local authorities adequate autonomy to decide on their affairs such as planning, staffing, resources, and power.

Despite the commitment on decentralisation by devolution, local governments still depend much on what the central government will decide. Survey data indicate that about 50% (51% of male and 49% of female) of the respondents view the local government reforms as having brought the intended results. However, about 30% of respondents (34.2% of males and 28.4% of females) think that reforms have not brought the intended results at all. This number is significant to challenge the entire foundation of local government reforms based on devolution as it undermines the whole essence of local governments as mechanisms of promoting democracy and development at the local level. Women being the majority in terms of population in Tanzania, their voices especially at the local level is not heard and worked upon effectively by the central government.

In order to address the above problems which relate to local democracy from a gender perspective, this study calls for the following major policy recommendations. These can be short, medium and long term:-

Long term
- There is a need of conducting continuous, massive civic education in a gendered perspective to ensure that the local people are civically competent in line to their rights and obligations as citizens of Tanzania. The ad-hock voter education which is provided during election season is insufficient since it does not reach majority people especially women who in most cases do not have enough time to access political information due to their roles in their families; such education is also election specific while women's issues are broader than that. Civic education is important taking into account that Tanzania was once a single party regime for almost three decades and that women's visibility and effective participation in politics was not given deserved priority.

- The quota system that will allow women participate in decision making organs should be extended to all political parties. It should be noted that, according to

Articles 39 and 67 of the URT Constitution 1977; the National Elections Act. 1985 as well as the Local Government (Elections) Act. 1982, no one qualifies to be a candidate unless he/she, among other things, is a member of a political party and is therefore being sponsored by the same. In this case, political parties are the only gate-keepers as far as who should contest and how he or she should be supported. There is no way with the current legal system where one can contest a political position such as councillor, parliament or presidential seat without first and foremost belong to a political party.

- Local government elections should be supervised by an independent, autonomous and impartial organ. According to the Resolution from the Africa Conference on Elections, Democracy and Good Governance held in Pretoria 7-10 April 2003, the selection and appointment procedures for commissioners in this organ should be transparent, inclusive and sensitive to gender equality and the representation of diverse groups. The current National Electoral Commission has 7 members and only 1 is a female. The participation of females in the management of elections is vital in order that the managing body will appreciate women's needs as far as electoral politics is concerned.

- That the relation between central-local governments needs to be revisited to ensure that local governments are autonomous in terms of power, resources, staffing, and planning. The local governments should be founded on inclusive policies which will guarantee women participation in such organs so much so that they influence policies and decisions that have a bearing on women specific issues.

Short term
- Due to the significant underrepresentation of women in decision making organs, we recommend that an affirmative action which will guarantee 50% presence of women is attained to cure this historical imbalance.

Medium term

- The legal framework should be revisited to ensure that NGOs/CSOs operate without constraints. NGOs/CSOs which seem to mobilise women countrywide should be encouraged so that women can have one voice to influence major policies, laws, and decisions that affect their affairs. Moreover, there is a pressing need that their activities should now be extended to the rural areas to empower the marginalised groups especially women. The majority population of Tanzanians i.e about 70% live in the rural areas.

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