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Gender and the 2000 Elections in Tanzania: Participation, Mobilization and Performance of Women

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Introduction

Gender equality is part and parcel of a democratic society. One cannot claim to be democratic or democratizing if gender equality is not a part of the democratization initiative.

The issue of citizen participation (including participation in electoral politics) in Tanzania has received attention from both domestic statutory provisions, and international organs in the endeavour to promote human rights. Tanzania is a party to most of these regional and international instruments. A few examples cited below indicate Tanzania's commitment to guarantee equality to all of its citizens.

The constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977, as amended several times, provides for the right of participation of all adult citizens in electoral politics. The Bill of Rights was enshrined in the constitution in 1984. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was ratified in 1979 and came into force in 1981, makes an unequivocal call to member states when it mandates that:

Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political life and shall ensure to women on equal term with men, the right to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government. (CEDAW. 1979)

Likewise, the issue of gender equality is part of the Beijing platform for action in which a specific call was made to countries that participated in the Beijing Women Conference in 1995. The call stipulates that:

Governments should take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making by creating a gender balance in government and administration by integrating women into political parties,

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increasing women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership and increasing women's participation in the electoral process and political activities. (TGNP, 2000).

Furthermore, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa, on behalf of the government, signed the Southern African Democratic Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development at Blantyre, Malawi on 8th September, 1997. In so doing, he agreed that:

The member states (including Tanzania) should ensure equal representation of women and men in the decision making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least a 30% target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005. (TGNP, 2000)

The above quotations show that Tanzania is a party to a number of written statutory documents, international declarations and conventions that recognize the importance of gender balance in the decision making organs at the political level. It is evident from the cited examples that both men and women are entitled to participate in electoral politics. However, when it comes to practice, there are observed disparities between what is stipulated in writing and what is actually taking place on the ground.

Participation of Women in the 2000 Elections in Tanzania

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1993 identifies four interrelated basic forms of participation that include: household participation, economic participation, social and cultural participation, and political participation. Since the focus of this article is on women participation in electoral politics, political participation is the area we devote our attention to. Political participation takes many forms. It is not only expressed in elections and holding public office, but also in collective action in associations and organizations.

There are a number of factors that may, in one way or another, affect women's political participation. Such factors include: household status, employment and remuneration, work-related rights (maternity leave, job security, provision of child care), burden of work, education and literacy, health, ability to control fertility, access to financial resources, legal rights, tradition, cultural attitudes and religion, violence against women and the mass media. (Karl, 1995:10-11). Some of these factors can partly assist us in assessing and explaining not only women's participation in the 2000 elections but also mobilization and performance of women, including women aspirants and candidates in the elections.

In evaluating women political participation, two yardsticks are usually used: numerical (quantitative) strength (actual number of leaders), and qualitative participation (the positive impact derived from participation in politics). The latter is very difficult to measure since social changes, which are supposed to be influenced by political decisions, are an outcome of multiple inputs.

In assessing the 2000 elections in Tanzania, two major forms of participation in relation to women's participation in the elections were observed. These were: active participation, as well as apathetic and passive participation.

Active Participation

The 2000 elections were the second elections after the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Tanzania. The first elections were held in 1995. During both the 1995 and 2000 elections Tanzania had 13 fully registered political parties, namely:

- 1. Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)
- 2. Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)
- 3. Civic United Front (CUF)
- 4. National Convention for Construction and Reform- Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi)
- 5. National League for Democracy (NLD)
- 6. National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA)
- 7. Popular National Party (PONA)
- 8. Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party (TADEA)
- 9. Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)
- 10. Tanzania People's Party (TPP)
- 11. United Democratic Party (UDP)
- 12. Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD)
- 13. United People's Democratic Party (UPDP)

Unlike in the 1995 elections when only one woman courageously attempted to contest for the Union Presidential seat, in the 2000 elections there were three female aspirants determined to vie for this highest posts of political leadership in the country. These were Amina Salum Ali, the then Zanzibar Minister for Finance (under CCM ticket); Ms. Edith Lucina (under NCCR-Mageuzi ticket); and Ms. Naila Majid Jidawi (also under NCCR-Mageuzi ticket). Whereas Amina Salum Ali and Naila Majid Jidawi were aspiring for the Zanzibar presidency, Edith Lucina was aspiring for Union presidency.

