

Women Participation in Positions of Power and Influence in Tanzania

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Introduction

This paper provides a descriptive analysis of the state of art of women's participation in position of power and influence in Tanzania with a particular focus on the implementation of the Cabinet decision of 1996. In 1996, following the government endorsement of the Beijing Platform of action, the government of the United Republic of Tanzania selected four priority areas of focus out of the 12 critical areas of concern which were agreed upon globally during the fourth World Conference on Women . The four priority areas include: enhancement of women's legal capacity, economic empowerment of women and poverty eradication, women's political empowerment and women's access to education and training (URT: 2003). The first part of the paper will provide a general overview of the legal and regulatory environment within which the four areas of priority of concern are being implemented. This will be followed by a brief review of achievements in the four areas, as we compare some of the strategies and policies with other countries in the region and outside the region. The last part of the paper will provide general conclusions and some recommendations on way forward.

The Legal and Policy Context

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania provides for equal participation of women and men fully in all aspects of the political process. In its preamble the Tanzanian constitution provides for recognition of equality of persons. Additionally, Para 9 of the constitution provides for respect of human rights as provided for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It requires government and all institutions to provide for equal opportunity for both women and men. While Para 21 affirms 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 representative. Para 22 provides for equality of opportunity and equal rights through equal terms and conditions to hold public office. Furthermore, the constitution through various amendments provides for affirmative actions to rectify historical gender imbalances in women's access to representative organs of state such as parliament and local council (URT: 1998) .

Similarly, the Zanzibar Constitution Article 2 Para 9c, states that all citizens will have a right to participate in their governments. While Section 3 Para 21 (1) is more elaborate in stating that all citizens have a right to participate in leadership positions either directly elected or through electing their leaders. The same article provides that all citizens of Zanzibar have a right to work and right to equal opportunity within the framework of equality principle, and furthermore, all people are entitled to equal remuneration for work done without any discrimination. Section 21 of the Constitution of Zanzibar further states that all people should be treated equally in acquiring posts for state leadership, directly or through representation by being elected freely.

Tanzania is also a signatory to many international and regional standards which bind it morally and legally to adhere to equity and non discriminatory policies in the

development processes. 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 (CEDAW), the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), Resolution of the Worlds Summit, International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), World Conferences on Women (1-4). Also regional and sub regional instruments which includes the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR), as well as the Constitutive Act of African Union (2000). Tanzania has also signed some ILO conventions some of which prohibit discrimination based on gender. These include: ILO 100 and 111 Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment, and Occupation, and the ILO 182 Convention on Worst Forms of Child Labour (APRM: 2009). These conventions as earlier stated, bind the state to pursue non discriminatory policies and programs.

Additionally, the country has taken measures to translate the constitutional and international commitments of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment into national policy frameworks, laws, and regulations. The summary below highlights some of these policy frameworks.

The National Development Vision (2025) and Gender Equality

A national vision is a long term desire of the type of society a nation wants to build over a given time frame. It also defines the desired development philosophy and principles as well as desired achievements. Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar have developed national visions. The Vision 2025, launched in 1999, envisages that by 2025 Tanzania would have graduated from the status of a least developed country to a middle-income country, with much higher levels of human development. The document envisages that by 2025 Tanzania should have the following attributes: high quality of livelihood, peace, stability and unity, good governance as well as a well educated and learning society; and a competitive economy capable of producing sustained growth and shared benefits. A deeper analysis of the vision, poses critical challenges in terms of gender equality. Vision 2025 is based on the creation of a market-driven economy which balances growth and distributive elements (URT: 2004). The main challenge is how to how to make the market accountable in promoting principles of gender equality in a context where with the state is playing a minimal role controlling the resources of the country.

Macroeconomic Framework: MKUKUTA/MKUZA

Tanzania was one of the first countries to draft a poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) as part of the World Bank-led process of qualifying for Highly Indebted Poor Country status and the related debt relief. The country's first national poverty eradication strategy document was launched in 1998, and became the basis for the PRSP published in 2000. The overall aim of PRSP was to halve absolute poverty by 2010 and eliminate it by 2015. The PRSP provided a basis for increasing public resources to poverty-related sectors. In the year 2005 a National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty

(NSGRP) popularly known as “MKUKUTA¹” was launched. MKUKUTA, represents the second-generation Tanzanian PRSP, was approved in April 2005, and covers the period 2005-2010. MKUKUTA aims at achieving “faster, **more equitable**, and sustained growth.” The basic tenet of MKUKUTA is that growth is necessary but not sufficient for poverty reduction. MKUKUTA thus emphasises the need to pay attention to **equity** issues as well as equitable growth which focuses on reducing inequalities and enhancing livelihood opportunities for the poor. Equitable growth is supposed to entail improving access to and use of productive assets by the poor, addressing geographical disparities and ensures equal and universal access to public resources. The universal principle spelt out in MKUKUTA provides a foundation which obliges the state to assume primary responsibility for promoting gender equality.

The challenge is: how a market driven economy is going to address the systemic structural inequalities particularly gender inequality with minimal state intervention in regulating the economy particularly the forces which tend to widen economic gaps. In the following section we review the four areas of priority in terms of assessing how the national, regional and international instruments have been translated into operational strategies and policies that address the four priority areas, that are economic empowerment, legal capacity, education and training and political empowerment.

