



TANZANIA CENTRE FOR
DEMOCRACY (TCD)



MAKING INCLUSION MATTER

An Assessment and
Recomendations to
increase the representation
of **Women**, **Youth** and
Persons with Disabilities
in Tanzania

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACT - Wazalendo	Alliance for Change and Transparency
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CSO	Civil Societies Organizations
CUF	Civic United Front
EAC	East African Community
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
MP	Member of the Parliament
NCCR - Mageuzi	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEC	National Electoral Commission
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OR	Others
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PWDs	People with Disabilities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAU	Sauti ya Umma
TCD	Tanzania Centre for Democracy
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Network Programme
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UPDP	United People's Democratic Party
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
YTH	Youths

Executive Summary

The increase in participation of marginalized people in politics and securing their access to political life is of particular importance to democratic development and sustainability. Equal and inclusive participation of a diverse citizenry in public and private life is a fundamental aspect of a peaceful and just society since it results into tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines as well as more sustainable peace. Moreover, according to IDEA (2013) improving opportunities for previously marginalized groups to participate in democratic institutions and mechanisms has often had a conflict-prevention effect and democratic governance. This study was commissioned to assess the participation of women, youth and PWDs in the 2020 general election nomination process. The study thought to accomplish the followings: collecting the numbers of women, youth and PWDs who participated in the process as aspirants and candidates in the 2020 general elections in areas of the study; analyzing aspirants and candidates from women, youth and PWDs performance during the 2020 general elections and providing recommendations on the participation of women, youth and PWDs during the 2020 general election and future elections to improve Ushiriki Tanzania (UT) evidence-based advocacy.

The study observed the following findings: -

- a) All political parties through their constitutions and policies believe in inclusive politics by opposing any form of discrimination as they are required by the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and section 28 of the Political Parties Act. All political parties believe in inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in leadership position and party membership. Notwithstanding, the belief in inclusion has not been reflected practically as there is minimal presentation of members from these groups in party leadership and nomination for decision making organs.
- b) Based on the data of 16 constituencies from six regions, the study found that the participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in nomination process and elections is not very well enhanced. However, the magnitude of low participation varied among these groups. There was low participation of women and youth and almost non-participation of PWDs in the 2020 General Elections as aspirants and candidates. This low participation is contributed by many challenges that face women, youth and PWDs. Some of the challenges are systemic and others are socio-economic and cultural factors.
- c) Women were 15 percent and 11 percent of parliamentary and councillorship aspirants respectively. Moreover, the percentage of women nominated as candidates by their political parties was 28 percent and 9 percent for parliamentary and councillorship posts respectively.
- d) Youths were 35 percent and 23 percent of parliamentary and councillorship aspirants respectively. As for candidates, the percentage of youth nominated by political parties was 32 percent and 36 percent for parliamentary and councillorship posts respectively.
- e) Although the number of youths nominated as candidates was low when compared vis-à-vis that of aspirants, it indicates a positive trend. Thus, youth aspirants have higher chances of being nominated as candidates by political parties.
- f) Low participation of women and youth as aspirants and candidates was relatively high for councillorship than for parliamentary posts. For instance, women were 15 percent and 28 percent for parliamentary aspirants and candidates respectively but they were 11 percent and 9 percent respectively for councillorship post.
- g) All political parties do not have special consideration for PWDs in terms of creating a structure that deals with their affairs (the same way as the other two groups).
- h) There were only four (0.5 percent) and five (0.2 percent) aspirants from PWDs for parliamentary and

councillorship posts respectively. Moreover, no single individual from PWDs was nominated as candidates in the 2020 election.

- i) No political party was found to have clear policies or guidelines on enhancing the participation of PWDs in party decision making organs. In all political parties, while there are party wings for women and youth, PWDs have not been accorded that status. As such the participation of PWDs in elections is largely a depend on the will of party leaders.
- j) Political parties and election management bodies do not compile and keep reliable desegregated data to provide the number of women, youth and PWDs. This was a problem across six regions of the study. However, it is important to note that while gender-disaggregated data are relatively available the data for other categories is not available.
- k) Political parties are the only gate keepers for electoral politics in Tanzania. However, they are male-dominated. This patriarchal system has systematically worked against marginalised groups like women, PWDs and youth. Although all political parties seem to promise political inclusiveness in leadership, particularly for women, they have not implemented such commitments. More so, they have not said anything about including PWDs and youth as candidates during general elections for positions in the government. For instance, no political party was found to have an institutionalized mechanism of ensuring the inclusion of PWDs in elections as aspirants and candidates. For that case, there is a pressing need to ensure political parties practice inclusive politics within party positions as well as when it comes to contesting for government elective posts.
- l) The socio-cultural explanations embedded within male-dominant values (patriarchal culture) are fundamentally responsible for the exclusion of marginalized groups like women, PWDs and youth from participating in all spheres of life i.e. economic, political and social aspects.
- m) Lack of enough financial resources for aspirants to spend during the nomination process is the reason for low participation of women, youth and PWDs. The nomination process requires money, for example for transport and food. Many individuals from these groups do not have such resources and therefore a challenge to offer themselves for nomination.
- n) Corruption remains a big problem in Tanzania's political system. The findings for the study indicated that corruption was the widely cited reason which inhibited women, youth and PWDs from effectively offering themselves for nomination as well as being nominated as candidates by their political parties. As bribing party delegates is illegal in Tanzania and individuals from women, youth and PWDs have weak financial bases it was difficult for them to compete with wealthy aspirants. Furthermore, there was no effective mechanism to deal with corruption during the nomination processes.
- o) Existing studies (i.e. TCD, 2013) indicate that in the past multiparty elections a substantial number of women who were nominated as parliamentary candidates by their political parties won. Therefore, nominating contestants from women, youth and PWDs is an important step in enhancing their participation especially where they are provided with capacity building and resources for them to participate in elections effectively.

Based on these findings, the study advances the following recommendations:-

- a) There is a need to gather and compile gender-disaggregated data on party membership, participation, representation and influence on party decision making and programmes. This will help track the levels of engagement, voice and influence of both women and men in the core programmes and structures of political parties at all levels.
- b) There should be increased efforts and campaign towards ending a patriarchal culture in social, political and economic spheres of life. As political parties exist in the male-dominated society they tend to

replicate the marginalization of women, youth and PWDs in their leadership structures. Hence to rectify the problem of invisibility of these groups in political parties' leadership positions, a holistic approach to ending the exclusion of women, youth and PWDs within the society by disbanding patriarchy is required.

- c) Ongoing campaigns and strategies on the fight against corruption in Tanzania's society should be given the gender perspective. This is because corruption makes it difficult for women to offer themselves for nomination in political parties and when they have been nominated corruption hinders them in participating in the election as there is no equal playing field. Therefore, the problem of corruption should be mainstreamed in struggles against women marginalization in the parliament as an enemy of inclusiveness.
- d) The law should provide for the inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in political parties' leadership positions. This can be achieved by establishing quotas or compelling political parties to have inclusive parity for party leadership positions. Activists can engage with the ORPP to review the Political Parties Act as an opportunity to spearhead changes that will lead to the inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in their leadership positions.
- e) Political parties must form and adopt clear policies and guidelines on enhancing the participation of PWDs in party decision making organs. One of the measures can be to establish a wing or specific department for PWDs as it is for women and youth. This is important to attract and increase the participation of PWDs in elections as aspirants and candidates.
- f) Activists in collaboration with NEC and ORPP should implement sustained and systematic gender-awareness training and capacity development that targets both men and women at all levels and structures of the political party. Political parties must go beyond awareness on gender and institutionalize gender-responsive interventions, policies and procedures. In other words, training or capacity development on its own without the reinforcement of gendered policies and procedures to govern the daily work of political parties will not change their practice and culture. Training can help strengthen the articulation of gender issues as strategic issues for women and men within political parties. In a similar vein, these should be strategies for youth and PWDs.
- g) Stakeholders involved in efforts for changing the prevailing phenomenon of marginalization should note that such a task can not be attained by focusing on political parties only. Marginalization of Women, PWDs and Youth is found in different areas of life. Political parties are one of those areas, but not the only ones since they are found within the society built on marginalization. This indicates that in addressing marginalization we should go beyond political parties. If this is not taken into consideration the prospects for curbing marginalization in politics are taking the wrong course.
- h) Establishing quotas for party leadership positions. Political parties need to establish quotas that will inclusively distribute leadership positions to cater for women, youth and PWDs. Having these groups in party leadership positions, as proved from various areas, will help in making decisions that cater for their needs.
- i) Political parties should strengthen and redefine the positioning and role of the women and youth wings within the political parties in influencing strategic political decisions, including the allocation of financial resources. The functioning of these wings as conduits for women and youth to mobilize as groups might lead to the articulation of not only women and youth practical needs but women's strategic interests and 'voice' through heightened demands for accountability on gender equality. Developing transformative leadership skills among women and youth in political parties will help prepare them to present themselves as candidates for leadership positions.
- j) Designate both women and men as spokespersons for communicating political parties' positions in the public media: The media has a significant role in promoting gender equality in general and women's leadership in particular. The media can make society aware of women's contributions and positively

report on the work of women, political leaders. The media can also fulfil a ‘watchdog’ role concerning the implementation of measures on gender equality by governments.

- k) Ensuring placement of women, youth and PWDs in winning constituencies: This is the most feasible way of enhancing the participation of these groups in elections. Since political parties have some constituencies which they stand better chances of winning, it is important to place candidates from these groups in these constituencies. By doing that political parties will enhance the chances of women, youth and PWDs to compete and win elections.
- l) Providing Financial and Material Support to candidates from these groups: Since running elections in Tanzania is costly and resources demanding contrary to the economic status of women, youth and PWDs. For that, political parties should step in with material and financial resources for the candidates from these groups. With such support women, youth and PWDs candidates are likely to compete on equal grounds with other candidates.
- m) Reducing electoral malpractices during intra-party nomination towards women, youth and PWDs should be a top priority in the strategies to consolidate democracy in Tanzania. Regular dialogue and civic awareness among political parties, law enforcement agencies and state officials should be held to these malpractices. More importantly, the security forces, as well as political parties, should ensure the protection of PWDs, women and youth during intra-party nomination processes as well as campaigns and voting period. The perpetrators of electoral malpractices should be punished in the court of law just like other offenders.
- n) Strengthen the implementation of laws, policies and programmes on eliminating gender-based discrimination and the prevention of and prosecution against all forms of gender-based violence, including violence in political and electoral processes. The government has signed several international instruments such as the CEDAW, African Charter on Youth, the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and the Solemn Declaration of the African Union on Gender Equality in Africa. There is a need to continue pressing the government to implement fully these instruments for inclusive politics.
- o) Research can be used as a tool to promote inclusive politics. Evidence-based research on the lived experience of women, PWDs, and youth plays a critical role in understanding causes of exclusion, specific barriers preventing inclusion, the reform measures most likely to succeed and the impact of positive action measures such as quota systems in facilitating women’s representation and other marginalized groups. However, data obtained via research should always be disaggregated to show the real situation of the marginalized groups.
- p) CSOs and NGOs working on inclusive politics must ensure that they dedicate a great deal of attention to specifically supporting formal organization of marginalized groups. This is so because there can no meaningful participation of marginalized groups if they are fragmented, disorganized, informal and hence politically weak.
- q) The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties should update the political parties membership registry to include the data on members from PWDs.
- r) There is a need for collective action via networking and alliance building since well-coordinated collective action via networking and alliance building warrants priority in strategies to overcome exclusion. With a common reference document for implementation on inclusive politics, it is expected that actors will be able to evaluate their intervention and improve them accordingly for effective campaigns.
- s) The party should train PWDs on the importance of participating in the electoral process both as voters and candidates. Moreover, civil society organizations should train or educate PWDs especially in the rural communities on the importance of participating in the election and election nomination process.

1.0 Introduction

The increase in participation of marginalized people in politics and securing their access to political life is of particular importance to democratic development and sustainability. Equal and inclusive participation of a diverse citizenry in public and private life is a fundamental aspect of a peaceful and just society since it results into tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines as well as more sustainable peace. Moreover, according to IDEA (2013) improving opportunities for previously marginalized groups to participate in democratic institutions and mechanisms has often had a conflict-prevention effect and democratic governance.

Tanzania is signatory to several normative frameworks that serve to address issues of diversity to ensure inclusiveness in political power positions. 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). Despite these frameworks, the current context remains unfavorable for women, youth and PWDs to engage in electoral processes. Largely, women, youth and PWDs continue to be excluded from the mainstreaming of political party's governance and leadership and political processes. Politics and leadership both within and outside political parties remain mainly a male dominated, while women, youth and PWDs continue to be under-represented. Hence, inclusive democracy is still far from becoming a reality.

Against this background there is still a need for efforts to address marginalization of women, youth and PWDs in politics and electoral processes. Among other things, studying the participation of marginalized groups in electoral processes, both as aspirants and candidates, has been a key aspect of recommending policy and strategies to increase their number in power positions. Therefore, this study was set out to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 nomination process.

1.1. Background to the Study

In Tanzania, although there have been several efforts to increase the number of women, youth and PWDs as candidates in various electoral posts, the success has not yet been satisfactory. The available data, however, is that of candidates nominated by the National Electoral Commission (NEC). Moreover, even the data of nominated candidates, apart from sexes, does not cater for youth and PWDs. To be sure, for example, data for the presidential candidates nominated in the 1995 election shows that all of five candidates were men. Similarly, in the 2000 election, all of the four candidates were men. In the 2005 election, for the first time in history, there was one woman out of 10 candidates. In 2010 all of the seven candidates were men. In the 2015 election, there was one woman out of eight candidates. At the parliamentary level, the nomination of candidates in the 2005 general elections, for instance, shows that out of 1,222 nominated candidates by all political parties, women were 159 which is equivalent to 13.1%. Similarly, in the 2010 general elections, out of 1,036 nominated candidates, women were 191 which is equivalent to 18.4%. In the 2015 general elections, out of 1,209 nominated candidates, women were 233 which is equivalent to 19%. Yet, at councillorship's nomination, the situation is relatively worse. In 2005 general elections, for example, out of 7,561 nominated candidates, women were 441 which is equivalent to 5.8%. Again in 2010 general elections out of 7,934 nominated candidates, women were 559 which is equivalent to 7%. In 2015 elections, out of 10,716 nominated candidates, women were 670 which is equivalent to 6.7% (NEC, 1997; 2001; 2006; 2011; 2016).

The data presented above reveals low participation of women, youth and PWDs in electoral processes as aspirants and candidates in Tanzania. Thus, since the re-introduction of multiparty elections in 1995, the number of women candidates and aspirants, although steadily increasing, has been very low. The data presented do not include information about women aspirants. Moreover, they hardly feature any information about aspirants and candidates from youth and PWDs. The data for such groups are barely available and when they are available their validity is highly questionable. Based on this background this study intended to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 nomination process. The study was therefore inspired by the following suppositions:

- That there is no data for aspirants who sought nomination through political parties in previous elections. However, this data is vital in establishing not only the nature and magnitude of the problem but also in devising ways to increase the participation of women, youth and PWDs in political leadership.
 - That women, youth and PWDs are under-represented in political leadership and decision-making organs and therefore the main objective was to find out how their representation might be increased. Specifically, this study aimed at drawing best practices and lessons regarding political parties' nomination processes during the 2020 Tanzania's general elections. Thus, it was grounded on three main premises which are as follows: -
- (a) Political parties are the real gatekeepers of political participation and therefore they are among the critical and perhaps most influential agents for the marginalized groups' access to political leadership. This means that strategies for gender equality and political empowerment must be put into practice within political parties to provide an adequate enabling environment for meaningful participation of women, youth and PWDs.
 - (b) There are relatively good numbers of women, youth and PWDs' aspirants who turn out for nomination through their respective political parties, however, very few are nominated as candidates. The study, therefore, sought to establish a baseline with sex and age desegregated data regarding submitted nomination forms to political parties by Women, youth and PWDs who offered themselves during the 2020 general elections.
 - (c) Nomination processes and procedures by political parties have a bearing on ensuring equality and inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in political leadership. It is generally considered that inclusive nomination processes are likely to increase the number of marginalized groups in electoral processes and party leadership. Therefore, the study wanted to identify procedures followed by political parties to undertake nomination of candidates and finding out the extent to which they abide by gender equality and inclusive democracy.

1.2. Main Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study was to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 nomination process.

