Political Handbook & NGO Calendar 2010

TANZANIA

General Elections 2010

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG
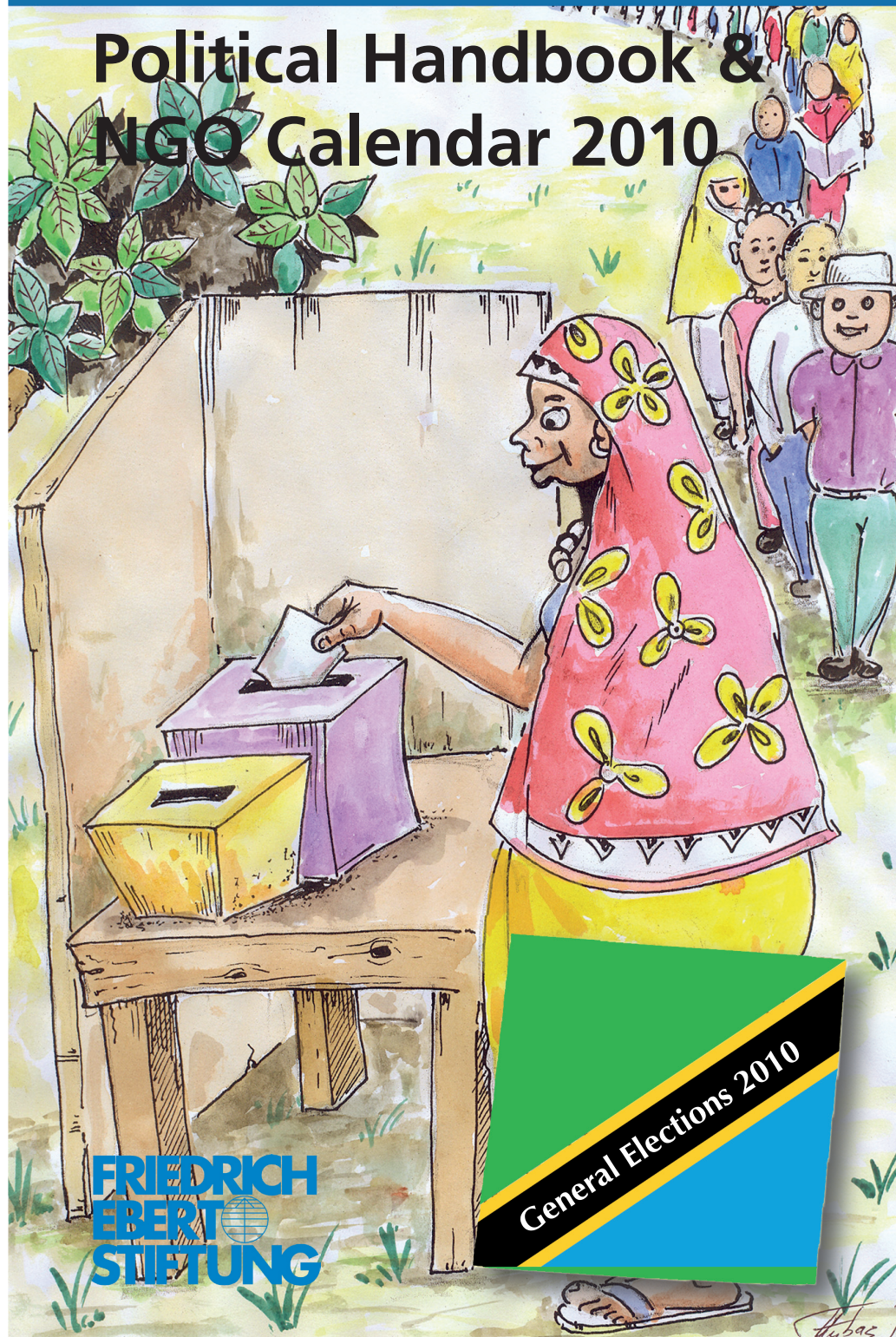
Dear Partners, Friends, and interested Readers,
Karibuni sana 2010! We warmly welcome you to the year 2010!

2010 – A Year of Change!

In 2010, Tanzanians will elect their representatives for the fourth time since the introduction of multiparty democracy.

Elections are intended to identify the most suitable candidates for positions of political power. Their purpose is to reward those that have done their job well and to dismiss those that haven't.

This 12th edition of our political handbook is dedicated to the questions of change and continuation: What have we done so far? **What have we achieved? What do we want for the future?** Which principles and guidelines could and should lead us on our way? How can we learn from the past while focusing on the present and the future?

To address these questions, we will have a look at what the outgoing government has done with regards to poverty reduction and the fight against corruption.

We will recall **Mwalimu Nyerere as a role model** for ethical leadership and will ask how his ideas should influence today's policies. Hon. Samuel Sitta (MP) will provide us with "Some Ideas for Free and Fair Elections in 2010". The Registrar of Political Parties will enlighten us about **"Parties and the Code of Conduct for Political Parties"**.

Women and their positions in society remains one of our core topics. Women's rights are human rights! The **empowerment of Tanzanian women** is vital for Tanzania's development. One of our former office trainees is analysing the link between "Poverty Reduction and Women's Empowerment in Tanzania". In terms of political succession, the equal integration of women remains one of the main challenges. FES has been training women to run for office in local governments and will encourage women to do so in the 2010 general elections.

Another key area for FES Tanzania remains the training of young leaders through our Young Leaders Training Programme (YLTP). In 2010 suitable young candidates-50% women and 50% men-will join us for the 9th programme.

2010 will also be a year of change for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. I have handed over my responsibilities as **Resident Director to Stefan Chrobot** and wish him all the best and good luck. I would like to use this opportunity to thank all partners and friends of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Tanzania. I have very much appreciated working with you. Thank you for years of interesting and inspiring discussions, of productive cooperation and of the realisation of some sustainable projects! Asante sana for a very fruitful co-operation on many fields of Democracy and Social Development.

We would also like to thank the contributors to this edition and give a special thanks to Mama Angela Ishengoma who has been coordinating the Political Handbook for 12 years.

We sincerely hope that the topics and articles mentioned in this edition support the constructive discourse on current hot issues in Tanzanian life. May 2010 be a peaceful year towards more democracy, social justice and the respect of human rights!

Kind regards,

Peter Häussler, Resident Director FES-Tanzania

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Calendar 2010

Overview 2010

January 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	*3*
4	5	6	7	8	9	*10*
11	12	13	14	15	16	*17*
18	19	20	21	22	23	*24*
25	26	27	28	29	30	*31*

February 2010

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22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*

March 2010

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15	16	17	18	19	20	*21*
22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*
29	30	31				

April 2010

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19	20	21	22	23	24	*25*
26	27	28	29	30		

May 2010

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10	11	12	13	14	15	*16*
17	18	19	20	21	22	*23*
24	25	26	27	28	29	*30*

June 2010

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21	22	23	24	25	26	*27*
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July 2010

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19	20	21	22	23	24	*25*
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23	24	25	26	27	28	*29*

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18	19	20	21	22	23	*24*
25	26	27	28	29	30	*31*

November 2010

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27	28	29	30	31		

Overview 2011

January 2011

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31					1	*2*
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10	11	12	13	14	15	*16*
17	18	19	20	21	22	*23*
24	25	26	27	28	29	*30*

February 2011

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	1	2	3	4	5	*6*
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21	22	23	24	25	26	*27*
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March 2011

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21	22	23	24	25	26	*27*
28	29	30	31			

April 2011

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	*3*
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11	12	13	14	15	16	*17*
18	19	20	21	22	23	*24*
25	26	27	28	29	30	

May 2011

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30	31					*1*
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9	10	11	12	13	14	*15*
16	17	18	19	20	21	*22*
23	24	25	26	27	28	*29*

June 2011

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13	14	15	16	17	18	*19*
20	21	22	23	24	25	*26*
27	28	29	30			

July 2011

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11	12	13	14	15	16	*17*
18	19	20	21	22	23	*24*
25	26	27	28	29	30	*31*

August 2011

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	*7*
8	9	10	11	12	13	*14*
15	16	17	18	19	20	*21*
22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*
29	30	31				

September 2011

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	*4*
5	6	7	8	9	10	*11*
12	13	14	15	16	17	*18*
19	20	21	22	23	24	*25*
26	27	28	29	30		

October 2011

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31					1	*2*
3	4	5	6	7	8	*9*
10	11	12	13	14	15	*16*
17	18	19	20	21	22	*23*
24	25	26	27	28	29	*30*

November 2011

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	1	2	3	4	5	*6*
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14	15	16	17	18	19	*20*
21	22	23	24	25	26	*27*
28	29	30				

December 2011

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	*4*
5	6	7	8	9	10	*11*
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19	20	21	22	23	24	*25*
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Dec. 09	Jan. 2010	Feb. 2010
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Dec. 2009 - Jan. 2010
28th - 3rd

Dec. 09	Jan. 2010	Feb. 2010
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1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14
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Dec. 09	Jan. 2010	Feb. 2010
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11th - 17th

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January 2010
25th - 31st

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Jan. 2010	Feb. 2010	March 2010
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11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21	15 16 17 18 19 20 21
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Jan. 2010	Feb. 2010	March 2010
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4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14	8 9 10 11 12 13 14
11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21	15 16 17 18 19 20 21
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Jan. 2010

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Feb. 2010

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22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*

March 2010

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1	2	3	4	5	6	*7*
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15	16	17	18	19	20	*21*
22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*
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week
07
February 2010
15th - 21st

FEBRUARY

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Feb. 2010	March 2010	April 2010
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8 9 10 11 12 13 *14*	8 9 10 11 12 13 *14*	5 6 7 8 9 10 *11*
15 16 17 18 19 20 *21*	15 16 17 18 19 20 *21*	12 13 14 15 16 17 *18*
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Feb. 2010   *March 2010*   *April 2010*

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15	16	17	18	19	20	*21*
22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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8	9	10	11	12	13	*14*
15	16	17	18	19	20	*21*
22	23	24	25	26	27	*28*
29	30	31				

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	*4*
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12	13	14	15	16	17	*18*
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week
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March 2010
1st - 7th

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Feb. 2010	March 2010	April 2010
M T W T F S *S*	M T W T F S *S*	M T W T F S *S*
1 2 3 4 5 6 *7*	1 2 3 4 5 6 *7*	1 2 3 *4*
8 9 10 11 12 13 *14*	8 9 10 11 12 13 *14*	5 6 7 8 9 10 *11*
15 16 17 18 19 20 *21*	15 16 17 18 19 20 *21*	12 13 14 15 16 17 *18*
22 23 24 25 26 27 *28*	22 23 24 25 26 27 *28*	19 20 21 22 23 24 *25*
	29 30 31	26 27 28 29 30

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Feb. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

March 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

April 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

week
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March 2010
15th - 21st

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Monday 15

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Tuesday 16

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Friday 19

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Saturday 20

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Sunday 21

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week
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March 2010
22nd - 28th

Feb. 2010
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

March 2010
M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

April 2010
M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

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March 2010								April 2010								May 2010						
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7					1	2	3	4							1	2
8	9	10	11	12	13	14		5	6	7	8	9	10	11		3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21		12	13	14	15	16	17	18		10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30	31						26	27	28	29	30				24	25	26	27	28	29	30
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March 2010	April 2010	May 2010
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1 2 3 4 5 6 *7*	1 2 3 *4*	31 1 *2*
8 9 10 11 12 13 *14*	5 6 7 8 9 10 *11*	3 4 5 6 7 8 *9*
15 16 17 18 19 20 *21*	12 13 14 15 16 17 *18*	10 11 12 13 14 15 *16*
22 23 24 25 26 27 *28*	19 20 21 22 23 24 *25*	17 18 19 20 21 22 *23*
29 30 31	26 27 28 29 30	24 25 26 27 28 29 *30*

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March 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

April 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

May 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

week

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April 2010

12th - 18th

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Monday 12

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Sunday 18

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week
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April 2010
19th - 25th

March 2010								April 2010								May 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S		M	T	W	T	F	S	S		M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7					1	2	3	4		31					1	2
8	9	10	11	12	13	14		5	6	7	8	9	10	11		3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15	16	17	18	19	20	21		12	13	14	15	16	17	18		10	11	12	13	14	15	16
22	23	24	25	26	27	28		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		17	18	19	20	21	22	23
29	30	31						26	27	28	29	30				24	25	26	27	28	29	30