Economic Empowerment

In the sphere of economic power, gender gap between men and women has been increasing. For example, the African Gender Index (Tanzania chapter) (TGNP: 2005), revealed that between 1995 and 2000, the overall equality in economic power that is, opportunities between women and men decreased by 10%. This is attributed to the fact that income and time use or employment, between women and men as well as wages remained the same while equality in access to resources deteriorated by 50%. This index further revealed improvement by 20% in relative equality between women and men in the public sector component and a 10% improvement in relative equality between women and men in civil society component. However, despite these slight improvements, the inequality gap between women and men in Tanzania is still wide. The overall Gender Status Index i.e. the relative equality measure between women and men in Tanzania mainland, which is a combination of social, economic and political power, shows a very small improvement of about (3%) between 1995 and 2000. The overall equality between women and men in the country is significantly reduced by the high level of inequality between women and men in the political power block whose indices were (0.1) and (0.2) in 1995 and 2000 respectively (TGNP: 2005).

The Tanzanian government has taken several measures to address the issue of economic empowerment of women. These include provision of credit facilities which are accessible by women, engendering macro economic framework such as MKUKUTA, providing Gender Budget Guidelines directing sector ministries to mainstream gender budgets in their sector ministries as well as revision of sector policies to facilitate gender

¹ MKUKUTA is a Swahili term which stands for “*Mpango wa Taifa wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kufuta Umaskini* or National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction

mainstreaming in the policies and plans as well as developing a gender policy (URT: 2000).

Both the United Republic of Tanzania and the Government of Zanzibar have put in place laws which promote equal opportunities and ban discriminatory practices at work place. The government domesticated the ILO labour standards through enacting two pieces of legislation, that is The National Employment Services Act (1999) which provides for equal opportunity to men and women in accessing employment, and the Employment and labour Relations Act (2003) which prohibits discrimination at work place on the basis of sex, marital status, pregnancy or disability (URT: 2003). This law protects employees during pregnancy by providing social security hence shifting the burden of cost of maternity from employers and hence protecting women from being discriminated against on grounds of pregnancy (ibid). Additionally, the government has instituted two pieces of legislation which provides for women's access and ownership to land. These include: The Land and Village Act of 1999 which provides for equal access to landownership (URT: 1999). However, in matters of family land, particularly related to matters of inheritance, customary law has been allowed to function. This has subjected women to discriminatory practices in this area.

Access to employment in formal sector in Tanzania is determines women's economic empowerment as well. And yet, formal sector employment for both men and women in Tanzania is very low, as it accounts for only 8.6% of total employment. The African Gender and Development Index (AGDI) (2005) revealed that the proportion of women to men in the formal employment rose from 6% in 1976 to 12% in 1978 to 15% in 1981 and to 24.7% in 1990/91. The same study further revealed that women constituted 24.7% of paid employees, 42.3% of unpaid helpers, and 53.9% of agricultural labour force and only 20% of self employed category (ibid).

Females register a higher rate of unemployment than males in all areas of Mainland Tanzania, except rural. In Dar es Salaam, the female rate stood at 40.3% in 2006, while the male rate was 19.2%. The national aggregate figure was 11.7%. Despite the relatively high rates of employment, two thirds (67.2%) of employed persons work on their own farm with females being more likely to have this status (71.7%) than males (62.4%). Many of these individuals are, in effect, subsistence farmers. And the rate is higher for women than for men. In 2006, 40% of all households in Mainland Tanzania engaged in informal sector activities – 55% in urban areas and 33% in rural. The overriding reasons for male and female engagement in the informal sector are the inability to find other work and the need for families to get additional income.

ILO (1991), defined as “ *Very small scale units producing and distributing goods and services, and consisting largely of independent, self-employed producers in urban areas of developing countries, some of whom also employ family labour and/or a few hired workers or apprentices; which operate with very little capital, or none at all; which utilise a low level of technology and skills; and which generally provide very low irregular incomes and highly*

unstable employment to those who work in it” (ILO 1991, quoted from Meena R, Rusimbi M and Makindara J (2008.).

Related to the above is lack of credit facilities. Existing literature asserts that formal banking shun the poor. Informal sector operators do not have access to banking and formal credit facilities, and when they get access, the amount of credit is too small to facilitate their expansion of the businesses. This again perpetuate poverty levels of small scale traders as they are unable to transit from small scale informal to medium and large scale formal trade. Women are particularly hard hit because of the other gender related discriminative practices (Meena/AU: 2007).

The other aspect which affects women’s economic empowerment is the triple workload which women carry and particularly the unpaid care services. An analysis conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics (2007/8) on how men and women spend their day and how this is divided into what is then defined as work (or productive activities) and what constitute non productive activities (or unpaid) revealed a very interesting pattern which is likely affecting the initiatives to empower women economically. The data revealed that men spend a total of 5% of their day on unpaid care work, (less than an hour and a half), compared to 14% for females (3 & 1/2 hrs per day). The data further revealed that females across all age groups do much more unpaid work than males. This pattern is already evident among boys and girls, with boys doing an average of 68 minutes a day and girls doing nearly twice as much that is 126 minutes a day. In the older age groups women’s unpaid care work is several times as much as men’s. For example, women aged 18 -49 years do an average of 277 minutes (more than four hours) of unpaid care work each day, compared to only 76 minutes for men. And that this extra time which women spend in unpaid work, is partly balanced by their spending less time than men on paid work. If we add the time spend on both categories of work all together, women’s workload is much heavier than men’s. For instance, among 18-49 years old, women do nearly one fifth more work than men, at 543 minutes per day for women and 458 for men. This allows the men of this age to spend an average of 110 minutes nearly 2 hours socialising each day, compared to only 65 minutes spent on socialising by women. (URT/NBS: 2006) (TGNP: 2009) (Fontana M and Natali L (2008). The workload can have some negative impact on women’s horizontal mobility if it impacts the time they have to invest on formal employment or even time to relax to enable them to regain energy for better performance of formal paid activities.