1.2.1. Specific Objectives

- i. To collect the numbers of women, youth and PWDs who participated in the process as aspirants and candidates in the 2020 General elections in areas of the study.
- ii. To analyze aspirants and candidates from women, youth and PWDs performance during the 2020 General elections.
- iii. To make recommendations on the participation of women, youth and PWDs during the 2020 general election and future elections to improve UT evidence-based advocacy.

2.0. Study Design and Methodology

This study intended to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 nomination process. This was to be achieved through collecting the numbers of women, youth and PWDs who participated in the process as aspirants and candidates and analyse their performance during the 2020 General election. According to nature of this study, we employed a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative research methodology. The researchers choose the mixed methodology due to the nature of the topic under study which dealt with both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative approach was employed to correct, organize and analyse data on number of women, youth and PWDs aspirants and candidates in the 2020 general election. Quantitative approach allowed the researcher to collect real time data on the number of aspirants and candidates from women, youth and PWDs who participated in the nomination processes in 2020 election. Previous study such as Lupa and Ramadhani (2013), Makulilo (2014) and TCD (2014) identified lack of aggregated data on a number of women, youth and PWDs in various positions as one of major challenges in addressing their invisibility in power positions in Tanzania. Against this background, the study employed quantitative approach to collect the number of people from these groups in areas of study. Moreover, quantitative approach was important to enable the analysis and comparison of participation of women across the different areas of study.

As for qualitative approach it was chosen due to the objectives of this study and the three premises which guided this study. The study wanted to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 nomination process. The study was premised on the supposition that women, youth and PWDs offer themselves for nomination but they are not nominated. Similarly, political party nomination processes and procedures have a bearing in ensuring equality and inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in political leadership. To analyse and explain these premises qualitative approach is required to capture the reality. This is through obtaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon rather than capturing opinions. This is because this problem is multidimensional and vary among individuals, political parties and areas of the country. Considering this reality, qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were best suited for this study to ensure interactive approach between researchers and studied population. Moreover, in terms of methodological approach data generated from qualitative approach allows rigorous analysis of enablers and disablers of women, youth and PWDs participation in 2020 nomination processes as well as how to address them. However, the targeted population and potential beneficiaries of inclusivity are women, youth and PWDs. Therefore, their exclusion from nomination processes and sound recommendations to address this problem cannot be understood without getting their side of the story specifically on how they explain the state of affairs.

2.1. Respondents and Geographical Coverage

The respondents of this study were selected based on the objective and premises which guided this study. Their knowledge and relevance to the topic understudy were the criteria for inclusion as informers of the study. The respondents were drawn from the following categories:

1. Party leaders

- Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM),
- Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA),
- Civic United Front (CUF)
- Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo)
- National Convention for Construction and Reform - Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi)

2. Party women-wing leaders

- CCM
- CHADEMA

- CUF
- ACT-Wazalendo
- NCCR-Mageuzi

3. Aspirants and candidates in 2020 election

- CCM
- CHADEMA
- CUF
- ACT-Wazalendo
- NCCR-Mageuzi

4. Elected MPs and Councillors

5. Members of Ushiriki Tanzania

6. Election Management Bodies

- The National Electoral Commission (NEC)
- Election Returning Officers
 - > Kinondoni
 - > Kigamboni
 - > Tarime
 - > Musoma Urban
 - > Kigoma Urban
 - > Kasulu
 - > Moshi Urban
 - > Moshi Rural
 - > Dodoma Urban
 - > Kondo
 - > Mbeya Urban
 - > Rungwe
- The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP)

As for geographical coverage the study was conducted in Tanzania mainland. The study clustered the regions of Tanzania Mainland into six zones which include: Central Zone, Coastal Zone, Lake Zone, Northern Zone, Southern Highlands Zone and Western Zone. Zanzibar was not be covered due to different political and legal context from that of the Mainland Tanzania. Therefore, a separate study is needed to capture Zanzibar context. To attain a representative sample one region from each zone was sampled for inclusion into the study. The selection criteria for these regions included their population size, the relative number of politically active political parties, the nature of electoral competition and experience of gender inequalities. Hence, the regions in the Zone which met these criteria was included into the study. Most importantly, since the study intended to study five political parties which were represented in the 2015/20 parliament, regions with elected MPs from these political parties were included. Table 1 describes zones, regions as well as the region selected for the study. From this table, six regions were selected from six zones. The selected regions were Dodoma, Dar es Salaam, Mara, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya and Kigoma. These regions were selected based on the sample selection criteria. Furthermore, in each selected regions a total of two districts was sampled for the study. The criteria for selection was similar to the ones used in selecting the region. However, there was the consideration of rural/urban backgrounds of these districts. Thus, among two selected districts one had to be of urban and the other of rural settings. Therefore, a total of 12 districts were sampled and covered by the study as shown in the following table:-

Table 1: Regions and districts covered by the study

No	Zone	Regions	Selected region	Reasons for Selection	Selected District
1	Central	1. Dodoma 2. Singida 3. Tabora	Dodoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seat of the government • Seat of the parliament • Population is bigger than other regions 	1. Dodoma Urban 2. Kondoa
2	Coastal	1. Dar es Salaam 2. Lindi 3. Morogoro 4. Mtwara	Dar es Salaam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2015 elected leaders (MPs and Councilors) from different political parties • Highly urban and cosmopolitan • Headquarters of many political parties • Bigger population 	1. Kawe 2. Kigamboni
3	Lake	1. Geita 2. Kagera 3. Mara 4. Mwanza 5. Shinyanga 6. Simiyu	Mara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2015 elected leaders (MPs and Councilors) from different political parties • Reported experiences of gender inequalities and GBV 	1. Musoma Urban 2. Tarime
4	Northern	1. Arusha 2. Kilimanjaro 3. Manyara 4. Tanga	Kilimanjaro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2015 elected leaders (MPs and Councilors) from different political parties • Highly urban and cosmopolitan • Highly competitive politics among political parties 	1. Moshi Urban 2. Moshi Rural
5	Southern Highlands	1. Iringa 2. Mbeya 3. Njombe 4. Rukwa 5. Ruvuma 6. Songwe	Mbeya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2015 elected leaders (MPs and Councilors) from different political parties • Highly urban and cosmopolitan • Headquarters of many political parties • Bigger population 	1. Mbeya Urban 2. Rungwe
6	Western	1. Katavi 2. Kigoma	Kigoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2015 elected leaders (MPs and Councilors) from different political parties • Headquarters of many political parties • Bigger population 	1. Kigoma Urban 2. Kasulu

2.2. Data Collection Methods and Sampling Procedures

The study relied on both secondary and primary data. Secondary data was collected through documentary review of key documents such as political party documents, Legal Frameworks on elections and political parties, Reports from NEC, National Bureau of Statistics Reports, Studies on the participation of women, youth and PWDs in elections, reports by Non-Government Organizations, Academic Works and previous works of the topic conducted by USHIRIKI members. As for the primary data, the qualitative data was solicited through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs): KIIs were employed to party leaders, NEC, ORPP, women, youth and PWDs who participated as aspirants and candidates in 2020 election as well as those who were elected as MPs and councillors, implementers and stakeholders of Ushiriki Tanzania. The quantitative data was collected through Questionnaire method. The questionnaires were administered to two categories of respondents: leaders of political parties and election returning officers at district levels. Party leaders were requested to provide the number of aspirants for parliamentary and councillorship positions who sought for intra-party nomination in respective districts. The Returning Officers were requested to provide a number of candidates they nominated for inter-party election in their respective districts. Respondents for both qualitative and quantitative instruments were sampled through purposive sampling procedure. This is in line with Patton (1990) and Babbie (2004:183) who describe purposive sampling as a popular method in qualitative research as it helps to identify key beneficiaries of the project. A total of 45 interviews were conducted. Key informant interviews were informed with unstructured and semi-structure questions. The unstructured questions enabled researchers to study and examine different levels of understanding of major issues on women, youth and PWDs participation in 2020 election and other political and electoral processes in general. Moreover, semi structured questions were used to gather additional investigation or clarification of certain information, thus allowing confirming the validity of information already collected, and adding new areas for further explanations (Schensul et al. 1999:151). As for questionnaire method it was based on structured questions. These were administered to 16 constituencies as indicated in Table 2. The questionnaires were designed to obtain actual data on the number of aspirants and candidates for parliamentary and councillorship positions.

2.2.1. Data Collection Management and Personnel

The study was conducted in six regions and 12 districts. The data collection involved constituencies from each district as indicated in Table 2 below. One assistant researcher was deployed in each region except for Kilimanjaro which had two research assistants. The study had a total of seven assistant researchers. Each researcher had a total of 14 days for carrying the task, except for Kilimanjaro region who had seven days each. These were tasked to collect statistical data on the number of aspirants and candidates, conducting interviews and review of relevant secondary information to obtain the data needed as well as carrying out any activities related to data collection as assigned by the principal researcher. Apart from research assistants, the research team involved a principal researcher and a researcher. These were tasked with quality assurance in different stages of the study, processing of research permits, data analysis and report writing as well as presentation of the findings. The distribution of assistant researchers is as shown in table 2 as follows:-

Table 2: Distribution of Assistant Researchers for Data Collection

Union Elections (NEC)	No.	Region	Districts	Constituencies	No.
	1	Dodoma	1. Dodoma Urban 2. Kondoa	1. Dodoma Mjini 2. Kondoa	1
	2	Dar es Salaam	1. Kinondoni 2. Kigamboni	1. Kawe 2. Kigamboni 3. Kinondoni	1
	3	Mara	1. Musoma Urban 2. Tarime	1. Musoma Urban 2. Tarime 3. Tarime Vijijini	1
	4	Kilimanjaro	1. Moshi Urban 2. Moshi Rural	1. Moshi Mjini 2. Vunjo 3. Moshi Vijijini	2
	5	Mbeya	1. Mbeya Urban 2. Rungwe	1. Mbeya Mjini 2. Rungwe	1
	6	Kigoma	1. Kigoma Urban 2. Kasulu	1. Kigoma Mjini 2. Kasulu Mjini 3. Kasulu Vijijini	1
Total No. of Assistant Researchers					7

3.0. Participation Of Women, Youth and PWDs: Review Of Legal Frameworks

The current political environment has been unfavorable to the youth, women and People with Disabilities (PWDs) to engage in electoral processes. This is despite the fact that 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 following sections review international, regional and national instruments which provides the right of political participation, both as voters and candidates, of women, youth and PWDs. The review is important as it justifies the importance of political participation of these groups and questioning their marginalization from power positions.

3.1. International Instruments

The issue of women, youth and PWDs inclusion and participation in leadership is founded in international, regional and national instruments. It is indeed a right and not a favour. Starting with the international instruments, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 can be regarded as the first and early instrument which called for the equality of participation in leadership regardless of sex. In its article 21 (1) UDHR states that "everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives". Specifically, the UDHR proclamation that every citizen should take part in the government is a corner stone towards propagation of equal participation to all people in the country. Since elections are part and parcel of politics especially when it comes to participation therefore women, just like their male counterparts, should have equal chance to take part as candidates or voters in elections. Hence, this declaration serves as a basic benchmark for women participation in leadership.

Moreover, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) of 1976 is another instrument which gears up the effort to ensure equal participation and enjoyment of political rights regardless of gender. Article 3 of the ICCPR requires states parties to ensure equal rights to both men and women in enjoying political rights as well as civil rights. This provision, to an extent, was a further boost towards the cementation of the idea that all human beings regardless of their gender orientations have the right to participate in political life. However, just like the UDHR, the ICCPR is not an instrument which is specifically aimed at solving the cause of women. Hence, even its implementation cannot be monitored based on an aspect of gender equality.

It is on this spirit, that there was the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 which is the comprehensive instrument that calls for complete elimination of discrimination against women which among other things has been a source of inequalities of women participation in political life. Article 7 of the convention and its parts, is of concern here as it states that: "State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men". These include rights which are "(a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels

of government; (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.”

This article is very crucial in the efforts of furthering the participation of women in political life and in election in particular. For instance, parts (a) and (b) of this article directly enshrine these rights. Moreover, the facts that CEDAW is a specific instrument to women and it has been approved by all states of the world it makes it as a base of which other instruments for promoting and enhancing women participation in election and political life in general to draw their essence. Currently, majority of the states have taken measures to ensure participation of women in election and political life. Across the world all states have enlarged the franchise to include women in electoral processes both as candidates and voters.

In 1995 the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women. This platform called for international commitment to the goals of equality, development and peace for women. In the platform, the issue of women participation in political life was also stressed. Among the 12 critical areas of the Platform for Action it included “the women power and decision making”. The conference was very crucial towards the attainment of these goals as it was attended by representatives from 189 countries. More importantly, there was the formulation of the team which would oversee the implementation of this declaration. The Beijing conference culminated to another effort towards enhancing women participation in political life. This was the Beijing+ which was held in 2000 with the aim of stressing states commitment to the Beijing Platform for Action. Apart from the successes, Beijing+ uncovered that the challenges of attaining women power and decision making as one of the 12 critical areas in the platform for action was due to the gap between de jure and de facto equality whereby countries have changed their legal structures to accommodate women to participate in decision making yet the societal practices have remained unfavourable to them to participate equally as males. It asserts that “traditionally assigned gender roles limit women’s choices in education and careers and compel women to assume the burden for household responsibilities.” It is on this basis that the conference came up with proposed initiatives and actions to address this deficit in attaining women participation in political life. Article 86 (a) proposes that states should “provide equal opportunities and favourable conditions for women of all ages and backgrounds on equal terms with men by encouraging their entry into politics and their participation at all levels; and (b) to “encourage the nomination of more women candidates, including, inter alia, through political parties, quotas or measurable goals or other appropriate means for election to parliaments and other legislative structures, to increase their share and contribution in the formulation of public policy”. These provisions are very important in achieving participation of women in political life just like their male counterparts. However, achieving their realities is still clouded by a number of impediments. The structural and cultural conditions have been disabling factors for these.

3.2. Regional Instruments

In Africa and its regions there have been a number of instruments which are aimed at enhancing participation of women in election as well as the political life. They include a number of conventions and declarations. The African Union (AU) which is the pan-African body has the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights of which denounces all forms of discrimination including gender discrimination. This was the first major step for the continent in calling for equality. However, since the charter was adopted in the course of independence struggles, most of its provisions were aimed at freeing the Africans rather than focusing on addressing the specific issues of women discrimination. As a way to address the issue the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights of Women endorsed by member states in 1995 and came into force in 2003. In this protocol, the provision on participation of women in political life and elections in particular is provided in Article 9 which is on Right to Participation in the Political and Decision-Making Processes. It states that -

“State Parties shall take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that: a) women participate without any discrimination in all elections; b) women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes; c) women are equal partners with men at all levels of development and implementation of State policies and development programmes.”

The provisions in this article are very clear in the quest for having women as parts of decision making as well as equal participants in political life just like their male counterparts. Furthermore, the fact that the protocol provides some ways in realizing these goals makes it an important instrument. For instance, apart from proposing the change in the national laws it also calls for the state parties to take affirmative action measures. These measures have formed an important part in the efforts of ensuring women participation in political life across different countries as well as regional organizations of Africa. Also the Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa of 2004 is another effort of which among other things it calls for participation of women in political life as well as the instruments of decision making.

Also, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) adopted the Protocol on Gender and Development of 2009. The protocol in Article 13 requires that, by 2015, at least 50 per cent of decision-making positions are held by women. Among the strategy to achieve this, the protocol cites its Article 5 which calls for affirmative action as a way towards participation of women. Also, on the part of participation the protocol requires parties' states to adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies to enable women to have equal opportunities as men to participate in all electoral processes including the administration of election and voting. Concomitantly, in 1995 the Commonwealth heads of state endorsed an action plan for the promotion of gender equality. The member states were urged to introduce measures that would result in an immediate increase in the participation of women in politics. The target then was that the ratio of women to the total should be at least 30%. Most of the countries have tried to achieve this in a number of ways of which the quota system has been frequently used. It is this strategy which has been also used by Tanzania.

