

GENDER BALANCE IN DECISION-MAKING BODIES: Lessons from Tanzania

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SYNOPSIS

The concept of gender balance is vital to the African transformation agenda and in recent years has led to a significant increase in the number of women in decision-making bodies at subnational, national, and continental levels. The Special Seats system in Tanzania has increased the number of women in Parliament and helped motivate women to become more involved in the political process. But Tanzania can achieve much more.

Among the key findings: The introduction of the Special Seats system has not only increased the number of women participating in decision making at both the national and local levels but has also encouraged more women to enter politics. It has improved to some extent the public image of women who engage in public affairs and has helped men and women to become progressively more comfortable having women serve in decision-making roles. The Special Seats system has also expanded interest among women's associations to ensure that the socioeconomic and cultural factors that contribute to discrimination against women are adequately addressed in national policies and legislations.

The main conclusions: An inadequate legislative recruitment system limits the effectiveness of the Special Seats system, and more attention must be paid to enhancing institutional and human capacities to strengthen it. Women who accept this position should be confident and develop the capacity to demonstrate that they possess the talent, knowledge, and passion to address the important issues facing the majority of women and men in Tanzania.

The key lessons: The Special Seats system has significantly increased the number of women in Parliament but the impact of the system on socioeconomic policies is still insignificant. Special Seats system MPs have to some extent become role models and have to a large extent positively influenced the public image of women in politics.

The main recommendations: The National Electoral Commission (NEC) should establish legal mechanisms to ensure that the Special Seats nomination process is democratic. Capacity must be built in political institutions to develop strong functional structures, proper procedures, and appropriate systems. All responsible must be educated on the rule of law, good governance, and leadership.

Introduction

A significant recent development in implementing the African transformation agenda is the inclusion of women in decision-making bodies, as in seats in parliament. A shift from dictatorship and political conflict to liberalized-hybrid regimes has led to greater participation by women at many levels.

Africa has achieved a measure of leadership on women's participation in its parliaments. In the United States, women hold 18 percent of the seats in the House of Representatives and 20 percent in the Senate. A few countries in Africa have much higher figures for parliament: for example, 35 percent in Tanzania, 64 percent in Rwanda, and some 40 percent in Senegal, Seychelles, and South Africa (Tripp 2014).

In local government, women fill almost 60 percent of positions in Lesotho and Seychelles, 43 percent in Namibia, and more than one-third in Mauritania, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Uganda (Tripp 2014). These proportions demonstrate noteworthy progress in including women in socioeconomic policies.

Tanzania, the focus of this paper, established its Special Seats system to strike a balance between men and women in Parliament. But the majority of women enter Parliament differently, through nomination rather than ballot. Those nominated are treated as equals to those elected on rights and benefits but are somewhat marginalized by not serving or enjoying support associated with a base constituency (Killian 2014; Meena 1997).

Beyond reviewing the increase in female parliamentarians, this paper also looks at how other outcomes enhance women's effectiveness in participating in high-level decision-making bodies, as seen by laywomen (those not actively involved in politics) and by Special Seats members of Parliament (MPs) themselves. There

has been little examination of such effectiveness previously.

Special Seats system

History

The Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania has two parts: The President and the unicameral National Assembly—the Bunge—with 362 seats (Swai and others 2013).

In 1985, the government introduced the Special Seats and quota systems to increase the participation of women in official, formal decision-making bodies like Parliament and councils throughout the country. These had been male dominated since independence (Killian 1996; Swai and others 2013). The foundation for the Special Seats system is Article 21(1–2) of the constitution, which states that all eligible citizens can directly hold governance positions and participate fully in the nation's decision-making process. The 1985 action was a direct response to international and continental protocols and declarations on protecting women's rights. As a signatory to the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development, Tanzania is among 23 countries that have ratified the African Union Protocol up to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003). Both the Declaration and Protocol call for 50 percent women's representation in key decision-making bodies (Killian 2014).

The Special Seats system sets aside 15 such seats for women and 15 special seats for "mass organizations" such as the women's associations, in the National Assembly. These are in addition to the seats gained by women when elected to constituencies in the same way than their male counterparts are elected.