Some few countries which have started to recognize how care burden affects participation of men and women in productive activities have taken measures to support men and women to assume care responsibility as they balance with their productive responsibilities. In Denmark for instance, local government grants men and women an allowance of DKK 11,344 to offset baby sitting expenses. The same government grants all local government employees, an allowance for care of a sick person or close relative so that they can participate fully in their productive work (instraw: www.instraw.un.org. In Tanzania, while such payment might not be feasible, but at least government should make decisions that overburdens the already household care services such as transferring

of patients who are terminally sick to the household level without corresponding resources to support them. .

Education and Training

Education is a gateway to women's access to positions of power and influence. Most of the sector documents affirm that the Tanzanian government is committed to providing compulsory primary education to all children. The Education and Training Policy of 1995 for instance, clearly stipulates that primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all 7 year old children until they complete the primary cycle of education. Furthermore, this policy defines gender equality as a main anchor of this policy. The policy states that in order to increase participation of women in education and training, the Ministry of Education will do the following: make primary education universal and compulsory, establish co-education for girls secondary schools, government will not de-board girls boarding schools, government shall establish girls stream in boys only schools, adult education programmes to be reinforced, review of the educational curriculum from a gender perspective, eliminate gender stereotyping in educational systems, books and learning materials, special in service training for female teachers as well as government encouraging construction of girls hostels (Ministry of Education and Culture Policy: 1996).

The government in partnership with some few CSOs developed a Country Action Plan for Girls Education in Tanzania (2001/02-2003/04). The plan was supposed to have provided direction to the Ministry to ensure that all girls in Tanzania will fully access, remain and finally exist to other higher levels of learning. This is in addition to the initiative to provide alternative system to cater for the out of school kids who were not able to enrol at the age of seven. Indeed, the Ministry stands out prominently in terms of policy position in promoting gender equality in education at basic level.

Tanzania made commendable progress in providing primary education to most of its children when it embarked on a universal compulsory primary education program during the 1970s to 1980s. Public commitment to expand and invest in universal primary education was made through the Education Act no. 25 of 1978 which made primary enrolment and attendance universal and compulsory. By 1984, universal primary education had more or less been achieved, with gender parity, while adult literacy had increased to 60% in 1981 and by 1987 had reached 85% URT/Ministry of Education 1987). During the 1990s, however, the introduction of user fees in a context in which people's livelihoods were deteriorating led to declines and stagnation of enrollment and attendance which undermined the achievements of the early 1980s.

The Millennium Development Goals Progress Report on the other hand, revealed that most of most indicators in education have registered improvement over time. By 2006, net enrolment rates had risen to 94.8 per cent and 77 per cent in the Mainland and Zanzibar respectively. There is near gender parity with regard to enrolment of girls and boys at the primary school level. Primary School retention rates (proportion of

children enrolled in Standard I who complete Standard VII) have improved from 71 per cent in 1997 to 79 per cent in 2004 in the Mainland. Retention of girls is slightly better than that of boys. There is still concern about the performance of girls in Standard VII (Primary School Leaving) Examinations. Transition rates indicate that Secondary School enrolment is up with a near gender balance at entry. However, after Form IV the retention of girls drops substantially with a ratio of 2 boys to 1 girl when they reach Form VI. Adult illiteracy remains high. According to the 2002 Population census data, literacy rate among age 15+ is 70 per cent (78 per cent for men and 62 per cent for women). Overall, about 28.6 per cent of Tanzanians cannot read and write in any language. There is more illiteracy among women (36 per cent) than men (20.4 per cent). The target of eliminating illiteracy by 2015 remains challenging particularly for rural women. (URT/Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment: 2006

Introduction of user fees however, frustrated efforts of realising universal education. Hence by 2000, out of 100 children between the ages of 12 and 13, only 56% were enrolled (URT: 2000). A sector wide approach was again institutionalised through Education Sector Development Programme which provides a framework for the implementation of Universal Education. Access to primary education expanded since 2000 as a result of the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) (URT: 2005). According to government official figures, in 1999, the net enrolment rate for primary education was 57% (URT: 2005c),² but by the year 2004, net enrollment in primary school had reached 96.1% (ibid.). By 2005 Tanzania had almost reached gender equity in primary education with a gender parity ratio for net enrollment of 0.98 (ibid).

Although primary survival rates are similar for boys and girls, throughout the period 1998 to 2004, boys' performance in the primary school leaving examination exceeded that of girls by about 15 percentage points (URT: 2005). This disadvantages girls in accessing secondary and other post-primary vocational training institutions. This, in turn, reinforces gender inequality in accessing the labour market after the schooling cycle.

In contrast to high levels of participation in primary education, access to secondary education is extremely limited in Tanzania. While there are 7 million children in primary schools, there are only just over half a million children in secondary schools (UNESCO: 2006). The percentage of primary school leavers transiting to secondary education declined from 36% in 1961 to 19% in 1967 and to only 7% in 1980. The decline is attributed to the expansion of primary schooling without a corresponding expansion of the secondary level. The proportion then rose to about 15% by early in the 1990s. (ibid.). The 2007 Poverty and

² UNESCO figure states that in 1999 Primary NER in Tanzania was 48 (UNESCO: 2006).

Human Development Report suggests that roughly 67% of children leaving std 7 made the transition to Form 1 in 2007; but that the gender balance is starting to deteriorate . The expansion is attributed to government initiatives of increasing classrooms, recruiting teachers on a short-term basis and encouraging private sector investment at this level of education.

Although enrollment of girls at entry level for secondary school is similar to that of boys, retention drops off significantly for girls As a result a clear gender gap in enrollment emerges during the last years of secondary education. By form IV, the final year of lower secondary education, the ratio of boys to girls is 2 to 1 (GPI is 0.5) (URT: 2006). One of the contributory factors for drop-out among girls is teenage pregnancy.