Another framework is the Treaty to the Establishment of East African Community (EAC). The Treaty provides for the objectives of the Community in which in order to achieve such objectives the Community shall ensure the mainstreaming of gender in all its endeavours and the enhancement of the role of women in cultural, social, political, economic and technological development; The treaty further provides for the fundamental Principles of the Community⁹ that shall govern the achievement of the objectives of the Community by the Partner States which shall include gender equality. It further states that in the appointment of staff and composition of the organs and institutions of the Community, gender balance shall be taken into account.¹⁰ On election of Members of the Assembly the Treaty requires the National Assembly of each Partner State to elect, not from among its members, nine members of the Assembly, who shall represent as much as it is feasible, the various political parties represented in the National Assembly, shades of opinion, gender and other special interest groups in that Partner State, in accordance with such procedure as the National Assembly of each Partner State may determine.¹¹ The treaty also provides for the Role of women in Socioeconomic Development where the Partner States recognize that women make a significant contribution towards the process of socio-economic transformation and sustainable growth and that it is impossible to implement effective programmes for the economic and social development of the Partner States without the full participation of women.

3.3. National Instruments

Tanzania is a member of the United Nations (UN), AU, SADC, EAC and Commonwealth. Also, it is a state part to ICCPR of 1969, CEDAW of 1979, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995, Beijing + of 2000, Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of Women, SADC Protocol for Gender Equality and Development of 1995. Nationally, elections are guided by a number of electoral laws such

as the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977; the National Elections Act Cap 343 R.E 2002; Election Expenses Act, Act No. 10 of 2010; Political Parties Act Cap. 258 R.E 2002; to mention a few. Since the problems found in specific legislations have the same foundation, that is the constitution which did not in the first place recognize and appreciate the rights of women, it follows logically that the hierarchy of laws which are derived from the constitution are gender blind. For that matter, as shown in the previous sections, this review does not touch each specific law for avoidance of repetition.

The Constitution adopted a legal framework that would ensure symbolic representation of women in major decision-making organs. This is reflected in article 66(1) (b) of the URT Constitution of 1977 which stipulates the proportion of women in parliament through women special seats to be not less than 30 percent of all members in the House. As a general requirement, one of the qualifications for any person to become a member of parliament (MP) in Tanzania is that he or she must be a member of, and a candidate proposed by a political party (Article 67(1)(b) of the URT Constitution 1977). But specifically, to women special seats there is one more requirement of party victory above the set threshold level. Article 78(1) states “For the purpose of election of women Members of Parliament mentioned in Article 66(1) (b), political parties which took part in the election and which won at least 5 percent of the total valid votes for members of parliament, shall in accordance with the procedures laid down propose to the Electoral Commission the names of women on the basis of the proportional representation among the parties which won elections in constituencies and secured seats in the National Assembly”.

Following pro-women empowerment strategy, the percentage of women MPs increased from 15.9% in 1995 to 21.5% in 2000 elections. It also increased to 30.3% and to 35% in 2005 and 2010 elections respectively. Also, special seats have been introduced in the local government from the ward to the village/street level. The system was established with the purpose of fostering women participation in the grassroots level. This would entrench participation of women in politics from local to national level. To ensure representation of women at council level the law requires reserving one third of all seats to women. This has been also implemented through special seats whereby the seats are allocated to political parties in relation to their share of seats scored in the local government elections. This law has positively increased the number of women in the council as 2010 election they totalled 978 across all authorities. In the same vein, the legal framework provides for women’s special seats for members of village councils. Here women have to occupy 25 per cent of all elected seats in the village council.

The establishment of quota system (special seats) was aimed at building sensitization and political skills to women so that they could participate directly as electoral candidates in the constituencies. But on the contrary, they have been facing some criticism. For instance, the processes of selecting the candidates for the special seats are patriarch dominated since the political parties which these candidates come from are controlled by males. Moreover, the special seats MPs lack a link with local activists who are fighting for equal rights. Moreover, they have no clear line of accountability as it is not clear to whom they should be accountable to. As a result, special seats MPs are defending the interests of the male dominated political parties rather than those of the women at large. Yet, on the other hand, the people in the society consider these types of MPs the representatives without merit rather than the outcome of favouritism from males (Meena, 2003).

Despite of these efforts, women have found it difficult to compete as candidates in the election. This is due to the socio, economic and political constraints which hinder their participation in politics especially as candidates from the political parties in electoral constituencies. On one hand, this can be attributed to the type of electoral system in place thus First-Past-The-Post. As argued earlier, this electoral system discourages participation of women in running for the offices unlike proportional representation system. This can also explain why political parties have failed to establish quota system as that of Sweden. On the other hand, women continue to experience inequalities in other spheres of life such as economic hardships

and cultural marginalization which impede their participation in elections. For instance, women have low level of education in comparison to men partly due to prioritization of boys to girls in the family as well as high girls drop-out rates due to pregnancy to mention the few.

3.4. Women, Youth And PWDs Political Participation In Tanzania: A Review Of Documents

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 claims to provide 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”. 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.

As can be noted, the constitution is founded on what is referred to as “Gender neutral language.” It makes use of “universal”, neutral and static terms such as “individuals”, “citizen”, and “worker”. But this “gender-neutral abstraction” camouflages the male dominance. Phillips (1992: 58) argues that: -

“Human identity is sexually differentiated, and exists in a bodily form. Those who seek to deny the body, who deal only in the abstraction of ‘the individual’ or ‘the citizen’, who think it should not make any difference whether these individuals are women or men, will be writing in one sex alone as their standard. Women can be encompassed on equality with men only if sexual difference is first of all acknowledged”.

It should be acknowledged that language is a product of society and it must carry with it the culture, norms, and practices of time and space. Swila (2004: 78) submits that: “Gendered relations found in other social aspects are necessarily present and enacted in language as well. Therefore, by examining language, we are able to reconstitute the values and beliefs of a community through time.” Similarly, the constitution does not recognize PWDs and the youth as special groups.

Women participation in power positions is very low. This is true in both local and central government (Tripp, 1994; Meena, 2004; 2005; Shayo, 2006; URT, 2009; Makulilo, 2009). Notwithstanding, social inclusion, represents a vision for a “society for all” in which every individual has rights, responsibilities and an active role to play. Historically women, youth and PWDs in the world including Tanzania have occupied a disadvantaged position not only in the political processes (TEMCO, 1995, 2005) but also in the current socio-economic arrangement (TACCEO, 2010; Koda & Kiduanga, 2005; Tripp 2000; Liviga 1997). This state of affairs is disadvantageous to these groups as participation in political and electoral processes as a candidate in Tanzania is costly undertaking. It is against this backdrop that previous studies on participation of women, youth and PWDs in elections in Tanzania highlight lack of economic power as one of major challenges for this groups.

Studies have established that women in Tanzania register higher rate of unemployment than men except in the rural sector, their level of illiteracy is higher than that of men, they form higher percentage of unpaid labour. Women in Tanzania own fewer resources in all aspects of life including formal wage, ownership of big business, lower levels of high education and have less access to formal credit facilities than their male counterparts (Meena, 2009). This is also true to other groups such as PWDs and youth (Kipobota, 2012; URT 2010). As eluded before that elections in Tanzania are expensive undertakings it follows therefore that these groups are systematically excluded to participate in politics. Despite this marginalization and exclusion, women and youth provide 80% of the labour force in the rural sector and 60% of the food production.

Therefore, women occupy a central position in the wealth production and labour and their democratic rights in elections should be ensured unconditionally.

Likewise, the youth who constitute the majority in Tanzania are significantly underrepresented in the major decision-making organs particularly the Parliament. After the 2010 elections for example, only 8% of elected MPs were considered to be youth by the National Youth Policy which sets 35 years of age as the maximum limit of this group. Regardless of their gender, the youth have not escaped a problem of being invisible in political arena as aspirants for the offices as well as occupants of top posts in political parties. The role of youth has been valued mainly during the electoral campaign (TCD, 2014). With the introduction of multiparty politics, young people, including students joined together and formed a National Committee for Constitutional Reform (NCCR) to draft a multiparty constitution in 1991. They requested the government to permit them to hold a national meeting on the constitution. The government resisted for several months and finally bowed after pressure from the donors. Multiparty politics were introduced in 1992.

The youth in political parties experience similar situation to that of women (TGNP, 2014). Despite the fact that political parties have established youth wings, the anecdotal evidence shows that, frequently, the daily operations of these wings have been interfered by the veterans. As a result, the youth are only endorsing decisions from the veterans at the top party leadership positions. On the other hand, youth have been clustering themselves among support groups for certain figures in political parties in exchange of material and power incentives. It is on this basis that it is not surprising to find the youth from the same political parties fighting each other simply due to the differences between their 'godfathers' (Karugendo 2010). This is a practice for both the ruling and opposition parties. Likewise, youth have been used as "security machines" of political parties. They constitute blue guards, green guards, red guards etc. These groups are mobilized and maintained by political parties and have indeed become a source of electoral violence. As stated earlier, the youth are politically divided as they lack a common organization to unite them. Meanwhile, the youth set out to form an independent Youth Council—Baraza la Vijana in 1993, which was resisted by the government, in favour of another organization under the umbrella of the Ministry of Labour and Youth. This was supposed to be an all youth organization regardless of political affiliation, ideologies and faith allegiances. The attempt to establish a nation-wide organization has been resisted by the government so far, and what exists are a multitude of organizations, mainly representing issue/identity-based interests. At the same time, many young people have joined political parties and some have even contested for parliamentary and council seats although their number in political power position remain low.

The other group which terribly suffers underrepresentation in decision making organs is the PWDs. PWDs are among the most venerable groups in Tanzania. They are often very poor, undereducated, discriminated, untrained, often unemployed and underemployed sections of the community (TCD, 2014). As a result, they find themselves with a limited knowledge on national legal systems, international human rights instruments and, therefore, are uninformed about their basic rights (Olengurumwa 2012). The Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania, 1977 guarantees freedom of participation in political and public life to everyone without discrimination. This basic right is echoed in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2009. Discrimination based on personal conditions is not a problem only in Tanzania, but also in other states where very few persons with disabilities are given the opportunity to participate in political and public life. Through Section 51(1) of the Persons with Disabilities Act, 2010, it clearly provides that "Every person with disability who has attained the age of 18 years shall be entitled to enjoy and exercise political rights and opportunity as any other citizen without any form of discrimination." However, participation of PWDs in politics remain a challenge. To be sure, PWDs are significantly underrepresented when you compare to women and youth.

The study by TGNP uncovered that the obstacle towards women political participation in politics starts within political parties. TGNP (2004:108) asserts that: On the whole, the nomination processes used by

various political parties at times have been non-transparent and male-driven; using criteria and procedures which are neither clear nor institutionalised. Much of the selection of women candidates in these parties appears to be based on the degree of party loyalty and support to party candidates (mainly men) during the election process. Meena (2009:14-5) puts clearly that:

In Tanzania, most of existing political parties are male dominated in decision making positions...Male dominated political parties will only support some quotas or affirmative action 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.

Echoing TGNP, 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 than 50 percent of the population, more than 75 percent residing in rural areas.

Studies point to legal and institutional frameworks as a barrier towards women, youth and PWDs participation in elections. Sulley (2020) study on a gender analysis of intraparty nomination found that in Tanzania, provisions related to gender equality and principles of non-discrimination receive greater attention in the national laws. Notwithstanding the study further noted weakness in the enforcement mechanisms to compel political parties' adherence to principles of democracy and gender equality in their internal processes. Makulilo (2014) noted that the prohibition of independent candidates is a challenge in enhancing participation of these groups in election as candidates. The observation is relevant as according to the constitution in order for one to aspire for any electoral seats he/she should be affiliated to the political party. There have been efforts to seek for the repeal of this provision and hence to provide the legal status of the independent candidate. Entirely, these efforts have been ever since dominated by Rev. Christopher Mtikila¹. After series of unsuccessful battle for the legal status of independent candidate, in 2011, Rev. Mtikila as well as local civil society organizations, albeit separately, took the issue to the African Court of Human and Peoples

¹ For detailed understanding of Rev. Christopher Mtikila battles with the court over legality of independent candidate see Makulilo, Alexander, B. (2011) "Join a Party or I cannot Elect You": The Independent Candidate Question in Tanzania" *Central European University Political Science Journal*, 6, No. 1, pp.111-137.

Rights (ACPHR) for further consideration². In the same year the court ruled that prohibiting independent candidates is contrary to the principles of human rights as enshrined in African charter of democracy which Tanzania is a part state.

Following the verdict, the court called for the government to legalize independent candidates. However, the government is yet to endorse the decision. In the political environment that women, youth and PWDs have been facing difficulties in participating, legalizing independent candidates would have been a relief (TCD, 2014). Yet, the fact that independent candidates are prohibited increases the skewedness of the political space in elections especially when the channels of political parties are seen to set a limit on women, youth and PWDs. In this political environment, individuals from these groups who have the capacity of competing in elections, although find it difficult to be nominated by their political parties, as independent candidates are still constrained by the electoral legal system which prohibits independent candidates.

There have been advocacy and efforts to change laws in order to enhance participation of women, youth and PWDs in election. However, 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 a powerless and favoured woman (Meena, 2009).

² Tanganyika Law Society and Legal and Human Rights Centre Versus the United Republic of Tanzania and Reverend Christopher Mtikila Versus the United Republic of Tanzania, Application No. 9 of 2011 and Application No. 11 of 2011 to African Court on Human and Peoples Rights (Unreported).

4.0. Findings: Participation Of Women, Youth and PWDs in 2020 Election Processes

The main objective of this study was to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 general elections. The study thought to accomplish the following: collecting the numbers of women, youth and PWDs who participated in the process as aspirants and candidates in the 2020 general elections in areas of the study; analyzing aspirants and candidates from women, youth and PWDs performance during the 2020 general elections and providing recommendations on the participation of women, youth and PWDs during the 2020 general election and future elections to improve UT evidence-based advocacy. Therefore, the forthcoming sections address these objectives by, first, presenting the findings and, secondly, offering recommendations to increase participation of women, youth and PWDs in future elections. The findings for each group are discussed independently.

4.1. Women

Findings from the study reveal that most political parties do not keep reliable data on the profile of aspirants and candidates. As such it is very difficult to draw conclusions on the data obtained from study areas. However, basing on the data obtained a number of women offered themselves as aspirants for 2020 elections in their political parties was low. During interviews women aspirants cited a number of reasons for this low participation. Respondents attributed low women participation to the lack of support from election management bodies. A woman aspirant from Kawe was of the view that: “government bodies did not play any role in increasing participation of women during nominations.”³ On the same point another respondent noted she does not even understand why Registrar of Political Parties is interested in getting to know the sources of finances of a candidate who did not receive any support from the government. She opines that the law that allows the Registrar of Political Parties to inquire financial issues of a candidate is set to limit participation of women.⁴

Field data from six research areas show that there was a total of 564 aspirants from five political parties (See Table 3). From these aspirants, Women aspirants were 87 (15 percent) while male aspirants were 477 (85 percent). It is, however, important to note that this data do not include the number of CCM aspirants from Kilimanjaro and Mara. Moreover, there are missing data for CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo from some constituencies of Dodoma, Mara and Kilimanjaro. Yet, despite the questionability of reliability and validity, the data can still be used to indicate the general status of participation of women in the 2020 elections.