In the 1985 general election only, one woman was elected to Parliament, and in 1990 only two. Such paltry numbers concerned women, who

began to advocate for an increase in the number of Special Seats. Yet even with the quota system, the chances of gender balance in Parliament were far from being realized, as women entering Parliament through electoral means was so low. This prompted a conference of women during the 1995 electoral campaigns to call for the government to increase the number of Special Seats from 15 percent to 45 percent (Killian 1996).

One of the constitutional privileges of the President of the United Republic is the power to appoint 10 MPs, five of whom must be women. Out of MPs elected from Zanzibar, two must be women, and five of 10 appointees of the President of Zanzibar must be women. In Zanzibar, through the Special Seats system, 40 percent of elected members of the House of Representatives are meant to be women. The constitution lays down that the number of women in the Tanzanian Parliament should not be less than one-third of all MPs (Swai and others 2013).

The allocation of seats based on party affiliation is contentious. Article 78 of the Constitution of the United Republic (1977) lays out the operational map by stipulating that Special Seats are to be allocated to political parties in proportion to the votes secured in the parliamentary election. This means that the senior decision-making committees of the parties have full jurisdiction to develop a ranked list of the candidates they want for Special Seats. This approved list is then sent to the National Electoral Committee, which declares who is nominated to the Special Seats (Kilian 2014).

Consequently, most female MPs in Tanzania have no constituency to represent because they are appointed. “It is the National Electoral Commission [NEC] that finally declares the members’ names according to the political

parities’ vote-share in parliament” (Killian 1996: 28).

Outcomes

The Special Seats system has increased the participation of women in Parliament compared with numbers through the normal electoral process (table 1). Without the allocation of Special Seats, only 8.7 percent of Tanzanian MPs between 1995 and 2010 would have been women.

Table 1. Share of women who became MPs in the National Assembly through the normal electoral process (%)

Year of general elections	1995	2000	2005	2010
% of women MPs through normal electoral process	3.4	5.2	7.3	8.7

Source: NEC (1995 and 2010).

Table 2 shows an increase of the number of women in Parliament for four elections preceding the ones that were held in October 2015. However, Parity is still far off.

Table 2. Number of women in Parliament, 1995–2010 general elections

Year of general elections	1995	2000	2005	2010
Total seats occupied by women in Parliament	37	48	75	102

Source: Killian 2014.

Note: The figure for the 2015 general elections is unclear as of this writing.

Some encouragement may be taken from the fact that women have been showing more enthusiasm to contend for parliamentary seats (table 3).

Table 3. Shares of male and female candidates in parliamentary elections, 1995–2010 (%)

Year of general elections	1995	2000	2005	2010
Men	95	92	87	81.6
Women	5	8	13	19.4

Source: NEC 1995–2010.

Because of the Special Seats system, women held more than one-third of all seats in the last Parliament. This compares favorably with the world average of 22.6 percent (IPU 2015). Tanzania now belongs to a group of eight countries in Africa that have national legislatures in which 25–50 percent of seats are held by women. The other countries are Burundi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, South Africa, and Uganda (Killian 2014).

There has also been some progress in the number of women appointed to key cabinet ministries over the past decade including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Trade and Industry, Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and Local government; and to the civil service. The appointment of Tanzania’s first female Speaker of Parliament in 2010 was an important milestone.

It is equally significant that affirmative action has been instituted at the local government level, where at least one-third of all elected councilors in council wards must be women. After the 2010 elections, the NEC declared 1,184 women councilors (NEC 2010). By 2014, out of 3,335 council seats nationwide, 1,272 (30.6 percent) were filled by women. (At least 25 percent of the members of village assemblies must be women: Killian 2014; Swai and others 2013.)

Thus, at least officially, there has been some balancing of gender in government bodies. Gender-based civil society bodies have long demanded constitutional changes to accommodate principles of gender equality, social justice, democratic rights, and inclusive

development. Fifty-fifty gender parity at all levels in decision-making bodies remains an objective.

Gender activists are demanding the constitutional abolition of customary law and practices that discriminate against women in such areas as property ownership and inheritance. They also demand action to eliminate gender-based violence and establish the right to safe reproductive and maternal health among other issues. Solidarity among women regardless of party affiliations on these issues drove the inclusion of significant changes in Tanzania’s Draft Constitution. For example, Section 1 (Article 5) was added to reflect gender equality as one of the founding national values (Killian 2014).