Participation of females in tertiary and university education is low compared to the male counterparts. This is further illustrated in the table below:

Table 1: Enrolment in Public and Private Universities in Tanzania

Category	2003/04			2007/08		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
PUBLIC	82344	20566	28910	19505	45159	64664
%female/male	28.9%	71.1%	100%	30.4%	69.8%	100%
PRIVATE	1060	1704	2764	6712	11153	178665
%female/male	38.4	61.1%	100%	37.6	62,4%	100%
GRAND TOTAL	9404	22270	31674	27217	56312	82529
%female/male	29.7%	70.3%	100%	31.8%	68.2%	100%

Source: APRM: 2009 pg.xiv

Low participation of women in tertiary and university education does influence their level and nature of their participation in decision making organs.

Significant progress has been made in improving the literacy levels of women and men in Tanzania and yet a third of the adult population aged 15 and above is illiterate. The female adult literacy rate is 62.3 compared to 77.5 for males. (UNDP, 2006: 366). The literacy rates for younger women and men are, however, higher than for the older cohort. Official data from the ministry of education indicate that the literacy rate for youth aged 15-24 is 78%, and that the gender difference is small, at 76% for young women compared to 81% for young men. (UNESCO, 2006: 174). The higher literacy rates among young population can be attributed to expansion of primary school and adult literacy programs.

Legal Empowerment

The implementation of the Beijing priority area in this aspect entailed enhancing the legal literacy of women as well as enacting or reviewing laws which had discriminative pieces. Some of the laws enacted, or reviewed in order to protect women from discriminatory practices including access to legal justice include: revision of the constitution which is the primary law of land to incorporate affirmative action to promote women’s access to electoral positions. The Sexual Offences (Special provisions), Act, to protect the dignity of women and children , as well as the Land Act no. 4 of 1999 and the Village

Acts No. 5 of 1999 provides the right of ownership for both men and women. The Act no. 4 of 1999 was further amended in 2004, to allow use of land for mortgage, but provided a clause to protect spouses from arbitrary abuse of family land (URT: 2005).

The main challenge in this area however is the existing customary practices which discriminate women against land ownership, which also provide loopholes under the current revised land act for spousal abuse of family land. The extent at which commercialisation of land will lead to women's economic empowerment remains to be tested with time given the fact that the majority of rural communities are still governed by the customary land tenure systems which recognize male as owners of the land

Act no. 2 of 2002 however establishes land tribunals with women constituting not less than 43% of land tribunal membership. If this is to be enforced and supplemented with awareness raising programmes, it might be an opportunity for women to influence patterns of land use and distribution in their favour.

In an effort to enhance legal capacity of women, initiatives to identify discriminatory pieces of legislation have also been undertaken. Some 12 pieces of legislation have been identified which are considered to have discriminatory pieces. Some of these include: the law of Marriage of 1971, the Affiliation Ordinance of 1964, the Maintenance Act of 1982, the Employment Ordinance Capt. 366; the Customary law Declaration of 1963, the Age of Majority (citizen Act no. 24 of 1970 to mention but few. Zanzibar identified two discriminatory pieces which are: The Spinster Act No. 40 of 1984 and the Education Act no. 6 of 1982. Most of these pieces of legislation were inherited from the colonial system, and have ever since remained in the statutes providing loopholes for discriminatory. For instance, females who have not reached the age of majority are allowed by law (using religious or traditional law) to get married under the consent of parents. And yet, the marriage law of 1971 recognizes marriage as a voluntary act involving a contract between two parties. In Zanzibar, the Spinsters, Widows and Divorce Protection Act (SWFPA) of 1985 which embodies clauses on the basic rights of women, i.e. Section 3(1) of the SWFPA which inter alia states "A Spinster who is found to be pregnant at her own will shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable for a two years imprisonment" (URT: 2005)

Legal capacity is also affected by the unwritten laws of the society. Revision of legal instruments and enacting new laws to protect women are necessary but not sufficient in ensuring legal capacity. The unwritten laws of the land which constitute practices, internalized norms and values based on exclusionary principles do define the positioning of women in society and in the economy in particular. The unwritten laws and practices define who has de facto access to resources, who is eligible for what position and who is not. Such laws constitute part of people's belief systems, norms and values and therefore have to be addressed in initiatives that seek to enhance legal capacity of women

Lack of legal capacity affect the extent at which women can claim their rights to accessing other resources including electoral resources. This in turn has direct impact on the level and nature of women's participation in political processes and other positions of power and influence. This will be summarised in the following section.

Women Participation in Political Processes:

The first cabinet of Tanganyika after independence did not have a female holding a full ministerial position. Only two women were appointed as Deputy Ministers, that is Bibi Titi Deputy Minister of Health while Lucy Lameck was first appointed as a Parliamentary Secretary of Cooperatives and Community Development from 1962 -1965 and from 1965-1970 as a Deputy Minister of Cooperatives and Community Development. When the late Bibi Titi demanded an explanation from the then late President Mwl. Julius Nyerere the first president of independent Tanganyika and the United Republic of Tanzania, as to why he did not include women into his cabinet as full ministers, she was informed that there were no women with ‘ **relevant experience**’. The late Bibi Titi who had been instrumental in mobilizing women and men for party membership and in resource mobilizing for the party which won independence, during the pre independence struggles, found this to be a joke, as she wondered where the male counterparts had learnt the art of statesmanship prior to independence???. According to her, this was the beginning of institutionalization of discriminatory political practices at high levels of decision making (interview : 2001) It was not until 1975 when first two female ministers were appointed as full cabinet ministers, with Julie Manning being appointed as a Minister of Justice, while Tabita Siwale was appointed as Minister of National Education. Over the past four decades after independence, the story remains the same, women have continued to constitute an insignificant minority at Cabinet level, which is the highest decision making organ in this country. Its no wonder that only 16 names of females have ever held full cabinet positions from 1962 when the first cabinet was formed, to day (2009) (www.guide2womenleaders.com/Tanzania.htm).