Table 3: Number of Aspirants for Member of Parliament Post in 2020 Election by Political Party

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Dar es Salaam	5	2	25	144	1	1	0	0	2	0	33	147	180
Dodoma	1	2	10	95	1	1	0	2	4	5	16	105	121
Kigoma	1	5	8	88	0	5	1	7	5	4	15	109	124
Kilimanjaro	0	12	NA	NA	2	4	0	3	2	1	4	20	24
Mara	1	4	NA	NA	1	2	2	1	4	2	8	9	17
Mbeya	0	3	8	70	1	7	0	4	2	3	11	87	98
Total	8	28	51	397	6	20	3	17	19	15	87	477	564
Percent	22	78	11	89	23	77	15	85	56	44	15	85	100

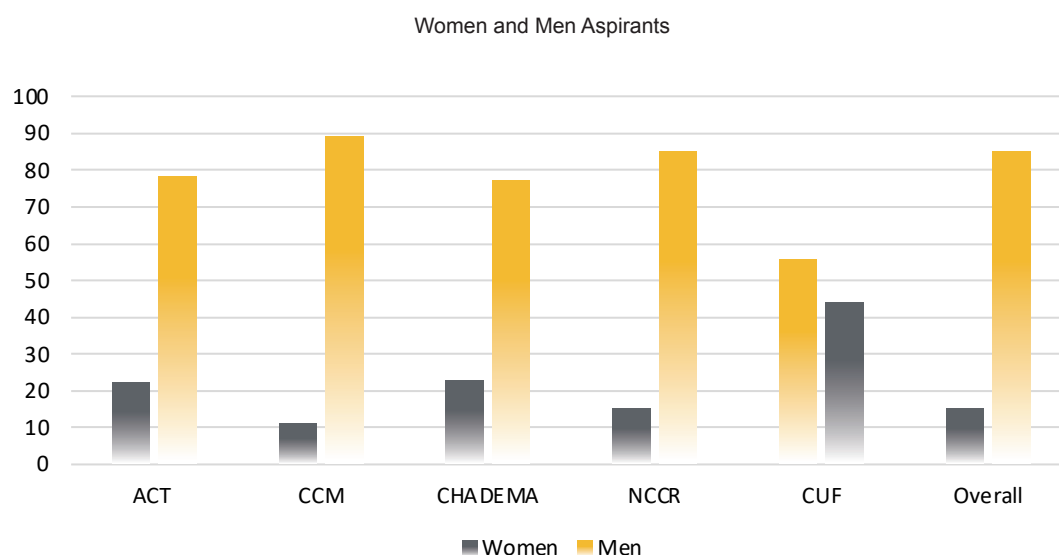
Source: Field Data, 2021

3 Interview, 18th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

4 Interview, 6th February 2021, Mara

As for individual political parties, the percentage of Women aspirants was 22 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 11 percent for CCM, 23 percent as well as 15 percent and 56 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively. As it can be noted only CUF had more Women aspirants (56 percent) than male aspirants (44 percent) among the five political parties. Based on these data of 16 constituencies from 6 regions it can be observed that the number of women who aspired for nomination of parliamentary post remained low as in previous elections (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Percentages of Women and Men Parliamentary Aspirants by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

The interviews with women aspirants during 2020 election reveal that a number of them were disqualified on baseless grounds. A respondent noted that: “Party leaders lack discipline (and/or ethics). Any person can be nominated to a certain position without following procedures.” The candidates further noted that her candidacy was disqualified unreasonably. Nevertheless, she successfully appealed to higher party authorities. Following the approval of her appeal to the Deputy Secretary General regarding her win for candidacy at councillorship position (that nomination procedures should be followed), the leaders responsible did not implement the decision of the Deputy Secretary General. Again, she was nominated for the parliamentary women special seat by party leaders against proper procedures. She never applied for parliamentary women special seat and yet got nominated.⁵ One of the field reports based on interviews with women aspirants and political party leaders stated that:

The participation of women and youth in all political parties was enhanced or hindered by the following common factors; - (a) financial difficulties; (b) patriarchy dominance; (c) discouragement from fellow women; (d) corruption; (e) inadequate education and skills; (f) community and/or cultural perceptions towards women, youth and PWDs; (g) lack of confidence; (h) family barriers; (i) discrimination based on sex, disability, age; (j) unfriendly infrastructures for PWDs; and (k) lack of representation of PWDs in leadership structures of political parties.⁶

The councillorship post attracts a good number of aspirants due to their connection with locality. Aspirants and candidates for this post are subjected to less requirements both legally and financially relatively to parliamentary and presidential posts. It is against this background that the number of women aspirants is

⁵ Interview, 10th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

⁶ Dar es Salaam field Report, 16th March 2021

expected to be relatively higher. The findings from the field, as presented in Table 4, indicate that there was a total of 2124 aspirants for councillorship post of which 242 (11 percent) were Women and 1882 (89 percent) were male aspirants. The number of Women aspirants in this post is disappointing since it is lower than that of aspirants for parliamentary post which was 15.4 percent. It is also important to note that data for aspirants from CCM for Kilimanjaro and Mara was not obtained. Similarly, there was no gender disaggregated from CCM in Kawe and Kinondoni constituencies.

Table 4: Number of Aspirants for Councillorship Post in 2020 Election by Political Party

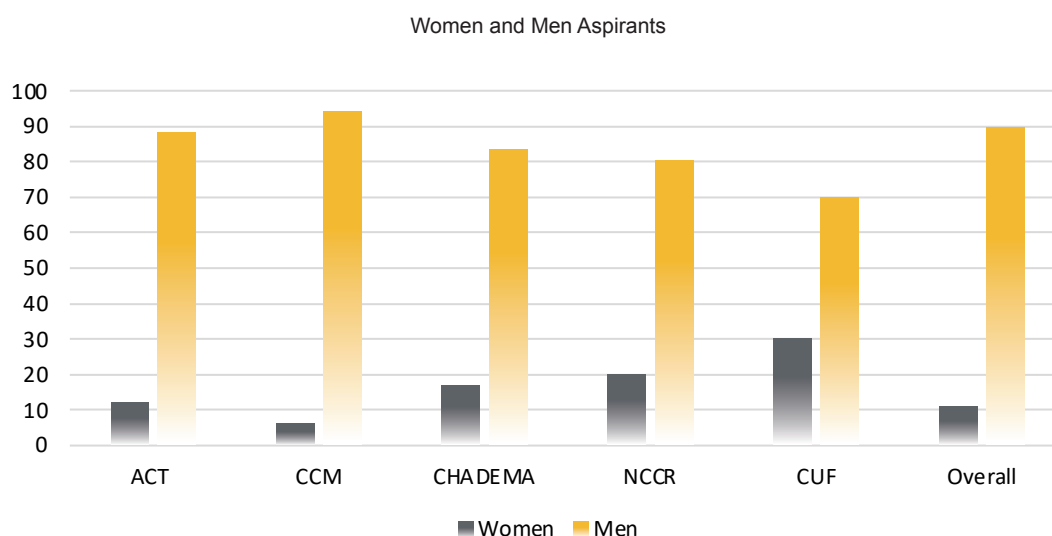
Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Dar es Salaam	4	30	15	93	14	51	3	8	6	3	42	185	227
Dodoma	0	3	9	99	4	36	1	5	3	14	17	157	174
Kigoma	26	166	24	387	32	92	9	34	9	28	100	707	807
Kilimanjaro	3	42	NA	NA	4	84	5	29	1	7	13	162	175
Mara	2	13	NA	NA	21	43	6	17	12	20	41	93	134
Mbeya	0	9	17	437	11	123	0	6	1	3	29	578	607
Total	35	263	65	1016	86	429	24	99	32	75	242	1882	2024
Percent	12	88	6	94	17	83	20	80	30	70	11	89	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

The interviews with women aspirants revealed that, among other things, the problem emanated from political party level. For example, during nomination process, woman aspirants for councillorship post narrated that she showed her interest in contesting for councillorship seat (Ndugumbi ward/Kinondoni) and the leader was not willing to give her nomination form (believing that she was privileged) while she won plurality of votes from party members. Persistent challenges from members made her to stay back from contesting councillorship seat (following the advice of her husband). But she decided to apply for women special seat (Kinondoni).⁷ This shows the extent to which women are excluded in participation in power position even at the local level where the rules and political context are regarded as relatively less inhibitive as national levels.

When the data presented in Table 4 is further analyzed to into percentages of Women aspirants for individual political parties, they reveal that Women aspirants were 11.7 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 6 percent for CCM, 16.7 percent for CHADEMA as well as 19.5 and 30 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively. This data show that no political party can claim to have achieved inclusion of women in contesting for power position as numbers indicate a different trend (see Figure 2).

⁷ Interview, 10th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

Figure 2: Percentages of Women and Men Councillorship Aspirants by Political Party

Source: Field Data, 2021

The findings from the field reveal that very few women were nominated by the political parties as candidates for 2020 election for parliamentary post. This trend is not different from the intra-party nomination processes where very few women offered themselves as aspirants for respective post. Unlike the previous data of aspirants, the data for parliamentary candidates was available. The data from 16 constituencies of six regions of the study reveal that from a total of 69 candidates 19 (28 percent) were Women and 50 (72 percent) were male.

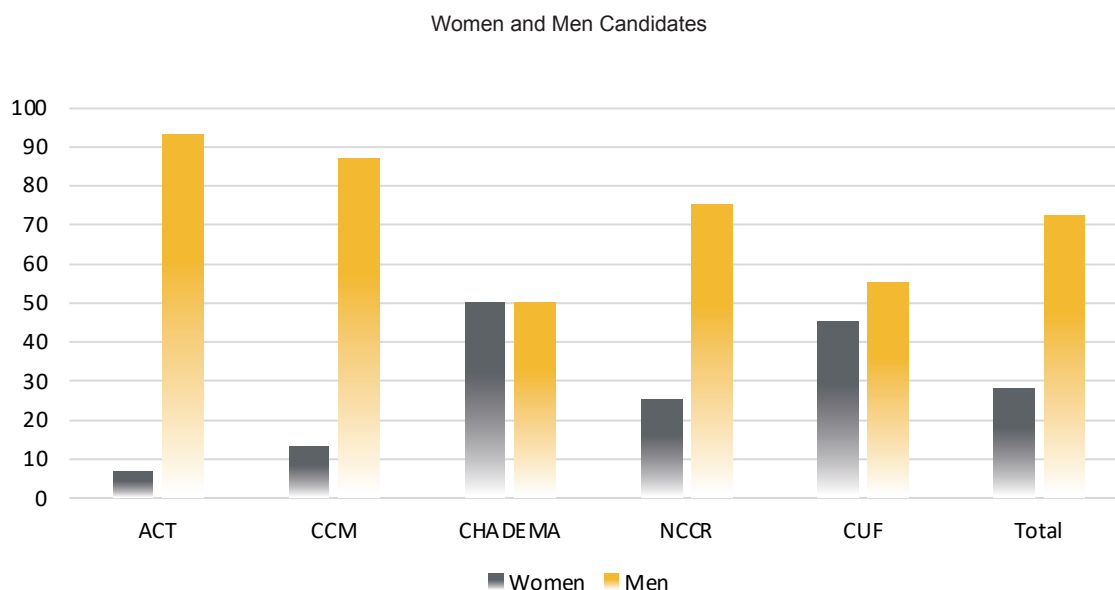
Table 5: Number of Candidates for Member of Parliament in 2020 Election by Political Party

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Dar es Salaam	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	1	2	6	8	14
Dodoma	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	2	2	6	8
Kigoma	0	3	1	2	3	3	0	3	1	1	2	12	14
Kilimanjaro	0	3	0	3	1	1	0	3	1	0	3	10	13
Mara	0	3	0	3	2	2	1	1	2	0	4	9	13
Mbeya	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	5	7
Total	1	13	2	14	8	8	3	9	5	6	19	50	69
Percent	7	93	13	87	50	50	25	75	45	55	28	72	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

The above data has been presented based on the total number of women and men. However, when this data is disaggregated by gender per political parties, they reveal that among individual political parties the percentage of Women and male candidates was 7 percent and 83 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 13 percent and 87 percent for CCM, 50 percent and 50 percent for CHADEMA as well as 25 percent and 75 percent and 45 percent and 55 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively. Among these political parties CHADEMA and CUF nominated a good number of women as 50 percent and 45 percent respectively of candidates were women (See Figure 3).

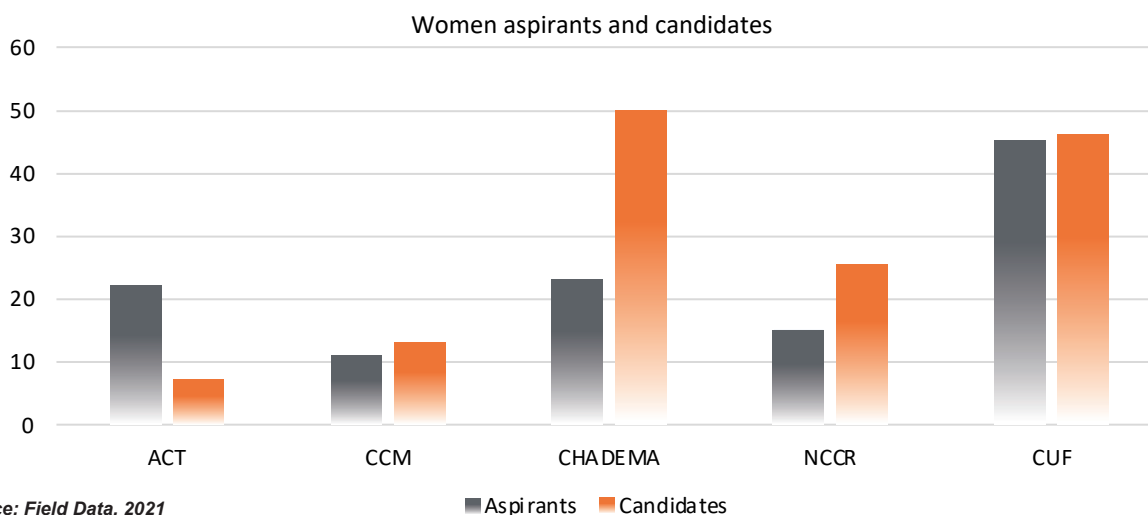
Figure 3: Percentages of Women and Men Parliamentary Candidates by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

When this data is compared to that of aspirants who offered themselves for nomination for similar post it reveals that a number of women nominated as candidates by the political parties was high than that of aspirants. Generally, the percentage of women among nominated candidates was 28 percent as compared to that of aspirants which was 15 percent. As for individual political parties, the percentage of nominated women increased when compared to that of aspirant in CHADEMA, CUF, CCM and NCCR-Mageuzi. For instance, the percentage of women from CHADEMA increased from 23 percent of all aspirants to 50 percent of all candidates. As for CUF, it increased from 45 percent of aspirants to 46 percent of nominated candidates. Moreover, for CCM women were 11 percent of aspirants but they increased to 13 percent of nominated candidates. As for NCCR - Mageuzi, while women aspirants were 15 percent they increased to 25 percent of nominated candidates. The only political party which the percentage of women among nominated candidates was low than that of aspirants was ACT-Wazalendo of which women aspirants were 22 percent but decreased to 7 percent of all nominated candidates (See Figure 4). This trend shows that if women manage to offer themselves for nomination there are relatively higher chances of being nominated. This revelation point to the fact that contextual factors are important in understanding the marginalization of women in offering themselves as aspirants for various political power positions.

Figure 4: Percentages of Women Parliamentary Aspirants and Candidates by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

The study found that among the 16 constituency of six regions studied by this research the number of women nominated as candidates for councillorship post was very low. Women candidates were only 89 (9 percent) while men were 935 (91 percent) of all 1024 councillorship candidates based on obtained data (See Table 6). It is however, important to note that the data for CCM from Dar es Salaam and Mara is not included. This is due to the fact that the researcher in Dar es Salaam obtained data which was not desegregated by gender while in Mara the research could not obtain any data for respective category.

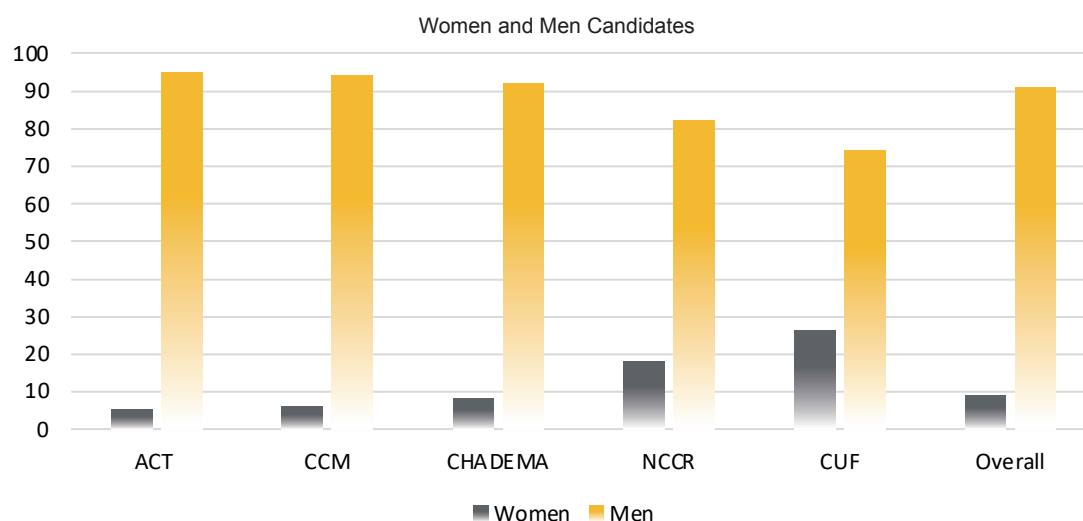
Table 6: Number of Candidates for Councillorship Post in 2020 Election by Political Party

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Dar es Salaam	3	21	NA	NA	3	23	2	6	5	3	13	53	66
Dodoma	2	3	5	44	3	31	1	1	1	11	12	90	102
Kigoma	1	44	2	53	1	46	1	27	2	13	7	183	190
Kilimanjaro	0	17	7	46	2	48	3	20	1	4	13	135	148
Mara	0	13	NA	NA	1	15	7	5	8	18	16	51	67
Mbeya	0	9	16	322	11	83	0	6	1	3	28	423	451
Total	6	107	30	465	21	246	14	65	18	52	89	935	1024
Percent	5	95	6	94	8	92	18	82	26	74	9	91	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

Women pointed to the lack of support from political parties as a reason for low participation. During the interview an aspirant from NCCR-Mageuzi informed that: “My family was so supportive. However, my party was not. After the nomination, I was left all alone, and had to fund my campaign using my own means.”⁸ The breakdown of data for individual political parties reveal that the percentage of nominated candidates was 5 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 6 percent for CCM, 8 percent for CHADEMA as well as 18 percent and 26 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively. The analysis of the data reveals a similar trend as with data of aspirants for the same post that the number the exclusion of women is relatively higher at local level. This is contrary to long-held understanding that chances of contesting for power positions are higher at local than national levels (See Figure 5).