Beyond numbers

Perceptions in UN Women survey

A study in 24 districts in eight regions of the mainland (UN Women 2014) looked at how women in public service are perceived, that is, what image is attached to them. This survey differed from a Tanzania Centre for Democracy capacity needs assessment of women and youth politicians conducted in 2007, in which women were viewed as mothers and wives rather than in any public role. That study further reported that the trade-off between politics and family created difficult issues for women who wished to contest for parliamentary seats (Livigha and Killian 2007).

In the 2014 study the majority of respondents registered in the “top half” of the Likert Scale on questions related to the image of women in politics. A strong majority agreed that women can perform capably or very capably as politicians; that they collaborate effectively with stakeholders at village, subnational, and national levels; and that they are capable to present and address public needs (table 4).

Table 4. Likert Scale questions related to the image of women in politics on the Tanzanian mainland

Issues related to women in politics	Not very capable	Capable	Very capable
Women can understand political systems	8	56	82
Appreciate my concerns	7	58	81
Women can be listened to and respected	5	67	74
Women are able to work with the government system on community needs	4	64	78
Women can collaborate with other stakeholders in the community	5	46	95

Source: UN Women 2014.

Perceptions from laywomen

In-depth interviews were conducted with professional and academic laywomen who expressed their views on the impact of the Special Seats system, not just the numbers the system has produced. When asked if the Special Seats MPs had made a noticeable change in society, the response was generally that the performance could only be considered case by case.

There was general agreement that the increase in the number of female MPs has shone a spotlight on issues related to their roles. During the Constitution Review, all MPs, including Special Seats members, participated in discussions on gender items that needed to be addressed in the new constitution. During the debates, the majority of gender-related issues were introduced by the Tanzania Women Cross-party Platform, which brings together all female parliamentarians regardless of party outlook.

The laywomen interviewed generally agreed that the Special Seats MPs have, to a certain extent, become role models for other women and that this is helping women in the country realize that they have as much ability as male counterparts in handling political business.

But nearly all respondents felt that the Special Seats MPs have not been particularly effective. They identified a major problem built into the nomination process, creating an overall perception that Special Seats are just “gifts” set apart for women. According to one respondent: “Unfortunately this perception might be a disadvantage for women in the sense that it may deter them from contesting through normal procedures in constituencies—thinking there are free seats reserved for them.”

Respondents expressed concern that there are no mechanisms in place to ensure that the Special Seats MPs are truly capable or that they have the capacity or the desire to represent women well.

Some respondents felt that because Special Seats MPs are nominated by their party, they may assume that they are recruited solely to maintain the status quo for that party and that they are expected to disagree with ideas and policies that come from other parties, regardless of their worth.

Aspiration to pursue a political career usually comes from deep within an individual. But many of the outsiders felt that many women filling the Special Seats did not have much political ambition. They believed that the lack of internal motivation and passion has contributed to poor performance by some Special Seats MPs, inside and outside Parliament. One respondent proposed: “While it’s possible to implant and grow motivation, the process of selecting potential nominees could be improved by first considering women who have already shown an interest in politics—especially those who have

contested but lost an election. Regardless of the fact they lost in the vote, some priority should be given them because they have demonstrated their passion and zeal to serve the public through politics.”

Another common concern among the laywomen was that MPs appointed through the Special Seats system are labeled negatively by the public, including other women. Some of these MPs are regarded as mistresses of the men in charge of the nomination. A women journalist observed that the public view of women holding Special Seats is not encouraging: “On my Facebook page I posted the question of whether there is a need for Special Seats MPs. People responded to the question very negatively. Respondents were skeptical about this quota allocation for women and suggested that favoritism is the major gateway for them to be nominated for the Special Seats. Hence their performance is less—or not as fruitful to the public interests—as it should be.”

One point raised was that even though the number of women in Parliament has risen, what is perhaps the most toxic issue—violence against women that has prevailed for centuries in many cultures in Tanzania—has not yet even been addressed. “We thought having more women in parliament could bring a law into effect to combat violence against women. Men are unlikely to eradicate it because they are the most likely perpetrators of violence against women.”

Despite that all MPs receive equal treatment in terms of benefits, respondents identified important differences in the way the system is arranged that contributes to a sense of inferiority on the part of the Special Seats MPs. Unlike their parliamentary peers, these MPs do not represent constituencies but an entire region. Consequently, they often end up representing nothing in particular. In past parliaments a few Special Seats MPs have managed to brand themselves either by identifying and becoming

identified with a special issue or group, or by demonstrating that they can be leaders.