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April 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

May 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

June 2010

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	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
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21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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week
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May 2010
3rd - 9th

April 2010							May 2010							June 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4	31					1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30				

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April 2010   *May 2010*   *June 2010*

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19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

week
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May 2010
10th - 16th

MAY

Monday 10

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April 2010							May 2010							June 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4	31					1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30				

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	May 2010						June 2010						July 2010					
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
31					1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	

week
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May 2010
24th - 30th

MAY

Monday 24

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week
22
May - June 2010
31st - 6th

May 2010	June 2010	July 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
31 1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4
3 4 5 6 7 8 9	7 8 9 10 11 12 13	5 6 7 8 9 10 11
10 11 12 13 14 15 16	14 15 16 17 18 19 20	12 13 14 15 16 17 18
17 18 19 20 21 22 23	21 22 23 24 25 26 27	19 20 21 22 23 24 25
24 25 26 27 28 29 30	28 29 30	26 27 28 29 30 31

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May 2010

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31					1	2
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17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

June 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

July 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

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week
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June 2010
14th - 20th

May 2010	June 2010	July 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
31 1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4
3 4 5 6 7 8 9	7 8 9 10 11 12 13	5 6 7 8 9 10 11
10 11 12 13 14 15 16	14 15 16 17 18 19 20	12 13 14 15 16 17 18
17 18 19 20 21 22 23	21 22 23 24 25 26 27	19 20 21 22 23 24 25
24 25 26 27 28 29 30	28 29 30	26 27 28 29 30 31

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May 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

June 2010

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	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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July 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

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	June 2010								July 2010								Aug. 2010					
M	T	W	T	F	S	S		M	T	W	T	F	S	S		M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3	4		30	31					1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13		5	6	7	8	9	10	11		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20		12	13	14	15	16	17	18		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30						26	27	28	29	30	31			23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Monday 28

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June 2010							July 2010							Aug. 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	30	31					1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

week
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July 2010
5th - 11th

JULY

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Saturday 10
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Sunday 11
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June 2010							July 2010							Aug. 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	30	31					1
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Monday 12

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Tuesday 13

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Wednesday 14

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Thursday 15

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Friday 16

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Saturday 17

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Sunday 18

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June 2010   *July 2010*   *Aug. 2010*

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	31					1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

week
29
July 2010
19th - 25th

JULY

Monday 19	Tuesday 20	Wednesday 21
8	8	8
10	10	10
12	12	12
14	14	14
16	16	16
18	18	18
20	20	20

Thursday 22	Friday 23	Saturday 24
8	8	12
10	10	16
12	12	20
14	14	Sunday 25
16	16	12
18	18	16
20	20	20

week
30
July - Aug. 2010
26th - 1st

	July 2010							Aug. 2010							Sept. 2010					
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	4	30	31					1			1	2	3	4	5
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30			

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Saturday 31
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Sunday 1
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July 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

Aug. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	31					1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Sept. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

week
31
August 2010
2nd - 8th

AUGUST

Monday 2

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Tuesday 3

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Saturday 7

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Sunday 8

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week
32
August 2010
9th - 15th

Monday 9

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Tuesday 10

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Wednesday 11

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Saturday 14

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Sunday 15

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July 2010	Aug. 2010	Sept. 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
1 2 3 4	30 31 1	1 2 3 4 5
5 6 7 8 9 10 11	2 3 4 5 6 7 8	6 7 8 9 10 11 12
12 13 14 15 16 17 18	9 10 11 12 13 14 15	13 14 15 16 17 18 19
19 20 21 22 23 24 25	16 17 18 19 20 21 22	20 21 22 23 24 25 26
26 27 28 29 30 31	23 24 25 26 27 28 29	27 28 29 30

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Saturday 21

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Sunday 22

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week

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August 2010

23rd - 29th

July 2010 *Aug. 2010* *Sept. 2010*

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
			1	2	3	*4*
5	6	7	8	9	10	*11*
12	13	14	15	16	17	*18*
19	20	21	22	23	24	*25*
26	27	28	29	30	31	

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	31					*1*
2	3	4	5	6	7	*8*
9	10	11	12	13	14	*15*
16	17	18	19	20	21	*22*
23	24	25	26	27	28	*29*

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	*5*
6	7	8	9	10	11	*12*
13	14	15	16	17	18	*19*
20	21	22	23	24	25	*26*
27	28	29	30			

Monday 23
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Tuesday 24
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Wednesday 25
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Thursday 26
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Friday 27
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Sunday 29
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Aug. 2010	Sept. 2010	Oct. 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
30 31 1	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	6 7 8 9 10 11 12	4 5 6 7 8 9 10
9 10 11 12 13 14 15	13 14 15 16 17 18 19	11 12 13 14 15 16 17
16 17 18 19 20 21 22	20 21 22 23 24 25 26	18 19 20 21 22 23 24
23 24 25 26 27 28 29	27 28 29 30	25 26 27 28 29 30 31

Monday 30

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Tuesday 31

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Wednesday 1

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Friday 3

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Saturday 4

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Sunday 5

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week
36
September 2010
6th - 12th

Monday 6	**Tuesday 7**	**Wednesday 8**
8	8	8
10	10	10
12	12	12
14	14	14
16	16	16
18	18	18
20	20	20

Thursday 9	**Friday 10**	**Saturday 11**
8	8	12
10	10	16
12	12	20
14	14	**Sunday 12**
16	16	12
18	18	16
20	20	20

Aug. 2010							Sept. 2010							Oct. 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	31					1			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Monday 13

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Wednesday 15

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Friday 17

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Saturday 18

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Sunday 19

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week
38
September 2010
20th - 26th

Aug. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
30	31					1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Sept. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

Oct. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Monday 20

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Tuesday 21

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Wednesday 22

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Sunday 26

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Sept. 2010	Oct. 2010	Nov. 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6 7 8 9 10 11 12	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14
13 14 15 16 17 18 19	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21
20 21 22 23 24 25 26	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	22 23 24 25 26 27 28
27 28 29 30	25 26 27 28 29 30 31	29 30

Monday 27

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week
40
October 2010
4th - 10th

Sept. 2010							Oct. 2010							Nov. 2010						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

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Sept. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

Oct. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Nov. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

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Sunday 17

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week
42
October 2010
18th - 24th

	Sept. 2010							Oct. 2010							Nov. 2010					
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30					

Monday 18

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Tuesday 19

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Wednesday 20

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Saturday 23

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Sunday 24

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Oct. 2010	Nov. 2010	Dec. 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5
4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14	6 7 8 9 10 11 12
11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21	13 14 15 16 17 18 19
18 19 20 21 22 23 24	22 23 24 25 26 27 28	20 21 22 23 24 25 26
25 26 27 28 29 30 31	29 30	27 28 29 30 31

week
43
October 2010
25th - 31st

OCTOBER

Monday 25

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	Oct. 2010							Nov. 2010							Dec. 2010					
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
				1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30						27	28	29	30	31		

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Oct. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Nov. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

Dec. 2010

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

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Oct. 2010	Nov. 2010	Dec. 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
1 2 *3*	1 2 3 4 5 6 *7*	1 2 3 4 *5*
4 5 6 7 8 9 *10*	8 9 10 11 12 13 *14*	6 7 8 9 10 11 *12*
11 12 13 14 15 16 *17*	15 16 17 18 19 20 *21*	13 14 15 16 17 18 *19*
18 19 20 21 22 23 *24*	22 23 24 25 26 27 *28*	20 21 22 23 24 25 *26*
25 26 27 28 29 30 *31*	29 30	27 28 29 30 31

Monday 15

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Saturday 20

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Sunday 21

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Oct. 2010	Nov. 2010	Dec. 2010
M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S	M T W T F S S
1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5
4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14	6 7 8 9 10 11 12
11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21	13 14 15 16 17 18 19
18 19 20 21 22 23 24	22 23 24 25 26 27 28	20 21 22 23 24 25 26
25 26 27 28 29 30 31	29 30	27 28 29 30 31

Monday 22
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Overview
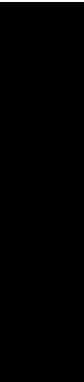
BASIC FACTS AND FIGURES

Geography

Area total	945,087 sq km (land: 886,037 sq km and water: 59,050 sq km[1]
Border countries	Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia
Coastline	1,424 km
Lowest point	Indian Ocean 0 m
Highest point	Kilimanjaro 5,895 m

Source: CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/TZ.html)

Demography

Total Population	41,048,532 (2009 est.)[2]
Urbanization	25% of total population urban population
Age structure	0-14 years: 43% (female 8,805,810; male 8,853,529) 15-64 years: 54.1% (female 11,255,868; male 10,956,133) 65 years and over: 2.9% (female 663233; male 5 13959) (2009 est.)
Median age	18 years (2009 est.)
Population growth rate	2.04% (2009 est.)
Birth Rate	34.29 births/ 1,000 population (2009 est.)
Death Rate	12.92 deaths/ 1,000 population (2008 est.)
Religion	mainland: Christian 30%, Muslim 35%, indigenous beliefs 35% Zanzibar: more than 99% Muslim

Sources: a) CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/TZ.html)
b) UNESCO Institute for Statistics (http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=124&IF_Language=eng&BR_Country=7620&BR_Region=40540)

[1] Note: includes the islands of Mafia, Pemba, and Zanzibar.
[2] Note: estimates explicitly take into account the effects of excess mortality due to AIDS; this can result in lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality, higher death rates, lower population growth rates, and changes in the distribution of population by age and sex than would otherwise be expected.

Economy and Public Finances

GDP	54.26 billion US Dollars (2008 est.)
GDP per capita	1,300 US Dollars (2008 est.)
GDP composition by sector	27% agriculture; 22.7% industry; 50.3% service (2008 est.)
Inflation Rate	9.3% (2008 est.)

Economy and Public Finances	
Exports	2.49 billion US Dollars (2008 est.)
Imports	5.901 billion US Dollars (2008 est.)
Dept - external	5.311 billion US Dollars (2008 est.)
Government budget	revenues: 4.216 billion US Dollars and expenditures: 4.658 billion US Dollars (2008 est.)
Investment Rate	24% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (2008 est.)

Sources: a) United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (http://unstats.un.org/unsd/snaama/results-Country.asp?Country=835&SLevel=99&Year=2007&x=28&y=7&Selection=country)
b) CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/TZ.html)

East African Community Economy and Finance	
GDP growth Rate	3.6% Burundi; 7.0% Kenya; 7.1% Tanzania; 7.9% Rwanda, 8.6% Uganda (2008 est.)

Source: East African Community: Statistics (http://statistics.eac.int/en/social.html)

Tanzania Intra EAC Trade (2006)	
Tanzania to/ from Kenya	97.2/ 169.1 million US Dollars
Tanzania to/ from Uganda	20.5/ 5.3 million US Dollars
Tanzania to/ from Rqanda	9.1/ 0.1 million US Dollars
Tanzania to/ from Burundi	31.0/ 1.0 million US Dollars
Tanzania to rest of EAC	157.8 million US Dollars
Tanzania from rest of EAC	175.5 million US Dollars

Source: East African Community: Statistics (http://statistics.eac.int/en/social.html)

Unemployment/ employment Rate	
Unemployment (total)	10.4% (2007 est.)
Employment (male)	8.78 million (2006 est.)
Employment (female)	9.16 million (2006 est.)
Child labour	4.0% (2007 est.)

Sources: a) ILO Department of Statistics: Statistics Tanzania 2005-2007 (http://laborsta.ilo.org/STP/guest)
b) East African Community: Statistics (http://statistics.eac.int/en/social.html)

Education	
Literacy Rate	15 to 24 years: (female 76.2%; male 78.9%), 15 years and older (female 65.9%; male 79.0%)
Adult literacy Rate, total	72% /female: 66%; male: 79%) (2007 est.)
Pre-primary enrolment Rate	33% (2007 est.)
Primary enrolment Rate	97% (2007 est.)
Secondary enrolment Rate	21% (2007 est.)

Education	
Pupil/ student teacher ratio	Pre-primary 43; Primary 53; Secondary 34 (2007 est.)
Public expenditure on education	11,4% (2005 est.)