Figure 5: Percentages of Women and Men Councillorship Candidates by Political Party



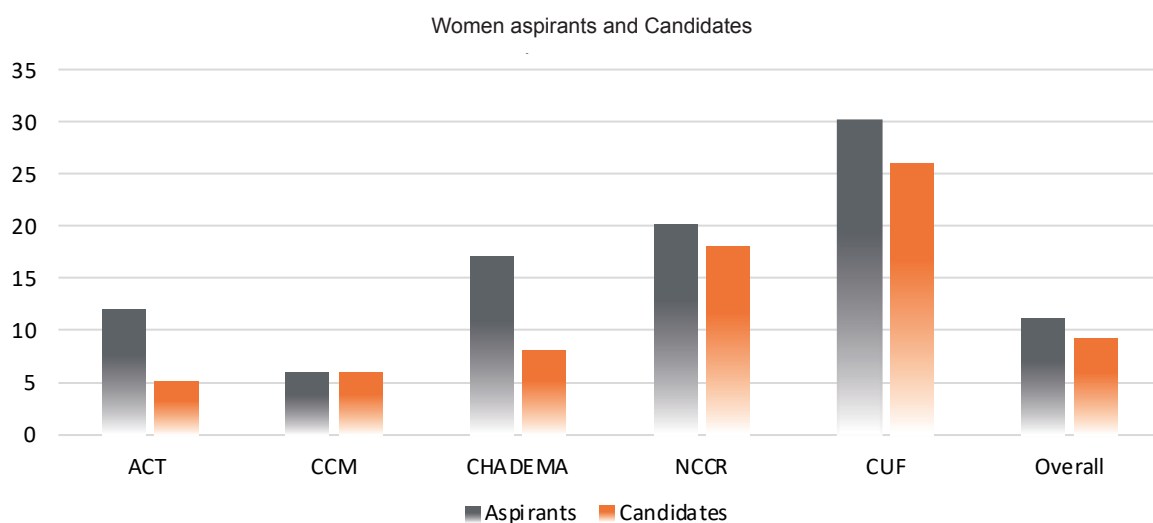
Source: Field Data, 2021

Furthermore, to understand how women are likely to be nominated by their political parties in councillorship post the study saw it important to compare percentage of women aspirants vis-à-vis that of women candidates. Generally, the percentage of women nominated candidates decreased to 9 percent from 11 percent of all aspirants. One of cited reason for low number of women nominated as candidates was lack of financial resources to finance their nomination activities. A women aspirant from Mbeya stated that:

In my party, there were procedural errors. The party did not provide funds to run nomination meetings. It expected the nomination activities to be funded by the delegates. This opened the room for the aspirants to pay for food and transport costs of the delegates. If a delegate knows that he/she has been supported by aspirant X to attend the meeting obvious will vote for that person. This affected the nomination process and if the party does not do something on this it is going to affect the party in future. The costs of delegates to attend the meeting should be paid by the party.⁹

As for individual political parties, the percentage of women from ACT - Wazalendo decreased from 12 percent to 5 percent of aspirants and candidates respectively. As for CHADEMA, it decreased from 17 percent of aspirants to 8 percent of nominated candidates. Moreover, for NCCR-Mageuzi women were 20 percent of aspirants but they decreased to 18 percent of nominated candidates. As for CUF, the percentage from 30 percent to 26 percent of aspirants and candidates respectively. As for CCM the percentage remained the same. This observation point to the fact that women low participation of women in vying for power position in 2020 election was relatively more prevalent at local level.

Figure 6: Percentages of Women Councillorship Aspirants and Candidates by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

The findings from interviews revealed perception that women are not fit enough to lead is still prevalent in Tanzania. It is one of the reason why the participation of women in nomination processes during the 2020 election was low.¹⁰ For instance, a woman aspirant from Kilimanjaro shared: *“there is negative perceptions against women that they are incapable of leading/ruling. This was a big challenge to me and many women from Kilimanjaro. You could hear people saying “can she real lead us?” or “What will this woman tell people in campaign rallies”. But I was confident enough to deal with all these challenges and I showed them that I am capable of contesting as well as being a leader.”*¹¹ Another woman candidate asserted: *“My party was fair during the nominations. Because they nominated me despite the fact that there were other people who*

9 Interview, 6th March 2021, Mbeya
 10 Field Reports, Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, Mara, Kilimanjaro and Kigoma
 11 Interview, 4th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

were more educated and wealthier than me. But the nomination was somehow unfriendly because it was difficult for many party members to accept a woman as a parliamentary candidate. I think this is because many think women cannot contest and win the election and many other reasons which are discriminating women.”¹² Therefore, there is still a need to tackle negative perceptions by the society that women cannot make good and competent leaders.

Moreover, women cited corruption as one of the factors which affected their nomination. They further noted that because women have weaker financial base, they could not compete for nomination. A woman respondent informed that: *“Lack of money. I had to borrow money for my own campaigns. I am yet to pay back the loan. Also, women lacked grit to seek nominations. On the other hand, corruption was still a major factor; without corruption one cannot win in any election.”*¹³ The lack of financial support was not only the constraint to aspirants but also to candidates. A woman candidate from Dar es Salaam reiterated that: *“I received moral support from the party and community. But it was very difficult to get financial support from the party and the community. The party had very few resources that could not be enough to support candidates. The sponsors were afraid to support a member from the opposition.”*¹⁴ Another respondent shared that: *“many women are not well economically so they also fear because of that. But for my case I competed for women special seat (councilor) with outgoing special seat councilors in my party who had money but I defeated them. I also contested for the ward councillorship with other two aspirants within the party and defeated them. In both cases I did not use money.”*¹⁵ Based on these estimates, it is important for efforts to increase the participation of women in political and contesting for power position to include economic empowerment.

Acquiring financial independence is key in enhancing women’s role in politics. For instance, it was shared that in Vunjo, during the nomination process aspirants were invited to pay Tsh. 500,000/= for funding the nomination meeting (buying food and drinks, transporting the nominating members etc.) and also Tsh. 100,000/= as the nomination form fee.¹⁶ This is a challenge because not all aspirants have such kind of money. A woman aspirant asserted that *“It was not compulsory to pay it but who would nominate an aspirant not able to contribute that amount? So, it was indirectly compulsory.”*¹⁷ Another respondent noted: *“the party faced financial challenges. Because the government did not provide us grant to run the 2020 election activities. The party failed to finance some of our campaign meetings instead candidates’ family members, friends and other party members had to support me and other candidates financially.”*¹⁸ Apart from economic factors women cited Discouragement from fellow women (within and outside the party), patriarchy dominance and challenges facing married women with families from their spouses and family schedules.¹⁹

4.2. Youth

Political parties rely on youth in performing various functions of the party. It is against this background that all five political parties studied in this research have the Youth Wings. These include Ngome ya Vijana for ACT-Wazalendo, Umoja wa Vijana wa CCM for CCM, Baraza la Vijana wa CHADEMA for CHADEMA as well as Vijana wa CUF and Umoja wa Vijana wa NCCR-Mageuzi for CUF and NCCR-Mageuzi respectively. Similarly, youth in these political parties play a critical role during election as party of campaign teams and mobilization of votes. It is against this background that youth should be given a deserved consideration in contesting for political power positions through elections by their political parties. However, the findings of this study reveal a contrasting trend during the 2020 general election. First, the number of youth aspirants and nominated candidates in five political parties was low but relatively higher when the number of aspirants

12 Interview, 9th March 2021, Mbeya

13 Interview, 9th February 2021, Mara

14 Interview, 18th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

15 Interview, 6th March 2021, Mbeya

16 Interview Transcripts, Kilimanjaro

17 Interview, 6th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

18 Interview, 4th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

19 Interviews, 10th February 2021, Dar es Salaam; 9th February 2021, Kigoma

and candidates are proportionally compared. Secondly, most political parties do not keep desegregated data on the age of contestants in order to identify the youth from the rest. One of the widely cited reason for this state of affairs was youth's weaker economic position. One interview respondent from Kilimanjaro had this so say:

Youth are not trusted in Moshi vijijini. Citizens in this constituency believes that a member of parliament have to be well established economically, with a known family and old. This is a challenge because youth do not have such achievements. There is also a belief in this society that a leader is a sponsor (mfadhili) and not a representative to the government. That a leader be it a member of parliament or a ward councillor has to have money to fund their activities aside from money that can be provided by the government. In the nomination process members of the party would ask what you have done to this community for us to entrust you with such powers. It is impossible for the youth to have such capability.²⁰

The above interviews highlight the role of money in Tanzania's politics and the extent to which it affects participation of youth in election as aspirants and candidates. This issue will be discussed in details in forthcoming sections. Yet, the study decided to expose it in this introductory section as a way to highpoint its centrality. The data of 16 constituencies from 6 regions of the study indicate that the participation of youth in 2020 election as aspirants was relatively low. It is, however, important to note that political parties do not prepare and keep desegregated data based on the age of aspirants in order to establish the number of youths who aspired for nomination. As a result, the researchers faced a challenges in obtaining this data. Similarly, the data for youth parliamentary aspirants in Mara and Kilimanjaro for CCM could not be obtained. Yet, this data can be used to provide cursory picture of youth participation in 2020 election nomination processes as aspirants. The data from the field indicate that the number of youth parliamentary aspirants from five political parties was 307 (35 percent) while that of other candidates, above 35 years of age, was 571 (65 percent) out of all 878 aspirants (See Table 7). This number, although seems to be low, indicates that youth across the country are increasingly offering themselves for nomination in the political parties. This is especially a case when this number is compared to that of women and PWDs aspirants. Notwithstanding, since there are no records of a number of youth aspirants for parliamentary post in previous election it is difficult to comment as to whether the number of youth aspirants has increased or decreased.

Table 7: Number of Youth Aspirants for Parliamentary Post by Party

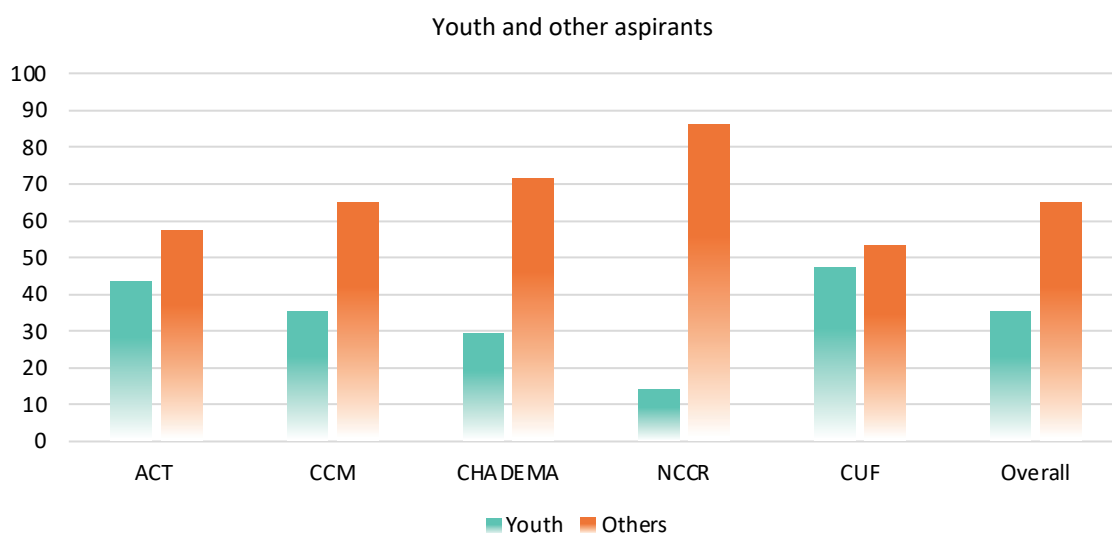
Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	
Dar es Salaam	5	20	112	321	3	9	0	6	2	6	122	362	968
Dodoma	1	2	74	31	1	1	0	2	5	3	81	39	240
Kigoma	1	5	37	59	2	5	1	7	5	4	46	80	252
Kilimanjaro	11	1	NA	NA	2	4	0	12	2	1	15	18	66
Mara	3	2	NA	NA	2	1	1	3	2	3	8	9	34
Mbeya	2	1	27	51	1	7	3	1	2	3	35	63	196
Total	23	31	250	462	11	27	5	31	18	20	307	571	878
Percent	43	57	35	65	29	71	14	86	47	53	35	65	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

20 Interview, 11th February Kilimanjaro

The study was also interested to compare the percentages of youth aspirants among individual political parties. This was important on two grounds. First, to collaborate the information from interviews conducted with members of these political parties and, secondly, to design specific recommendations which can be used to individual political parties to increase participation of youth aspirants. The data from the field indicate that, the percentage of youth parliamentary aspirants was 43 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 35 percent for CCM, 29 percent for CHADEMA as well as 14 percent and 47 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively (See Figure 7).

Figure 7: Percentages Youth Parliamentary Aspirants by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

The data indicates that ACT-Wazalendo and CUF attracted a big proportion of youth aspirants than other political parties. The youth who participated in the 2020 election as aspirants and candidates explained that in ACT and CUF participation of youth was high because of support from party leadership. A respondent from ACT- Wazalendo stated that: *“There was no any factor which inhibit the youth) in offering themselves for nomination into power positions as aspirants and candidates in ACT. ACT provides great opportunities for the youth that is why large number of youths participated in 2020 elections as aspirants and candidates.”*²¹ The respondent from CUF noted that: *“my party CUF played a great role in my political journey. The leaders motivated me to aspire and contest for nomination of parliamentary post. They supported me during the election campaigns. Although I did not win the election but still my family and political party encouraged me to be strong and prepare for the future elections.”*²²

The work intended to study the number of youth councillorship aspirants. The data of 16 constituencies from six regions show that although most political parties had a good number of youths who aspired for nomination the combined number indicate low number of youth aspirants. The number of youth aspirants was 596 (23 percent) while those of other aspirants, 35 years and above, was 1941 (77 percent) from a total number of 2537 councillorship aspirants. Low participation of youth in aspiring for nomination for councillorship post was also observed among women aspirants in similar post. This indicates that marginalization of youth at the local levels in Tanzania is relatively higher. Therefore, there is still a lot of work to be done to increase the participation of women, youth and PWDs in political and electoral processes at the local level.