Elected MPs, however, lobby for projects in their own constituencies and get development funds. Special Seats MPs do not have these opportunities to serve the needs and interests of a specific constituency, and frequently they feel that they are in Parliament only as gender tokens.

Another difference between the MPs is that Special Seats MPs are not entitled to seek the position of prime minister, regardless of how suitable and capable they might be. One respondent said: “The operationalization of the Special Seats system creates two distinctive classes between the elected and nominated MPs. The structure that governs that Special Seat System is corrupt, non-transparent and ineffective to make Special Seats meaningful to women.”

Educated and experienced women appointed through the Special Seats system perform quite well, but few have political or leadership experience. In fact, many enter Parliament with limited knowledge of parliamentary procedures and little practical experience in how to get things done in government systems.

While the same can be said of some of their male counterparts, for women this is an additional handicap often contributing to feelings of incompetence and inadequacy that hampers their ability to make the meaningful contributions they could otherwise. . Often they fear being embarrassed and so back away from arguing points on important issues. They may also find that their male counterparts are less than sympathetic or helpful.

The laywomen interviewed recognized that it will take time to achieve 50/50 parity in Parliament through the conventional election processes and admitted that the Special Seats system is essential for gender balance in Parliament and

other decision-making bodies. But they were adamant that all new and incumbent MPs of either gender should be expected to learn the rules and regulations of parliamentary procedures.

They also felt that Special Seats MPs should focus on acquiring soft skills such as communication, media relations, team-building, and diplomatic techniques. This will help them build confidence and perform better in Parliament. Special Seats MPs must also become well versed in broad socioeconomic and political issues and other policies, including those related to gender, so they can participate fully in parliamentary discussions.

The laywomen suggested that the current system and regulatory frameworks related to the Special Seats system should be modified to encourage competition among women. In Uganda the quota system matches women with constituencies. It was suggested that such a system should be adopted in Tanzania to ensure that Special Seats MPs develop the very important constituency base.

To improve the governance capacities required to strengthen the structures and institutions related to Special Seats, the laywomen argued that the Political Parties Act should be amended to stipulate qualifications for Special Seats nominees. This would improve the process of identifying candidates. The Act should also be revised to ensure that MPs for Special Seats originate from their constituencies, and it should define the role of the NEC in overseeing the System. One respondent pointed out: “Parliament should not become a preserve for few people who are able to secure patronage or favoritism and become life-long MPs—whether a Special Seat or not. A time limit should be set for all MPs to serve to foster the growth of a dynamic democracy and infuse new energy and bring new ideas into Parliament.”

Perceptions of the Special Seats MPs

In their interviews, the Special Seats MPs agreed overall that the Special Seats system has increased opportunities for women to take part in the national dialogue and decision-making processes, which would not have been possible otherwise. Women who have participated in this program have influenced a number of laws and policies that have had an impact on the lives of women, youth, and children. But it is a collective contribution and cannot be credited to women alone.

Most of the time, the public is unaware of policies being promoted by women in Parliament. “I recall that many questions from the Special Seats MPs during the sessions have focused on issues that are of special concern to women, such as safe water, health, girls’ education, low interest loans for women and property inheritance among other things,” said one Special Seats MP. “The Special Seats system is one of the factors that have changed the public mind-set about women in the politics. Unlike other General Elections, in the 2015 General Elections more women have participated and received the same votes on the same terms as men and won 18 constituencies. The voters of those constituencies decided to vote for the women over men because they believed these women are able to lead people toward their development.”

The Special Seats MPs were in full agreement that they have the same opportunities as any other MP and are not denied the same rights and benefits. But they expressed concern that in reality they do not actually represent anybody because they do not have a constituency base.

Their responses to questions showed that there is a tendency among the women MPs, too, to regard Special Seats members primarily as representatives of women, and that their primary

role in Parliament is to present and defend issues related to women. That they do not have any base in a constituency only serves to further this notion.