Secondary Education

Chart 3.1: Secondary Education Enrolment in Government and Non-Government Secondary Schools, 2004 - 2008

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Govt	264,888	355,188	490,492	829,094	1,035,873
Non-Govt	167,711	169,137	185,180	191,416	186,530
Total	432,599	524,325	675,672	1,020,510	1,222,403
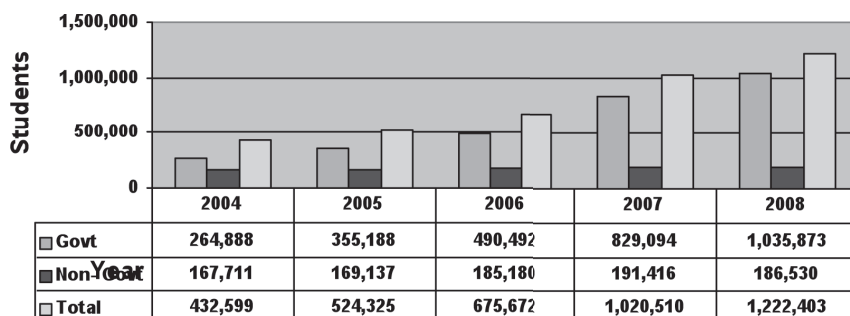
Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2008: Basic Statistics in Education -
National 2008. Secondary Tables. Chart 3.1 (http://www.moe.go.tz/statistics.html)

Health	
Infant mortality Rate	69.28 deaths/ 1,000 live births
Life expectancy at birth	52.01 years (male: 50.56 and female 53.51 years) (2009 est.)
Total fertility Rate	4.46 children born/ woman (2009 est.)
HIV Rate in adults (age 15-49)	5.7% (wmoen: 6.6%; men: 4.6%) (2007/2008 est.)[3]
HIV prevalence in urbal areas	8.7% (2007/2008 est.)
HIV prevalence in rural areas	4.7% (2007/2008 est.)

Sources: a) CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/TZ.html)
b) Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and Macro International: 2007-08 Tanzania HIV and Malaria Indicator Survey (www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/HF28/HF28.pdf)
c) UNESCO Institute for Statistics (http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=121&IF_Language=eng&BR_Country=7620&BR_Region=40540)

[3] By contrast, the 2003-04 Tanzania HIV Indicator Survey (THIS) found an overall HIV prevalence of 7.0%, with 7.7% for women (6,000 tested) and 6.3% for men (4,900 tested). These results show a statistically significant decline in HIV prevalence among men but not among women.

GOOD GOVERNANCE

MWALIMU NYERERE AS A ROLE MODEL OF GOOD LEADERSHIP

By Peter Haeussler, FES Dar es Salaam

A tribute to Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, in commemoration of an extraordinary ethical political leader and a role model for Africa[1]

2009 was the year when Tanzania celebrated the 10th anniversary of the death of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. For months the daily papers, journals, radio programmes and TV talk shows have portrayed the life of Mwalimu and his thoughts and deeds. One issue in particular stands out in this revival of Nyerere's life work: his leadership. Innumerable articles, essays, readers' letters and political columns have emphasized the extraordinary role of Mwalimu as an ethical political leader. In this article I recall – and commemorate – some important phases in Nyerere's leadership and some examples of his political actions.

Historical aspects: the struggle for independence

Nyerere's struggle for Tanzanian independence was set in motion in 1949 at Edinburgh University, where he had just begun to study history and economics. He was reacting to India's independence, achieved in 1947, and the campaign for independence in Ghana, which had put Kwame Nkrumah in prison. Nkrumah's release in 1949 triggered a political transformation. "You could see it in the Ghanaians! They became different human beings, different from all the rest of us! This thing of freedom began growing inside all of us", writes Nyerere about this essential moment in his political life (Mwakikagile, 2002:82). He soon became a full-time political activist in the struggle for independence. In an unpublished pamphlet written during his studies in 1952, Nyerere discussed the race problem in East Africa under British colonial rule. He discovered that the European settlers in Kenya ("our white neighbours") had forcefully influenced the British government to withdraw a colonial White

1 This article is partly taken from the book "Leadership for Democratic Development in Tanzania: The Perspective of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere During the First Decade of Independence" (Häussler, 2009)

Paper that would have granted equal racial representation for East Africa.

Nyerere went back to Tanganyika in 1952, after obtaining a master of arts degree. In the same year, he became president of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), founded in 1929. TAA was an organisation for native interests, mostly economic, which also received support from the wealthy native coffee farmers. It became more politically relevant in 1951, when it took sides during the Meru land case and opposed the eviction of Wameru Arusha farmers from their fertile land by the colonial government (Iliffe, 1979:499-503). TAA was the forerunner of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which Nyerere (and others) founded in 1954 and lead from its inception until 1977, when it became Chama Cha Mapinduzi,CCM, "party of the Revolution", after the fusion with Zanzibar's Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP).

British officials in the 1950th eventually became aware of Nyerere's political influence and his leadership skills, and saw the possibility of compromising with him to achieve a mutually acceptable result for the independence of Tanganyika and East Africa – one which would differ significantly from West Africa (e.g. Nkrumah's Ghana) where African nationalism took power with sometimes violent consequences. Sir John MacPherson, permanent secretary and a previous governor-general of Nigeria, was impressed by Nyerere. In 1957, on the issue of fair negotiations, he informed the colonial secretary that "the demands of people like Julius Nyerere strike me as very reasonable in content and moderate in tone" (ibid:12).

Sir Andrew Cohen, then permanent representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council met Nyerere in New York in June 1957. Showing a rather farsighted political evaluation of Nyerere, he tried to influence the Governor Twining in Tanganyika:

"He struck me as able and very intelligent and I imagine that he is likely to have a leading position for a long time ahead. He also struck me as essentially a moderate in politics... The impression I formed of Nyerere has made me wonder whether even now it is too late to get him into the fold (ibid.).

Ujamaa - socialism in Tanzania

Nyerere and TANU decided immediately after Tanzanian independence in December 1961 to build up a socialist society in Tanganyika. After the revolution in Zanzibar in 1964, they formed the Union of Tanzania, where socialism became the official political philosophy and ideology. A further cornerstone was put in place in 1967 with "The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance" (Nyerere, 1968:231–250). This document was accepted by the national executive committee of TANU on 29 January 1967, and was then disseminated to the public on the 5th of February. It contained the principles on which to build a socialist state, the policy of self-reliance, leadership qualifications and a kind of leadership code. In the preface to the booklet, *Nyerere on Socialism* (1977), Nyerere explains its purpose:

"It is quite true that to our people in the villages, a discussion about socialism and Marxism, or even socialism and religion, is an irrelevance... But the residents of our towns, the students

at the university and other higher education institutions, and even our secondary school pupils, do hear discussions about whether Tanzania is going communist, about whether socialism is incompatible with Christianity or with our deeply felt national aspirations. It is primarily for these groups, and for others who are interested in Tanzania's experiments and concerned about these matters, that this reprint has been designed (Nyerere, 1977:iv).

The political concept of *Ujamaa* shaped the development of Tanzania in the first three decades after independence and created hope for the people of Tanzania and many other Africans.

"Ujamaa is Tanzanian socialism! Its meaning is 'family-hood' and it emphasises the African-ness we intend to examine. On the other hand, socialism is international, its ideas and beliefs relate in general to 'man and society' and to our dignity (Nyerere, 1966:7ff).

Nyerere as a student and young leader soon developed a strong and outspoken sense of equality and social justice, which remained throughout his life. After he was appointed as student to a prefect at Tabora Secondary, he discovered that prefects enjoyed the privilege of two rations of food. "He agitated against such inequalities," writes Lamb (1986:66), "and they were dropped."

He was a teacher of passion, of great enthusiasm, of intellect and energy, and with the power of language; an orator, fluent in English and in Kiswahili – the language he would make into the national tongue of Tanganyika. He taught what he believed, and in general he lived up to it – something quite rare in the world of political leaders, both in Africa and abroad.

Democracy, *"villagisation"* and good leadership

Haroub Othman[2], a law professor and human rights activist and a very close compatriot of Mwalimu, wrote that "the evolution of a one-party system in Tanzania was a historical accident, although Nyerere later gave it a philosophical justification and backed it up after 1965 with legislation" (Othman in Hodd, 1989:160). Othman probably did not know in 1988 what researchers now know, that the key speech about one-party democracy was given by Nyerere in 1960 at a symposium hosted by Wellesley College in Massachusetts, USA. In this speech, which was only published in 2000, Nyerere talked about the "essentials of democracy", arguing keenly for the sufficiency of a one-party system:

"I do not care whether it's one party or twenty parties, provided the government of that country can be replaced without assassination, if the people go to the ballot box freely and regularly, and re-elect their government, or replace it with another, then as far as I am concerned, the two basic essentials of democracy are there, whether you have twenty parties or one party... Therefore, in our circumstances an opposition becomes ridiculous. It rules out debate... That is why I am saying that in an organisation which is basically democratic, the checks and bal-

ances are there within itself (Nyerere in MNF, 2000:12–17).

Until his death, Nyerere personally believed that democratic African socialism belonged to, and better served, African societies. However, because of international pressure from the World Bank and the IMF, and domestic influences towards liberalisation and economic growth by his successor, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Nyerere accepted a wider opening of the Tanzanian society to regional and international influences (Isata, 2000).

Despite a government survey finding that 72.2% of Tanzanians preferred the one-party system (Mmuya, 1998), the 1991 Nyalali Commission and the ruling CCM party (lead by Nyerere until 1990) recommended the reintroduction of multiparty democracy. The first general election took place in 1995. Besides the basics of free and fair elections at regular intervals, the concept of democracy in Tanzania includes and requires the active participation of citizens from different interest groups, the rule of law and respect for human rights, transparency of political decision-making, as well as the existence of a free press, freedom from oppression for everybody, and political, cultural and religious tolerance (*Bunge* (Parliamentary) *Digest*, 1998).

The "villagisation" programme was the heart of *Ujamaa*. It grouped people into village communities in order to cultivate land together and be provided with essential services:

"Ujamaa villages are intended to be socialist organisations created by the people, and governed by those who live and work in them... No one can be forced into an Ujamaa village...

An Ujamaa village is a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common good (Nyerere, 1973b:67). Unfortunatelly, many people were forced to move into such villages and the nobel idea of creating centres of social development – with healthcare, schools, markets, workplaces and social activities as sports and cultural clubs - vanished. Still nowadays many people prize the "village idea", but Mwalimu and the party leadership – that partly was selfish and incapable - has to be blamed.

The previously mass-movement TANU was supposed to become a party with qualified membership and responsible leaders claims Nyerere: "Where it is thought unlikely that an applicant really accepts the beliefs, aims and objectives of the Party, he should be denied membership" (Nyerere, 1968:248). Positions of leadership in TANU and government included top, high and middle cadres. "In this context, 'leaders' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband" (ibid:249).

Some principles for the development of "good policies" in Tanzania are equally important for the profile of the "good leader":

"TANU realises the importance of good leadership. The problem is that we have not prepared proper plans for the training of leaders. The Party Headquarters is now called upon to prepare specific plans for the training of leaders from the national level down to the leaders of the ten-house cells, so that all may understand our political and economic policies. Leaders must be good examples to the rest of the people through their actions and in their own lives (ibid:247–248).

In Nyerere's perspective, of the six mandates of the Leadership Code, the following are particularly crucial:

- No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
- No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprises.
- No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
- No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others. (ibid:249)

The process of nationalising industries and banks soon followed the Arusha Declaration and created new economic ownership with emphasis on public enterprises and government control of key sectors (industry, agriculture – e.g. the sisal plantations – mineral resources, forests, land tenure, water and electricity). Nyerere soon pointed out the aims of investment in an address to the party leadership.

Education, Development and Unity

In the first years after independence, the political philosophy and government policies were directed to the goal of equal opportunities in education and integration for 120 ethnic groups, including Asians and Europeans. Colonial education had been oriented by the interests of the colonial master; the Germans had used an "assimilative" approach, and the British an "adaptive" one to educate a tiny group of children and adults, often from privileged households (chiefs' families, administrative officers, business people). After the Second World War, the situation improved. John Iliffe writes, "apart from groundnuts, the most contentious area of post-war policy was education. Tanganyika's educational backwardness brought repeated criticism from London" (Iliffe, 1979:444).