21 Interview, 4th February 2021, Kigoma

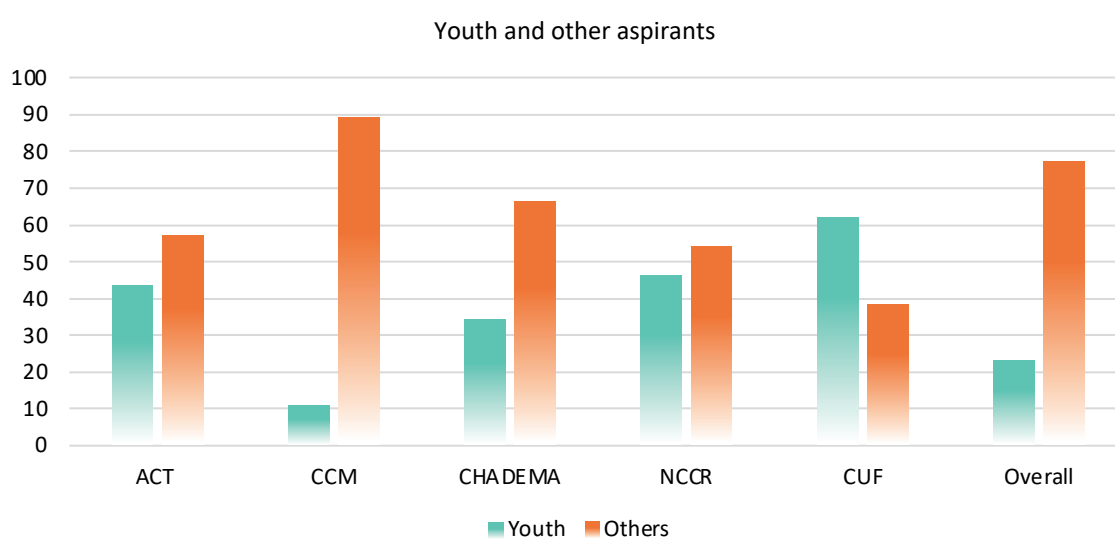
22 Interview, 4th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

Table 8: Number of Youth Councillorship Aspirants by Political Party

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	
Dar es Salaam	11	34	38	530	NA	NA	5	11	6	11	60	586	1292
Dodoma	10	17	15	52	6	8	3	4	27	18	61	99	320
Kigoma	63	134	86	325	21	103	16	27	21	16	207	605	1624
Kilimanjaro	44	1	NA	NA	20	68	27	27	8	0	99	96	390
Mara	11	2	NA	NA	55	9	10	11	18	1	94	23	234
Mbeya	5	4	21	433	43	91	6	0	0	4	75	532	1214
Total	144	192	160	1340	145	279	67	80	80	50	596	1941	2537
Percent	43	57	11	89	34	66	46	54	62	38	23	77	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

The data for individual political parties from 16 constituencies of six regions of this study reveal that majority of political parties had a good proportion of the number of youths who aspired for councillorship nomination. The percentages of youth councillorship aspirants per individual political parties was 43 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 11 percent for CCM, 34 percent for CHADEMA as well as 46 percent and 62 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively (See Figure 8). These figure point to one observation that the number of youth aspirants was relative to the performance of respective political parties in the 2020 election. Moreover, the CUF had more youth aspirants than other aspirants who are 35 years and above. The findings from interviews indicate that CUF has effective mechanisms to ensure participation of youth. Respondents informed that formal mechanisms have been put in place to ensure youth participate in elections. They mentioned party constitution as a formal mechanism to ensure that party members from youth group offer themselves as aspirants for various electoral posts.²³

Figure 8: Percentages Youth Councillorship Aspirants by Political Party

Source: Field Data, 2021

23 Interview, 4th February 2021, Kigoma

The findings from the field reveal that there was proportionality between the number of youth aspirants and those nominated by their political parties as parliamentary candidates for 2020 election. Youth aspirants and candidates in 2020 election acknowledges the role of their political parties as a reason for their increased participation. The data of 16 constituencies from 6 regions of the study reveals that nominated youth candidates were 13 (32 percent) while other candidates, above 35 years of age, were 27 (67 percent). It is also important to note that the study could not obtain age disaggregated data for CCM from Mara and Kilimanjaro (See Table 9).

Table 9: Number of Youth Parliamentary Candidates by Political Party

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	
Dar es Salaam	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Dodoma	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	2	10
Kigoma	0	3	0	3	1	2	0	3	1	1	2	12	28
Kilimanjaro	2	1	NA	NA	0	2	0	3	1	0	3	6	18
Mara	2	0	NA	NA	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	8
Mbeya	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	7	16
Total	4	5	2	5	3	7	0	8	4	2	13	27	40
Percent	44	56	29	71	30	70	0	100	67	33	32	68	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

Although the number is still low when compared to the proportions of youth in the population as well as their involvement in party and electoral activities, it indicates positive trend on the participation of youth in 2020 election in Tanzania political context. Interviews with youth aspirants and candidates point to the support by political parties for increased participation of youth in the nomination processes. A respondent from ACT-Wazalendo noted that: *“I received a strong support from my party despite of financial challenges that are facing almost all political parties. For example, the party organized various trainings for party agents and candidates. It also arranged for lawyers who provided legal assistance to aspirants and candidates in filling-up the nomination forms free of charge.”*²⁴ It is, however, difficult to comment if this represents an increase or decrease of the number of youths nominated by their political parties as parliamentary candidates. This is because there is no disaggregated data from previous election on this aspect. Another respondent from CUF informed that: *“The party had mechanisms in place to facilitate participation of youth in electoral process. It was through education/training that made many youths to show interest in contesting various positions during elections. It started way back in 2019 before the local government elections. There were finally many youth candidates for both parliamentary seat and councillorship seat.”*²⁵ Similarly, the respondent from CHADEMA noted that the party has mechanisms in place to enable party members from youth group to offer themselves as aspirants for various electoral posts. He added that CHADEMA has a ‘youth council’ (Baraza la vijana) where the youth are trained.²⁶

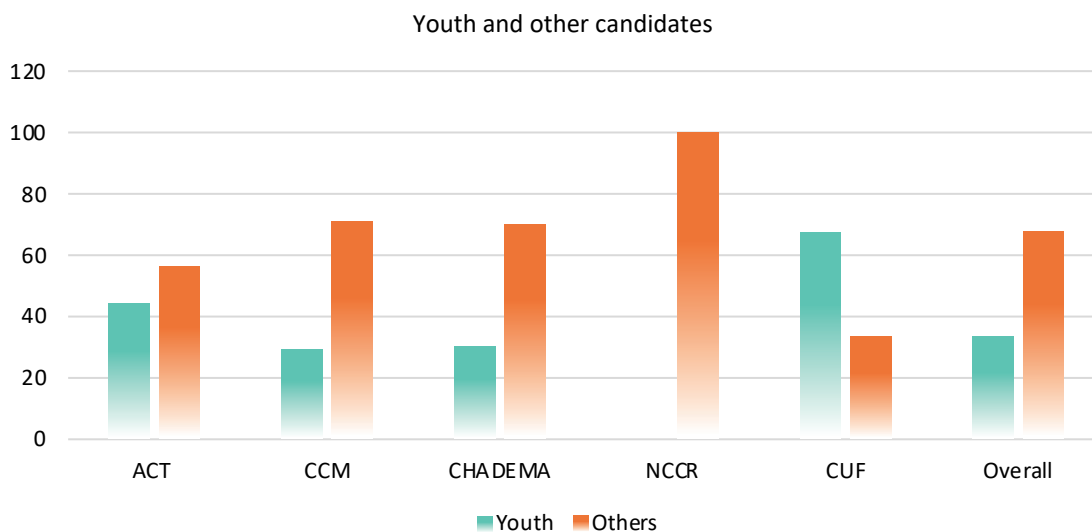
The study was also interested to understand how individual political parties fared in nomination of youth who aspired for parliamentary positions. This was important to provide a picture in which individual political parties can use to increase the number of youth candidates since they play vital roles for all political parties. The percentage of youth parliamentary candidates was 44 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 29 percent for CCM, 30 percent for CHADEMA as well as 67 percent for CUF. It is also important to note that data from the field revealed that no youth was nominated as candidate for parliamentary post by NCCR-Mageuzi (See Figure 9).

24 Interview, 6th March 2021, Dar es Salaam

25 Interview, 3rd February 2021, Kilimanjaro

26 Interview, 5th February 2021, Kigoma

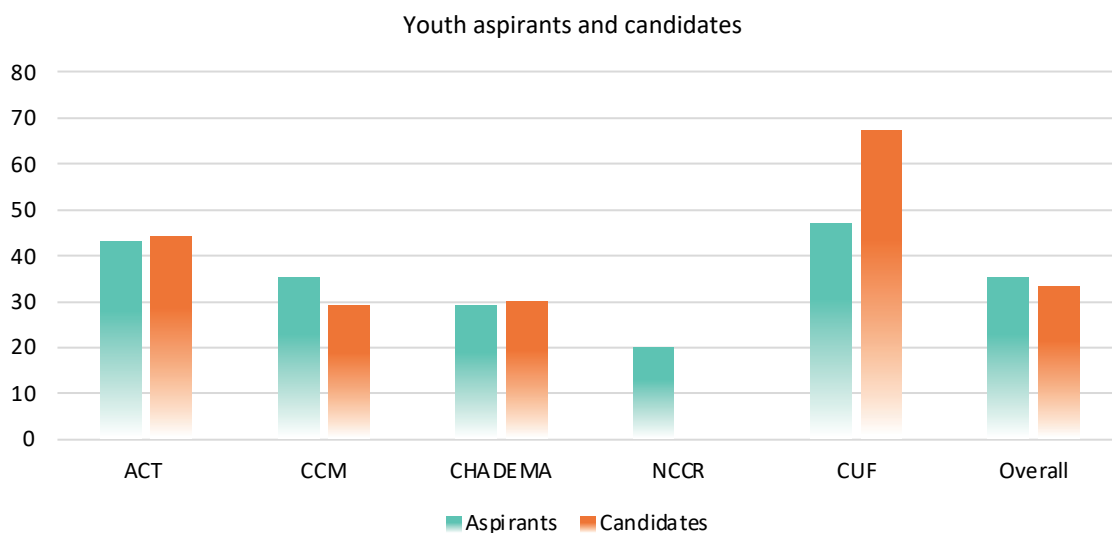
Figure 9: Percentages Youth Parliamentary Candidates by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

The findings have revealed that a fairly number of youth participation in the 2020 election as aspirants and candidates for parliamentary post. It was, however, important to understand the proportionality of the number of youths who offered themselves for nomination vis-à-vis those who were nominated as candidates for interparty election. This was very important in establishing the number of youth parliamentary aspirants is not proportional to their population size and the role they play in political parties. The percentages of aspirants vis-à-vis that of candidates reveal a mixed trend among individual political parties. For instance, the percentage of youth candidates from ACT-Wazalendo increased to 44 percent as that of aspirants was 43 percent of all aspirant. As for CCM the percentages of youth aspirants and candidates were 35 percent and 29 percent respectively. This indicates that proportionally few youth were nominated by CCM. As for CHADEMA the percentage of youth was 29 percent of all aspirants and increased 30 percent of all nominated candidates. As for CUF, the percentage of youth increased from 47 percent of all aspirants to 67 percent of nominated candidates. While for NCCR-Mageuzi although youth were 14 percent of aspirants none of them was nominated as candidates. Based on this data one can conclude that youth have higher chances of being nominated by the political parties when they offer themselves for nomination. Moreover, in 2020 election the youth had higher chances of being nominated as parliamentary candidates by CUF as the proportion of those nominated was higher than that of aspirants (See Figure 10).

Figure 10: Percentages of Youth Parliamentary Aspirants and Candidates



Source: Field Data, 2021

The analysis of participation of women in nomination for councillorship post revealed that their participation was minimal in all political parties of the study. On the contrary, data for the youth councillorship candidates reveal a different trend. The findings from 16 constituencies of six regions reveal that the number of youth parliamentary candidates was 198 (36 percent) and that of other candidates, above 35 years of age, was 357 (64 percent) of all 55 candidates. Although the number of youths nominated as candidates was low but when compared vis-à-vis that of aspirants, it indicates a positive trend. It is also important to note that the figures for CCM in Mara and Kilimanjaro are not included as researchers could not obtain them (See Table 10). Moreover, the data for CCM and CHADEMA in Dar es Salaam are not included. The researcher obtained a total number of candidates which was 30 and 26 candidates for CCM and CHADEMA respectively, but it was not disaggregated according to age. As such there is high likelihood that if this data could be included the number of youth candidates in these political parties could increase.

Table 10: Number of Youth Councillorship Candidates by Political Party

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	YTH	OR	
Dar es Salaam	4	24	0	0	0	0	5	8	4	8	13	40	106
Dodoma	1	4	1	7	5	3	0	10	8	4	15	28	86
Kigoma	27	18	9	46	7	40	7	21	4	10	54	135	378
Kilimanjaro	16	1	0	0	13	37	9	14	5	0	43	52	190
Mara	11	2	0	0	14	8	2	0	11	2	38	12	100
Mbeya	2	3	3	62	24	22	6	0	0	3	35	90	250
Total	61	52	13	115	63	110	29	53	32	27	198	357	555
Percent	54	46	10	90	36	64	35	65	54	46	36	64	100

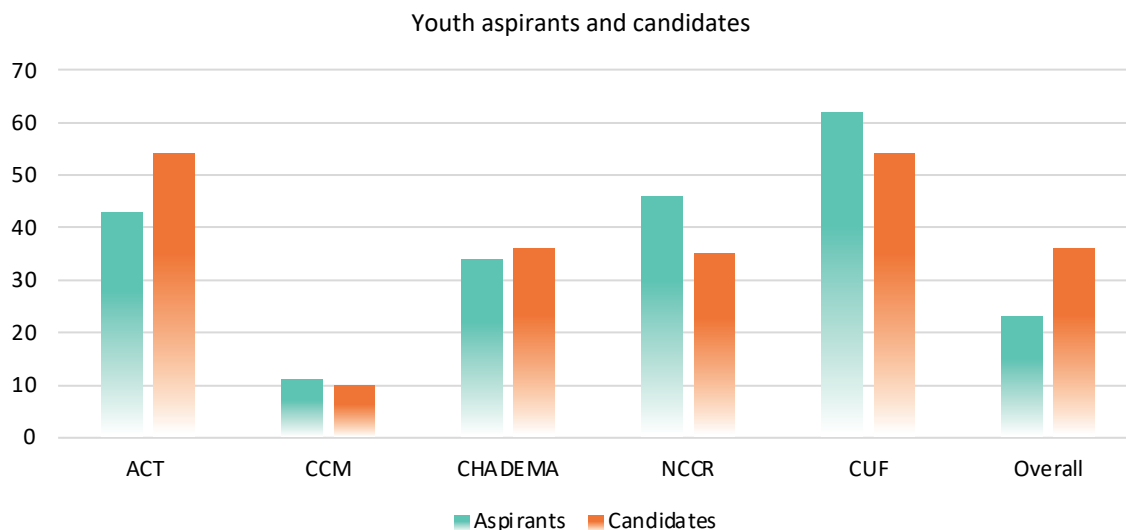
Source: Field Data, 2021

The analysis of this study was also interested to understand to what extent youth were nominated as candidates by individual political parties. This was important in establishing specific results for each political party. The percentage of youth councillorship candidates was 54 percent for ACT-Wazalendo, 10 percent for CCM, 36 percent for CHADEMA as well as 35 percent and 54 percent for NCCR-Mageuzi and CUF respectively. As it can be observed CUF had a big number of youths nominated for this post as was in parliamentary post. Similarly, another way to understand the performance of youth aspirants in councillorship post was to compare their proportion to that of aspirants. Comparatively, the number of youths nominated in councillorship post was higher than that of aspirants. This is a vindication that youth are likely to be nominated by their political parties when they offer themselves for nomination. For instance, the proportion of youth from ACT-Wazalendo increased from 43 percent to 54 percent of all aspirants and candidates respectively. This is attributed to internal party mechanisms to support women and youths as the party leader noted that: *“The Party supports youth and women in various ways. It provides moral support by encouraging youth and women to participate in politics and elections. Many youths have been elected into various leadership positions in the Party. The Party also waived fees of nomination forms in order to allow many youth and women to participate in elections. The party in collaboration with CSOs offered trainings and seminars among youth.”*²⁷ The increase was also recorded in CHADEMA as the percentage of youth candidates was 36 percent compared to 34 percent of aspirants. As for NCCR-Mageuzi the share of youth candidates decreased from 46 percent among aspirants to 35 percent of candidates. The similar trend was observed in CUF and CCM which the proportion of youth decreased from 62 percent and 11 percent

27 Interview, 22nd February 2021, Dar es Salaam

respectively to 54 percent and 10 percent of all candidates respectively. Despite this slight decrease in the proportion of youth candidates vis-à-vis that of aspirants still youth recorded a cumulative increase as the total percentage of youth candidates increased to 36 percent comparing to 23 percent among aspirants. More importantly, youth were the majority candidates for ACT-Wazalendo and CUF (See Figure 11).