Even though none of the these women in both 1995 and 2000 managed to go beyond the nomination process to contest for presidency, however, they made political history as the first women in Tanzania to aspire for the presidency.

With regard to parliamentary and council seats, a number of women aspirants from different political parties came forth to contest for these positions as Table 1 shows.

Table 1: Comparative Sample of Political Aspirants for Parliamentary and Councillor Seats from Different Political Parties

Political Party	Total Male Aspirants	Total Female Aspirants	Total Number of Aspirants	%of Total Aspirants 5.48%	
CCM	5,097	296	5,393		
CHADEMA	357	28	385	7.27%	
CUF	622	59	681	8.66% 6.91% 40% 0.0% 16% 22.64%	
NCCR-Mageuzi	377	28	405		
NLD	15	10	25		
NRA	6	0	6		
PONA	21	4	25		
TADEA	41	12	53		
TLP	501	41	542	7.56%	
TPP	10	0	10	0.0%	
UDP 292		43	335	12.83%	
UMD	JMD 28		29	3.44%	
UPDP 19		4	23	21.05%	
Total	7,386	526	7,912	6.65%	

Source: TEMCO 2000 Election Monitoring Reports

As can be seen from Table 1, there was no woman aspirant from NRA and TPP. Furthermore, even in most of the parties that had women aspirants, compared to the total aspirants, the number was generally very low, ranging from 3.44% to 22.64%. Even the incumbent party, CCM, had only 296 (5.48%) female aspirants compared to 5097 (94.42%) male aspirants!

In addition to contesting for the various electoral positions, women also actively participated in the various phases of the elections. For example, during voter registration phase, a good number of women as well as men turned out for registration. Table 2 below shows a gender analysis of the voter registration figures of selected constituencies.

Table 2: Proportion of Women Voters in the 2000 Elections

Constituency	Men	Women	Total	Women as percentage of total	
Mwanza urban	43,796	30,796	74,475	41.35	
Morogoro South	17,621	18,036	43,325	41.62	
Tanga Urban	44,717	38,763	83,480	46.43	
Serengeti	26,230	26,949	51,179	52.65	
Songea urban	154,669	133,559	288,228	46.33	
Kibaha	25,509	22,559	48,068	46.99	
Ngara	31,264	29,966	61,230	48.94	
Mbeya rural	36,983	36,221	73,204	49.47	
Nanyumbu	24,304	24,637	48,941	50.34	
Mwanga	16,649	15,400	32,049	48.05	
Same	12,568	11,538	24,106	47.86	
Siha	14,891	12,821	27,712	46.26	
Temeke	106,286	78,778	185,064	42.56	
Ilala	36,502	24,374	60,876	40.06	
Ukonga	108,977	81,398	190,375	42.75	
Kinondoni	96,450	71,452	167,902	42.55	
Kigamboni	62,832	49,343	112,175	43.98	
Ubungo 101,089		74,797	175,886	42.62	
Kawe	57,962	47,547	105,509	45.06	
Dodoma Urban	31,218	32,596	63,814	51.07	

Source: TEMCO 2000 Election Monitoring Reports

As Table 2 indicates, women registered voters ranged between 40%-53% of the total registered voters in the selected constituencies. This turnout of women registered voters is one of the expressions of the active participation of women in the 2000 elections.

Apathetic and Passive Participation

Apathetic and passive participation simply means the lack of interest and concern on the part of prospective participants.

However, this form of participation was not only confined to some women, but also some men. In the 2000 elections there was apathy among women voters because as women, they still faced a number of constraints that were yet to be addressed by leaders. Factors such as the general lack of explicit voter education programmes, financial constraints, patriarchal attitudes and systems, etc., might have partly contributed to women's apathy in the 2000 elections. These will be discussed later when attempting to explain the participation, mobilization, and performance of women in the 2000 elections.