Women parliamentarians constitute a critical mass from where the president appoints his/ (her) team. In Tanzania, women parliamentarians are recruited from either popular constituency votes, or through the special seats arrangements which were introduced in the country in 1985, or through presidential appointed as per constitutional powers granted to the president of the United Republic of Tanzania through. In the first post independence parliament in Tanzania, (1962-1965) women constituted only 7.5% of the total parliamentarians. This fell to 3.5 percent during the 1970-75 parliamentary elections. In the 1985 elections, which were the first to test a quota system, women suffered yet another setback in terms of constituency seats, where only two percent of female MPs won Constituency seats in 1985, a decline of 5.5 percent compared to the general elections of 1961. From 1961 to 1985, therefore, women members of parliament constituted less than 10% of total number of parliamentarians. In 1992, a constitutional reform resulted in the quota for women being increased to 15 percent of special seats in parliament and 25 percent of seats on local councils. This is in addition to normal

constituency representation elections. This led to an increased percentage of women in parliament to 16.5 % .

Following the Beijing Declaration, and the Cabinet Decision to prioritize women’s political empowerment, and in line with SADC Declaration of 1997, which had set a benchmark of 30 % female representation in Parliaments, a constitutional amendment in 2000 resulted in the percentages of special seats being further increased to 20 percent in parliament and 33.3 percent on local councils. It is to be noted that the constitutional amendment target was below the SADC benchmark. Further constitutional amendment in 2005 set a target of 30% benchmark as per SADC benchmark (Meena R (2003). The government is now working towards instituting another benchmark of 50/50 by 2010 inline with the AU’s constituent declaration.

The 2005 elections increased the numbers and percentage of women Members of Parliament from 21.5% in 2000 elections to 30.3% in the 2005 elections. Out of the 323 seats, women held 97 seats, out of whom, 17 were elected from the constituencies which is an increase from 12 in 2000, and only 8 in 1995. Another 75 were elected from the special seats an increase from 48 in 2000, while 3 were appointed by the president an increase from 2 in the 2000 elections. Two are from the Zanzibar House of Representatives. After the 2005 elections, more women were appointed as cabinet ministers some of them holding very strategic positions such as Minister of Finance, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Minister of Education and Culture and Minister of Foreign Affairs (Meena R: 2003, TGNP : 2007). This is further illustrated in the following table

Women’s Representation in the National Assembly in Tanzania 1995-2005

Year	Women Representatives		Total Women	Total Seats	% of Total Seats
	Constituencies	Women’s Seats			
2005	22	75	97	307	31.6
2000	12	48	60	279	21.51
1995	8	37	45	269	16.73

Source: EISA Tanzania : Women in Parliament : available at:
www.eisa.org.za/WEP/tanwomenrepresent.

Although Tanzania has reached the benchmark of SADC, and the constitutional benchmark of the 30% critical minority, this is still below the African Union Constituent benchmark of 50/50 in parliament. Additionally, the discourse on 30% or 50 % has not gone hand in hand with a discourse of transforming the broader picture addressing the general condition of women in the economy. The benchmarks have not also been translated into strategies directed at other public offices.

What accounts for low participation of women in electoral positions in Tanzania? And what measures have been undertaken to address this? There are a multitude of reasons which account for women’s low participation in electoral politics including those related to the discussion in the first section of this paper. In a nutshell, some of the reasons

include: low positioning of women in the society due to social cultural norms and values, lack of economic power, Legal and regulatory environment, lack of political support by existing political parties, which in turn impact their ability to access electoral resources, such as media, the type of electoral regime, which translates in lack of political will to transform the politics of exclusion. Some of these factors are further elaborated in the following section.

Factors which Determine Women's Access to Electoral Positions

Lack of economic Power

Women in Tanzania own fewer resources, in all aspects of life including formal wage, ownership of business (big), lower levels of higher education and have less access to formal credit facilities than their male counterparts. Lack of economic power is a barrier to women's accessing electoral politics. "Income enables a woman to have **"voz y voto"** a voice and a vote" says women activists from Latin America (www.globalfundforwomen.org/publications/newsletter/2002). Steven Grinter and Daniel Zovatto (2005) argue that while democracy does not have a price, its operations do incur cost that needs to be met" (Steven Grinner, Daniel Zovatto [2005]). Part of this cost is expenditure needs for electoral campaigns. Hence funding elections has a big impact on women's accessing electoral positions as further elaborated in the following section..

Funding Elections and Women's Participation in Politics

The literature on funding mechanisms for supporting women in electoral campaigns focuses on several areas. In the first place the debate raises general issues related to election funding which have a bearing on funding women in electoral campaigns. The debate here has revolved around who should fund the election campaign and why? Should there be ceilings on funding and spending? How do you regulate and define limits? How much should come from the public resources and how much from private sources? How can you disassociate funding and sectional interests? Do you level the playing ground to ensure fair and just distribution of campaign resources and, if so, how? What criteria should be used in funding campaign, and what mechanisms? How can candidates be freed from chasing money and given more time with their constituencies? What is the gender implication emerging from the public/private debate? (Preciado H, 2002).

Issues of funding particularly addressing funding women candidates include among others: inequalities in accessing campaign resources, lack of timely funding to support women during preliminary stages of the campaign, gender related constrains in accessing media, lack of support by political parties during campaigns and political corruption. The debate has also raised questions addressing issues on sources of funding for women as well.