The development of an adequate education system that would be culturally acceptable and comparable to international standards was a big challenge for TANU and Nyerere. The scattered settlements in Tanganyika also made it more difficult to develop and implement effective schooling. Some, including some Muslim areas, refused European education. These are Nyerere's words from the first formal ceremony of the University College on October 25, 1961:

> "We are in the process of building up a Tanganyikan nation. Valuable as is the contribution which overseas education can give us, in the long run, if we are to build up a sturdy sense of nationhood, we must have an African-oriented education. That is an education which is not only given in Africa but also directed at meeting the present needs of Africa. For, while other people can aim at reaching the moon, and while in future we might aim at reaching the moon, our present plans must be directed at reaching the villages (Nyerere, 1966:130–31).

The promotion of free schooling for all increased enrolment significantly. "Between 1961 and 1966, the increase in primary education was from 482 121 to 740 991 [pupils], an average of 54%" (Morrison in Scheidtweiler and McDonald, 1997:27). Primary education depended on the communities, on their resources and the local authorities, which soon led

to qualitative and quantitative differences within Tanzania.

Nyerere fought for an African educational system which could combine people's traditional experiences with the new political philosophy of Tanzanian socialism and the knowledge of the "modern world". He believed that a new curriculum was needed, and that a critical education would lead to self-awareness for everybody and to a genuine dignity for all Tanzanians, for all Africans.

Throughout his life, Nyerere advanced the idea of African unity and – particularly – of regional African unification (e.g. the East African Community). With consistent and logical arguments and never-ending enthusiasm, he promoted the idea of unity even before independence, and he urged the (heterogeneous) states to agree on a minimum consensus, for the sake of a "movement for African unity". For Nyerere, the Tanganyikan process of nation building – *Ujamaa* socialism – went hand in hand with an African process of regionalisation with the aim of unification. This was unlike the Ghanaian leader Nkrumah, who fought ideologically for a united Africa and an immediate political union in a time of a very diverse colonially-dominated Africa. The following story shows Nyerere's uncompromised commitment to unity and reliability:

"In 1960, just before this country became independent – I think I was then chief minister – I received a delegation of Masai elders from Kenya, led by an American missionary. And they came to persuade me to let the Masai invoke something called the Anglo-Masai Agreement so that that section of the
Masai in Kenya should become part of Tanganyika; so that when Tanganyika becomes independent, it includes part of Masai, from Kenya. I suspected the American missionary was responsible for that idea. I don't remember that I was particularly polite to him. Kenyatta was then in detention, and here somebody comes to me, that we should break up Kenya and make part of Kenya part of Tanganyika. (Nyerere in Mwakikagile, 2002:390)

Nyerere also postulated the rights of the sovereign states, claiming that "no African state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the other" (ibid:12). This was also a basic principle of the OAU Charter. However, the obligation of non-interference caused serious problems for Nyerere and a crisis of credibility for the OAU in the 1978–9 war between Tanzania and Uganda.

Since 1971, Nyerere had protested publicly against the ethnic cleansing and killings Amin directed against Asian business people and against educated people in general, saying that the OAU had failed to stop the aggression. Very saddening for him was the fact that other countries gave military support to Uganda. For instance, Libya was supplying arms and troops to Amin's forces. "Amin was an abominable murderer of the people of Uganda; a turbulent menace to the peace of East Africa; a blatant and bragging aggressor against Tanzania… We are not sorry to be rid of him" (Nyerere in Smyth and Seftel, 1998:254–255).

Nyerere's last great unity struggle was to save the Tanzanian Union. In 1994, there was increasing pressure within the CCM to adopt a proposal

that would see three governments – Union, Mainland and Zanzibar – instead of two (Union and Zanzibar), as recommended in 1992 by the Nyalali Commission.

The survival of the structure of the Union is a tribute to Nyerere's personal stubbornness to guarantee the political stability of the country and the region. He further explained and demonstrated to everyone in Tanzania (and abroad) the possibility of combining and cohering different cultural and religious lifestyles. His idea of peaceful nation building took root; the policy of unity, in spite of many conflicts in history and those still to come, is a great achievement. The present leadership in Tanzania honours this approach. At Mwalimu's funeral, then-President Benjamin Mkapa pledged himself to the Tanzanian consensus and to "stay the course" with Nyerere:

"He built a united nation with a vision of equality and respect across racial, religious, tribal and gender divides. Until this day, the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar remains an enduring example of African unity. We shall defend and strengthen this union with all our might. (Mkapa in Mwakikagile, 2002:399)

Ali Mazrui, political philosopher, colleague and ever-critical intellectual friend to Nyerere, summarised his dedication in the essay, "Nyerere and I":

"Nyerere's policies of nation building amount to a case of unsung heroism. With wise and strong leadership, and with brilliant policies of cultural integration, he took one of the poorest countries in the world and made it a proud leader in African affairs and an

active member of the global community. (Mazrui in Mwakikagile, 2002:362)

After Nyerere's death in 1999, and in the context of numerous obituaries that reviewed his life's work and his political leadership, a series of critical – even polemical – comments appeared. The two examples below cover the basic approaches of such criticism.

- *"Nyerere has one glaring weakness: he does not always practice what he preaches. And what he does practice has brought Tanzania few visible benefits. His 17 million people have adhered to his socialistic doctrine for two decades and at the end of the rainbow have found only an empty pot." (Lamb, 1986:67)*

- *"Nyerere left a bankrupt country because of his misconceived policies of Ujamaa, which resulted in forcible collectivisation of peasants." (Tony Leon, then-leader of South Africa's Democratic Party, quoted by S. L. Chachage in the University of Dar es Salaam Newsletter (2000))*

With Nyerere and beyond Nyerere: ethical leadership matters

Nonetheless, Nyerere managed to start the transformation of a capitalist society into a socialist one. Jackson and Rosberg (1982) evaluated the first decade of the Tanzanian experiment and stated that Nyerere's mastery, "not only of a rhetoric nature", helped make these fundamental changes understood by the "ordinary man" and that the Leadership Code contributed to building a less privileged political elite:

Members of this elite have been given less latitude to acquire wealth through

politics than the elites of less puritanical regimes... The diminution of class divisions, however, means not only less economic exploitation by progressive farmers and entrepreneurs, but also a decrease in the material contribution that their pursuit of wealth could make to Tanzanian's economy (ibid:231).

Nyerere supported multiparty politics as he was committed to social development which included a decent economic growth based on a policy of social justice and equality and related to a policy of self-reliance with a strongly controlled "social market" economy. He rejected capitalism as "inhuman" and his vision was a world of "human equality", the dream for so many who still deeply believe in human rights and solidarity.

Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, SPD) until 1987 and German Chancellor who served as president of the Socialist International (SI) from 1976 until shortly before his death in 1992, remained politically influential and, like Nyerere, he did not give up the "dream" of more solidarity and global justice for all. In May 1985, the two icons met again in Bonn, Germany, where Brandt honoured Nyerere, whom he had known for two decades, as "an outstanding friend and comrade in the struggle for social justice, peace and human rights" (FES, 1985: 5). Brandt closed his statement by addressing their "great friend, the teacher of the people of Tanzania", who "all his life [had] been in the forefront of those who have struggled to overcome the obstacles in the way

of peace, progress and development" (ibid:6). Nyerere's fight against the three enemies – poverty, ignorance and disease – continues to this day.

Nyerere stood for peace and he deeply detested corruption and exploitation as evils and vices. Many of his countrymen and women still do so today. Globally, it seems that this group is growing since the recent financial crisis and the appearance of the ugly face of "predatory capitalism" (Helmut Schmidt). Nowadays, big world leaders (Obama, Hu Jintao) demand more control, accountability and reliability, as well as a new culture of good leadership, in order to cope with the global threats of poverty, global warming, etc.

The present discussion in Tanzania about a new leadership code, launched by President Kikwete last year, can be seen partly as a "renaissance" of Nyerere's leadership code – as his legacy; but it can also be seen in terms of a new policy of adjustment to contemporary societal developments under a "free market policy". This is a clear signal to strengthen the fight against corruption. "We … will define the conduct of business persons who want to take political positions. The idea is to avoid conflict of interests on the part of business persons holding political positions", explained the President at a leadership forum on social justice in 2009 (Kikwete in FES, 2009). "The call for ethical behaviour to leaders and public servants is now being heard more than ever before throughout the continent. …people are tired of corrupt leaders", stated

Kikwete, specifically addressing the young leaders in the region, his firm proclamation striking a chord with them: "Some of the critical values in the political leadership endeavour which I believe are key to your success as leaders include: integrity, service, honesty, credibility, responsibility, respect, dedication, teamwork, innovativeness, loyalty, dependability, sociability, learning and flexibility. If you adhere to these values the likelihood that you will succeed in your leadership career is very high" (ibid.)

We wish all Tanzanians, and particularly the President, good luck and success in the implementation of a new leadership code with the right legal proceedings, all forms of endorsement and adequate law enforcement. Mwalimu, were he here with us today, would probably nod vigorously to signal support and he would probably be proud of his "political son" Kikwete. The 2010 elections are just around the corner. The push for ethical leadership is gaining momentum.

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Notes

Notes

ASSESSMENT OF POVERTY STRATEGIES; WHERE ARE WE?

By: Mr. Ntime Mwalyambi, Vice President´s Office

At the heart of mankind's every experience is the desire to survive and prosper. Everyone wants to live without fear, hunger or suffering. Everyone would like to dream about how life could be better and to have the means to change it. At all levels, as an individual, a family, a community and a nation at large, we all strive to have the power to decide on our destiny.

Poverty is a condition where a person or community lacks the essentials for upholding even the minimum standards of well-being. Poverty can be understood in different ways. It can be the lack material resources such as food, safe drinking water and shelter. It can also be the lack of social resources such as access to information, education, health care, social status, political power and the opportunity to develop meaningful connections with other people in the society.

50 years ago Tanzania was one of the poor countries in sub-Saharan Africa and, unfortunately, this is still the case today. Reducing poverty has been one of the major goals since independence. Government efforts to address poverty date back to the late 1960's as is apparent from the wide range of policy documents and processes. In the course of the years the country's social, political and economic institutions have undergone a drastic transformation to adjust and conform to the rigid national guidelines and priorities.

Some of these changes seriously affected the economy and resulted in a gradual and protracted decline of all growth indicators during the 1970's and 1980's. Since then the country has recovered significantly through the implementation of various structural adjustments and restructuring programmes led by the government with the help of the donors.

Tanzania's first PRS (Poverty Reduction Strategy) covered a three-year period from 2000 to 2003. In June 2003, before the strategic term was completed in October 2003, the Tanzanian government examined the outcomes of the PRS and decided to continue with poverty reduction as the first priority in its development goals. Since October 2003, the Tanzanian government has revised the PRS through a series of consultations with various stakeholders. The revised PRS was called NSGRP and was presented to the parliament in June 2005.

After the PRS was formulated, various poverty monitoring activities were conducted which produced data and information related to poverty. The outcomes showed that there were a number of contradictions in relation to the progress made in poverty re-

duction. While school enrolment indicators showed impressive progress and vaccination rates, road indicators had also improved, most of the survival indicators did not show any improvement. The participatory poverty assessment showed that governance, macro-economic conditions and the environment are the factors which had contributed to general impoverishment (Impoverishing Forces) and that HIV/AIDS was the most severe factor for impoverishing individuals and households.

But the increasing need for resources to address the challenges of a growing population in urban areas and the deterioration of the terms of trade for agricultural products poses a huge challenge to the government's poverty eradication efforts. Research on the impact of health services shows that charging fees reduces poor people's access to health services.

The incidence of poverty varies greatly across the country but is high among rural families living in arid and semi-arid regions that depend exclusively on livestock and food crops production. The people of the central and northern highlands are nutritionally the most deficient, while the coastal and southern highlands zone register the most severe levels of poverty.

Rural poverty in the country has been halved in the period from 1985 to 2001. At present about 38 per cent of people living in rural areas are classified as poor. This progress is reflected in the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index for Tanzania, which rose from 0.3 in 1991 to 0.4 in 2002. Nevertheless, poverty is still spreading. It is generally a rural phenomenon: about

85 per cent of the country's poor people live in rural areas and rely on agriculture as their main source of income and livelihood.