Mobilization of Women Aspirants and Candidates

Political mobilization is an important component in a political system. This component is even more important and necessary during elections. Mobilization can take different forms, and can emanate from different sources. There is institutional mobilization undertaken by the government, political parties, women groups/associations, donors, the media, etc. Mobilization can also emanate from individual and non-institutional sources such as party supporters and activists, individual aspirants and candidates, etc. As noted earlier, political mobilization during elections is very important as it strongly influences voters' behaviours and preferences. Absence of mobilization can lead to several consequences such as apathy, uninformed voting, and the like.

During the 2000 elections, efforts to mobilize women and women candidates were undertaken by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) and several other institutions and associations. Mobilisation was done through training and support of women candidates. TGNP was central to the mobilisation of women, in collaboration with other institutions and NGOs it carried out the following activities.

1. TGNP was assisted by the feminist coalition (Fem Act) to distribute forms in order to solicit names of women aspirants for training, and collected approximately 750 names of aspirants for parliamentary and councillor seats. Women aspirants for Member of Parliament (MP) and councillor seats were trained in two-days sessions held in some selected regions. The training sessions imparted women aspirants with the knowledge on election related issues, e.g., election laws and regulations/guidelines, campaign skills and strategies, as well as key concepts of gender and democracy. TGNP also conducted other gender training sessions, including a two-day gender training for 45 opinion poll leaders in Dar es Salaam in July 2000, the critical time when parties were choosing candidates.

2. TGNP collaborated with the British Council and Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) in mobilising support, specifically for women candidates, in terms of planning, provision of training materials and trainers. As part of the joint project, TGNP participated in planning processes, and served as local facilitators at a training held in August 2000 to train 108 women candidates for special and constituency seats.

3. TGNP also continued to be readily accessible to women candidates during the elections. In fact, many women candidates continued to link with TGNP for advice and the provision of materials (manifesto and posters) and photocopy services for their profiles for publicity and campaigning purpose. Many candidates also frequented the weekly gender and development seminars in order to increase their exposure to various pertinent topics related to gender, development, and democracy. As additional support, TGNP sent teams to key areas in Dar es Salaam and Kisarawe. where women were contesting for constituency seats. The teams met and discussed with the candidates on their achievements and problems. The teams also attended campaign meetings to evaluate the kind of issues being discussed, and raise gender issues. The teams also distributed civic education materials, and encouraged relevant actors in the community to vote for qualified women candidates.

4. TGNP worked together with other key actors to mainstream gender into the electoral guidelines, election monitoring and civic/voter education. It worked with the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) in developing gender sensitive tools for data collection during the election monitoring exercise. TGNP was also a resource to TEMCO in developing training manuals and monitoring checklist that address the strengths, weaknesses, and potentials of both men and women political candidates and voters.

5. TGNP worked closely with other key actors such as the National Electoral Commission (NEC), the Media Council (which was monitoring media election coverage), and on behalf of FemAct, TGNP served on a committee for civic and voter education coordinated by the Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO).

Mobilization support to women during the 2000 elections was done through a special election manifesto entitled: "Ilani ya Uchaguzi Mwaka 2000: Haki na Usawa Kijinsia" (2000 Election Manifesto: Gender Rights and Gender Equality). The manifesto was prepared by 28 NGOs and associations that agreed to form FemAct. This

special election manifesto intended to bring key women issues and problems which needed to be addressed not only during the elections but also after the new government is elected —to the attention of candidates, parties, and the government.

It is evident from the preceding that there were some efforts of mobilization for women and women aspirants during the 2000 elections. However, this mobilization was not adequate in terms of scope and coverage. For example, TGNP and other NGOs were incapable of mobilizing the large section of women and women aspirants/candidates all over the country. Despite this limitation, however, TGNP and other NGOs should be credited and acknowledged for their efforts which might have partly induced, inspired, and encouraged women and women aspirants to actively participate in the 2000 elections. For mobilization efforts to make an extended impact, there was a need for stakeholders in the elections—including political parties, the government, NEC, NGOs and other associations—to initiate and implement special mobilization programmes and arrangements for women and women aspirants/candidates during the elections.