Women aspirants have less access to resources due to their low economic status discussed in the previous sections of this paper, as well as lack of economically powerful networks to support them accessing campaign resources. Due to existing gender division of labour, women aspirants to elected office have had to incur additional costs which are hidden, such as arrangements for alternative child care services, housekeeping chores,

and other related responsibilities which demand their physical time and money. This is crucial for women during the preliminary stages of nomination during which women have to pre invest in profiling themselves of political parties, build a campaign team, and plan for alternative substitutes to support domestic chores in cases where women had main responsibility of housekeeping as many do. For the new aspirants, they need exposure and understanding of the campaign strategy, this initial stage is normally self sponsored and can disadvantage women who are not economically powerful. This initial support has never constituted part of election funding for female aspirants. And yet, experience elsewhere demonstrates that timely support has made a big difference to women who are likely to win elections if supported.

Experience in other countries have demonstrated that “When women Support Women, Women Win”. An example of this is the EMILY list (EL) which is an acronym, standing for “**Early Money Is Like Yeast**” (**it makes the dough rise**) in both the USA and Australia the EMILY list was started in 1996 by women feminists/activists. These activists were members of political parties: Democratic Party (USA) and Labour Party (Australia) who however, started the network outside their political party. The membership of the network was hence across party lines in both countries. In both countries the network believed that early money for women candidates was critical in their campaigns as it will support the candidates to raise more money for their other campaign activities to win. Among other things the EMILY List in the USA has been able to do the following:

- Supported democratic female candidates who are *pro choice* to enter congress and senate, as well as governorship around the country
- By end of 2006, the network was the largest single source of donations to female democratic candidates in the country having been able to raise US \$ 11 million for candidates and another US \$30 million for their other political activities

During the 2006 election, it was able to support 8 new female Senators increasing the female members of the USA Senate to 50, highest ever in the history of the Senate, with the Senate electing one of the female senators to be its first ever female speaker of the house³. www.washingtonpost.com/wp/articl/2005)

In Australia, EMILY List was established in 1996 by prominent labour women who were also driven by desire of increasing numbers of women of the labour party who were going to also represent women issues in the parliament. The networks first, aimed at ensuring that more labour women were elected to Australian parliaments and secondly, women were committed to pro choice positions on abortion and to gender equality issues more generally. Among other things the EMILY List in Australia has:

- By end of 2004, the EL claims to have helped at list 91 new labour women members including indigenous women to the Australian parliament.
- Through EL support, Australia has been able to reach the 30% threshold for all parliamentarians and 35% of labour parliamentarians.
- Of the total labour women parliamentarians, at least 71% were supported by EL

³ Representative Nancy Pelosi became the first women speaker of the House of Senate, this is attributed to the increased number of women in the Senate through the EMILY list support.

- EL has a mentoring program which is supposed to ensure that experienced women parliamentarians support new and young female members in order for them to be able to voice women's issues and concerns. (www.emilylist.org/newsroom).

The lessons from the two cases is that women electoral candidates do not only need financial support, but the money has to come in early enough to support the preliminary processes needed to enable women to prepare and engage in the campaign process. The second lesson is the role of played by women members of political parties who are able to work across party lines their ideological differences notwithstanding.

The issues of election deposits are another area which has had gender implications. The argument here is that candidate deposit is one of the mechanisms for disclosure. In some cases the size of the deposit is prohibitive and hence screens out the possible candidates. Women aspirants are more likely to be screened out due to failure of raising the needed sum than their male counterparts. In Tanzania, the presidential candidate is required to deposit up to 5,000,000 Tsh, which is equivalent to US\$ 5,000 while a parliamentary candidate will need to deposit up to Tshs. 1,000,000 or US \$ 1,000. This is certainly a prohibitive amount which screens out individuals and particularly women who will not be in a position to raise such an amount.

Role of Political Parties

Political parties are 'gate keepers' deciding on who is in and who is out, who gets what resources and at what time (Meena R: 2003). Paradoxically, political parties use women in mobilising membership, in fundraising, and during campaigns to profile male candidates. This is however not reciprocated in terms of supporting women to winning stages in electoral processes. At more women get screened out at preliminary stages during the electoral campaign processes. A few of those who remain are left to swim alone in dark seas, and hence most of them do not go through to the winning stages. Political parties are not required by law to practice internal democracy or to institute affirmative actions to support the historically excluded groups such as women in decision making organs.

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

Chairperson a female, but the rest of leaders were all male. All in all, most of the parties did not have female leaders, except those who were leading the 'women's wings'. Male dominated political parties will only support some quotas or affirmative actions which favour their position, rather than those which will substantially transform party politics and finally have a larger impact on the political play field.

To run for a constituency seat an aspirant must be a party member and must apply for nomination. Although nomination rules and procedures differ across political parties, each candidate has to be endorsed by a political party's decision making organs. This is a bit tricky, parties will endorse individuals who are more likely going to defend their ideological interests, even if those interests will contradict with the interests of promoting women's and gender equality issues.

The party screening process tends to disadvantage women. In male dominated political parties, women are finding it harder to break through the prescribed glass ceiling as determined by party leaders. Although female contestants are fewer than the male contestants, women tend to be screened out in larger proportions and very few ever reach the final winning stage. The parliamentary elections of 2000 for instance, there were 7,386 male contestants from all political parties, and just 526 female contestants from all political parties. Of the female contestants, only 70 were selected by their respective parties to contest for parliamentary seats. Out of the 70 female's candidates only 12 won constituency seats. This means, a woman who had the guts to stand for parliamentary election during this election, had a chance of going through the primary nomination process by 0.133% and of winning by 0.022%. This discourages other women from contesting for electoral positions.