The Household Budget Survey of 2000/01 shows that 20 per cent of rural people live in extreme poverty and about 39 per cent are considered poor. Within the agriculture sector, food crop producers are generally poorer than cash crop farmers, but both operate under cyclical and structural constraints and are subject to frequent natural calamities (drought and flooding), and lack market linkages, inputs, credit and irrigation water. Income inequality for rural areas has remained more or less constant and is rooted in inequitable access to productive assets including land, financial services, livestock and education. According to the poverty profile survey of rural households, the percentage of the rural population producing food for home consumption has dropped by 10 per cent in the last decade. Few rural households have access to safe drinking water, primary education and medical treatment. There is also clear evidence that poverty increases with the distance from markets, drinking water supplies and health clinics.

At the centre of all these efforts there is a need to increase the growth rate of the economy. This is mentioned by scholars as the means to pull people out of poverty. Although there are countless efforts to fight poverty at all levels, addressing the emerging obstacles to development is a huge challenge. It is evident that the global economic crisis is worsening the situation by hitting those sectors which had previously looked hopeful.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA

POWER SHARING IN EAST AFRICA:
CAN IT WORK FOR ZANZIBAR?

By: Bashiru Ally and Hanif Tuwa, University of Dar es Salaam

Introduction

The East African region has been haunted by political conflicts, some of great magnitude. These conflicts have generally emanated from political, economic and social conditions. Some have culminated in violent ethnic and religious clashes. In 1994, in Rwanda, the world witnessed genocide of unimaginable scale. The Burundi civil war killed and displaced citizens and turned others into refugees. Recently, Kenya witnessed a post-election crisis which was largely spurred by issues of land ownership, rural and urban poverty and inequality, a crisis that tore apart grassroots communities and claimed the lives of some 1,200 people. This conflict reflects the struggle for power, survival and the accumulation of wealth taking place below the surface amongst members of the Kenyan political class. In recognition of this, power sharing is gradually turning into a fashionable strategy to resolve political rivalries in the East African region. The basic aim of power shar-ing has been to restore waning political legitimacy and sustain electoral liberal democracy by establishing a coalition government which includes the rivalling political parties, thereby creating a unified front. In East Africa, Burundi, Rwanda and Kenya have implemented various styles of power sharing as a means to ending political strife. The aim of this paper is to explore the possibilities and constraints for using the power-sharing approach as an option for resolving the political impasse which has impeded democratization efforts in Zanzibar. But first we will give a brief overview of how power sharing works in some East African partner states.

Power Sharing in East Africa

The power-sharing mechanism has been applied in Rwanda, Burundi and Kenya to provide a solution to ethnic and political violence. It has been considered to be an appropriate option for peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution despite the differing

political objectives of the key actors (Nsabimana, 2005). Two approaches to power sharing have been used in East Africa, namely, the constitutional (Rwanda and Burundi) and ad hoc/non-constitutional approaches (Kenya).

In Rwanda, the constitution makes an explicit reference to power sharing as a critical element in the process of rebuilding the ethnically divided society and establishing a sustainable liberal democracy (Ndayizeye, 2004). The constitution of Rwanda stipulates that: "Rwanda is a State governed by inter alia the rule of law, human rights, pluralistic democracy, equitable power sharing, tolerance and resolution of issues through dialogue". Pursuant to Article 58 of the Constitution, the President and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies shall be from different political parties. The cabinet members are selected from political parties proportionate to the number of seats they hold in the Chamber of Deputies.

Furthermore, the constitution stipulates that the political party holding the majority of the seats in the Chamber of the Deputies should not have members of the cabinet exceeding half of the total number of cabinet ministers. However, there are some ambiguous constitutional provisions which can undermine checks and balances between the President and the Legislature and thereby pose a threat to the legitimacy and effectiveness of the power sharing arrangement (Traniello, 2008). For example, the constitution of Rwanda allows the President to declare war by just informing the Parliament and he is not compelled to consult the cabinet. This constitutional provision is ambiguous and can undermine the power-sharing arrangement in a situation where the President decides to declare war without prior consensus having been established in the cabinet. Without consensus such a decision would not be in line with the approach of decision making through consensus between political parties represented in the cabinet as provided by the Constitution itself.

In Burundi, the Constitution provides for power sharing with emphasis on the ethnic aspect. A quota system is provided for by the constitution whereby the composition of the cabinet must be proportionate to the number of seats allocated to a political party in the national assembly. Through this arrangement, the Hutus should not exceed 60 % of the seats and Tutsis should not exceed 40 % of the seats in the national assembly. In addition, when the President appoints the two Vice Presidents, s/he must consider their political and ethnic origin: one of the Vice Presidents must be from a different ethnic group from that of the President. The First Vice President is charged with the responsibility of coordinating the administrative and political affairs whereas the Second Vice President is in charge of economic and social affairs. However, the Constitution of Burundi does not specify clearly which of the Vice Presidents shall be from the ethnic group different from the President. Even in the case where the President dismisses the Vice President(s) from office, it is required that the replacement must be from the ethnic group and political party whose member has lost the post.

In the case of Kenya, the post-election crisis saw the international community and regional bodies stressing the need for the main rival parties, namely the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and the Party of National Unity (PNU), to resolve their differences. In 2008, the two major parties formed the National Unity Government following hard and serious negotiations which were successfully mediated by the former United Nations General Secretary Kofi Annan on behalf of the African Union. The rival parties managed to agree on how to parcel out posts in a new Cabinet equally among their allies. While Kibaki's team retained most of the powerful posts, including finance and foreign affairs, Odinga's allies in the ODM got substantial cabinet posts including the new post of Prime Minister. President Kibaki appointed the opposition leader Raila Odinga to the new post of Prime Minister. However, in the end, when they could not entirely agree, Kibaki and Odinga decided to create more ministries, expanding the number from 34 to 42.

The power-sharing approach to conflict management and resolution in Burundi, Rwanda and Kenya have achieved significant short-term gains including ending political violence, restoring the basic political rights of ordinary citizens and meeting the humanitarian needs of the displaced. For Kenya, however, the fundamental changes that were expected to be implemented by the government of national unity such as the constitutional review have been put on a very slow track. More importantly, the highly charged issues of land ownership, social exclusion, poverty and inequality, which fueled the post-election violence in the first place, have not been sufficiently addressed.

Can Power Sharing Work in Zanzibar?

Since the reinstatement of multiparty politics in Zanzibar in 1992, political conflict between the ruling party CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) and the main opposition party CUF (Civic United Front) has characterized electoral politics. There have been sporadic incidences of violence, hostilities and mutual distrust and these continue to undermine the credibility of democratic reforms in the isles. The efforts to resolve the inter-party conflicts in Zanzibar through dialogue have always involved external and internal actors. These negotiations resulted in two unsuccessful peace accords- "Muafaka I" of 1999 and "Muafaka II" of 2001. Their implementation has failed to end the political impasse.

Power sharing has been proposed as alternative means to a rather delayed process of conflict resolution, but without any success. Taking into consideration these previous attempts to resolve the conflict in Zanzibar and the ongoing relationship between the disputants, we believe that the power-sharing approach to conflict resolution is only feasible if the lost spirit of trust can be restored. As long as the rival parties continue to distrust each other, as is the case now, the possibilities of instituting and executing power-sharing arrangements either before the 2010 elections or after the elections remain improbable.

The readiness of both parties to enter into direct dialogue as the approach

in the 2001 Muafaka II to resolving the conflict created a situation where violent confrontation was avoided and this helped restore peace and social order. One would have expected the 'spirit' that enabled the two parties to reach this peaceful settlement to enable them to discuss the causes of conflict openly and honestly and thus agree on the way forward. The rival parties failed to respect the agreement as everyone focused on winning the 2005 elections (Heilman, 2004).

The prospects for power sharing are very low due to lack of consensus on the root causes of the conflict. While CUF perceives election rigging as the root cause of the problems, CCM persistently denies it (Bakari, 2001; CUF, 2008a). This has significant implications for the prospects for power sharing. One of the core issues for CUF has been the "Winner-Takes-It-All" electoral model because it denies CUF the opportunity to share power despite winning almost the same quantity of votes as CCM. On its part, CCM used the negotiations (Muafaka I and Muafaka II) as a strategy to contain CUF's outbursts rather than to resolve conflict, and the prospects for power sharing between them therefore remains low.

Experience from the two previous negotiations suggests that the ruling party (CCM) sees the conflict as a zero-sum game, with a coalition government seen as a loss. While CUF were pleased with the recommendations arising from the bipartisan talks, mainly the one calling for a coalition government, the ruling party's powerful National Executive Committee (NEC) decided that it was wiser for the government to seek the popular approval of the Zanzibaris themselves, preferably through a referendum. Had the CCM-NEC endorsed the 'Muafaka' team's recommendations, Zanzibar would have had a coalition government operational almost immediately (Peter and Sige, 2008). But following CCM's refusal to endorse the recommendations, CUF has maintained that it would not engage in any more talks on the matter (CUF, 2008b)[1].

Power disparity between the two parties is visible, with the ruling party of course drawing power from its control of policymaking processes and institutions. The main decision-making organs, for example, the House of Representatives is dominated by CCM which makes it less likely for a power-sharing model to pass if the decision is left to the representatives to legislate it. On the other side, CUF lacks sufficient formal power over its counterpart to ensure that the latter seriously and favourably responds to its demands, particularly to form a coalition government.

The other constraint to power sharing in Zanzibar relates to the responses of the conflicting parties towards each other. To achieve their goals, both CCM and CUF have been employing strategies that have induced antagonistic rather than collaborative relationship and mistrust (Salim, 2008). For example, in the course of implementing the Muafaka II in 2002, CUF ridiculed the Presidential Commission's report and alleged that it was merely a cover-up for the state's atrocious acts against its supporters

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1 The Secretary General of CUF, Mr Hamad, had told the press that CCM were deliberately dangling a carrot through strategic engagement while prolonging the talks until election time without tackling the issue.

in 26th and 27th January 2001 (Heilman, 2004:56) which severely dented the then much needed trust building. The other incident was preventing the CUF presidential candidate, Maalim Shariff Hamad, from registering to vote for the 2005 general elections on grounds of residential requirements. This was translated as a scheme by CCM to deprive Mr Hamad of the right to run for the presidency, thereby refuelling the antagonism between the two parties. Incidences of this nature are witnessed even today.

In the Zanzibar conflict, the role of the donors in the previous attempts at conflict resolution presents mixed signals with regard to the prospect for power sharing as means for conflict settlement. Since the highly disputed 1995 general elections, the reactions of the donors have differed significantly and this has had implications for the process of conflict resolution. The coercive approach was used by some Scandinavian countries and the European Union, especially after the 1995 general elections, and involved the threat of suspending aid to Zanzibar as an incentive for speedier conflict settlement (Bakari, 2001). Moreover, the marginal role of the donors after the 2005 general elections, partly because many international observers as well as local monitors had certified them as free and fair (SADC, 2005; EAC, 2005; TEMCO, 2005), has reduced pressure on CCM to speed up the negotiation process, and this makes the possibility of power sharing highly unlikely.

It is important to note that the delayed settlement of the political impasse has significantly eroded the confidence of Zanzibaris in electoral multiparty democracy. One may ask the question: Whose power to be shared, among whom and for whose interest? For us there is no power to share if those mandated to serve the Zanzibaris do not behave responsibly and responsively. It is gratifying that the two rival parties understand that the peaceful settlement of their differences is the only way to go. What is required for the leadership of both parties is to get committed to dialogue and to work hard to communicate their visions to their members. More importantly, their visions must be shared and put into action. It is constructive dialogue built on mutual trust and respect that can help Zanzibaris enjoy the fruits of democracy. Empty political rhetoric about power sharing may delay the efforts of those interested in building democracy in Zanzibar. In fact, constructive dialogue among Zanzibaris is a matter of urgency and necessity and not a choice. It is a duty of all Zanzibaris, especially the young ones.

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HOW CCM PROMOTES THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL ARENA

By: Hon. Hasna Mwilima, UWT National Secretary, Dar es Salaam

INTRODUCTION

In order to reach the Millennium Goals, both SADC and the AU have put pressure on their member states to include specific and decisive agendas in their political and developmental programmes aimed at increasing the number of women in political decision making bodies at all levels in society, from the local to the national level, in order to achieve 50:50 participation of men and women by the year 2010.

The ruling party - Chama Cha Mapinduzi - has always supported this declaration by creating more conducive economic and political environments for women. This has resulted in a significant increase in the number of female ward representatives and female members of parliament since the 1995 general elections.

In the 2000 general elections, CCM took steps to include the SADC and AU declarations in its election manifesto, reiterating that both presidential candidates would implement the terms of the declaration by giving women special priority in the presidential appointments to be made during their term of office.