Performance of Women Aspirants and Candidates

As noted earlier, none of the three female presidential aspirants managed get a chance to contest the presidential seat. Amina Salum Ali was dropped out during the intra-party nomination stage. Edith Lucina was barred from candidacy because she failed to fulfil all the necessary legal requirements for presidential candidacy. Mr. Seif Shariff Hamad, the Civic United Front CUF Secretary General and Zanzibar presidential candidate (CUF-CHADEMA ticket), blocked Naila Majid Jidawi's candidacy. Mr. Seif Shariff filed a case questioning the party membership of Naila Jidawi in the NCCR-Mageuzi, and this culminated into the nullification of Jidawi's candidacy by the High Court.

However, some women aspirants were ultimately nominated as candidates for both parliamentary and councillor seats. Table 3 shows the proportion of women candidates nominated by the different political parties to contest for parliamentary seats.

It is evident from Table 3 that although many political parties nominated some women as candidates for parliamentary seats, the total number of women candidates nominated was very low—70 (8.12%) out of 792 seats! This is an indication that political parties in the country are yet to satisfactorily integrate gender balance in

their policies regarding nominations of candidates for electoral seats. A similar trend of low number of women candidates is also revealed at the grassroots level elections, i.e., in the nominations of councillor candidates. Table 4 shows how the proportion of women candidates nominated to contest for councillor seats from selected regions (mainland Tanzania) reveals this trend.

Table 3: Proportion of Women Candidates Nominated by Different Political Parties to Contest Parliamentary Seats

Party	Women	Men	Total	% of Women	
CCM	13	218	231	05.62%	
CUF	06	132	138	04.34%	
TLP	09	103	112	08.03%	
PONA	06	31	37	16.21%	
NCCR	05	88	93	05.37%	
UDP	09	57	66	13.63%	
UPDP	06	26	32	18.75%	
CHADEMA	05	61	66	07.57%	
NLD	04	02	06	66.66%	
TADEA	02	40	42	02.76%	
TPP	03	10	13	30.00%	
UMD	02	22	24	08.33%	
NRA	00	02	02	00.00%	
TOTAL	70	792	862	08.12%	

Source: NEC Statistical Reports 2000

Table 4: Proportion of Women Candidates Contesting Council Seats in the 2000 Elections from Selected Regions

Region	Men	Women	Total	% of women	# of women	Remarks
			12-1-1	Transition of	winners	Arriday Skidet
Arusha	305	03	308	00.90%	2	Winners: CCM, TLP
Coast	194	02	196	01.02%	1	Winner: CCM
Dodoma	297	12	309	03.88%	5	Winners: All CCM
Kilimanja ro	284	inge.	293	03.07%	1	Losers: All opposition Winner: CCM: Losers: 2 CCM, 3 TLP, 2 CHADEMA,
		60		7 7 7 7		1 CUF
Kigoma	222	01	223	00.04%	0	Loser: 1 CHADEMA
Singida	210		214	01.80%	1	Winner: 1 CCM
Tabora	389		399	02.50%	1	Winner: 1 CCM Losers:from
Tanga	363	12	375	03.20%	0	Opposition All 12 women contestants are from
1000 00	-	80		60		opposition. All lost.
Mara	289	05	294	01.70%	N/A	N/A
D'Salaam			317	16.08%	N/A	N/A

Total 2819 109 2928 3.72% 11

Source: NEC Reports, 2000. N/A = Not Available

Statistical data in Table 4, shows clear that even at the grassroots level, party nominations are still dominated by men. This is a trend which needs to be reversed in the future in order to achieve some level of gender balance in party nominations.

In terms of the actual winning of the electoral seats, women won both the elective and special seats. Winning of some seats by women is not a phenomenon of the 2000 elections alone. Table 5 shows the number of women elected from constituencies, and through special seats under the single and multiparty systems (1985, 1990 and 2000).