The lack of a constituency base also undermines their performance inside and outside Parliament. For example, they are handicapped because when they attempt to organize projects in their regions, they receive no development funds. It is not even possible to organize such programs in one of the constituencies in their region because “Wherever we try to do that it conflicts with the work of other MPs who represent the constituency. Most of the time we are not invited to meetings at the council level because we are not well linked into their organizational structures. We do not have an office to organize our business and meet people while we are not attending parliament session. The Regional Commission Office may provide office space to the Special Seat MPs if there is a space available; otherwise most of the Special Seats MPs work from home. We are not even allowed to contest for the position of Prime Minister, but our female and male counterparts who are elected through their constituencies have that privilege.”

Apart from these serious systemic challenges, the Special Seats MPs pointed out individual prejudices that influence their performance. There seems, for instance, to be a distinct perceived difference between them and other women who contested and won their seats in the election. They noted that “Our fellow women MPs are prouder and feel they have more responsibility than those of us who are appointed for the Special Seats. They also hold separate sessions where they discuss how to handle various issues and do not include us in those meetings.”

But it is in areas of capacity that Special Seats MPs express concern that they are lacking: In areas such as self-confidence, public speaking,

and having a broad understanding of national and even global socioeconomic and political trends. Most of these MPs still operate in a culture that looks on women as inferior. “Not every member of the public believes that women are capable to bring about change in society or gives the same weight to the Special Seats member as to one who was elected. Even in areas in which the Special Seats members are doing well, the public may not be able or willing to acknowledge or appreciate the contribution—simply because it is coming from women.”

As to whether or not they experience or are aware of favoritism, humiliation, or sexual harassment associated with the selection of women for Special Seats, those who commented admitted that it is hard to prove humiliation or sexual harassment in the nomination process. If there are incidents, they remain secret and are not officially reported.

They admitted, however, that the selection process has faults that can negatively impact the performance of an individual woman and even tarnish the image of the entire system. A common lament among the Special Seats MPs is that the selection of nominees is not guided by a clear legal framework across all parties. Thus the nomination procedure is not all that transparent, and women are vulnerable to being awarded the position as a gift or in exchange for money or sex.

“We had a case where a woman from nowhere was informed that she was nominated for the position of Special Seat MP. She . . . wrote to the party officials that she was not interested in the position.” Another participant said that due to the lack of transparency and accountability mechanisms in Tanzania’s political systems, it is hard to separate corruption from politics.

Yet another observed: “It may not be known as humiliation but is true that elements of favoritism, love affairs, and friendship are

practiced. The most capable woman might not be included in the list while one who is less capable or has no connection with the party is chosen for the position simply because she is close to those who make the decision on the final list.”

Education level is one of the few criteria for women to qualify for nomination in order to attract qualified and capable women nominees. But here the interviewees recommended that human and institutional capacities should be enhanced to strengthen the Special Seats system. To build strong institutional capacity, they felt that it is important to have a harmonized, structured selection process that guides and ensures the integrity of the nomination process across all political parties. The NEC’s mandate should be mainstreamed to ensure that the selection process is adequately monitored and anyone who abuses power should be held accountable. .

Uganda’s Special Seats system requiring that women be selected by all women in the constituency (Ginwala 1998) was held up by the Special Seats MPs as a commendable practice that should be adopted in Tanzania, to avoid compromising the nomination process.

The MPs also expressed concerns about individual capacities in budgeting and law-making processes, understanding the relationship between gender and socioeconomic trends, parliamentary procedures, public speaking and constructive debating, networking and fundraising, as well as analytical skills on economic and social performance indicators.

Analysis

The introduction of the Special Seats system has not only increased the number of women participating in decision making at both the national and local levels but has also infused more women with enthusiasm to enter politics. It

has improved to some extent the public image of women who engage in public affairs and has helped men and women to become progressively more comfortable having women serve in decision-making roles. The Special Seats system has also expanded interest among women’s associations to ensure that the socioeconomic and cultural factors that contribute to discrimination against women are adequately addressed in national policies and legislations.

A quota system has both advantages and disadvantages, regardless of where and how it is applied. How nomination gatekeepers select candidates is the most critical element in the entire operation of the Special Seats system in Tanzania. By the fact that there are no adequate legislative structures on the recruitment system, most women nominated for the Special Seats tend to have some relational ties with those who select candidates. Another serious defect is that the Special Seats MPs are not responsible to any constituency. This not only affects their ability to be effective but also creates a situation in which they may be reelected without any accountability to citizens outside Parliament.

