



TANZANIA WOMEN CROSS-PARTY PLATFORM

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN ELECTIONS

(VAWE EVIDENCE FROM 2015 TANZANIA GENERAL ELECTIONS)



Supported by:





United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

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While gender equality in political life has significantly grown in the past few decades with the increasing number of women leaders, officials, activists and voters, women are experiencing rising levels of harassment, intimidation and physical and sexual violence. This violence is a major obstacle to women's political participation and thus democracy.

Madeleine K. Albright, Chairperson, The National Democratic Institute

Table of Contents

1.0 Introduction.....	1
2.0. Women's Participation in Elections in Tanzania: A Background.....	3
3.0. Methodology of the Study	6
3.1 Sampling	7
3.2 Limitation of the Study	8
4.0. The Prevalence of VAWE in the 2015 General Elections	10
4.1 Overview	10
4.2 Respondents' Characteristics	10
4.3 Incidents of VAWE	13
4.3.1 Election Environment	13
4.4. Women's Voter Turnout in the 2015 Elections	24
5.0. Conclusion and Recommendations	26
5.1 Conclusion	26
5.2: Recommendations	28

List of Figures

Figure 1.	Numbers of respondents	9
Figure 2.	Levels of Education: Women voters.....	11
Figure 3.	Levels of Education: Women candidates	11
Figure 4.	Levels of Education: Opinion leaders.....	12
Figure 5.	Levels of Education; Men voters.....	12
Figure 6.	Monitors Observation on Election Campaign Environment (percent)	13
Figure 7.	Women voters' response to the question 'Why did you not vote?'....	14
Figure 8.	Signs of Sexual corruption (percent of respondents)	15
Figure 9.	Types of VAWE encountered by women candidates	16
Figure 10.	Women's participation in voting 2015 Elections (Percent)	24
Figure 11.	Reasons for Not voting	25

List of Tables

Table 1: Levels of Support for Women Candidates	18
Table 2: Monitors' Observation about incident of VAWE (Percent)	19
Table 3: Women voters' opinion about incident of VAWE (Percent)	21
Table 4: Leaders' Opinion incidents of VAWE (Percent)	23

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	Civic United Front
NCCR-M	National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageuzi
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NLD	National League for Democracy
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
T-WCP	Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform
UNDP	United Nations Development programme
VAW-E	Violence Against Women in Elections
VCR	Voter Registration Card
WFT	Women Fund Tanzania

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This report is the product of efforts done to facilitate social inclusion in political processes by addressing the barriers that contribute to the marginalization of specific groups of people to effectively participate in political processes. T-WCP conducted this study to highlight the barriers that tend to marginalize women to effectively participate in elections and other political processes. The monitoring of Violence Against Women in Elections was done by a team of 56 monitors in selected regions in Tanzania.

T-WCP/ULINGO is grateful to UN Women who provided technical and financial support for the accomplishment of this report and was instrumental for enabling T-WCP/ULINGO to successfully carry out the exercise.

DEMO Finland, our traditional donors, facilitated the monitoring in ten districts and therefore contributed to expanding the scope of the exercise. We appreciate both their technical and financial support. In ensuring that the work is done professionally, the National Democratic Institute provided T-WCP ULINGO with technical support by engaging an international gender expert on election matters to support the training of monitors. We gratefully acknowledge their support during the training and coordination of the data collection and compilation.

Last but not least, we acknowledge the support from Wanawake na Katiba, Uchaguzi na Uongozi Coalition together with the Coalition against Sextortion for their support in the process of formulating the checklist, pre-testing and piloting of the tools. We also acknowledge the support of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) from the national, regional to district level, which made the work of monitors manageable. Special thanks to participants of this monitoring exercise, as through them, it was possible to document evidence of the existence of Violence Against Women in Elections in Tanzania.

To all we say Thank You.



Hon. Anna Margareth Abdallah
Chairperson T-WCP



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings on the prevalence of violence against women in elections (VAW-E) during the 2015 general elections in Tanzania. At the outset, it is important to point out that unlike previous elections since the introduction of multi-party elections in 1992, the 2015 general elections turned out to be highly competitive and thereby signalled the possibility of violence during elections, which could mostly have affected women and other vulnerable groups.

It is under this context, that UN Women Tanzania supported Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform (T-WCP) to monitor VAW-E, in order to establish its magnitude, identify interventions to counter and prevent occurrences and in turn, expand women's participation in the political processes in Tanzania. The study used a triangulation approach by employing different methods of data collection with different types of samples to investigate the same phenomenon in order to detect and uncover the prevalence of VAW-E in the 2015 general elections in Tanzania. Three methods of data collection were employed, namely, observation technique, structured interviews and review of relevant literature. The data collection was carried out between July and November 2015. Fourteen regions were selected for the study and these are Mbeya, Dodoma, Mtwara, Mjini Magharibi, Mara, Tanga, Coast, Arusha, Unguja Kaskazini, Unguja Kusini, Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Ruvuma and Morogoro.

The respondents for the structured interviews were categorized in four groups including women voters, men voters, opinion leaders at the grassroots level as well as women candidates for parliamentary and councillorship elections. In total, there were 1,532 respondents.

The key findings of the study are as follows:

- The literature review has indicated that VAW-E is not explicitly included in the list of election offences as provided in chapter eight (section 88-107) of the National Elections Act (1985). The Political Parties Act (1992) and the Elections Regulations are also silent on the issues of VAW-E.
- Violence against women during the 2015 elections occurred in three forms namely psychological, physical and sexual. Psychological violence against women happened to be the most dominant form of VAW-E in the 2015 general elections.

- About three-quarters (69 percent) of the women candidates reported that they had experienced abusive language during election campaigns. For instance, verbal harassment, insults, and being booed while on stage. This figure is strikingly high, calling for deliberate interventions to change the situation.
- The use of social sanctions and punishment such as controlled voting was also reported, whereby women were dictated by their husbands, brothers or sons on how to cast their votes.
- Based on anecdotal accounts from the interviews, some women aspirants and candidates were subjected to sexual demands from party leaders and campaign managers, which tended to demoralise them and hinder their effective participation in the electoral process.
- Over half of the women voters interviewed during the post-election period (53 per cent) said that they did not vote due to various factors, including being afraid of violence that was often geared towards them. As a result, most women did not cast their votes due to safety reasons, missing of voter registration card and spouse pressure.

The study makes several recommendations involving several actors, including election management bodies, political parties, civil society, the police force and the Development Partners (DP).

The following are the major cross-cutting recommendations:

1. There is a need to review the legal framework that governs elections and political participation as a whole in order to include aspects of VAW-E as being part of specific offenses. The Political Parties Act (1992), the National Elections Act (1985) as well as the Elections Regulations should be reviewed.
2. There is a need for the provision of public education campaigns throughout the electoral cycle aimed at preventing perpetration of VAW-E in various stages of the electoral process and in politics in general.

“As long as most data on electoral violence remains gender-blind, it is impossible to properly address the problem and bridge the gap in political participation,” ... By asking the right questions, we will shed new light on the prevalence of violence against women in elections so that it can be mitigated.”

Hubbard, C. (2015) Senior Program Manager for Gender and Democracy NDI

1.0 Introduction

Election violence tends to disproportionately affect women than men worldwide. While it is true that both men and women may be victims of election violence, the form of violence that women encounter is distinctively different from that of men, and in turn, tends to jeopardize women's political participation. This study sets out to investigate the barriers that women face in political participation in the form of violence against women in elections (VAW-E) as candidates, as well as voters and propose actions and interventions to reduce and eliminate the identified barriers. The overall purpose is to identify entry points for enhancing women's visibility in political leadership and participation in democratic elections. Whereas election violence has been widely documented in many parts of the world, violence aimed at women during elections remains largely under-explored and thereby making it very difficult to design interventions and measures to eliminate the problem.