Similarly the women, who enter the parliament through the special seats arrangements, require the support of their respective political parties as well. When special seats were introduced in 1985, during the one party era, candidates were elected by constituency members in the National Assembly; among nominees submitted by National Executive Committee of CCM (Meena R op.cit 2003) the majority of National Assembly members were also male. The eighth constitutional amendments (1992), changed election procedures for special seats, on the basis of the proportional representation among the parties which won election in the constituencies and secured seats in the National Assembly (URT: 1995). Each of the victorious political parties sets out its own mechanisms for appointing/electing candidates, some of which are not included in the constitution of the party. In the 2000 general election, only the ruling party made its mechanism a little more competitive by allowing women party members to elect their representatives and also by broadening the base of representation also to include, for example, representatives of NGOs and female intellectuals. Other political parties have not yet defined a mechanism for electing or appointing members to these positions. This introduces into the political system the potential for corruption, including sexual corruption, thereby undermining the integrity of female candidates, even those who entered via a more transparent system.

In 2005 however, the allocation mechanism changed so that special seats are distributed proportionately on the basis of number of parliamentary votes won by each party. Only parties that won at least 5% of all valid votes for parliamentary election can propose names of special seats candidates to the National electoral commission (National Electoral Commission: 2006). In the 2005 elections, only three parties met the 5% threshold in 2005, and the 75 seats were proportionately divided among those three parties (ibid).

Screening methods give political parties a great deal of control over who enters politics by this route. The quota system has served as a subtle mechanism to prevent certain women from participating in competitive politics. Political parties do not seem to be supportive of the quota system in principle, since none of the existing political parties has introduced a quota in relation to party leadership positions. All in all, most of political parties are male dominated, who often times use their networks to support male candidates as they screen out the female candidates and use the same leverage to select women members for the special seats. Introduction to quotas as a strategy to promote women's participation remains contested.

Quotas and Women's Participation in Politics.

Quotas are special measures which have been applied historically to redress certain imbalances in a system including: gender, regional disparity, ethnicity or other divisive elements. Modalities of applying quotas in politics have ranged from the Scandinavian model of voluntary measures by political parties to constitutional provisions like the Tanzanian case where the constitution spells out the benchmarks. In the Scandinavian countries quotas resulted from long processes which were inspired by pressures from women and gender activists within major political parties. The mechanism here was to work through the existing political parties to push for women participation in the political parties. The issue of women's participation hence became a subject of broad discussion within political parties. The women's wings of the party have worked within the framework of political parties to bring change within parties first, before expanding this to the parliamentary representation (IDEA: available at: www.idea.int/publications/wip2).

In most of the Scandinavian countries, no constitutional clause demands high representation of women in parliaments. Most parties have increased women's representation through pressure from women and gender activists within their political parties. The discussions in most of the Scandinavian countries has then proceeded beyond the focus on numbers to broader discussion which address how to transform the society in order to move beyond quantitative changes to more qualitative changes that will transform the lives of men and women in their society. This is eloquently expressed by the former speaker of Swedish Parliament Brigitta Dahl, who said

The most interesting aspect of the Swedish parliament is not that we have 45 percent representation of women, but that a majority of women and men bring relevant social experience to the business of parliament. This is what makes the difference. Men bring with them experience of real life issues, of raising children, of running a home. They have broad

perspectives and greater understanding. And women are allowed to be what we are and to act according to our own unique personality. Neither men nor women have to conform to a traditional role. Women do not have to behave like men to have power; men do not have to behave like women to be allowed to care for their children. When this pattern becomes the norm then we will see real change. (IDEA: 2002pg.2)

Yet in other countries, quotas targeted the local level which was considered as a training ground for women's entry into national politics. India and Rwanda are a case in point. In Rwanda they introduced a multi ballot system at local level in which each voter receives three ballots, one of which includes only women candidates. Indirect elections to the next levels are structured to ensure that at least 20 percent of those elected are women. Through this multiple ballots and indirect elections to each higher level Rwanda has been able to break the world record of women's participation in both lower houses of parliament and National Assembly. In September 2003, a total of 39 women were elected to serve the legislature, making Rwanda the world leader with its National Assembly made up of 49% of women. Additionally, Rwanda instituted a system of all women councils at the grassroots level. The head of each women council holds reserve seat on the general local council, forging a connection between the two bodies, and ensuring that women's concerns of the women's council can be communicated to the members of the general council (Juliana Katanga: www.un.org.womenwatch.osagi.meetings/)

Similarly in India, the strategy has been to introduce a quota system at village level. This has had a significant impact in terms of promoting women's participation at higher levels as well. This is well expressed by a female MP who said:

We have tried reserved parliamentary seats for village panchayats and from my experience; this is a very effective measure. We have reserved 33 percent of the seats in panchayats for women. Before this policy, we did not have women prepared for leadership positions, but as a result of the policy, political parties have to reach for women. We got a mixed response. Some political parties did not want to come forward, so they put forward their wives, sisters in law and mothers. But talented, educated women also came forward. Now the old argument that here are no able women to become candidates for legislative assemblies no longer holds. Because now the women serving as mayors, and as chairperson of the municipalities committees will be groomed as a valuable pool of women for legislative assemblies. Thus, the reservation seats are very effective measure (Susham Swaraj. MP. India quoted from IDEA: 2002 at: www.idea.int).

In a nutshell, quota system or reserve seats for women will only work where there is a political commitment to promoting gender equality. The modality of the operationalisation will have to be contextualized. The critical issues here include the role of political parties and their commitment to an agenda of promoting gender equality, role

of women members of political parties, as well as existence of political will from the highest levels of state.

Access to Media

Media is as a double edged weapon for women candidates. On the one hand, media treatment can serve as an obstacle to women's political goal; while on the other hand, it can serve as additional resource. Additionally, media treat men and women differently in their campaign coverage, a factor which can hinder women's access to political arena. Media is a campaign tool, but also media owners do make business out of election campaigns. State owned media and ruling parties control over media disadvantages other player's particularly small parties and women. Key issues emerging from this discourse on media and campaign funding include: Fairness and gender equality in accessing media, free airtime for women and men candidates, and where the play field is too unequal considerations for affirmative action to support more women to have free air time allocations. Other aspects include sexism in media which is used to despise as well as 'pool down' female candidates. Finally, the rural/urban divide disadvantages rural voters and candidates in accessing and sending campaign messages. Rural women are more disadvantaged than their male counterparts due to existing gender stereotyping and biases.