CCM did the same in the 2005 general elections, putting a special clause in its election manifesto promising that women would be given special consideration. The President, Hon. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, has been very keen to live up to the CCM election manifesto and he has appointed more women to government and party posts. As a result, the level of women's representation in parliament under the fourth phase government is 30%.

The National Executive Council (NEC) of Chama Cha Mapinduzi has declared that the 50:50 target for women's representation in parliament must be reached in the coming 2010 general elections and it has directed all women members of the party to fully prepare themselves to participate in the coming general elections and to go for the leadership posts.

STRATEGIES

An analysis of the political and economic environment shows positive signs that the 50:50 target for women's participation in leadership will be achieved easily for the following reasons:

1. 52 per cent of the population of Tanzania are women and they support and need this change.

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2. It is estimated that 68 per cent of the total number of eligible voters prepared to turn up to vote on election day are women.

3. More women are now educated on various matters pertaining to their development than in the previous elections, e.g. they are more aware and they no longer support the bad cultural traditions and negative taboos that favour men more than women in society.

4. There is a remarkable increase in self-confidence amongst women, particularly in matters related to income generating activities which give them economic independence. In other words, many women are nowadays engaged in various small businesses or they are employed in different fields of work and they are therefore not totally economically dependent on their husband's income.

5. There is an increase in cooperation and solidarity amongst women, politically, economically and socially.

6. There is a visible and remarkable political will on the part of the leadership to spearhead gender equality in decision making bodies both in the party and the government.

OBJECTIVE

In order to acknowledge the position of women in the development of our nation and to improve and involve women in leadership and govern-

ance reforms, UWT and Chama Cha Mapinduzi drew up a set of priorities and planned a series of training programmes for the period 2005 – 2012.

The planned activities are intended to encourage women to expose themselves to information, evidence and the key components of leadership and governance, and to highlight the challenges which hinder their political, social and economic empowerment.

The programme is specifically designed to:

- Increase the number of women participating at different levels of leadership and decision making bodies in order to reach a 50:50 ratio in the year 2010 as was agreed by all SADC and AU member states

- Stimulate women's participation in leadership and governance issues by emphasizing the important role women can play in the leadership of our nation and by addressing issues of 'bad politics' (corruption, etc.) and by fighting for a fair and 'people-centred' politics

- Encourage women to demand accountability and concrete action on the part of the government in addressing problems of political discrimination, dishonesty, fraud and human rights violations

- Motivate women to be active agents for political and leadership transformation within communities and at national level, by addressing governance and

leadership problems and encouraging all women to participate in development in order to break the cycles of poverty, ignorance and disease

- Exchange ideas and experience on training women political leaders

The Nomination of Contestants

UWT is an affiliate of the ruling party and its leadership is democratically elected every five years. CCM deals with women's affairs.

The constitutions of CCM and UWT give every member the right to vote and to be elected to the leadership.

Those who meet the requirements normally fill in a form and are elected by the UWT members of particular area. After the polls, contestants are screened by the party's special political committees before they are announced winners.

(A) The Current Women Representation in the Parliament

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, Clause 66 Section 1 (b) states that there shall be women MPs in the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania. Their current number is 98, a representation of 30%.The breakdown is as follows:

MPs elected from the House of Representatives of Zanzibar:	2
MPs appointed by The Union's President:	5
MPs elected from the constituencies:	17
MPs Special Seats:	75
TOTAL	98

Women Political and Leadership Empowerment

UWT is whole-heartedly determined to see that the SADC goal of a 50% women's representation/participation in central and local government leadership, in parliament and the Zanzibar House of Representatives is reached by year 2010.

Currently, women's participation in parliament and the House of Representatives is 30% while in local government it is 33%.

Constitutionally, there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of women's special seats in parliament. In the 1995 general elections 10% of the seats were designated as special women's seats. The figure rose to 20% in the 2000 elections and now it is 30%.

The data shows a gradual increase in women's participation in leadership of 10% in each election period. Although the government and the National Executive Council (NEC) of CCM have vowed to reach the AU and SADC member states' target of 50:50

men/women representation/participation in leadership at the 2010 general elections, it is likely that the level reached will be 40%, as the trend has been an increase of 10% in each of the three previous general elections.

UWT has lodged a special appeal to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania to continue considering women for leadership and appointing women representatives to lead Government and parastatals when the opportunity arises.

Training Programmes

- Capacity building for women through their various networks and organizations in order to overcome traditions, attitudes and behaviour that continue to discriminate against women

- Civic education for women that encourages them to participate equally with men in different elections and increase their awareness of both their constitutional and legal rights

- Gender budgeting which ensures that budgets are fair to both men and women, thereby decreasing the gender gap

How to achieve 50:50

In order to achieve 50:50 of women representation in leadership CCM and UWT are mobilizing women to engage themselves in different leadership and decision making activities. Umoja wa Wanawake wa also provides Tanzania women with more scope to lead themselves from ward-level to the national level. CCM has created a special category of seats (100 seats in all) in different political groups as shown below.

UWT Chair Person	- 1
UWT Secretary General	- 1
Youth wing	-11
Disabled	- 4
NGOs	- 2
Women from higher learning institutions	- 2
Women from employees association	- 2
Representative from Regions 3@26	-78
TOTAL	101

The CCM manifesto for the 2005 general elections gives women more opportunities for leadership in political/government positions and more women have in fact been appointed to various government and political posts.

According to Millennium Development Goals, political decision making and participation by women play a major role in the development of different sectors. This has also encouraged many women to stand in their constituents in order to achieve a representation of 50:50. At the moment there are 17 female MPS from the constituencies.

Furthermore, as well as encouraging women to take part in local regional and national elections, CCM created

more chances for women to participate in the party leadership. For example, many women contested key political leadership positions in the last party elections and two women contestants emerged winners and became the chairpersons of CCM in two regions - Kagera and Kilimanjaro - and many more won in many districts.

Notes

THE ROAD TO 2010
YES, DEMOCRACY SHOULD GUARANTEE CREDIBLE ELECTIONS

By: Hon. Samuel Sitta (MP), Speaker of the Tanzanian National Assembly

The expression "free and fair elections" strictly used refers to perfect elections, though some would argue that no election anywhere in the world can really be free and fair.

They would say that it is therefore better to consider free and fair elections as referring to the quality of elections in which the will of the people can be expressed. The coming election in 2010 is as important in the evolution of the democratic process in Tanzania as the 2005 election was, with the qualities that can render it a free and fair contest.

Recent elections in Tanzania have received a clean bill of health from observers and citizens, save for cases where Zanzibar political leaders have contested the results, making allegations of illegalities against the winners of the presidency and of non-compliance with the electoral laws against the Electoral Commission. Whether their cries were legitimate or not must be determined by the court of law.

With less than a year to go, it is now no secret that Tanzania will be holding its next rounds of elections soon. The local level elections ran on 25th October this year, while the general elections are slated for October 2010. Both of these are very important processes in the consolidation and entrenchment of Tanzania's emerging democratic governance system.

As such, it is crucial that at election times debates are shaped and based on issues, not personalities. While impressed with the growing civic and political awareness in the country since the advent of multi-partyism in 1992, there has always been call for room for improvement. Former President Benjamin Mkapa also commented in the past that one room that can never get full is the room for improvement.

It appears that lessons are being learnt from previous elections even though there were hiccups ahead of the recent October 25 civic elections. The need for timely registration was important ahead of the recent elections and it still as vital for next year's 2010 general election.

Timely registration gives the political parties more time to organise and carry out their campaigns. The ruling party and the opposition parties are thus able to present their candidates in several constituencies for the presidential and parliamentary elections.

Whether the recent half turn-out for registration was a result of innocent ignorance on the part of the civilians, or not, it could have a direct and

negative impact on the quality of the elections.

One major challenge for the electoral reform process in many African countries is the "inherent bias for continuity" as the ruling party, which usually has a clear majority in parliament, may have a vested interest in the status quo.

Even in developed democracies, it is somewhat unusual for ruling parties that benefit from existing systems to sponsor changes that would weaken their advantage. This, however, is part of the cost of democracy - it has to be paid.

Such lessons provide precedents from which the Electoral Commission, Parliament, the Executive, political parties, civil society and the media have to set the ball rolling for 2010. Now is the time for political parties to effectively and meaningfully engage the electorate.

Even though some political scientists may see it as rather idealistic to expect and hope for free and fair elections per se in Africa, it is still very important in the context of Tanzania to have quality elections, which can be accepted as expressing the will of the people.

The outcome of the 2010 October general elections should show no flaws as far as their compliance with electoral laws is concerned. They must not compromise the principles of a free and fair election.

Although some might view the issues as trivial, it is important that the National Electoral Commission carries out voter education both on mainland and Zanzibar, and is able to secure and deliver electoral materials on time. It must procure good quality items such as ink that cannot be washed out of paper. Funds for the EC's work must also be released in good time.

According to Moses Kulaba, director of Agenda 2000, activities like updating the voter register and voter education should not be tied to any particular elections. He suggests that the EC therefore needs a standing budget not tied to any particular elections to be able to carry out its functions.

In the last three election cycles, Tanzania has had different sets of electoral laws for each round of election. All these laws have been debated and passed ahead of major elections.

Just some 11 months before the 2010 general elections, in January, the Parliament will overhaul the laws governing elections, the conduct of political parties and leadership ethics to curb graft, foul play and excessive use of money during elections.

It was in the 17th parliamentary session when the Minister of State responsible for policy and parliamentary affairs, Mr Philip Marmo, announced that bills proposing changes to the Elections Act of 1985 and the Political Parties Act of 1992, would be moved in the January National Assembly session.

"The bills will be tabled in January (2010) in order to give ample time to the government to draw up rules and regulations governing the proposed laws, well ahead of the next General Elections," he said.

He said the government expects the various stakeholders to discuss the proposed changes in the laws governing the conduct of elections and leadership ethics extensively.

The law would also prohibit political parties and individual aspirants in elections from obtaining external funds to finance campaigns.

In a move designed to facilitate an even playing field, the government would provide security to all presidential candidates and their running mates as well as giving them airtime and space in public-owned media. The state would also pay due allowances to agents of political parties during elections.

The government would overhaul the Public Leadership Code Act of 1995 in a move designed to separate politics and business to avoid conflicts of interest in public offices. As part of the proposed changes on elections funding, the Registrar of Political Parties would be given more powers to monitor political parties and their aspirants.

"Political parties and their respective aspirants should specify to the Registrar the amount of money they will spend on elections and sources of the money," he explained.

A team of experts visited Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa and Zambia to study how those countries monitor and control election financing and the findings of the team have been incorporated into the Bill.

Mr Marmo, however, said that the Bill had not specified a minimum or maximum amount of money to be spent by political parties and their candidates in elections, saying the matter would be determined by stakeholders.

The government formed a team of experts to work on a bill on leadership code. The team comprised officials from the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau, the Attorney General's Office, the Registrar of Political Parties, the Leadership Ethics Secretariat and the National Electoral Commission.

"The team has accomplished its mission and submitted recommendations to the government. The two bills are now at the Government's Printer and will soon be circulated for public debate," he said.

The proposed laws would enhance morality, ethics, and discipline and help other related laws to be enforced.

The passing of these laws as early as possible is seen to be essential for the EC and the candidates to have suficient time to prepare for the elections.

Other measures would to curb voter intimidation and harassment and perhaps control the wholesale involvement of the military in the electoral process as this has always created a spirit of fear, anxiety and unrest in Tanzania's neighbouring countries during election time.

Real democracy requires free and fair elections. The basic minimum requirements for such elections include: an independent, transparent, accountable and impartial election

body, freedom of expression, movement and assembly, an atmosphere free from violence, harassment and intimidation.

All the above call for political will, democratic leadership committed to attaining sustainable socio-economic development in the country and a culture of respect for the country to face yet another election that qualifies as free and fair in 2010.

Notes

"THE CODE OF CONDUCT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN TANZANIA"

By: Zakia Stephano, Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, Dar es Salaam

1.0 Introduction

This paper scrutinizes the concept of political parties, their background, rights and responsibilities, how the Code of Conduct for Political Parties came into existence, the acceptable Code of Conduct for Political Parties, recommendations and the way forward.