According to UN Women, VAW-E is defined “as any act of election violence “... threats, hate speech, assault, blackmail or assassination” that is directed at women due to their gender and that seeks to determine, delay or otherwise influence engagement in an electoral process”¹. For this matter, VAW-E is considered separately from general electoral violence because it represents an important deterrent for women to participate freely in public life and in exercising their civil rights. VAW-E is the type of violence aimed at women during elections specifically because they are women, as opposed to the election violence that stems from differences in candidates' or parties' positions and struggles for power. Women can be targeted in the election process as voters, candidates, political party supporters, candidates' families, campaign workers, journalists, EMB staff, security forces and observers (Bardall, 2011). Indeed, studies on election violence have shown that half (50 percent) of all recorded incidents that involved women, 50 percent were targeted at women political party supporters or activists, 22 percent against women as voters and 10 percent against women candidates (UN Women Guide).

In most cases, VAW-E is experienced in three main forms, namely psychological, physical and sexual violence. According to a study done by the International

1 UN Women Guide on Violence Against Women in Elections (VAW-E), unpublished report

Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the most common form of VAW-E is psychological violence, which accounts for one third of all incidents of VAW-E recorded in the study (Bardall, 2015:13). This is the form of violence, pressure or discrimination that leads to mental pressure/stress on the person being violated and an “informal means of control [and] includes systematic ridicule, ostracism, shame, sarcasm, criticism, disapproval, exclusion and discrimination” (Bardall, 2011). In contrast, physical violence involves direct physical harm to an individual or against a group; murder, kidnapping and arbitrary detention, beating, stoning, starving, domestic abuse and physical abandonment or displacement. Given its visibility, it is the most widely reported form of VAW-E (UN Women Guide).² Sexual violence includes any actions or behaviors of a sexual nature which take place without consent or understanding, and are unwanted. Sexual violence may include battering, sexual abuse, marital rape, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation (ibid). Indeed, as the rate of women’s political visibility increases and so are the incidents of election violence against women (Bardall, 2011). Yet, it is important to note that many incidents of violence against women take place in private locations such as, homes and in families, which make it difficult to be observed and verified through official records.

Furthermore, in terms of its prevalence, it is pointed out that VAW-E is widespread across countries as demonstrated in a study conducted between 2006 and 2010 that compared over 2,000 acts of election violence. This study consisted of six countries and found that women are victims in almost 40 percent of all acts of election violence. For instance, during the 2010 elections in Afghanistan, it was reported that 9 out of 10 threats against candidates in the 2010 election campaign were against women (Bardall, 2015:12). In the 2015 Nigerian elections, it is reported that women politicians and the wives and family members of male candidates experienced heightened levels of gender-based hate speech, and in certain instances directly targeted by thugs and criminals for physical violence including sexual abuse (Safir and Alam, 2015:3)

In Tanzania, a report on the Mapping and Analysis of 2010 Election-Related Incidents of Violence (2011) shows that compared to previous elections, three quarters of respondents (66.8 percent) said the 2010 elections were either very violent or violent especially during the vote counting process and the declaration of results (UDSM 2011:17). Yet, this study did not use gender-based definition of the election violence to capture the magnitude of the VAW-E in Tanzanian elections. However, the observed violence during the 2010 general elections provides an indication that incidents of violence against women did take place but were not systematically uncovered using conventional methods of election observation and monitoring. Indeed, during the 2010 post-election assessment

2 <http://www.nidirect.gov.uk/sv-definition>

workshop which was organized by the T-WCP, participants complained bitterly about VAW-E incidents that had occurred to them.

It is under this context that UN Women Tanzania supported Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform (T-WCP) to monitor VAW-E, in order to establish its magnitude, identify interventions to counter and prevent occurrences and in turn expand women's participation in the political processes in Tanzania. T-WCP, or popularly known in Kiswahili as ULINGO, is a civil society organisation founded by the women wings of political parties with representation in the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The report is organized into five sections. Section one presents an introduction and background information and the rationale of the project. Section two presents a brief account of the status of women's participation in the electoral processes in Tanzania and the kinds of barriers that they face. Section three presents the methodology of the study. The findings of the study are discussed in section four, followed by recommendations and conclusions in section five.

2.0. Women's Participation in Elections in Tanzania: A Background

Despite notable gains made towards increasing women's participation in the electoral process in Tanzania, gender equality and women's empowerment remain a significant challenge in Tanzania. Women are still under-represented in political and in socio-economic spheres. It is important to point out that Tanzania is a signatory to a number of international human rights instruments which protect and promote the rights of women, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 and the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995. Tanzania is also signatory to the regional and sub-regional human rights instruments, such as the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development 2008, which recognizes the importance of ensuring equality between men and women in all spheres of development, including in the politics of SADC member states.

As in most countries in the world, women have already overcome a significant number of unjust practices and challenges that limit their participation in elections in any capacity; from laws limiting women's movements outside the home, to patriarchal customs and traditions subordinating and restricting women from participating in public life. Only a small number of women are nominated as candidates in general elections and in top leadership positions in government and political parties, thus representing a challenge that women are facing when it comes to inclusive democracy in Tanzania. However, the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development together with the African Union Protocol (Maputo AU Protocol) (2005) proclaimed the move towards 50 percent representation of women in decision-making. This is now the most current gender parity guiding

framework which Tanzania has signed.

During the 2015 general elections, the level of participation of women as voters was in fact satisfactory whereby women constituted 53 percent of all registered voters in the country (NEC, 2015). A legislative quota system whereby 30 per cent of all members of Parliament (MPs) are supposed to be women has played a big role in increasing the number of women in the national parliament. These special seats are allocated to political parties in accordance to their share of votes in the parliamentary elections. It is those political parties that receive 5 per cent and above of the national parliamentary votes which qualify for the women special seats. Following this, there were 113 women special seats allocated to three political parties that attained a 5 per cent threshold of parliamentary votes in the 2015 elections. Currently, 36.6 per cent of women in the parliament are women. According to the 2016 Inter-Parliamentary (IPU) world classification, Tanzania belongs to the top 25 countries worldwide that have national legislatures with over 30 percent of women. Other African countries in this group include Rwanda (63.8 per cent), Burundi (36.4 per cent), Uganda (33.5 per cent), Mozambique (39.6 per cent), Namibia (41.3 per cent), South Africa (42.4 per cent), Angola (36.8 per cent), Ethiopia (38.8 per cent) and Seychelles (43.8 per cent).³ For the councillorship elections, the law provides for one third (1/3) of councillors elected in each district council to be reserved for women special seats. In this case, the total number of wards during the 2015 elections was 3,957. Hence, there were a total of 1,406 seats to be distributed to different political parties in proportion to the secured votes at the councillorship elections.

However, there is a glaring gender imbalance on the number of candidates nominated by political parties to contest for various elective posts. Compared to the 2005 and 2010 elections where women constituted only 13 percent and 18 percent of all candidates for parliamentary elections respectively, during the 2015 elections, only 19 percent of all candidates were women. Despite the slight increase on the number of women candidates for parliamentary elections from 13 percent in the 2005 elections to 19 percent to 2015 elections, yet, the proportion of women's candidates remains far below that of men.

Moreover, the number of directly elected women members of parliament (MPs) has been rather small constituting only 3.4 per cent, 5.2 per cent, 7.3 per cent, 8.7 per cent and 9 per cent of all directly elected MPs in 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015 general elections respectively. As this trend shows, there is a serious gender gap in the nomination process, which also contributes to the marginal number of women as winners in the competitive electoral process.

Furthermore, just like in many parts of the world, women's political participation

3 See Women in National Parliaments: World Classification, Inter-Parliamentary Union http://www.ipu.org/wmn_classif.html

in Tanzania is hindered by multiple factors, including cultural attitudes and practices, the socio-economic environment, conflict and violence against women and a persistent lack of access to information and education. Women and girls are often burdened by competing priorities and excessive household responsibilities that reduce available time and potential interest for political activities. Women in political parties are most often discouraged from participating as candidates to elective leadership positions and are forced to seek positions through affirmative action initiatives. Also, procedures for nomination within political parties are not transparent and it has been found that this enhances women's vulnerability to VAW-E. For instance, women who contest for various elective posts are sometimes referred to as 'Prostitutes', which contributes to women shying away from vying for political leadership, even if they were motivated and capable to do so.

In previous elections, incidents of election violence were documented. For instance, during the 2005 elections, cases of violent incidents were reported in constituencies where competition between the ruling party, CCM and the opposition was stiff and tense (TEMCO, 2006). During the 2010 elections, election-related violence was witnessed in many areas of Tanzania including Arusha, Mara, Shinyanga Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Lindi, Mtwara, Unguja and Pemba (UDSM, 2011). Yet, all these reports ignored the gendered nature of election violence without taking into account how differently electoral violence affect men and women.