Tanzania lacks electoral laws to regulate equal allocation of airtime to all players. Free time if properly utilized might offer a window of opportunity to women candidates during the campaign period. This is, if political parties are also required to fairly spread this slot to benefit all candidates equally. But if free slot is only granted to political parties, it might at the same time disadvantage women if conditions for fairness are not included in the laws or regulations. The alternative of using non conventional media which is gender responsive and cost effective in communicating campaign messages should be considered. These would include but not limited to: popular theatre, drama, posters, and dancing troupe and other popular forms of communication which will be contextually determined.

Electoral Regime

Although there is no direct relationship between the PR system and the level of women's participation in representative organs of the state, existing studies supported by empirical cases have demonstrate that the PR system is more likely to promote greater women's participation than the Majority system particularly when this system is complemented with other efforts. Data collected from 24 established democratic states covering the post Second World War period indicate that women have had greater advantage in PR systems in terms of representation than the simple majority system. The study further asserted that the PR system supported women because of contagion effect. Contagion process is a process which political parties adopt policies initiated by other political parties. The contagion effect has been proved in Norway, Netherlands, Sweden and Costa Rica. (IDEA: 2002)

Participation of Women in Non Electoral Positions of Power and Influence

Participation of women in non electoral positions of influence is equally low. A good number of the presidential appointees such as Regional Commissioners, Ambassadors, and District Commissioners are recruited from the pool of MPs. Hence some of the MPs are appointed as Regional Commissioners, District Commissioners, while other are also appointed in very strategic boards as members or chairpersons of these boards. Women in Tanzania have constituted a minority in these politically appointed positions as further illustrated in the table below.

Table: 1 Woman and Men in Public Decision Making Organs: 2003-2006

Position	Number of women			No. of Men			% of women		
	2003	2004	2006	2003	2004	2006	2003	2004	2006
Ministers	4	4	6	23	23	23	15%	15%	21%
Deputy ministers	5	5	10	12	12	51	29%	29%	32%
Regional Commissioners	1	2	2	19	19	19	5%	10%	10%
Regional Administrative Secretaries		4	5	20	17	17		19%	20%
District Commissioners	19	19	23	88	88	84	20%	18%	21%
District Administrative Secretaries	20	14	14	89	85	85	10%	14%	14%
District Executive Directors		14	23		86	86		14	21
Permanent Secretaries	4	6	7	21	19	18	16	24	28
Ambassadors	1	1	1	29	34	34	3	3	3
Chief Justice				1	1	1			
Referral Court Judges			1						
High Court Judges	3	6	7	33	33	42	9	14	16
Magistrates		33	33		82	82		29	0

Source: Compiled by Technical Expert Group: APRM (2009)

The low level of women's participation in decision making organs as reflected in the above table is indicate that Tanzania women are far from accessing decision making organs and hence influence various policies and plans which affect them directly and the economy. It further reveals lack of commitment to transform gender patterns and hierarchies which have excluded women from various aspect of the economy.

Conclusions

From the discussions it is obvious that the implementation of the Cabinet decision of 1996 committing government to pursue policies that will enhance women's economic empowerment, legal capacity of women, political empowerment as well as improve their access to education and training has met lots of challenges. The socio economic obstacles affecting women participation in decision making organs include: belief systems embedded in peoples cultures, reinforced with levels of poverty, lack of access to education particularly university as well as dual burden of domestic and productive labour which women carry. In the economic sphere, the challenge has been how to balance growth and equity in a context where the state is playing a minimal role in

regulating the economy. The market forces are not morally bound to principles of gender equity and economic empowerment of women if not directly related to profit maximization. There is little data on the linkage between poverty, and lack of participation of women in decision making processes. Hence, no strong arguments are being pushed by economists for women empowerment as part of priority areas of concerns in poverty reduction strategies.

In the political sphere, the focus has been on numbers without paying adequate attention to political norms and values which are leading to structural inequalities that position women in low socio economic status. Political parties which are central in determining who has accesses to political resources have not demonstrated a genuine political commitment to transform party politics in a way that will enhance women's ability to hold strategic positions within the party organs. However, all political parties consider women to be central to mobilizing the support of members and, during election campaign, in mobilizing voters to support party candidates.

In the legal sphere, changing a few laws in favour of women is not sufficient to transform patriarchal political norms and values that continue to prevent women from accessing political resources. Legal reform has to be complemented with civic education that will address the unwritten laws, the belief systems, and social practices that continue to position women in low socio economic and political position. In our context, the co existence of with customary/religious law with civil law complicates efforts to enhance legal capacity of women. The main challenge here is transforming the mindset of the majority of Tanzanians who continue to embrace the patriarchy ideology. Finally, in accessing education, the main challenge has been the educational pyramid which allows a minority of Tanzanians to access the apex of the pyramid in the light of which women are more disadvantaged to reach the apex due to the factors already discussed.

The decision to empower women in those four areas therefore requires a more holistic approach which will address the underlying causes of discrimination in the broader context. In the field of economics, it will have to address issues of larger macroeconomic context which seem to widen the gap between rich and poor, and between men and women. In this context, the state has the primary responsibility in redressing the socio economic gaps including gender gap as they threat the social fabric of the society. The market has no moral obligation to address equity and equality issues. In political sphere, the discourse has to move beyond numbers to also address the broader issues of transformation of politics of exclusion. While numbers are useful benchmarks, they are only the beginning of measuring women's equitable participation in decision making organs. .

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