It is encouraging to note from Table 5 that the number of seats won by women has gradually increased; a positive trend as far as women representation in parliament is concerned. The gradual increase of seats has been possible especially after the introduction of a multiparty system and the quota-system. Whereas constituency seats have increased from 2, 8 and 12 in 1990, 1995 and 2000 respectively, the quota-system has increased special seats from 15, 36 and 47 in 1990, 1995 and 2000 respectively. Despite this gradual increase of women seats in parliament, however, it is still clear that there is preponderance of male MPs in the parliament.

Table 5: Women Elected from Constituencies and through Special Seats under Single and Multiparty Systems (1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000)

The same of the same	(1965, 1990							m . 1
YEAR	Type of Election	CCM	CUF	TLP	UDP	NCCR	CHADEMA	Total
1985*	Constituency	01	1000	1-	-			01
The state of	Special seats	15	-	-	_	-		15
A STATE OF	Total	16	1	_	_	-	dr-co -t tent	16
1990*	Constituency	02	1		hh_	ورسارو	1000 <u>11</u> 000	02
	Special seats	15	DE LOW	_	12	<u> </u>		15
	Total	17	_	_	_		- H	17
1995**	Constituency	07	01	00	00	00	00	08
	Special seat	26	04	01	01	03	01	36
	Total	33	05	01	01	03	01	44
2000**	Constituency	12	00	00	00	00	00	12
	Special seats	40	04	01	01	00	01	47
	Total	52	04	01	01	00	01	59

Note:

* Elections held under single party system
** Elections held under multi-party system

Source: Various reports on Elections

The above performance of women candidates, particularly in parliamentary constituency seats, indicates that women can compete with men in competitive elections. What is needed is to empower and give them access to all avenues of support.

Constraints to Women's Participation, Mobilization and Performance

It is generally known that no election is completely flawless. Women as actors in the 2000 elections were constrained in one way or another during the election process. We believe that such constraints partly accounted for the observed levels of women's participation, mobilization and performance as discussed in the preceding sections. Below, we attempt to identify and explain three major constraints: statutory, resource, and patriarchal attitudes and systems.

Statutory Constraints

1.1 NEC as a Constraint

The composition and structure of NEC does not reflect gender equality. Within the present NEC structure (with seven standing committees), six chairpersons of committees are men. Only one female chairperson heads one committee in the NEC Headquarters structure. Furthermore, it was observed that during the 2000 elections, there was only one female Regional Election Coordinator (REC) out of 23 RECs (TEMCO, 2000: 133-4); and 21 females Returning Officers (ROs) out of a total of 231 ROs. Most of the women in the composition and structure of NEC occupied the lowest positions: two-thirds of the POs and APOs were women (ibid). As the above composition and structure of NEC reveals, men occupy senior positions in NEC, leaving women to occupy junior posts. Given the existing gender imbalances and gaps that are still predominant in Tanzania today, it was imperative that the composition of the NEC should have treated gender balance as mandatory. This would have also encouraged and mobilized women to confidently and comfortably participate in the electoral politics knowing that they are highly represented in the supreme body which oversees elections in the country. The law should not be silent concerning the gender composition of NEC's structures.

Biased Statutory Language

The language used in the Election Act 1985, and as amended several times, shows trends of gender blindness, and reveals signs of masculinity. Since language is a communication tool for ideas. wishes, feelings, prejudices, etc., it is important that the language used should not be biased to a particular gender. As an example, a section discussing the Electoral Commission reads:

Subject to the provisions of this Act, the chairman shall preside at all meetings of the commission and in his absence, the Vicechairman shall preside, or if he too is absent, the members may elect. (Act No. 6 of 1992, s.4, No. 3) (authors' emphasis)

The above quotation implies that it is men who will always occupy the position of the chairperson. This section of the Act is discriminatory since the holding of such position, as well as any other political positions, is an inalienable right of both men and women.