With regards to the legal framework, although the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) prohibits discrimination of any person by any person or authority (Article 13 (4)), however in reality , women continue to be victims of discrimination in the political and socio-economic processes. This is partly due to the fact that VAW-E is not explicitly included in the list of election offences as provided in chapter eight (section 88-107) of the National Elections Act (1985). The Political Parties Act (1992) as well as Elections Regulations are also silent on the issues of VAW-E. It is the election ethical code of conduct for the presidential, parliamentary and councillorship elections (2015) which specifically prevents candidates to use abusive words, statements, threats, harassment of whatever form against another candidate during the election campaigns (Section 2.2 (b)). However, it is important to note that the code of conduct is coordinated by NEC, which has limited enforcement mechanisms.

It is in this context that various gender and women's rights organisations have been waging a struggle aimed at increasing women's mobility in politics and in other spheres. In close collaboration with political parties, T-WCP mapped 1,925 women, youth and People with Disabilities (PWDs) who were determined to seek nomination from their respective political parties and became candidates for Parliament and Council positions (T-WCP 2015). The exercise of mapping aspirants followed the recommendations made by political parties and women wings leaders during their annual general meeting in December 2010. In that meeting

they discussed the institutionalised marginalisation of women from decision-making processes. It was against this background that T-WCP was mandated to design initiatives to address the issues that were mentioned to affect women's participation in democratic elections. The initiative started by reviewing Political Parties Act, Elections Act and Election Expenses Act. The initiative to review the election and political parties' laws to establish gender and inclusive gaps was initiated and supported by UN Women in 2012, following recommendations provided in a study that assessed the level of Women's participation that was conducted by UN Women and UNDP. Also, T-WCP and other women's rights organizations including Women Fund Tanzania (WFT) and the Wanawake na Katiba Coalition contributed to the dialogues, discussions and advocacy on the Special Seats programme as well as the incorporation of 50/50 principle in the new proposed constitution.

Moreover, T-WCP/ULINGO worked closely with key stakeholders, such as political parties, civil society organizations and election management and regulatory bodies, such as NEC, ZEC and ORPP, to establish evidence to facilitate the designing of strategies to overcome hindrances to the effective participation of women in political leadership and democratic elections. In doing so, T-WCP/ULINGO has implemented different initiatives in collaboration with other stakeholders. UN Women provided both technical and financial support in the design and implementation of all these initiatives. This included the review of electoral and political parties' legal frameworks and regulations to identify gender equality and social inclusion gaps; advocacy efforts and dialogue initiatives with political parties; as well as the strengthening of women wings of political parties. In addition, the work of other CSOs is equally critical in promoting women's participation in the political processes. These CSOs include Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Women Fund Tanzania (WFT), Tanzania Centre for Democracy, Legal and Human Rights Centre, Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), to mention only a few.

This study is just one of the measures designed to intervene and make a contribution towards eliminating violence against women during election and in turn, expanding women's space in the democratic processes in Tanzania.

3.0. Methodology of the Study

Any study aimed at establishing the presence and the magnitude of VAW-E faces one serious methodological setback which emanates from the fact that many instances of VAW-E largely occur in private settings and as result, they are not reported and ignored. A 'culture of silence' that exists in many societies makes it even harder to uncover the dynamics of violence against women in many spheres but also during elections. It is for this reason that this study uses a triangulation approach by employing different methods of data collection with different types of samples to investigate the same phenomenon in order to detect and uncover

the prevalence of VAW-E in the 2015 general elections in Tanzania. The data collection was carried out between July and November 2015.

3.1 Employed Methods

The study used three methods of data collection, namely, observation technique, structured interviews and case documentation. The Observation technique was used by the trained monitors who took part as audience in the campaign rallies, internal party meetings, and in public discussion forums (vijiweni/vizimbani) with the purpose of observing in a natural setting, the people's behavior on aspects related to VAW-E and women's political participation in general.

3.1.1 Development of Tools

Development of the of tools was done in a participatory way, where experts from Tanzania Women Judges Association (TAWJA) and the Coalition Against Sextortion facilitated conceptualization of VAW-E and Sextortion, and also supported the pilot of the developed checklist. The checklist was further reviewed and improved by the NDI International Gender Expert and National Gender Consultant during the Orientation of T-WCP/ULINGO Monitors before they were deployed in their respective districts.

3.1.2: Orientation of T-WCP Monitors



T-WCP Monitors attending training on Monitoring for VAW-E before deployment to assigned districts

Monitors were selected from among members of Wanawake Katiba na Uchaguzi coalition and the T-WCP trainers for 2015 General elections aspirants. The recruitment process of VAW-E monitors took two months and also involved training from the Women Judges Association and National experts on conceptual clarity on VAW-E, and in the process the checklist for VAW-E was developed and piloted. The training was an important element to enable Monitors to differentiate VAW-E from domestic violence. The final training and orientation was carried jointly by NDI gender expert and T-WCP national gender expert

3.2 Sampling

3.2.1 Location

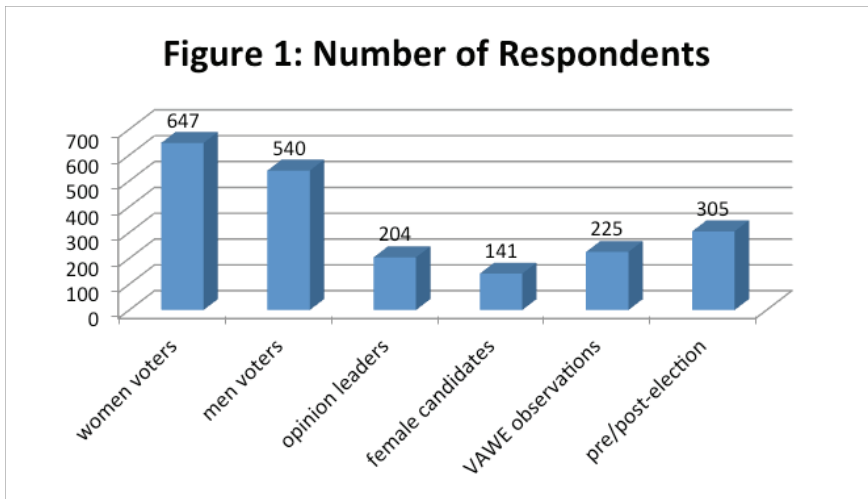
Selection of regions was done using purposive sampling, the primary criteria was the presence of women candidates in that particular district, and the presence of more than one popular political party; secondary criteria included easy to reach regions taking into account the timeframe, representativeness of a varied range of respondents from different zones of the country, and the existing resources. 14 regions were selected out of 30 administrative regions in Tanzania. These 14 regions are Mwanza, Mbeya, Dodoma, Mtwara, Mjini Magharibi, Mara, Tanga, Coast, Arusha, Unguja Kaskazini, Unguja Kusini, Dar es Salaam, Ruvuma and Morogoro. In order to attain representativeness of different characteristics of respondents in the country, the regions were selected from seven geographical zones as follows;

1. Coastal zone (Tanga, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam, Coast)
2. Northern highland zone (Arusha)
3. Lake zone (Tabora, Mwanza, Mara)
4. Central zone (Dodoma, Singida)
5. Southern highland zone (Mbeya)
6. Southern zone (Mtwara and Ruvuma)
7. Zanzibar (Mjini Magharibi, Unguja Kaskazini, Unguja Kusini)

Regions with a relatively high level of political competition between the ruling party and the opposition were purposefully selected. Also, presence of women candidates was taken as another criterion in selecting a region. The level of competition was gauged based on the 2010 general elections. The Zanzibar zone excluded regions in Pemba due to logistical reasons, and permission was only given to monitor in Unguja.

3.2.2 Respondents

The respondents for the structured interviews were categorized in four groups including women voters, men voters, opinion leaders at the grassroots level and women candidates for parliamentary and councillorship elections in districts that were sampled for monitoring. The opinion leaders referred here include religious leaders, local government leaders, government leaders as well as influential people in the communities visited. In total, there were 1,532 respondents. These respondents were selected using purposeful and chance encounter sampling largely depending on their availability and willingness to participate in the study. In addition, using a checklist, the Monitors (or field researchers) observed a total of 530 events. The number of the respondents for each category is indicated in figure 1.