Figure 11: Youth Councillorship Aspirants and Candidates by Political Party



Source: Field Data, 2021

It has been observed that youth are likely to be nominated by their political parties. However, still very few youths offer themselves for nomination. Respondents were of the view that this is because youth are discouraged by societal perception towards them. This is, however, attributed to patriarchal culture.²⁸ For instance, the interviews revealed that there is a long-standing view that political leadership is for elderly people. They further added that participation of youth in seeking political leadership is perceived as wastage of time. Youths are regarded as not having enough experience. According to respondents, youth aspirants are perceived as not serious contestants for power positions rather doing trial and therefore their names are deleted at first place.²⁹ A respondent, who was a candidate in 2020 election, reiterated: *“unlike other groups many youths are not popular within the society. Youth are well educated by they are not connected/ attached to their society. This is a challenge because aside from bribe nominating party members nominate a person who has ties to them or who is popular to them.”*³⁰ Thus, the society does not trust the youth as leaders on various grounds. For instance, a youth aspirant noted the following during the interview:

*The societies perceive youth as hooligans, irresponsible and cannot hold leadership positions. The same reasons apply to women that we are weak, incapable of leading and change the society. So, many people disrespected and ignored the youth and women candidates during the election. Some said they cannot attend women or youth campaigns meetings for they have nothing say to the society.”*³¹

Moreover, respondents from youth cited corruption as the reason as to why very few youths were nominated as candidates. The respondents emphasized that party leaders at lower levels have their own people (sometimes pocket candidates) especially the rich people. For instance, a youth respondent who unsuccessfully aspired for nomination, complained that: *“some candidates were not given enough time to campaign in the nomination day while others were given more time to talk to the nominating members. I for example was give few seconds to talk to the members while out of the 30 aspirants 3 were given more than 3 minutes to talk to the members. This was unfair because I was not given a chance to be heard.”*³² Another respondent hinted that there were no effective mechanisms to deal with corruption:

28 Mbeya Field Report, 7th March 2021
 29 Interviews; February and March 2021; Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Mara & Mbeya
 30 Interview, 6th February 2021, Kilimanjaro
 31 Interview, 4th February 2021, Kilimanjaro
 32 Interview, 9th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

“corruption and how responsible authorities handled the problem was a challenge because some aspirants were arrested for corruption allegations while others who were clearly bribing nominating members were not arrested. Others were arrested out of no evidence for the purpose of distorting their image to the society.”³³ Consequently, a number of youth aspirants were disqualified on baseless grounds. Yet, in some political parties the youth were able to successfully appeal their unfair disqualification.³⁴ For instance, a youth respondent from CCM emphasized: “After being baselessly disqualified I got confused and I did not know what to do as I had put much energy in my bid for nomination for councillorship post. But I decided to appeal to party regional authorities and I won. I could not be a councilor without the decision of the headquarters to return back my name.”³⁵

4.3. People with Disabilities (PWDs)

Most political parties in Tanzania have no clear policies or guidelines on enhancing the participation of PWDs in party decision making organs. A political party leader informed that: “There are no formal mechanisms/directives in place to enable PWDs participate as aspirants or candidates. Existing mechanisms are applicable to everybody regardless of their disability status.”³⁶ In all political parties, while there are party wings for women and youth, PWDs have not been accorded that status. As such the participation of PWDs in elections is largely a depend on the will of party leaders. A respondent from CUF, citing his political party, explained why the party has no designated wing for PWDs by asserting that:

The Party has structures such as JUVICUF (for youth) and JUKE (for women) which enhance youth and women to become leaders in future. Youth are considered as persons from 18 years to 39 years. Women are those persons from 18 years to 49 years. Women above 50 years belong to the wing of old people. The party enhances youth and women to participate into politics and elections by giving them opportunities to lead their wings; discuss their issues; and advise the Party on best ways to serve the people. It is unfortunate that PWDs do not have their own wing. This is simply because PWDs are of very different categories (which makes it difficult to have a wing that serves their interest); and they also belong to the existing structures (JUVICUF or JUKE).³⁷

The lack of party wing designated for PWDs can be one of the reasons for low number of aspirants and lack of candidates from this group. The data from interviews indicate that women and youth wings pushed for the participation of individuals from this groups. A party leader noted that: “There are Party structures that promote women and youth to participate in politics and elections. Many youths were nominated into various leadership position through youth wing and women wing. Through these wings They are mentored into leadership qualities.”³⁸

Similarly, political parties use special seats as a way to involve PWDs in leadership position. Yet, since this is not institutionalized PWDs have no assurance of being elected into political decision-making organs through special seat. Moreover, special seats in Tanzania are designated for women hence men PWDs can ascend into leadership through this channel. A respondent from PWDs who contested for intraparty nomination asserted that:

Most of political parties neglect the fact that PWDs are capable of contesting and win the election like any other candidates. Most of these parties consider PWDs as special seats candidates. As you know special seats are only reserved for women and women with disabilities. Men from the group of PWDs are left out to contest as non-PWDs candidates. The political parties are not ready to accepted PWDs as normal candidates and they perceive them as weak and incapable of holding leadership positions.⁴⁰

33 Interview, 5th February 2021, Kilimanjaro

34 Field Reports, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Mara and Mbeya

35 Interview, 8th February 2021, Kigoma

36 Interview, 15th February 2021, Kigoma

37 Interview, 5th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

38 Interview, 22nd February 2021, Dar es Salaam

39 Interview, 3rd February 2021, Kilimanjaro

The above interview gives insights on how and why PWDs are excluded from nomination and other political processes by political parties. Low participation of PWDs in elections was also the case during the 2020 election. The data from 16 constituencies in six regions reveal that very few PWDs offered themselves for nomination for both parliamentary and councillorship post. For instance, there were only four aspirants from PWDs among 757 aspirants for parliamentary post from all six regions of the study. Moreover, there were five PWDs from a total of 2001 aspirants for councillorship post. It should, however, be noted that Data for CCM and CHADEMA for parliamentary post aspirants from Kondo Urban (Dodoma) is not included as it was unavailable. Moreover, the data for CHADEMA for parliamentary post aspirants from Tarime Urban and Tarime Rural (Mara) as well as that of CCM for Kilimanjaro and Mara regions was unavailable. As for councillorship post, the study could not obtain aspirants data from CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, and NCCR Mageuzi for Kondo Urban, CHADEMA and CCM data for both Tarime Urban and Tarime Rural as well as CCM's data for Kilimanjaro region.

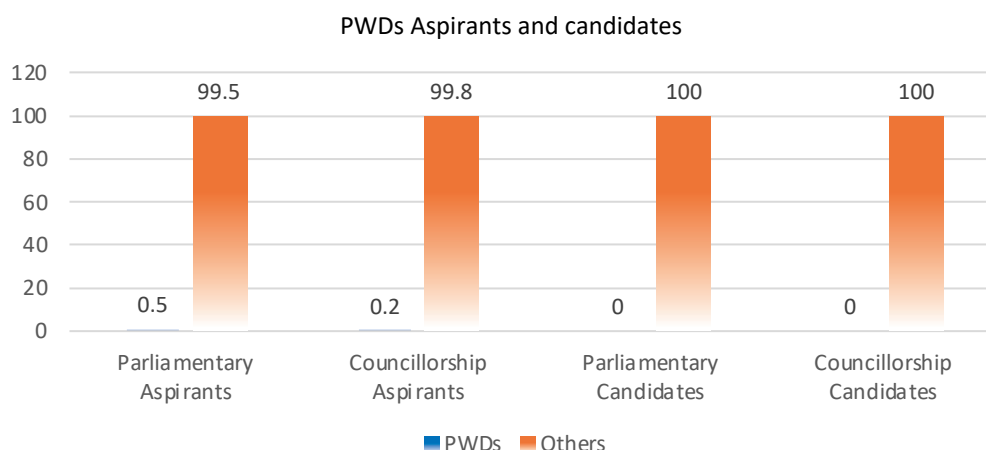
Table 11: Aspirants and Candidates from PWDs for Parliamentary and Councillorship Posts

Region	Parliamentary Aspirants		Councillorship Aspirants		Parliamentary Candidates		Councillorship Candidates	
	PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS
Dar es Salaam	4	367	0	119	0	14	0	96
Dodoma	0	121	1	159	0	4	0	102
Kigoma	0	125	0	797	0	14	0	190
Kilimanjaro	0	24	0	195	0	13	0	148
Mara	0	17	3	120	0	13	0	45
Mbeya	0	98	1	606	0	7	0	125
Total	4	752	5	1996	0	65	0	706
Percent	0.5	99.5	0.2	99.8	0	100	0	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

The exclusion of PWDs was also manifested in the nomination of candidates by political parties. To be sure, there was no single candidate from PWDs nominated by their respective political parties to contest either for parliamentary or councillorship post. The data from Table 11 and Figure 12 show that while there were four (0.5 percent) aspirants from PWDs for parliamentary post none of them were nominated. This shows that exclusion of PWDs from nomination during the 2020 election was higher. Thus, aspirants from women and youth had higher chances of being nominated as candidates than PWDs. Moreover, there were 5 councillorship aspirants from PWDs (0.2 percent) but neither of them was nominated as candidates.

Figure 12: PWDs Aspirants and Candidates



Source: Field Data, 2021

This state of affairs indicates that political parties have not shown any commitment in enhancing the participation of PWDs through elections. For instance, a political party leader shared that: *“The party does not provide any support to any of the three groups in the sense that all individuals are equal. This is based on Party’s slogan “Haki Sawa kwa Wote.” They believe leadership is a talent and not everybody has such a talent.”*⁴⁰ The comment from this respondent is a revelation that political parties have not done enough to enhance participation of PWDs in political and electoral process. PWDs belong to a disadvantaged group, political parties are supposed to designate affirmative measures and mechanisms for their inclusiveness in politics rather than treating them just like other individuals. During the interview an aspirant from PWDs asserted shared a sad experience on his quest for nomination:

*I receive strong support from my family and the society especially the youths. However, the society support is low compared to my family. This is because the societies perceive People with Disabilities (PWDs) differently. They think PWDs are weak and cannot rule. I remember when I first entered into politics and contested my fellow candidates would ask people why should they vote for someone on a wheelchair. As if leadership is a marathon. So, due to such perceptions I receive little support from the society. This is a setback to many people from my group.*⁴¹

The other respondent, an aspirant from PWDs asserted: *“my party leaders especially at lower levels frustrated me and they had no any support. They discouraged me because I had no money to offer them. Thus, persons with disabilities are victims of this because I started before, I and others of my nature have no money.”*⁴² The respondent further noted that the problem starts with party leaders at the lower levels like ward, village and at branch level. Their problem is that they always need money. If you do not offer them money, they will not endorse your name. The painful experiences from these individuals from PWDs is a revelation that special attention is needed in political parties to enhance the participation of individuals from this group. Besides, interviews with political parties indicated that they have programs and strategies to enhance participation of women and youth in party affairs, election and politics in general. For instance, a respondent from CHADEMA noted that:

40 Interview, 5th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

41 Interview, 3rd February 2021, Kilimanjaro

42 Interview 6th February 2021, Kigoma

The party supports youth and women through capacity building. It has also provided youth and women the forum to become leaders in their institutions as well as within the party. In 2017/18, for instance, Chadema established youth academy and women academy where youth and women were trained with special leadership courses. Many youths and women who received such training became leaders within the party. The party also facilitates youths and women networking within and outside the country. Chadema is a member of International Youth Democratic Union and Africa Youth Democratic Union. Some Chadema youth are leaders in those International democratic union. Therefore, Chadema youth have the opportunity to network with other youth in Germany, Ghana etc.⁴³

From the interview one can realize how political parties attempt to attain women and youth inclusiveness. However, the respondent does not show how PWDs are empowered as the named strategies are exclusive to women and youths. While political parties do not have clear strategies to enhance participation of PWDs in political and election one would have expected this function to be performed by civil society organizations dealing with this group. On the contrary, there is no formal collaboration between SHIVYAWATA and political parties as well as election management bodies. An aspirant from PWDs group who contested through NCCR-Mageuzi shared that *“I did not receive any support of any kind from civil society since I have never interacted with civil society organizations which promote people from my group.”⁴⁴* The respondent from this organization asserted that: *“There is no formal collaboration with NEC, political parties etc in facilitating participation of PWDs int nomination process and election. However, SHIVYAWATA cooperated with NEC in preparation of devices used by people with vision disability during 2020 General Elections.”⁴⁵* One of the reasons for not working with political parties is the quest for SHIVYAWATA to remain apolitical as the respondent noted that:

The organization does not support its members to become members of any political party rather it supports them with trainings on rights to vote, participate in elections, decision making and other issues that concern their affairs. Many members become interested with politics and of course offered themselves into nomination process. For instance, many PWDs participated in nomination process in the 2020 General Elections.⁴⁶

The revelation from this official shows how it is difficult to promote the participation of PWDs as aspirants and candidates since it is defined as political involvement. The election law in Tanzania recognizes political parties as the only channel of being elected into political power positions. Yet, the civil society laws require them to be apolitical and independent of political party activities. It is difficult for SHIVYAWATA to enhance the participation of PWDs as aspirants and candidates without engaging political parties. The findings from the study reveal that the exclusion of PWDs in contesting for power position and political process in general is a serious problem in Tanzania. Notwithstanding, the study could not establish as to whether this problem increased or decreased during the 2020 election since there are no data on PWDs electoral participation in previous elections. It therefore important to note that the current context in political parties and the whole political system do not provide opportunities for PWDs to take part in politics as aspirants for political power positions.

43 Interview, 26th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

44 Interview, 6th February 2021, Kigoma

45 Interview, 15th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

46 Interview, 15th February 2021, Dar es Salaam

5.0. Summary Of Findings and Recommendations

The main objective of this study was to assess the participation of women youth and PWDs in the 2020 nomination process. The study thought to accomplish the following: collecting the numbers of women, youth and PWDs who participated in the process as aspirants and candidates in the 2020 General elections in areas of the study; analyzing aspirants and candidates from women, youth and PWDs performance during the 2020 General elections and providing recommendations on the participation of women, youth and PWDs during the 2020 general election and future elections to improve UT evidence-based advocacy.

5.1. Summary of Major Findings

This section provides the summary of major findings of the study. The findings are based on the numbers of aspirants and candidates from women, youth and PWDs as well as discussion of factors which led to such number based on interviews. The following are the major findings.

- i. Based on the data of 16 constituencies from six regions, the study found that the participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in nomination process and elections is not very well enhanced. However, the magnitude of low participation varied among these groups. There was low participation of women and youth and almost non-participation of PWDs in the 2020 General Elections as aspirants and candidates. This low participation is contributed by many challenges that face women, youth and PWDs. Some of the challenges are systemic and others are socio-economic and cultural factors.
- ii. Women were 15 percent and 11 percent of parliamentary and councillorship aspirants respectively. Moreover, the percentage of women nominated as candidates by their political parties was 28 percent and 9 percent for parliamentary and councillorship posts respectively.
- iii. Youths were 35 percent and 23 percent of parliamentary and councillorship aspirants respectively. As for candidates, the percentage of youth nominated by political parties was 32 percent and 36 percent for parliamentary and councillorship posts respectively.
- iv. Although the number of youths nominated as candidates was low when compared vis-à-vis that of aspirants, it indicates a positive trend. Thus, youth aspirants have higher chances of being nominated as candidates by political parties.
- v. Low participation of women and youth as aspirants and candidates was relatively high for councillorship than for parliamentary posts. For instance, women were 15 percent and 28 percent for parliamentary aspirants and candidates respectively but they were 11 percent and 9 percent respectively for councillorship post.
- vi. All political parties do not have special consideration for PWDs in terms of creating a structure that deals with their affairs (the same way as the other two groups).
- vii. There were only four (0.5 percent) and five (0.2 percent) aspirants from PWDs for parliamentary and councillorship posts respectively. Moreover, no single individual from PWDs was nominated as candidates in the 2020 election.
- viii. No political party was found to have clear policies or guidelines on enhancing the participation of PWDs in party decision making organs. In all political parties, while there are party wings for women and youth, PWDs have not been accorded that status. As such the participation of PWDs in elections is largely a depend on the will of party leaders.