2.0 Background of political parties in Tanzania

It should be borne in mind that multiparty democracy is not new to Tanzania. For a few years after independence there was non-active multiparty democracy with a number of registered political parties. These parties included Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), United Tanganyika Party (UTP), African National Congress (ANC) and All-Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT). In Zanzibar there were the Afro Shiraz Party (ASP), People's Convention Party (PCP), African Independence Movement (AIM) and People's Democratic Party (PDP). Multiparty politics as it is known today came into existence around July 1992 after the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania was amended to accommodate changes which would allow fair competition amongst political parties as part of the democratization process. The winds of change blew from outside. Different external forces made the adoption of multiparty politics necessary. The main driving force was the serious demand made by the major financial institutions for the introduction of the multiparty democracy, but the economic crisis faced by the developing countries after the decline of the socialist block also played a significant role. In addition, the one party political system was seen to pose a number of problems. Hence the call for a democratization movement in developing countries like Tanzania was inevitable[1].

3.0 The Rights of Political Parties

The political parties in Tanzania play a vital role in promoting democracy: their fundamental role is to enhance harmony and peace within the democratic state. Thus, in order to achieve their objectives the registered political parties in Tanzania are accorded the following significant rights[2]

- The right to provide civil education during general elections in

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1 Pius Msekwa;(2007) "The First Decade of Multi-Party Politics in Tanzania 2nd Ed; Plus International Ltd; Dar es Salaam"

2 The Code of Conduct for Political Parties in Tanzania of 2007

conformity with the laws of the country

- The right to organize a lawful procession without violating the regulations and the laws of the land
- The right to hold a political rally in accordance with the laws of the country
- The right to participate in general elections conducted in accordance with the electoral laws and to receive information and results from the same election

4.0 How the Code of Conduct for Political Parties came into operation

Progression from a single party to multiparty system culminated in a number of problems as a result of the misconduct of political parties in Tanzania. It was inevitable that the need to have laws and regulations in such a fast growing multiparty democracy would arise. An attempt to establish an effective legal instrument to regulate the activities of political parties was made before the General Election of 2005: the Prime Minister's Office, representing the electoral Commission, concluded the Code of Conduct for Political Parties so as to control activities of political parties in the General Election of 2005. However, the Code lacked legal enforcement.

It is indisputable that it is a hard task for political parties to operate under an uncontrolled legal framework. The Registry Office for the Political Parties therefore called upon the stakeholders to discuss the mechanism for preparing the Code of Conduct for political parties which would be recognized and enforced by the law. The Code of Political Parties was proposed and enacted through the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with the Centre for Democracy (TCD) which played a vital role in the process[3].

5.0 The Code of Conduct for Political Parties

The code of conduct refers to an acceptable standard of practices that the political parties have to adhere to in order to avoid the violation of national peace and security. The political parties are not allowed to undertake any political activity which is not in conformity with the Code of Conduct which they have signed. Coordination of lawful procession: the political parties should never resort to undertaking unlawful strikes or processions; the political parties have the duty to comply with and obey orders on how a given procession should be undertaken. If there is any order in force in the localities through which the procession will pass the political parties have to comply with the restriction unless exempted by the concerned authority.

Upholding discipline and respect: political parties have the obligation to respect and implement common agreements and decisions adopted by other political parties. The Code of Conduct requires the political parties to take all necessary measures to uphold a high degree of discipline and respect in the party, amongst candidates' representatives, employees or supporters.

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3 The Code of Conduct for political parties of 2007

Observation of traffic regulations: the Code for Political Conduct requires the political parties in a lawful procession to undertake the duty of ensuring the traffic regulations and laws are observed to the highest possible standard during the procession and necessary steps are to be taken to ensure that there is no hindrance to the flow of traffic.

Observation of the duty of confidentiality: the Code of Conduct requires the political parties to undertake measures which assure the voters that the voting process is carried out in a confidential manner and the integrity of the ballot will be maintained to the extent that no one will be allowed to know how another person has exercised the voting right. Thus, a high degree of secrecy in the voting process is not only a mandatory requirement but also the acceptable standard of ethical conduct in politics.

Upholding National Unity and security: national unity is important for peace and stability. The political parties should uphold peace and security during political rallies by conducting activities without violating the laws of the country. Thus the political parties play a vital role in uniting citizens regardless of their political differences when it comes to matters of national concerns. Emphasizing the importance of maintaining political stability, President Jakaya Kikwete said,

"I should like us to reach a stage where our national values and ethos are so entrenched that any political leader, of any political party; any leader of a voluntary association or trade union; any leader of a professional association or any other organization, would resign immediately upon it being proven that

he/she pursues selfish or discriminatory policies, or engages in activities detrimental to national unity, peace and stability" [4]

6.0 Recommendations and the way forward

The following key actions are recommended in the Code of Conduct for Political Parties in order to attain the expected goals of the Code. The Code should undergo legal reform to enhance its role as an effective mechanism to political activities in the following aspects:

The Code must condemn and prevent any of the following acts: (i) any act which undermines the rights of any person or other political parties (ii) the use of insulting words during political campaigns (iii) the use of force so as to gain popularity from the general public (iv) corrupt practices during elections (vi) the use public property such as public vehicles, buildings, and fund to undermine other political parties during the general elections.

The Code should enhance political tolerance: every effort should be made to promote political tolerance among the parties during election. The parties which lose an election should accept the results and respect the winning party. In addition, political parties must not destroy, disfigure or remove other political parties' campaigning materials during the campaigning process.

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4 Speech by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, on inaugurating the fourth phase Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania, Parliament Buildings, Dodoma, 30 December 2005

Avoiding abuse of power: the Code proposes that ministers should not make use of any advantage provided by their office, such as combining their official visits with election campaigning.. This implies that ministerial power or executive power should not be imposed against other political parties with less power. In addition, the Code suggests that public places and resources should not be monopolized and all parties should be allowed to use the resources equally.

The Code should promote gender balance and equality between men and women's participation in the democratization process. The Code of Conduct for Political Parties does not accept any form of discrimination be it on the basis of tribe, gender, religion and race.

The Code should give the political parties the duty of making sure that eligible candidates and voters are not prevented from taking part in the election process and that their supporters are encouraged to vote for the parties they wish and they must avoid any conduct which discourages or compels the voters not to participate in lawful election in their localities.

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YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN TANZANIA:
OPPORTUNITIES AND IMPEDIMENTS

By: Israel Ilunde, Youth Partnership Countrywide, Kibaha, Tanzania

Introduction and background

It is now 17 years since the re-introduction of the multiparty system in Tanzania yet youth participation in politics is still weak. Some of the political parties do not have a functional youth organization structure. Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) is a case in point. The parties have, however, established youth desks but they are manned by one person only. Although there also other impediments, party structures and the type of openings they offer for youth participation may play a significant negative role in youth participation in politics.

It is basically bad news that almost no young people participate in politics and decision-making bodies and this raises fears about our common future. It may very well sound as though the young generation has already been defeated in its fight for rights, responsibilities and power. However, the good news is that it is not too late for the present young generation to bridge the political gap which has been created in the course of decades at the expense of youth. Although there are obvious obstacles which prevent the political empowerment of the youth, there are also opportunities at our disposal. However, strategic thinking, active and meaningful participation under a more inclusive framework are required, if we are to make use of them. This is what my colleagues in development and I wish to propound in the near future.

The purpose of this presentation therefore is to provoke a debate on the factors that hinder active participation in politics. The paper will also identify available and potential opportunities which can be utilized by youth to influence public decisions, particularly those which affect their lives. Before I embark on the central discussion, here are some key definitions.

Definitions

Youth, participation, politics

The concept of *youth* varies from one community to another depending on customs and traditions, social behaviour and their location (Ministry of Labour and Youth Development 1996 p.1). While the United Nations defines youth as those persons within the age bracket of 15 to 24 years, in Uganda youths are defined as all young persons, female and male, aged between 12 to 30 years (The Republic of Uganda p.12).

Some scholars have defined *youth* as a period between childhood and

adulthood (Collins, in Osei- Hwedie, 1990). At its most simplistic, the definition of youth is that found in the Oxford dictionary which defines youth as the time between childhood and full maturity.

No matter how divergent are the definitions of youth, what remains at the core is that "this is a period of great emotional, physical and psychological changes that require societal support for a safe passage from adolescent to full adulthood" (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2001 p.12).

As far as policy is concerned, Tanzania defines youths as persons aged between 15 and 35 (National Youth Policy 2007: 10). I agree with this definition and it will therefore serve as the working definition in this presentation. Let me add, however, that youths are energetic people who are enthusiastic, visionary and have new ideas. They are expected to live longer than previous generations so the future of any society relies on them. And society expects them to bring about a much better future for all.

The World Bank in UNDP (2001) defines *participation* as processes through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and decisions which affect them. When we talk of youth participation we are simply talking about empowering youth to voice their points of view and ensuring that their views are heard and acknowledged. "We regard the empowerment of youth as a process through which youth identify and shape their lives and the kind of society in which they live. This is simply to amplify the traditionally un-

acknowledged voices (Slocum, R et al 1995 p 4-5). In addition to this, " it is worth emphasizing at the outset that current notions of youth participation form part of a wider debate about popular participation" Midglej et al (1986 p.12). Therefore seen from this angle, the issue of youth participation makes it possible for youth to discuss issues concerning their political participation in order to construct the Tanzania they would like to have.

Politics is any activity which involves power and influence, Leftwich (2004).

The current position of youth in politics

As I went through various pieces of literature I observed a number of concurring voices: youth has been, and is still, marginalized in decision making circles. In its 2008 annual report, MS Tanzania clearly states that "at present, youth are politically and economically marginalized in Tanzania, thus they have no or little say in decision making or conditions that affect their lives" (MS Tanzania 2008 p.7). The same claim was made in the Ugandan national youth policy where it is stated that "the trend analysis of involvement and participation in leadership and decision making since independence shows that the youth were mostly marginalized and their involvement seen only as beneficiaries of programmes/services rather than as active participants in the development process" (The Republic of Uganda, 2001 p.9).

Youth participation in politics: opportunities and impediments

Inadequate civic competence

Civic competence is a result of continued exposure, training and interaction on issues, processes and skills related to civic and political life. The central theme remains to be civic education which provides citizens with the ability to engage in public life. Civic awareness and information provide people with the power to enter a political road. Informed citizens are better equipped to take advantage of opportunities, exercise their rights and hold the state accountable.

In Tanzania, civic education is not a sustained exercise. It is done during election years and up to central elections in particular. The worst thing is that such education is offered in green rooms where pre-selected participants are invited and paid allowances. Youth, the majority of whom cannot access this kind of information, is left unseen in the mainstream. I think that it is always important to remember: "Any society which neglects its youth and forgets its communities must as well forget its future." (Mufune et al., 1990).

Lack of a proper mechanism and framework for youth empowerment and participation

Although Tanzania has adopted the concept of participation with the best of intentions, it is supposed to empower the weakest and the poorest such as the youth and it is therefore a pity to learn that youth are involved simply as passive recipients, informants or labourers, (Nelson, N and Wright S 1995). In spite of the various policy, legal and institutional reforms in Tanzania, the country seems to lack an independent and impartial mechanism or framework to support youth empowerment and participation in politics.

Although there are several youth organizations and groups within civil society, it is still unclear as to how they are represented in formal decision making bodies from local level to national level. Those few who were successful in climbing the political ladder up to parliamentary and council levels have no feedback platforms except their tight links with the political parties which sponsored their seats in parliament and in local government.

Tanzania is one of the Commonwealth countries south of the Sahara which does not have a national youth council to unite youth and help young people raise their voices and channel their ideas to influence public decisions. This is an indication that youth is inadequately represented in decision making and is only passively involved in politics. How we are to prepare our future leadership is an obvious challenge! Nnauye in Kabwe & Ilunde (2003 p.108) observe that "In some years to come, this nation will have very poor leaders and will be in great danger due to a leadership crisis."

However, I must acknowledge the historical work done by the Kivukoni College which used to prepare youth leaders who since became the strong past and current politicians. This was possible during a single party regime

but today we need more initiatives and a different style.

Tanzania should be proud of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) which currently runs a Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP) which has produced several members of parliament (MPs), district commissioners, various chief executives and top officials in both the public sector and civil society.

In Uganda all youth is united in the National Youth Council which elects representatives to serve at various decision making levels, including the parliament. Youth in schools are organised in the Ugandan National Student Association (UNSA).