There were a total of 56 monitors who received special tailored training on VAW-E. These monitors were deployed to fourteen (14) regions and with the support of Regional Election Coordinators from NEC, selected the constituencies to monitor. They were assigned to ensure that each day they monitor at least two events, as well as administer specifically designed questionnaires to the target population. They were also required to document all the occurrences, which were categorized as VAW-E using the observation checklist.

3.2 Limitation of the Study

First of all, communication between NEC officials at the Regional and District levels took more time than expected. In some regions, this tended to delay the granting of the research permit and the commencement of the research work.

In Pemba, T-WCP could not secure research permit from ZEC due to logistical problems.

Secondly, some respondents were hesitant to give their views on certain aspects of VAW-E. In the data analysis stage, it has been found that there is a significant rate of non-responses of about 12 percent in many questions. This may be partly due to the socio-cultural factors which perpetuate a 'culture of silence' and 'denial' on issues of violence against women in the society.

Thirdly, given a small number of respondents that were drawn in each region/district/constituencies, it has been difficult to do a regional based analysis of VAW-E. The findings present a national/general picture without variations across regions or districts.

4.0. FINDINGS: The Prevalence of VAW-E in the 2015 General Elections

4.1 Overview

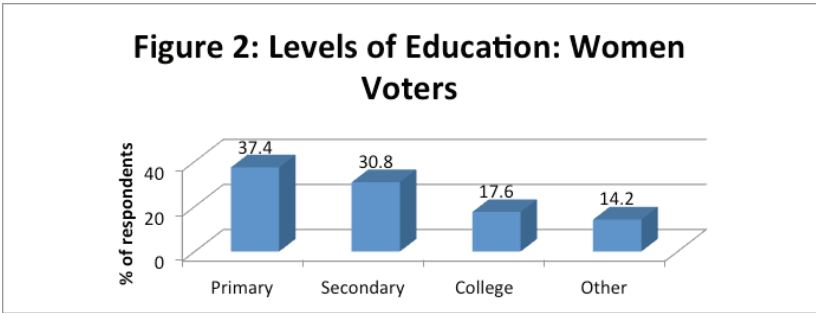
This section presents the findings of the presence and the magnitude of VAW-E during the 2015 general elections in Tanzania. At the outset, it is important to point out that since the introduction of multi-party elections in 1992, the 2015 general elections, unlike previous elections, turned out to be highly competitive largely due to the formed coalition among four opposition political parties, namely, CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR-M and NLD. These four parties decided to file and support one opposition candidate in many constituencies, one presidential candidate for the Union elections as well as one presidential candidate for the Zanzibar elections.

The strategic alliance between CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR-M and NLD was able to raise the level of competition between the opposition and the ruling party to such a high level, never witnessed in the previous elections. Also, the defection of prominent politicians from the ruling party to the opposition made the elections even more competitive. For the first time in Tanzania's political history, the two former Prime ministers defected from CCM and joined the opposition. These are Mr. Edward Lowassa and Fredrick Sumaye. The high levels of electoral competition between the opposition and the ruling party signalled the possibility of violence during elections, which could have mostly affected women and other vulnerable groups.

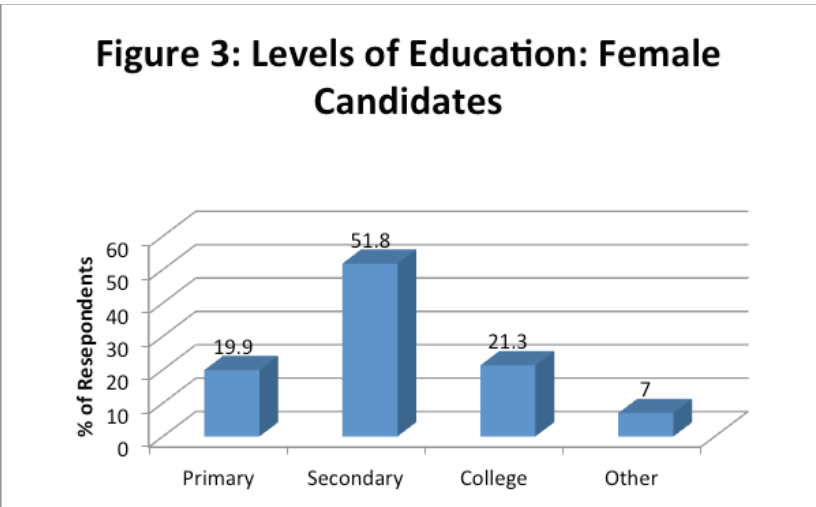
4.2 Respondents' Characteristics

It is important to glance at the respondents' characteristics. The respondents represented a varied range of characteristics that exist in larger populations. For

the women voters, 37.4 percent of the 647 women voters who were interviewed reported to have primary education whereas about one third of them (30.8 per cent) have secondary education and 17.6 percent reported to have college education (figure 2). Also, over half of them (52.6 per cent) reported to have been married, 31.4 not married and 6.9 per cent reported to be widows or divorced.



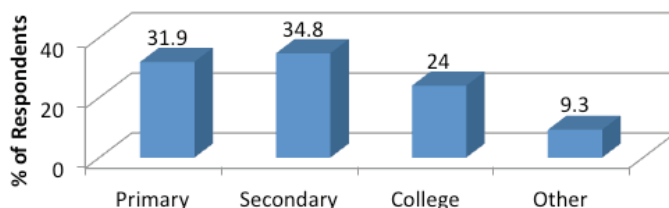
For the women candidates for various elective posts, out of 141 respondents, half of them reported to have secondary education (51.8 per cent), while about 29 percent have primary education and 21.3 have College education (figure 3). If one combines those respondents with secondary and college education, three-quarters (73 per cent) of the women candidates fall into this category, which clearly shows that investing in girls' education is one way of increasing women's visibility in decision making organs.



For the opinion leaders, a slight majority of them have secondary education (34.8

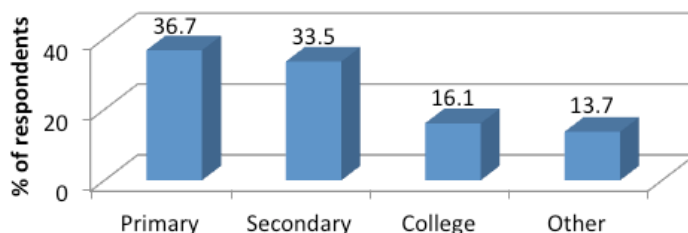
per cent) while 32 percent have primary education and 24 percent have College education (figure 4). Just like in many other leadership positions, 67.2 percent of the leaders are male and 29.4 percent are women.

Figure 4: Levels of Education: Opinion leaders



Moreover, out of 540 male voters, about 37 percent have primary education while 33.5 percent have secondary education and only 16 percent have College education (figure 5). Over half of them are married and about 33 percent reported not to be married and 2.3 percent include those who are divorced.

Figure 5: Levels of Education: Men Voters



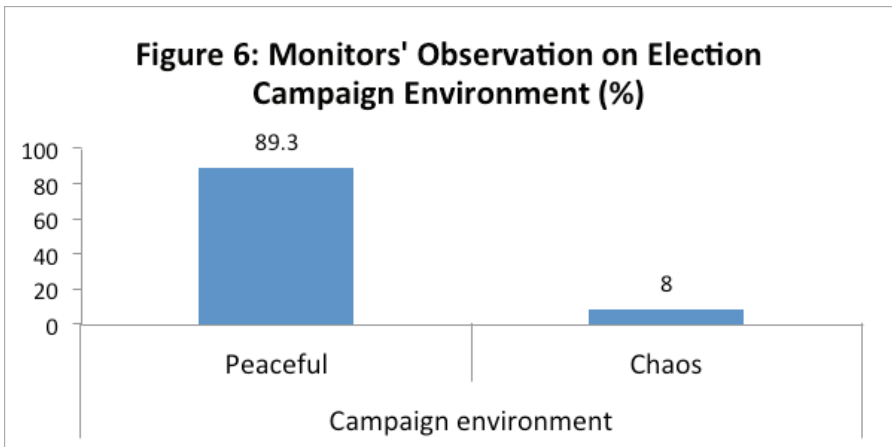
Overall, the sample composition of the respondents in all the categories tends to, in many ways, reflect the characteristics of the larger population in the country as a whole.