Securing renomination at the end of fifth-year term can become a matter of simply flattering and demonstrating loyalty to officials of the selecting body. Democracy requires responsibility and accountability to function properly. Such undemocratic and closely manipulated nomination processes can not only lead to the selection of unqualified and disinterested nominees but may also negatively impact how Special Seats MPs perform inside and outside Parliament.

Issues of individual capacity are vital for the effectiveness of the Special Seats MPs. Intimidation by masculine practices, low self-esteem, lack of soft capacities, and inexperience and lack of knowledge about policy-making processes and overall socioeconomic patterns

can hold back Special Seats MPs from making substantial contributions to decision-making processes. One controversial proposal is to introduce a special fund to help women contest elections conventionally to help motivate and support them as they run for the office.

Special Seats MPs seem expected to be exemplary role models and enhance the image of women in politics. To do this they must often work harder than their male counterparts and constantly enhance their capacities to demonstrate that they can address the issues facing the majority of Tanzanians. The whole country needs to rise to the occasion to find ways to address issues of humiliation and corruption surrounding the nomination process. Male and female alike must begin to stand firm and say no to sexual harassment and expose any and all individuals who abuse their power. Disclosing unacceptable behaviors is the only way to deal with these issues, instead of covering them up.

Conclusions

The Special Seats system has had a positive impact on the number of women in Parliament as well as on other decision processes at national and local levels. But better institutional, systemic, and human capacities are required to ensure that the system is a viable platform for women to be effective in their roles inside and outside Parliament.

Lessons

1. The Special Seats system has significantly increased the number of women in Parliament but the impact of the system on socioeconomic policies is still insignificant.
2. Special Seats system MPs have to some extent become role models and have to a large extent positively influenced the public image of women in politics.
3. Lack of internal motivation, confidence, soft skills, and competence in socioeconomic development and parliamentary procedures and processes limits the performance of Special Seats MPs.
4. The structures supporting the Special Seats system are critical if gender balance in Tanzania's decision-making processes is to be achieved. This should be backed up with a functional legal framework that will reduce the potential for the abuse of power, favoritism, or anything else that could disrespect or humiliate women.
5. Experience has shown that recruiting women for entry-level positions can be difficult. Engagement of other stakeholders besides political parties in the recruitment process should therefore be sought.
6. Use of media, particularly social media, to connect with young people and showcase the successes of the Special Seats system could encourage more professional young women to enter politics and enhance the public image of women who have the courage to enter this field.
7. It is unlikely that women will secure 50/50 parity through the normal electoral process in the near future. So the Special Seats system will have to be used to engage young women and increase their realization that they have capacities to enable them to take part in the political process and become actively involved in decision making.
8. Networking among women MPs regardless of party lines or how they entered into Parliament should be encouraged if they are serious about working with interested gender groups to address gender concerns and develop essential laws. Issues include violence against women, abortion, health, rape, employment, and equal pay.
9. Supporting the development of individual capacities cannot be ignored as capacity has

significant implications for how well the Special Seats MPs perform. Regular support programs should be provided to strengthen the hard and soft skills of Special Seats MPs.

Policy recommendations

1. The NEC should establish legal mechanisms to ensure that the Special Seats nomination process is democratic.
2. Capacity must be built in political institutions to develop strong functional structures, proper procedures, and appropriate systems. All responsible must be educated on the rule of law, good governance, and leadership.
3. The NEC should put in place a mechanism to monitor the implementation of the Special Seats system. Reports should be discussed during the parliamentary sessions to eliminate loopholes that can compromise implementation of the system.
4. Changes in structures and procedures to enhance the Special Seats system might include the introduction of women's whips that would rally capable and qualified women for the Special Seats.
5. A new framework should be put in place to enable Special Seats members to represent constituencies and have all the attendant supports that other constituency-based members access.
6. Good governance measures should be instituted to prevent the abuse of power, sexual harassment, and favoritism in the nomination process to promote the recruitment of qualified, capable, and highly motivated women to the Special Seats system. Anyone who abuses power must be held accountable.
7. Discussions should begin on how to improve the Special Seats system by instituting processes such as identifying and recruiting women with experience to run for office; nominating candidates democratically

through parties; and having Special Seats members elected by voters.

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