- ix. Political parties and election management bodies do not compile and keep reliable desegregated data to provide the number of women, youth and PWDs. This was a problem across six regions of the study. However, it is important to note that while gender-disaggregated data are relatively available the data for other categories is not available.
- x. Political parties are the only gatekeepers for electoral politics in Tanzania. However, they are male-dominated. This patriarchal system has systematically worked against marginalised groups like women, PWDs and youth. Although all political parties seem to promise political inclusiveness in leadership particularly for women, they have not implemented such commitments. More so, they have not said anything about including PWDs and youth as candidates during general elections for positions in the government. For instance, no political party was found to have an institutionalized mechanism of ensuring the inclusion of PWDs in elections as aspirants and candidates. For that case, there is a pressing need to ensure political parties practice inclusive politics within party positions as well as when it comes to contesting for government elective posts.
- xi. The socio-cultural explanations embedded with male-dominant values (patriarchal culture) are fundamentally responsible for the exclusion of marginalized groups like women, PWDs and youth from participating in all spheres of life i.e. economic, political and social aspects.
- xii. Lack of enough financial resources for aspirants to spend during the nomination process is the reason for low participation of women, youth and PWDs. The nomination process requires money, for example for transport and food. Many individuals from these groups do not have such resources and therefore a challenge to offer themselves for nomination.
- xiii. Corruption remains a big problem in Tanzania's political system. The findings for the study indicated that corruption was the widely cited reason which inhibited women, youth and PWDs from effectively offering themselves for nomination as well as being nominated as candidates by their political parties.. Furthermore, there was no effective mechanism to deal with corruption during the nomination processes.

5.2. Recommendations

The third objective of this study was to provide recommendations for improving participation of women, youth and PWDs in future elections. The study provides these recommendations based on specific and general findings. It is however important to note that for these recommendations to be realized stakeholders should work together with the government and political parties as participation of women, youth and PWDs is largely influenced by the constitution, Election and Political Parties Acts, other laws of the land and party documents and procedures. The recommendations are as follows.

- i. There is a need to gather and compile gender-disaggregated data on party membership, participation, representation and influence on party decision making and programmes. This will help track the levels of engagement, voice and influence of both women and men in the core programmes and structures of political parties at all levels.
- ii. There should be increased efforts and campaign towards ending a patriarchal culture in social, political and economic spheres of life. As political parties exist in the male-dominated society they tend to replicate the marginalization of women, youth and PWDs in their leadership structures. Hence to rectify the problem of invisibility of these groups in political parties' leadership positions, a holistic approach to ending the exclusion of women, youth and PWDs within the society by disbanding patriarchy is required.

- iii. Ongoing campaigns and strategies on the fight against corruption in Tanzania's society should be given the gender perspective. This is because corruption makes it difficult for women to offer themselves for nomination in political parties and when they have been nominated corruption hinders them in participating in the election as there is no equal playing field. Therefore, the problem of corruption should be mainstreamed in struggles against women marginalization in the parliament as an enemy of inclusiveness.
- iv. The law should provide for the inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in political parties' leadership positions. This can be achieved by establishing quotas or compelling political parties to have inclusive parity for party leadership positions. Activists can engage with the ORPP to review the Political Parties Act as an opportunity to spearhead changes that will lead to the inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in their leadership positions.
- v. Political parties must form and adopt clear policies and guidelines on enhancing the participation of PWDs in party decision making organs. One of the measures can be to establish a wing or specific department for PWDs as it is for women and youth. This is important to attract and increase the participation of PWDs in elections as aspirants and candidates.
- vi. Activists in collaboration with NEC and ORPP should implement sustained and systematic gender-awareness training and capacity development that targets both men and women at all levels and structures of the political party. Political parties must go beyond awareness on gender and institutionalize gender-responsive interventions, policies and procedures. In other words, training or capacity development on its own without the reinforcement of gendered policies and procedures to govern the daily work of political parties will not change their practice and culture. Training can help strengthen the articulation of gender issues as strategic issues for women and men within political parties. In a similar vein, these should be strategies for youth and PWDs.
- vii. Stakeholders involved in efforts for changing the prevailing phenomenon of marginalization should note that such a task can not be attained by focusing on political parties only. Marginalization of Women, PWDs and Youth is found in different areas of life. Political parties are one of those areas, but not the only ones since they are found within the society built on marginalization. This indicates that in addressing marginalization we should go beyond political parties. If this is not taken into consideration the prospects for curbing marginalization in politics are taking the wrong course.
- viii. Establishing quotas for party leadership positions. Political parties need to establish quotas that will inclusively distribute leadership positions to cater for women, youth and PWDs. Having these groups in party leadership positions, as proved from various areas, will help in making decisions that cater for their needs.
- ix. Political parties should strengthen and redefine the positioning and role of the women and youth wings within the political parties in influencing strategic political decisions, including the allocation of financial resources. The functioning of these wings as conduits for women and youth to mobilize as groups might lead to the articulation of not only women and youth practical needs but women's strategic interests and 'voice' through heightened demands for accountability on gender equality. Developing transformative leadership skills among women and youth in political parties will help prepare them to present themselves as candidates for leadership positions.
- x. Designate both women and men as spokespersons for communicating political parties' positions in the public media: The media has a significant role in promoting gender equality in general and

women's leadership in particular. The media can make society aware of women's contributions and positively report on the work of women, political leaders. The media can also fulfil a 'watchdog' role concerning the implementation of measures on gender equality by governments.

- xi. Ensuring placement of women, youth and PWDs in winning constituencies: This is the most feasible way of enhancing the participation of these groups in elections. Since political parties have some constituencies which they stand better chances of winning, it is important to place candidates from these groups in these constituencies. By doing that political parties will enhance the chances of women, youth and PWDs to compete and win elections.
- xii. Providing Financial and Material Support to candidates from these groups: Since running elections in Tanzania is costly and resources demanding contrary to the economic status of women, youth and PWDs. For that, political parties should step in with material and financial resources for the candidates from these groups. With such support women, youth and PWDs candidates are likely to compete on equal grounds with other candidates.
- xiii. Reducing electoral malpractices during intra-party nomination towards women, youth and PWDs should be a top priority in the strategies to consolidate democracy in Tanzania. Regular dialogue and civic awareness among political parties, law enforcement agencies and state officials should be held to these malpractices. More importantly, the security forces, as well as political parties, should ensure the protection of PWDs, women and youth during intra-party nomination processes as well as campaigns and voting period. The perpetrators of electoral malpractices should be punished in the court of law just like other offenders.
- xiv. Strengthen the implementation of laws, policies and programmes on eliminating gender-based discrimination and the prevention of and prosecution against all forms of gender-based violence, including violence in political and electoral processes. The government has signed several international instruments such as the CEDAW, African Charter on Youth, the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and the Solemn Declaration of the African Union on Gender Equality in Africa. There is a need to continue pressing the government to implement fully these instruments for inclusive politics.
- xv. Research can be used as a tool to promote inclusive politics. Evidence-based research on the lived experience of women, PWDs, and youth plays a critical role in understanding causes of exclusion, specific barriers preventing inclusion, the reform measures most likely to succeed and the impact of positive action measures such as quota systems in facilitating women's representation and other marginalized groups. However, data obtained via research should always be disaggregated to show the real situation of the marginalized groups.
- xvi. CSOs and NGOs working on inclusive politics must ensure that they dedicate a great deal of attention to specifically supporting formal organization of marginalized groups. This is so because there can no meaningful participation of marginalized groups if they are fragmented, disorganized, informal and hence politically weak.
- xvii. There is a need for collective action via networking and alliance building since well-coordinated collective action via networking and alliance building warrants priority in strategies to overcome exclusion. With a common reference document for implementation on inclusive politics, it is expected that actors will be able to evaluate their intervention and improve them accordingly for effective campaigns.

- xviii. The party should train PWDs on the importance of participating in the electoral process both as voters and candidates. Moreover, civil society organizations should train or educate PWDs especially in the rural communities on the importance of participating in the election and election nomination process.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Raw data for PWDs

Table 12: Number of PWDs Parliamentary Aspirants

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	
Dar es Salaam	1	20	2	325	0	10	0	6	1	6	4	367	371
Dodoma	0	3	0	105	0	2	0	2	0	9	0	121	121
Kigoma	0	6	0	96	0	7	0	8	0	8	0	125	125
Kilimanjaro	0	12	0	0	0	6	0	3	0	3	0	24	24
Mara	0	5	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	17	17
Mbeya	0	3	0	78	0	8	0	4	0	5	0	98	98
Total	1	49	2	604	0	36	0	26	1	37	4	752	756
Percent	2	98	0	100	0	100	0	100	3	97	1	99	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 13: Number of PWDs Councillorship Aspirants

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	
Dar es Salaam	0	34	0	0	0	65	0	11	0	9	0	119	119
Dodoma	0	27	0	67	0	14	1	6	0	45	1	159	160
Kigoma	0	182	0	411	0	124	0	43	0	37	0	797	797
Kilimanjaro	0	45	0	0	0	88	0	54	0	8	0	195	195
Mara	0	13	0	0	2	62	0	14	1	31	3	120	123
Mbeya	0	9	0	454	1	133	0	6	0	4	1	606	607
Total	0	310	0	932	3	486	1	134	1	134	5	1996	2001
Percent	0	100	0	100	1	99	1	99	1	99	0	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 14: Number of PWDs Parliamentary Candidates

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	
Dar es Salaam	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	3	0	14	14
Dodoma	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Kigoma	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	14	14
Kilimanjaro	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	13	13
Mara	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	13	13
Mbeya	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	7	7
Total	0	13	0	16	0	16	0	11	0	9	0	65	65
Percent	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 15: Number of PWDs Councillorship Candidates

Region	ACT		CCM		CHADEMA		NCCR		CUF		TOTAL PER REGION		OVERALL TOTAL
	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	PWD	OR	
Dar es Salaam	0	24	0	30	0	26	0	8	0	8	0	96	96
Dodoma	0	5	0	49	0	34	0	2	0	12	0	102	102
Kigoma	0	45	0	55	0	47	0	28	0	15	0	190	190
Kilimanjaro	0	17	0	53	0	50	0	23	0	5	0	148	148
Mara	0	12	0	0	0	16	0	10	0	7	0	45	45
Mbeya	0	5	0	65	0	46	0	6	0	3	0	125	125
Total	0	108	0	252	0	219	0	77	0	50	0	706	706
Percent	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2021

Appendix 2: Research questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF DODOMA (UDOM)

RESEARCH ON ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN NOMINATION PROCESS DURING 2020 GENERAL ELECTION

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

My name is _____ from the University of Dodoma. One of the functions of the University of Dodoma is to research on various fields so as to advise the government and other stakeholders on political, economic, social affairs etc. Currently, we are conducting a study on the participation of women, youth and People with Disabilities in elected leadership positions. The purpose of this study is to understand ***PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN NOMINATION PROCESS DURING 2020 GENERAL ELECTION***. Your involvement is very important in enabling us to give recommendations on the best ways to increase the participation of these groups in different leadership positions. We assure you that your involvement in this study will remain unidentified and your views will not be attributed to your name, position or institution. Moreover, we guarantee that any information that you will provide will never be used for other purposes apart from this research.

Directives on filling this Questionnaire: Fill the data of each political party in respective tables. Data of aspirants should be obtained from Party Offices and those of Candidates should be solicited from Returning Officers or the National Electoral Commission.

PART ONE: PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

i.	REGION	
ii.	DISTRICT	
iii.	CONSTITUENCY	

PART TWO: ASPIRANTS INFORMATION

A: PARLIAMENTARY POST

i. NUMBER OF ASPIRANTS FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL
1	ACT-Wazalendo			
2	CCM			
3	CHADEMA			
4	CUF			
5	NCCR-MAGEUZI			
	TOTAL			

ii. NUMBER OF YOUTH ASPIRANTS FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		OTHERS	YOUTH (Years 18-35)	OTHERS	YOUTH (Years 18-35)	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iii. NUMBER OF PWDs ASPIRANTS FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iv. NUMBER OF YOUTH ASPIRANTS FROM PWDs FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST.

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	OTHERS		YOUTH (Years 18-35)		TOTAL
		WOMEN	YOUTH MEN	WOMEN	YOUTH MEN	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

B: COUNCILLORSHIP POST

i. NUMBER OF ASPIRANTS FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-MAGEUZI					
	TOTAL					

ii. NUMBER OF YOUTH ASPIRANTS FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		OTHERS	YOUTH (Years 18-35)	OTHERS	YOUTH (Years 18-35)	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iii. NUMBER OF PWDs ASPIRANTS FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iv. NUMBER OF YOUTH ASPIRANTS FROM PWDs FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	OTHERS		YOUTH (Years 18-35)		TOTAL
		WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

PART THREE: CANDIDATES INFORMATION**A: PARLIAMENTARY POST****i. NUMBER CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST**

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-MAGEUZI					
	TOTAL					

ii. NUMBER YOUTH CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		OTHERS	YOUTH	OTHERS	YOUTH	
			(Years 18-35)		(Years 18-35)	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iii. NUMBER OF PWDs CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iv. NUMBER OF YOUTH CANDIDATES FROM PWDs FOR PARLIAMENTARY POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	OTHERS		YOUTH (Years 18-35)		TOTAL
		WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

B: COUNCILLORSHIP POST

i. NUMBER OF CANDIDATES FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-MAGEUZI					
	TOTAL					

ii. NUMBER OF YOUTH CANDIDATES FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		OTHERS	YOUTH	OTHERS	YOUTH	
			(Years 18-35)		(Years 18-35)	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iii. NUMBER OF PWDs CANDIDATES FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL
		PWDs	OTHERS	PWDs	OTHERS	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

iv. NUMBER OF YOUTH CANDIDATES FROM PWDs FOR COUNCILLORSHIP POST

No.	POLITICAL PARTY	OTHERS		YOUTH (Years 18-35)		TOTAL
		WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	
1	ACT-Wazalendo					
2	CCM					
3	CHADEMA					
4	CUF					
5	NCCR-Mageuzi					
	TOTAL					

THANKS FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix 3: Interview Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF DODOMA (UDOM)

RESEARCH ON ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN NOMINATION PROCESS DURING 2020 GENERAL ELECTION

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

My name is _____ from the University of Dodoma. One of the functions of the University of Dodoma is to research on various fields so as to advise the government and other stakeholders on political, economic, social affairs etc. Currently, we are conducting a study on the participation of women, youth and People with Disabilities in elected leadership positions. The purpose of this study is to understand **PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN NOMINATION PROCESS DURING 2020 GENERAL ELECTION**. Your contribution is very important in enabling us to give recommendations on the best ways to improve the participation of these groups in different leadership positions. We assure you that your involvement in this study will remain unidentified and your views will not be attributed to your name, position or institution. Moreover, we guarantee that any information that you will provide will never be used for other purposes apart from this research. You have the liberty to opt to answer or not to answer any question. You may also decide to halt this interview, ask any question or seek clarification. The interview will last for 30 minutes.

Would you like to participate?

If the answer is No then stop the interview, thank the respondent and leave. If the answer is Yes, ask the respondent if there is anything, he/she would like to be clarified before commencing the interview.

1. You have been in politics, but what inspired you to enter and remain into politics?
2. To what extent and how you have received support from various agencies and institutions (e.g. Family, society, party leaders, CSOs etc.) in your participation in politics?
3. Based on your experience can you mention and explain the factors inhibit people from your group (women, youth and PWDs) in offering themselves for nomination into power positions as aspirants and candidates in your political party or others?
4. To what extent did government bodies (NEC, Registrar of Political Parties etc.) played a role to ensure and increase the participation of women, youth and PWDs during intra- and an inter-party nomination for the 2020 election?
5. Can you explain to what extent and how your political party has put in place mechanisms/procedures to enable party members from your group (women, youth and PWDs) to offer themselves as aspirants for various electoral posts? If there are any mechanisms/directives are they formal or depend on the context or individual leader?
6. What were the driving factors for your decision to seek for nomination in your political party to vie for electoral posts?
7. Based on your experience, can you explain which challenges you and other aspirants encountered during nomination processes in your party or others during the 2020 election?
8. Based on your knowledge, to what extent did nomination process in your political party was fair/ enabling or unfriendly to people from your group (women, youth and PWDs) in the 2020 election?
9. What were the challenges which faced candidates from your group (women, youth and PWDs) in the 2020 election?
10. What are your recommendations for improving and increasing the participation of women, youth and PWDs in the nomination and contesting for various leadership posts?



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