4.3 Incidents of VAW-E

The incidents of VAW-E were investigated in its three forms, namely psychological, physical and sexual violence directed against women during elections. The study also assesses the environment in which elections took place.

4.3.1 Methodological

The aim of this Monitoring was to explore and document existing evidences on incidences of VAW-E in Tanzania. It was therefore necessary to employ multiple strategies to ensure success at the end. The traditional Observation was done by Monitors, and this involved observing elections processes as is conventionally done. Monitors observed campaign meetings and related events. The daily observations reports revealed that there were no incidences of VAW-E - figure 6 below depicts the report. The Monitors were asked to observe and give their views using the normal method, (observe and report what you see) on whether or not they found the election environment to be conducted in a peaceful manner and whether or not it offers opportunity for both men and women to participate. An overwhelming number of Monitors reported that the electoral process was done in a peaceful manner and only 8 percent of them said it was not peaceful but rather the electoral process was dominated by chaos (Figure 6).



This assessment is similar to the reports by elections observers from various organizations including TEMCO, which concluded that during the 2015 elections, "the country remained generally peaceful, with political parties,

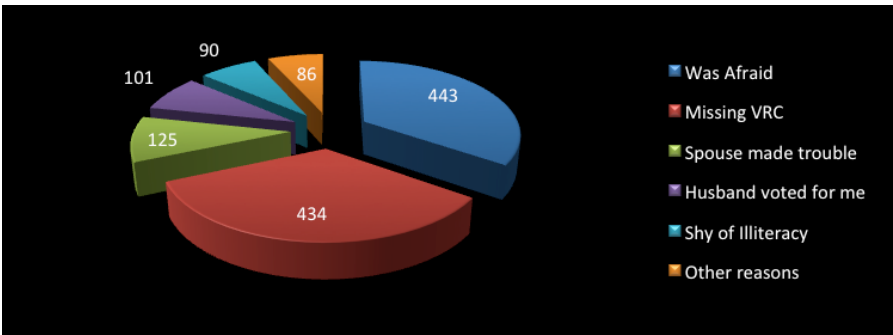
4 www.temco.udsm.ac.tz

5 <http://eisa.org.za/pdf/tan2015an.pdf>

candidates and the public demonstrating a high degree of political tolerance”⁴. Likewise, the African Union observed that “the campaigns and other pre-election activities were undertaken in a largely peaceful atmosphere”⁵.

Despite the report above, monitors managed to observe some unusual incidences (issues that were developed as checklist for VAW-E) and when applying the semi structured interview and the post election tool for women voters, they probed for explanations on the situation and the results, were confirmation of the existence of VAW-E. The first incident to raise questions in all constituencies visited was the fact that all women candidates except for only four (4) were not conducting public campaign meetings as indicated in the timetable set by NEC and ZEC. These women were seen at home as if election campaigns were of no concern to them. Another observed scenario, is that while campaigns were going on, women were observed outside their doors following events that were happening, indicating they are eager to know more about the campaign events, but do not dare to go out and attend the campaigns and other election related events. But, when probed during the post election monitoring, it was revealed that they were denied permission by their spouses/parents. Figure 7 below depicts the reasons given by women voters as to why they failed to use their democratic right to elect their representatives

Figure 7: Women voters’ response to the question ‘Why did you not vote?’



It is therefore evident that the conventional election observation methods are not comprehensive enough to capture incidences of VAW-E, and this was the first finding.

4.3.2 Election Environment

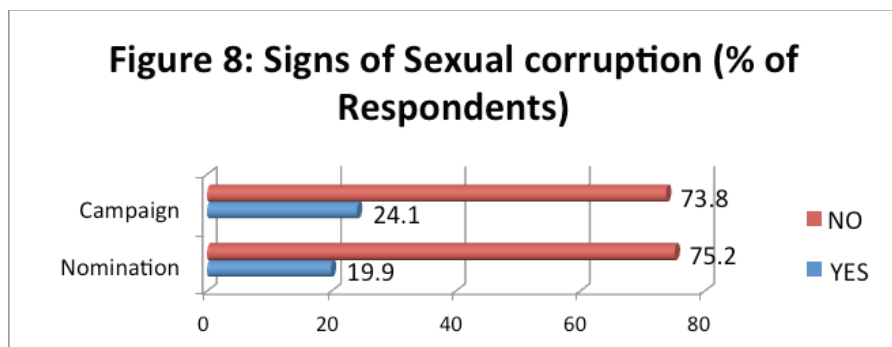
The nature of the election environment tends to affect in a significant way, the prevalence of VAW-E in a particular society. Cases of VAW-E are more likely to

increase if elections are held in a violent and unstable political environment. According to the Monitors' accounts, some incidents of chaos were observed during the election campaigns, whereby youths with motorcyclists (popularly known as Bodaboda) were involved in causing havoc and disturbing the audience. These incidences were mostly observed in the streets and not in the venues where campaign meetings took place, and therefore, missed in the report of many teams of election observers. The incidences were a reason of fear as reported by about 443 women who participated in the post election monitoring, and who because of it were unable to turn up in polling stations and vote.

In most cases, the monitors observed that these youths were under the influence of alcohol (popularly viroba) which in turn made women feel insecure in the campaign meetings. There were also situations where during the meetings, members got emotional and engaged in insults. In a few cases, the meetings were too chaotic which threatened women's safety, for instance, where stones were thrown, as well as use of language mobilising young men to threaten women who do not support their party. This was especially recorded in Mtwara, Mbeya and Mwanza.

Women candidates' Views

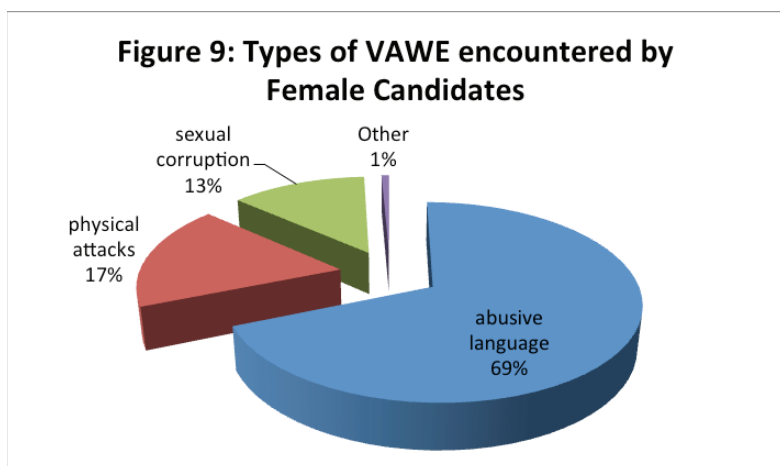
The women candidates were asked to report if at all there were signs of solicitation or demands for sexual corruption during the nomination process in their political parties. As figure 8 shows, about 20 percent of all the women candidates reported that there were some signs or indications of solicitation for sexual favours. However, an overwhelming majority of the women candidates (75.2 per cent) said there were no signs of this form of violence.



When they were asked if they had encountered any signs of gender-based exploitation including sexual violence during the campaigns, an overwhelming majority of 73.8 said they did not and 24 percent said yes. It should be noted that

this question only referred to the presence of any signs of sexual violence.

However, when the women candidates were interrogated further for specific information and to state whether or not an identified incident such as insults, beatings, being booed, and others had occurred to them during the campaigns, the findings become quite alarming. As figure 8 shows, about three-quarters (69 per cent) of the women candidates reported that they had experienced abusive language which included verbal harassment, insults, and being booed while on stage. This figure is strikingly high, calling for deliberate interventions to change the situation.