Law on Election Code of Conduct

The election code of conduct is silent on several pertinent issues whose impact transcends to gender related consequences in electoral politics. As noted above, the law is silent on gender composition of NEC officials. The election code of conduct does not clearly and explicitly address issues such as election offences (e.g. character assassination during elections), voter education, etc. These are among the major issues that the law has to clearly stipulate. The law is equally silent on sexual harassment perpetrated on candidates during and after the campaign period. Such harassment may not only come from fellow contestants or parties, but also from other sources such as the media. There is, therefore, an absence of clearly stipulated punitive or interventionist measures against any individual or institution that may be involved in sexual harassment during various stages of the election process, for example during campaigns. It is also not clear whether the National Electoral Commission is legally empowered to take punitive measures against negative campaigning which involve among other things, character assassination; scare-mongering; sexual harassment; use of abusive language; violence; and intimidation. We have heard of the NEC reprimanding parties, the media, and candidates for negative campaigning; but if the NEC is not legally empowered to take punitive measures, it will continue to be like a toothless dog that barks but does not bite!

The election code of conduct is also silent on voter education programmes. The law needs to stipulate clearly the approach to be used in running public emancipation campaigns during elections. This is an important aspect for creating an informed electorate. What is emphasized here is that the government must have an explicit and vibrant voter education programme. This will facilitate the determination of the quality and contents of voter education materials. The voter education package must be moderated centrally so as to avoid gender stereotyping in the programmes.

There are three major reasons in emphasizing the need to include sections on negative campaigning and voter education programmes in the election code of conduct. First, there were a number of cases during the 2000 elections of negative campaigning reported by the media and election observers, and no intervention or punitive measures were taken against the culprits. Secondly, women are more vulnerable when it comes to sexual harassment, violence, intimidation, and the like. And third, given the ongoing effort towards gender equality, women need to have a special voter education package so as to emancipate them to actively participate in electoral politics.

Resources

The UN once asserted that "while it is assumed that natural skills and talents will prevail; in practice politics requires organization, finance, management and public speaking skills" (United Nations, 1992:116). The above requirements become even more meaningful and somewhat mandatory during elections. Although some women candidates were supported by some associations and NGOs (particularly TGNP), the support was limited in scope and coverage due to inadequate financial resources.

The growing role of money in Tanzania's electoral politics was one of the bottlenecks to women's effort towards participating in the 2000 elections. Section 33(2) (a) of the Elections Act 1985 demands that presidential candidates have to deposit a prescribed amount of money with Electoral Commission, and if a candidate gets less than a tenth of the total number of votes cast, the deposit will be forfeited. To some extent, this provision gives chances of limiting participation for many potential candidates. Given their disadvantaged economic position including financial power, women are not likely to risk the money, which in the end may be forfeited.

Money was also a prerequisite in the nomination exercise of most political parties during the 2000 elections. The incumbent party, CCM, excelled in demanding deposit money prior to picking forms for contesting political posts in the elections. For example, a candidate wishing to vie for presidential and parliamentary posts was supposed to deposit Tsh 1,000,000/- and Tshs 100,000/- respectively. Although parties might have already calculated the possibility of their members' capability to pay the deposit money, we are arguing that neither the NEC nor political parties should tie contestants for presidential, parliamentary, or councillor posts with huge sums of deposit money. Where necessary, the amount should be reasonably affordable by majority of the eligible contestants. Otherwise this will continue to be a constraint to the rights of some men, women, and eligible young persons to contest.

Patriarchal Attitudes and Systems

Patriarchy refers to male dominance (male hegemony) in social, economic, political and cultural affairs. Patriarchy by its nature is a great enemy of gender equality. In the 2000 elections, customs and tradition that embrace patriarchal attitudes and systems discouraged women from contesting for leadership posts. One could argue that patriarchal attitudes might have partly contributed towards low nomination of women candidates during party nominations.

Given the patriarchal structures and relics that exist in Tanzania, women still carry the bulk of the responsibility in the family. Due to this fact, women are questioned about personal issues when they stand up as candidates during elections. While men are seldom asked whether their wives support their candidacy, it is common—and a major issue—for a woman to be asked if her husband approves her running for political office.