Also, 17 percent of the women candidates had encountered physical attacks, which included beatings, stones being thrown at them and their clothes torn apart. Demands for sexual favours were reported to have occurred to 13 percent of the women candidates who were interviewed. Thus, similar to the IFES study, it is psychological violence which happens to be the most dominant form of VAW-E in the 2015 general elections. This includes the use of abusive language, verbal harassment and insults which demoralize and dehumanize women candidates to equally compete in the electoral process. It is on this basis that one women respondent remarked that *"Prior to taking a decision to seek nomination and become a candidate, women are supposed to acquire a heart of a wild cat, and psychologically get prepared for insults and inhuman treatment"*.

Based on anecdotal accounts from the interviews, some of the women aspirants and candidates were subjected to sexual demands from party leaders and campaign managers, which demoralised them, hindered their effective participation and lowered their motivation to contest. In most cases, the lack of

appropriate systems for representative democracy, have enabled the wide use of sextortion within institutions as a way for upward mobility. Women aspiring for leadership positions are faced with many challenges, including unethical political leaders who use their positions to demand sex from women aspirants in exchange for 'supporting' them in the process of seeking nomination to contest for political leadership or candidacy. The following case is shared by a woman candidate regarding problems she encountered during the 2015 general elections.

Box 1: Political Party leaders and VAW-E affecting Women Candidates

I won the nomination to contest for the Parliamentary seat in our constituency. Being a young woman, leaders of my political party were not happy as our society is very traditional and downplays the value and ability of women. I decided to continue with my candidature without the support of the party leadership from my district. They refused to support the logistics for the campaign. They even refused to give me party flags. When the presidential candidate came to my constituency, I was obliged, on my own, to prepare and meet the costs for all the logistics. During the presidential campaign, I decided to use the opportunity to request support from the campaign manager of the presidential candidate of our party. He promised to assist, saying that we will discuss after the campaign meeting. When the meeting ended, it was late and the campaign manager invited me to the so-called post-mortem meeting of the campaign and mentioned a venue. Fortunately, I happened to know the place and it was a ramshackle guest house. I sensed something fishy and arranged for two of my publicity team members to accompany me unnoticed. When I arrived, there was no sign of a meeting, and the campaign manager came to meet me half dressed, when I asked about the meeting he caught me and started to drag me. Then my two companions came to my rescue. It was embarrassing, terrifying and demoralising. I always ask myself, what would have happened, if I had not arranged my rescue team!!

Furthermore, societal pressure not to run for elective posts is also one of the prevailing hindrances that affect women's political participation. Fortunately, as table 1 shows, women candidates acknowledged that they had received favourable support to contest for an elective office from the parents (79 per cent), husbands (69.5 per cent), family members (87.2 per cent) and local leaders (68 per cent). It should be noted that about three-quarters (69 per cent) of the women candidates are married and hence the support from their husbands is indeed very critical. In fact, the higher the level of education among the interviewed male voters, the more likely they are to believe that women and men are both capable of being leaders.

Table 1: Levels of Support for Women Candidates (per cent)

Group	Yes	NO
Parents	79.4	12.8
Husband	69.5	9.9
Family	87.2	4.3
Local leaders	68.1	22.0

However, about 10 percent of the women candidates reported that their husbands did not support their decision to contest for an elective post. In the interviews, it was reported by some of the respondents that some husbands, once they discovered that their wives supported a different party, prevented them from attending campaign meetings,. Some women were physically beaten and some were gravely injured.

Box 2: A WOMAN IN A FAMILY CANNOT CONTEST AGAINST A MALE RELATIVE

I applied to be nominated by my party to contest for the Council position. In the process, my uncle (the young brother of my late father) was also among the aspirants in our party together with me who applied to be considered for nomination. After members voted I emerged the winner and therefore appointed to be the candidate to represent our party. Unfortunately, my family became very angry that I went against the culture by contesting against my uncle, and since they are threatening my family, the animosity is affecting my campaign. I manage because my husband is supporting me, and his friends are protecting me. Otherwise, my family are plotting to eliminate me. We have moved to a hotel for safety.

Woman Council Candidate

During the 2015 general elections, some of the reported VAW-E incidents were a result of cultural beliefs and practices. Women were treated as intruders in democratic processes and reported cases ranged from the family level to the campaign platform. Some women candidates faced many difficulties from spouses who were not supporting the idea of them vying for council and parliament positions, additionally there were family members who preferred male clan members to contest instead of women members. Box 2 depicts a situation in which one woman candidate faced when she contested in the nomination against her uncle. When she won the nomination, her whole family turned against her and she was forced to live in a hotel instead of her house, as she was threatened by family members.

Moreover, it is important to note that while the level of support by the local

leaders (village and street leaders) is seen to be overwhelming (68 per cent), yet 22 percent of the women candidates reported that they had not received any support from their local leaders. These are leaders of the party at the grassroots level who exercise some influence in the candidate selection process. These findings highlight the fact that whereas women seem to be enjoying an overwhelming support from their families, the level of support within their political parties might be minimal.

Monitors' Views

A total of 56 T-WCP Monitors were assigned to observe the incidents of VAW-E in various settings including campaign rallies, party meetings and in public discussion forums. In total, they were able to observe 225 events. As table 2 indicates, out of these 225, the use of abusive language and insults were found in 17.8 percent of the events. In the remaining events (80.9 percent), there were no such incidents. Also, the monitors were of the view that the time table for election campaign rallies restricted the effective participation of women in about 28 percent of the events visited. However, about three-quarters (69 percent) of the events visited, the time table of the campaign rallies was found to be conducive for women's participation. Also, the monitors assessed whether or not the time-table of the campaign team meetings was conducive for women's effective participation. The findings show that the time table for many of such meetings was found to be unconducive for women's effective participation. As table 2 shows, 67 percent of these meetings were held in unfavourable environment for women team members.

Table 2: Monitors' Observations about Incidents of VAWE (Percent)

Incidents	Yes	NO
Timetable for Campaign teams not conducive for women members	67.1	28.0
Abusive language/insults	17.8	80.9
Timetable for Campaign rallies not conducive for women to participate	27.6	68.9

In the interviews with the women candidates, it was revealed that some of the logistics and strategy meetings are conducted at night and therefore, tend to subject women members to insecure situations, susceptible to physical and sexual assault. Also, it is more likely that when these meetings are held at night, some spouses and relatives of women respondents do not allow their wives/relatives to participate in such meetings due to safety considerations. Moreover, although

the time tables for campaign rallies were scheduled to start at 8.00am and finish at 6pm, in certain instances, the venue of campaign meetings were far from villages where people live and therefore, women were faced with the choice of either risking their safety to attend the campaign meetings, or accept to surrender their civil and democratic rights and stay at home. One woman candidate in Dar es Salaam, shared her ordeal during the campaign as narrated in Box 3.

Box 3: I was about to be raped by the Election Coordinator

I was appointed to contest in one of the constituencies in Dar es Salaam. Our party appointed one party official to be our (Dar es Salaam) elections coordinator. One particular day he asked me to meet him at the Holiday Inn Hotel in the city centre. It was around 23.00 h. I went there with my driver and my campaign team manager and he asked me to accompany him in his car, I accepted, and asked my driver and manager to wait at the hotel. Immediately after we drove off, he started putting his hands in my skirt! I removed his hands and asked him what is going on, and then he started driving fast in the streets. I was shouting for him to stop the car, so that I get off, but he was mad. You can imagine, we were in an official party car, with posters of our presidential candidate and party flags!! Fortunately we arrived at the crossroad and he was forced to slow down. I used that opportunity to jump out of the car. Watchmen of the nearby building rushed to the scene, and I explained my ordeal while he decided to drive away and leave me there. The watchmen assisted me to go back to Holiday Inn, where my campaign manager and driver were waiting for me to come back from what they knew to be "Strategic Campaign Mission". I reported the matter to the disciplinary committee of the party and he was suspended

The issue of an unfriendly time table affects women's participation in elections as candidates. The story in Box 3 reveals the insecurity which women candidates face once they decide to contest in democratic elections. She accepted to respond to the late hour meeting, because most of the planning and strategic consultations during campaign time are done at night, the thing that many women candidates complain about. However, it is important to note that the party officials decided to act and took disciplinary measures against the perpetrator by suspending him from his post. This is one striking example of how political parties can play a positive role in discouraging violence against women within their own organizations.

Women voters' Views

A total of 647 women voters were interviewed to give their opinion and views about the prevalence of VAW-E in their communities. An overwhelming majority

of women voters and candidates reported that they were not abused in any way during the election campaign period. In contrast, about one-third (29 Percent) of the respondents reported that women are being abused in various ways during the campaign period. When they were asked about the specific incidents of VAW-E, the findings show the presence of VAW-E to be of a significant level. Table 3 presents the findings more vividly.

Table 3: Women Voters' Opinion about Incidents of VAW-E (Percent)

Incidents	Yes	NO
Sexual corruption	12.5	87.1
Abusive language/insults	43.9	56.1
Family pressure not to participate in politics	40.6	53.7

The use of abusive language and insults against women voters and candidates is cited by 43.9 percent of the respondents in this particular category. Also, about 41 percent of the women voters have heard about some women being forced not to participate in politics by their family members. 12.5 percent of women voters have heard of some women being subjected to demands for sexual corruption.

Overall, although a majority of women voters reported that there were no cases of sexual corruption (87 per cent), abusive language (56 percent) and family pressure not to participate in politics (53.7 percent), yet the findings demonstrate that there is a significant segment of the women population that is being subjected to various forms of violence that target women as a specific group. In-depth interviews of some women alluded to this fact.

BOX 4: PUNISHED FOR SUPPORTING CANDIDATE OTHER THAN THE ONE HER HUSBAND IS SUPPORTING

One woman is still hospitalised after she was beaten by her husband for attending a campaign meeting of an opposing political party to that of her husband. She and the baby she was carrying escaped death, but sustained fractures and internal body injuries. Unfortunately many of us women support political party which are different from the ones our husbands support.

Woman respondent Kilosa

There were a number of incidents reported where husbands beat their wives, causing severe body injuries. The monitors in Kilosa, Morogoro received a case of a woman who was beaten by her husband and she was unconscious for a month in the district hospital as one respondent shared in Box 4.

The use of social sanctions and punishment was reported by some of the respondents including what is commonly referred to as controlled voting whereby women are being dictated by their husbands, brothers or sons on how to cast their votes. In Zanzibar the situation of reported VAW-E cases caused by spouses was alarming after husbands realised that their wives were supporting candidates different from those they support.

Box 5: SUPPORTING CANDIDATE DIFFERENT FROM THE ONES MY PARENTS SUPPORT

I am staying with my parents at Kiboje Manzese. When election day approached my brother decided to confiscate my voter registration card, after I refused to comply with his demand of supporting candidates from the political party of his choice. He was beating me up daily for refusing to support the candidates of his choice. After beating me every day, on election day, he gave me back the card and ordered me to go and vote for the candidate of his choice. I went but voted the way I wanted.

Apart from the young women who suffered VAW-E under the guardian of their parents/guardians, older women were also harassed and subjected to violence by their sons after they were discovered to openly support candidates from a different political party than those supported by their sons or male relatives. Testimony in Box 5 is a summary of one affected woman in Zanzibar

Wives on the other hand, suffered both psychological and physical violence during and around elections. Some women reported to have been beaten by their respective husbands and divorced. Our Monitors in Zanzibar registered about 63 cases of VAW-E in the form of wife beating and divorce at the same time. Box 6 and 7 provide examples from the affected women in Zanzibar.

Box 6: Violence from sons

I am an 80 years old woman and live at Mchangani. I was blessed with six children. . During elections, my sons urged me to vote for the candidate of their choice, I was not ready to comply with their demands. On election day, I requested the company of my fellow women who assisted me in voting. When I came back home, my sons were not happy at all with me. BUT after that, my house was stoned every night. I cannot go out to the lavatory for fear of getting injured.

Furthermore, women's participation as election staff was also a cause for violence. Some men after realising those candidates they favour do not stand a chance, prevented their spouses to participate in elections as voters, candidates and/or election/polling station officials or party/candidate elections agent. Box 8 illustrates the case of a woman in Zanzibar, who despite having informed her husband from the initial stage when she applied to be a party official, ended up being divorced a day before the election.

Box 7 : Beaten and divorced

I am 28 years old resident of Mwera Kiongoni. My husband came home and saw me watching the TV broadcasting live the event of picking candidacy forms of one presidential candidate. He ordered me to switch off the television or change the programme, I refused, he then attacked me and beat me up and, then went to the bedroom and wrote divorce papers. And that was the end of my marriage

Box 8: Divorced after becoming the party agent for candidate who is not from the husband's political party

"I live in Kwarara Mjini Magharibi. I was married for 30 years and was blessed with three children with my husband. The husband has divorced me because I was appointed to be an election agent (wakala). I informed him that I am applying to be an election agent and he never said anything, I attended the training in full and one day before elections, he came home and requested the divorce and since then, there is no communication."

A woman respondent from Mjini Magharibi, Zanzibar

Local Leaders' Views

Just like other groups of respondents, the local leaders have also witnessed some VAW-E during the election period. As table 4 indicates, 13.3 percent agreed that there are some signs of sexual corruption and 34.8 percent agreed that abusive language and insults are waged against women candidates and voters. Only a few of them (13.7 per cent) acknowledged that they have received reports or complaints on VAW-E during elections. This implies that some cases of VAW-E are not formally reported to the local leaders and even to the law enforcement organs.

Table 4: Leaders' Opinion about Incidents of VAW-E (Percent)

Incidents	Yes	NO
Sexual corruption	13.3	72.9
Abusive language/insults	34.8	52.0
Received any reports/complaints on VAW-E?	13.7	86.3

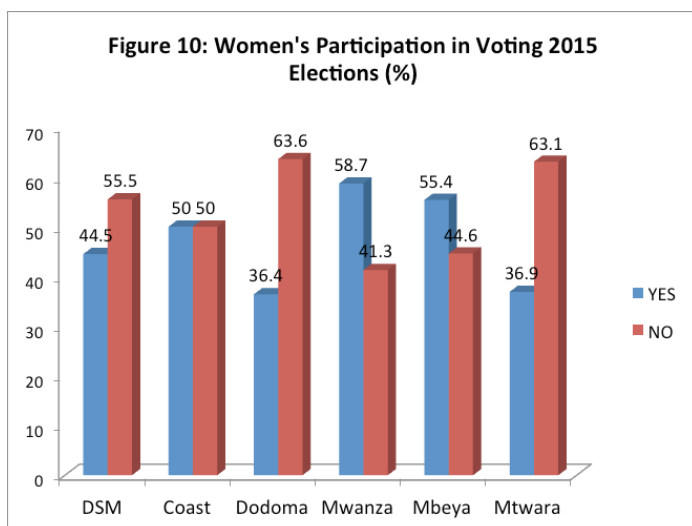
Men voters' Views

A majority of male voters who were interviewed demonstrated a high level of recognition of women's ability to lead at the same level as that of men. Out of 540 men voters who were interviewed, 73 percent of them said that women are

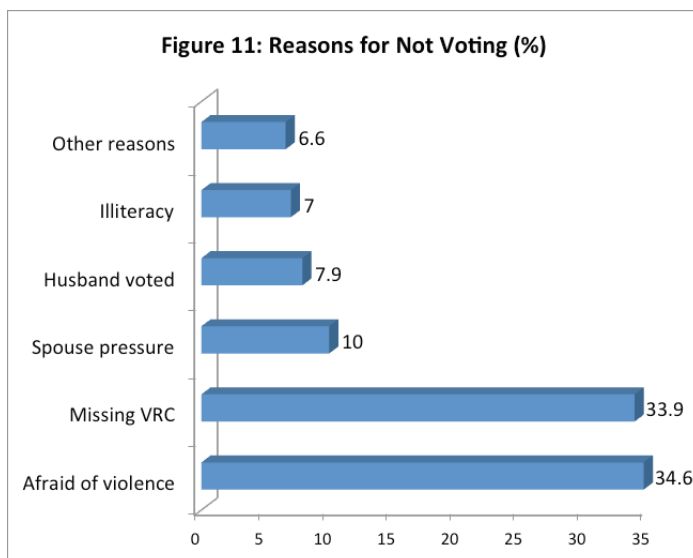
capable of being leaders and 20 percent said that women are not capable of being leaders. When they were asked to give their opinion on whether or not there are incidents of abusive language and sexual corruption against women candidates during campaigns, 24 percent agreed and 74.4 percent said that there are no such incidents. A good number of men voters (45 per cent) were of the view that there is a need for more civic education about the effect of gender-based violence, and some of them (29 per cent) recommended for legal measures to be instituted against perpetrators of those incidents. The findings highlight that there have been some attitudinal and cultural change among some men voters who acknowledge that women, just as men, can be leaders. This may be a result of nation-wide civic and voter education conducted by various actors including civil society organizations (CSOs), development partners, state institutions and other actors.