The nominations of candidates for contesting elective positions also favour men given the negative attitudes towards women political leaders, the lack of adequate number of women leaders in political party hierarchies, and the absence of women in decision-making positions within parties; This situation is partly responsible for low number of women candidates. For example, it was reported that women aspirants seeking nominations for the Songea Urban constituency seat were harassed and abused (TEMCO, 2000).

One would have expected that given the patriarchal dominance and ensuing attitudes, women candidates would have felt relief from such bondage through fellow women support during the election. However, it is not always a guarantee that women support their fellow women candidates. The support women candidate can garner from fellow women depend on her relations with them. For instance, in Iringa Urban constituency, women solidarity had a very positive impact on the woman candidate. On the other hand, the woman candidate in Moshi Urban constituency did not get adequate support from her fellow women because she did not had a close relationship with them. In addition to this, the opposition capitalized on her social life by advocating that she was not worth becoming a leader because she was a divorcee, and had children out of wedlock. Such issues were never mentioned with regard to male candidates (TEMCO, 2000).

It is clear from above that patriarchal attitudes are constraints to the participation, mobilization, and performance of women in elections. In the ongoing efforts to bridge gender gaps and imbalances, patriarchy needs to be dismantled systematically to pave the way for the transformation of negative attitudes and establishment of equitable systems. This will in turn create conducive environment for effective and successful participation of women voters and candidacies.

Concluding Remarks

This article has attempted to establish some of the factors and causes for the increased disparity between men and women when it comes to participation in election politics. The article has also revealed that although there was an improvement in the 2000 elections in terms of women participation compared to the single party elections and the 1995 general elections, still the extent of participation was far below that of men.

It has been observed that although participation of men and women in political life in general, and in elections in particular, is stipulated in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and international instruments which promote human rights (most of which Tanzania is a party to), women have continued to occupy very few key positions in the government, and in decision-making bodies. This verifies the disparity between democratic principles, legal stipulations, and practice.

We have also noted that some civil societies, NGOs, particularly TGNP mobilised women to participate in the elections, although this was limited in terms of scope and coverage. On the other hand, the government and political parties in general did not have explicit women mobilization programmes, and/or special voter education package for women and women candidates. As for the performance of women candidates, a few women aspirants and candidates managed to win the stiff competition from men amidst such constraints as lack of resources, and oppressive patriarchal attitudes and systems. A number of women aspirants were nominated by their parties to contest elections at different levels, and some of these ultimately won some parliamentary and councillor seats. Altogether, however, there were fewer female candidates who won electoral seats than male candidates. This was partly due to statutory limitations, inadequate resources as well as patriarchal attitudes.

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Why Political Parties Failed Democracy in the 2000 Elections in Tanzania

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Introduction

The second multiparty elections since the reintroduction of multipartism in Tanzania were held in October 2000. Twelve out of thirteen registered political parties took part in the October 2000 Presidential and Parliamentary elections in the mainland of the United Republic of Tanzania. Most admirers of the multiparty system expected the opposition parties to perform better and secure many parliamentary seats by using the experience gained since 1995.

However, the election results indicate that the opposition parties are worse off in these elections than in the 1995 general elections. Meanwhile, the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) performed better in the 2000 elections than it did in 1995. However, CCM is accused of having flouted basic rules of competition during its nomination process. Corruption is said to have been rampant during the nomination process.

Furthermore, CCM is also accused of using public property for private gains during their election campaigns. Thus, the conduct of both CCM and the opposition parties in the October 2000 elections has disappointed many democracy watchers in Tanzania. The future of multiparty democracy in Tanzania appears gloomy. The question analysts ask is whether the opposition is loosing the support of the electorate, or is its performance simply a reflection of its disorganization and lack of a proper strategy to garner enough voter support?

This paper examines the manner in which political parties participated in the 2000 elections. It analyses how political parties nominated their candidates, how they campaigned, i.e., what issues they raised in their election campaigns. It also examines both parliamentary and presidential results with a view to finding out how these results reflect party support in these elections. economic and political conditions prevailing in their country. Indeed

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