4.4. Women's Voter Turnout in the 2015 Elections

The study carried out a post-election survey in order to find out the extent to which women showed up for voting on the 25th October, 2015. A total of 1,279 women were interviewed, drawn from six regions in the country, namely, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Coast, Mwanza, Mbeya and Mtwara. Overall, 47 percent of the respondents said that they went out to vote and 53 percent said that they did not vote. In this case, a majority of the respondents did not actually go to vote. Out of the six regions, Dodoma is leading for having a majority of its respondents saying that they did not go out to vote (63.6 per cent) followed by Mtwara (63 per cent). In contrast, a majority of those who were interviewed in Mwanza (58.7 per cent) and Mbeya (55.4 per cent) said that they went out to vote. Figure 9 shows the voting patterns in the six regions.



Furthermore, the study asked the respondents who did not vote to mention the reasons for their decision. As figure 10 shows, one-third (34.6 percent) of the respondents said that they were afraid of violence and therefore they decided not to go for safety reasons. This was particularly the case in those areas where they were incidents of chaos and civil disorder during the election campaigns and the voting day.



Whereas the 2015 elections were rated to be generally peaceful, the incidents of violence were localized in certain regions including Mwanza, Mtwara and Mbeya. It is in these regions where a significant number of the respondents reported that they did not go to vote due to fear of violence. In Box 9, a woman respondent in Mbeya narrates her story.

Box 9: Fear of Violence

"I think you saw what happened this morning, cars were burnt, government offices including primary court were also burnt and some buildings of the district headquarters were also put on fire.... Political parties rivalry is very bad here as it involved motorcycle riders who use marijuana... Many of us women knew that we will be putting our lives to risk by going to polling stations."

A female respondent Vwawa, Mbeya

Moreover, about 34 percent of the respondents reported that their voter registration cards (VRC) were missing and hence they could not go to vote. In the interviews, some women reported that their cards were taken by their husbands or other family members in order to prevent them from voting. In Box 10, a woman in Dar es Salaam narrates her ordeal where she was beaten and forced to surrender her voter registration card.

Box 10: My voter registration card was confiscated

I am staying with my parents at Kiboje Manzese. When election day approached my brother decided to confiscate my voter registration card, after I refused to comply with his demand of supporting candidates from the political party of his choice. He was beating me up daily for refusing to support the candidates of his choice. After beating me every day, on election day, he gave me back the card and ordered me to go and vote for the candidate of his choice. I went but voted the way I wanted.

Also, about 10 percent of women mentioned spouse pressure as being one of the obstacles that prevented them from exercising their right to vote. Some women were prevented from going out to vote by their husbands who feared that their wives will vote against their choices. Moreover, about 8 percent of the women respondents reported that their husbands escorted them to the polling stations and assisted them to vote on the pretext that the wives do not know how to read and write. This strategy was used to make sure that women voted for the candidates preferred by their husbands. Other women (7 per cent) said that they did not go out to vote as they do not know how to read and write and did not want to be embarrassed by declaring that they were illiterate. A thorough analysis clearly shows that VAW-E is one of the main contributing factors that deterred women from voting during the 2015 elections. These VAW-E cases included physical abuse, use of abusive language and insults, controlled voting through confiscation of voter registration cards, divorce, spouse and relatives pressure.

5.0. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

Overall, the findings demonstrate that violence against women during the 2015 elections occurred in three forms including psychological, physical and sexual. It is psychological violence which happened to be the most dominant form of VAW-E in the 2015 general elections. This includes the use of abusive language, verbal harassment and insults which tend to demoralize and dehumanize women candidates to equally compete in the electoral process. Indeed, about three-quarters (69 per cent) of the women candidates reported that they had experienced abusive language which includes verbal harassment, insults, and

being booed while on stage. Also, 17 percent of the women candidates had encountered physical attacks which include beatings, stones being thrown at them and their clothes torn apart. Demands for sexual favours were reported to have occurred to 13 percent of the women candidates who were interviewed.

Moreover, the findings have shown that the time table for many of the campaign team meetings was found to be un conducive for women's effective participation mainly because many of these meetings were held at unfavourable environments for women team members. Also, social sanctions were applied, whereby some women were forced not to participate in politics by their family members. Several incidents were reported where wives were beaten by their husbands, causing severe body injuries for supporting candidates not preferred by the husbands. Controlled voting was another form of social sanctions and punishment whereby some women were dictated by their husbands, brothers or sons on how to cast their votes.

The study found that 53 percent of the women interviewed during the post-election period said that they did not vote. In this case, a majority of the respondents did not actually go to vote. Various factors that prevented women from voting were mentioned including being afraid of violence and hence decided not to go for safety reasons, missing of voter registration card and spouse pressure. In some cases, husbands voted on the pretext that the wives were illiterate. Some women reported that their voter cards were confiscated by family members. The perpetrators of VAW-E were largely family members, male candidates, political party supporters as well as party officials.

On the other side of the coin, the findings show that there were positive aspects which are supportive for women's upward mobility in politics. Overall, the 2015 elections were generally peaceful and as such provided both men and women an opportunity to participate in the electoral process. A majority of women candidates acknowledged that they had received favourable support to contest for an elective office from their parents, husbands, family members and local leaders. It should be noted that about three-quarters (69 per cent) of the women candidates are married and hence the support from their husbands is indeed very critical. Similarly, a majority of male voters who were interviewed (73 per cent) demonstrated a high level of recognition of women's ability to lead at the same level as that of men.

The study also found that in order to monitor and observe incidences of VAW-E, there is a need to modify monitoring methods to include non traditional methods to be able to identify and reduce VAW-E and promote participation of women in elections without falling victims of any type of VAW-E.

5.2: Recommendations

5.2.1 Legal Framework/ Registrar of Political Parties

There is a need to review the legal framework that governs elections and political participation as a whole in order to include aspects of VAW-E as being part of specific offenses. This includes the Political Parties Act (1992), the National Elections Act (1985) as well as the Elections Regulations.

- There is a need to develop a comprehensive and functional database of political parties which will help to generate sex/ gender disaggregated data to monitor and track political party processes from a gender perspective.

5.2.2 Electoral Commissions

- NEC and ZEC should include issues of VAW-E in their training material for civic and voter education in order to raise public awareness on the matter throughout the electoral cycle
- NEC and ZEC should review the guidelines for elections Observers to include indicators of VAW-E as mandatory during their observation process.

5.2.3 Political Parties

- Political parties should put in place specific mechanisms intended to detect and prevent VAW-E in order to expand women's space and opportunity to effectively participate in politics.
- Political parties should wage an awareness campaign to their members and supporters regarding VAW-E and its negative consequences to women's empowerment.

5.2.4 Civil society

- CSOs should provide public education campaigns from grassroots level aimed at preventing perpetration of VAW-E
- CSOs should design specific programs in order to build the capacity of various groups on how to detect and prevent cases of VAW-E. These groups include leaders of political parties, religious leaders, community leaders, media personnel, the police force, election management officials and relevant government officials

5.2.5 The Police Force

- The Gender desk in the Police force should expand its activities to include a systematic follow-up of VAW-E including setting up a toll-free hotline telephone number where people could call and report cases of VAW-E as they occur in various places and take immediate actions against the perpetrators.
- The police gender desk should demand allocation of adequate resources/ budget to facilitate police gender desk to deal with VAW-E issues.

5.2.6 Development Partners

- To support CSOs and other institutions to carry out periodic studies to assess the prevalence of VAW-E in various elections
- To support CSOs and other institutions to carry out expansive and sustainable civic and voter education programmes throughout the election cycle.

5.2.7 Ministry of Health, Community Development, gender and elderly and children

- Develop a robust monitoring and reporting system to track implementation of GEWE interventions including VAW-E.

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