Decision making bodies which sit and decide on plans and budgets need to take youth on board as primary stakeholders. It is a matter of fact that nobody knows more about their life experience and hardships than the youth themselves (Nelson and Wright 1995).

Youth poverty and unemployment

Youth constitutes 68 percent of the labour force in Tanzania and young people face a number of problems. The potential of youth is tragically wasted because of high unemployment or underemployment. In some sectors, they are underpaid and overworked under conditions that do not live up to the core labour standards (URT 2007). If they were actively involved in politics and well represented in decision making bodies, they could voice their grievances and reverse the situation.

Only young people themselves can properly describe the kind of life hardships they encounter on a daily basis - poor education, lack of employment and their inability to create jobs. They must be provided with the opportunity and forum to do so.

It seems logical that a hungry young person does not dare to participate in any political activity. Therefore unemployment and other hardships endanger political growth and the expansion of democracy.

Legal and policy impediments

In as far as elections are concerned participation in a democratic political system is about inclusion; about giving all citizens an equal opportunity to participate in elections and electoral processes as voters, candidates or electoral administrators. Therefore I wonder why there should there be age limits in connection with contesting a political post. While the voting age is 18 years, a parliamentary post cannot be contested by persons of less than 21 years of age and the presidential post by persons of less than 40 years.

Along with fellow youth activists I wonder why the constitution permits such confusion. If we say that a person of 18 years is an adult and legally allowed to vote, why is such a person regarded as useless as far as leadership is concerned until he or she is the age of 21? If we continue like this, we will demoralize active youths aged 18 – 20 who would otherwise participate in politics. They may feel that as adults their rights to become leaders have been denied. The age limit for presidential candidates also creates

unnecessary questions when no explanation is given as to why a member of parliament in his or her twenties and thirties is not allowed to hold the highest office in politics.

I hope we still have a chance to review our constitution and electoral law so that the youth potential can be captured as early as possible. There are more that 200 youth organizations and groups engaged in service delivery but very few of them are involved in advocacy work. It is important that we all work together and go beyond service delivery to advocate and lobby for favourable policies that will create a conducive political environment for participation and influence.

A number of solutions have been proposed and even tried out in the quest for providing a space for youth. In Tanzania, for example, the 1996 Youth Development Policy was a bit rational because among other things it wanted to enable youth to decide, plan and implement development programmes and participate in community development from household to national level (URT 1996 p.10).The same is echoed in the current National Youth Development Policy of 2007 but the current policy gives more power to government to initiate youth empowerment programmes while forgetting about the role of the non-state actors and the capacity of youth themselves. For instance, the policy makes the government responsible for facilitating the formation of a national youth council, a duty which the government has failed to fulfil for the past two decades. Youth must waken up and form their own council because it seems that their dependency syndrome on

government and parents will not take youth anywhere but cause them to lag them behind.

Young people themselves have struggled to create their own space, establish their personal identity and come out through various associations with other people (Mulenga in Osei- Hweid (1990). In 1996, "a group of youth led by a long-time former youth activist, Hebron Mwakagenda, started to mobilize other youth to demand an independent national youth council (Baraza la vijana la taifa –BVT"(Kabwe &Ilunde 2003 p.108). This was echoed by the National Youth Forum (NYF) in 1998 launched by the Arusha Youth Committee, only to be taken over later by the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports which gave the promise that the council would be registered - but to date the ministry has failed to honour that promised. I propose that the current youth, both at school and out of school, demands the registration of this national youth organ.

Conclusion

Youth is still marginalized to a large extent in decision making circles. Although there are obvious obstacles to the political empowerment of youth, there are also opportunities at our disposal but to make use of them requires strategic thinking, active and meaningful participation under a more inclusive framework. While political parties are urged to review their structures to accommodate youth issues and activities, youth CSOs must give civic education and organize youth to demand a space in

politics and public life; policy makers must develop favourable policies; and the private sector and the donor community must support youth empowerment programmes so as to prepare a just, democratic and corruption free society with a dynamic and accountable leadership.

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WOMEN

MOBILIZING WOMEN IN TANZANIA FOR ELECTIONS:
A THREE-TIER WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT CAMPAIGN

By: Mary Mwanjelwa, PSI Tanzania, Dar es Salaam

If you want to mobilize women to vote in Tanzania, you must first and foremost identify settings where there are groups of women who represent women in the country as a whole. This sounds a bit tough but it is crucial, if you really want to get a message across to women and not to just brush the surface.

Political mobilization, and particularly mobilizing women to vote, is difficult because it is a cross-cutting issue, and there is no single venue where women as a target group are easy to find. Nonetheless, as the Obama campaign blitz in the US recently taught us, it is better to take the campaign to the people rather then try to take the people to the campaign.

This means that in order to mobilize women to vote in Tanzania, we need to take the campaign to where the women are to be found in organized groups, groups where women are united by a communal purpose or need.

True, we do have organized groups in the country where women are found as blocks but these blocks are mainly amorphous in nature. We have religions such as Christian, Hindu, and Islam. But while these sound like unifying forces, in essence they have divisive elements. Muslim women will not share a venue with their Christian counterparts, and vice versa, yet their feminine needs as women are the same!

So we have to look for some neutral ground in the country where women have been brought together, if not naturally, then by some other factors, be they social, economic, educational or political.

A quick look at the recent developments in Tanzania shows that there are issues that tend to bring women from all quarters together, regardless of their religious, political or racial background. These are entrepreneurial in nature, and particularly popular is the informal banking system.

It may sound a bit surprising: most people would have expected us to mention culture. But in reality, culture has long ceased to draw women together, what with the infiltration of 'modernity' brought about by west-

ern values and norms! The Tanzanian woman who used to wiggle and gyrate to the rhythm of a throbbing drumbeat is but a social dinosaur today, completely alienated from so-called 'enlightenment'.

Nor can we propose entertainment: only a few can be found in taarab or jazz bands, or drama or theatre. And you cannot find them in sports either. Try organizing a women's football match in Tanzania, and see how few women will attend.

This is not to say that women are not interested in such things. They are. But we simply cannot find a point of leverage here as their potential as a group in such cases is not easy to see. We want to find women where they feel themselves to be part of a group of women, where they feel very free, in a setting where they have liberty, autonomy and organizations.

A closer look at informal banking shows why this is a tool that can be used to mobilize women. How do we mobilize women to vote through informal banking? Do we give them money? Not exactly. We have to go to them there and take the voting agenda to them.

Popularly known as *mchezo*, the informal banking is a national network. There is virtually no street in urban areas, or no village where at least five women do not meet every week or month for a merry-go-round, jackpot winner.

The extension of the informal banking system is the SACCOS (Savings and Credit Societies). From Dar es Salaam to Bukoba, Arusha to Rukwa, the SACCOS has become the icon of female economic solidarity in the country. So united are women in SACCOS that some men tend to think that it is a women-only thing.

The other area where we find women united is in entrepreneurship. People may well ask how entrepreneurship can be seen as a force uniting women in Tanzania while everyone seems to be minding their own business? We are in the free market economy where a high degree of creativity and dedication is necessary. This surely creates something of a mind-your-own business mentality.

But, looked at properly, we find that entrepreneurship, or any business for that matter, does not separate women. On the contrary, it unites them. It is easy to find women in the catering business as a group. It is also easy to address women in a catering business as a regional group. And more promising, it is possible to address women in the catering business at the national level as a group.

In fact, this has been done; the women are called *mama lishe* ('small-scale outside caterers'). This name was coined by the emerging post-socialist entrepreurship school of thought to replace the original name of *mama nitilie* ('mother, fill in a plate for me'), which used to be used to address the women but which some ethical maniacs considered to be disrespectful. If anyone should doubt that a significant number of women are in this business, then just count the number

of *migahawa*, as the food outlets are called, in any urban street and the number of women involved.

Now, why should these three things appeal most to a person preparing to mobilise women?

They appeal because of the nature of mobilization itself. A mobilization campaign uses a number of tactics, depending on the end in view. For the sake of this discussion, we shall look at the roles that conviction, appeal and sensitization play in a mobilization campaign.

When it comes to conviction, the subjects are told that because they are from a specific group, they have a set of principles that they are supposed to believe in. This is the approach of the churches, mosques, synagogues and, last but not least, of the political campaigner.

But one cannot tell women to vote by placating their religious beliefs. It simply doesn't work. Even the church message for people to vote does not sink in very deeply, because while the women may look like a group in the church, they are not part of the large women fraternity at that given time. After the sermon or preaching session, they will simply say, "we have been told so and so in church", without the necessary conviction.

So, when a campaigner with this approach confronts the multi-religious, multi-cultural and, nowadays, alas!, multi-party women audience, the campaign simply fails to click.

The other aspect of a mobilization campaign is to tell people that something is good for them, and tell them why it is so good. In this type of campaign, the ins and outs of the object being marketed is explained, so that its advantages are known. Obviously, this sort of approach can be used with women in almost any setting.

The final aspect of a mobilization campaign that we shall dwell on is sensitization. Here the subjects are given information that they were not previously aware of, and then propelled into taking action, new initiatives and/or making decisions. This approach can be used in various settings.

It follows, then, that for a pro-voting mobilization campaign to succeed with women in Tanzania, it has to use the appeal and sensitization approaches in the right setting. The right setting here is through the national networks of women, where they are united by entrepreneurship, informal banking and savings and credit societies.

Borrowing a leaf from Obama's book, the approach here would be to deliver messages aimed at women through SACCOS, the informal banking groups and entrepreurship groups.

A message designed to be delivered through SACCOSes can be infiltrated into all the SACCOSes in the country. The same can be done for business groupings. If a message is to target women market traders, then it must be sent through the whole network, from the women at Kariakoo to the women at the small village markets.

This approach, as we hinted before, has the advantage of finding the women in their natural state. By natural here we meant a state where some other force, apart from the mobilization campaign, unites the women. The aforementioned three settings are vastly heterogeneous and if the women reach a consensus on those, they do not need to go and consult anybody else, as a natural sampling has been done already, hence saving time and money.

The other advantage is that the women are at peace and relaxed. The person taking the campaign to the women via these three portals has the advantage of not 'disturbing' the women's natural calm. They are already in a setting where they had allocated the time themselves, chosen the venues and prepared the place to be comfortable to them.

Another advantage of this approach is that it is efficient, because it uses less time and less energy and less money. This is because the campaigner is saved the huge task of collecting people, organizing them and then delivering the message.

And collecting people, organizing them and then delivering the message is what pro-voting mobilizers and other campaigners have been doing for years. This approach is a great waste of resources. The function of a mobilization campaign should not be to collect people or to organize them for a meeting, but to deliver the message that they are supposed to vote.

Collecting women in seminars, workshops, and symposia is not the aim of a campaign to make them vote. What is needed is to deliver the message. And that is exactly what Obama did. He simply used the Internet through social networks, the website and e-mails to deliver the message of his agenda of change ('message of hope') to millions of Americans - and won the election.

This approach can be likened to the Israeli philosophy of drip irrigation. Faced with a foe far much more brutal than the Palestinians - the desert - the Jews finally learnt that water should be taken to precisely the root of the plant. That is where it is most needed.

Whether that water is taken to the plant by a canal as big as the Suez, a six inch pipe like the municipal water lifeline, or a five millimeter 'capillary' tube does not matter, provided the plant gets the water. Or does it?

Yet, it does matter! Oh yes! Resources are scarce while human needs are unlimited, so human beings have to learn to be economical (like the proverbial bird that realized that since hunters had started shooting without missing, it should also learn to fly without perching!). A human being is a rational consumer of resources. So we should deliver the message that women should vote through a route that will maximize both the consumption and impact of the message, with zero leakages!

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION SKILLS IN ENHANCING THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

By: Prof. Mwajabu Kachenje Possi, School of Education, University of Dar Es Salaam

Introduction

Communication is fundamental in our lives. Every living creature communicates in one way or another. Human beings communicate to make their presence felt or their voices heard. This is the case with politicians who have to impress voters so as to get the most votes, win elections and become political leaders. A candidate cannot win an election campaign without good communication skills.

If a message is to get through to the targeted receiver the person who sends off the message must be aware of the dynamics of a communication process. Of particular importance is the gender perspective. Various gender specialists, such as Bryannan, claim that men and women are on different wavelengths when it comes to communication. In 1990, Deborah Tannen, a sociolinguist, observed that males use conversation to negotiate their status in the group and to keep people from pushing them around. A male uses conversation to preserve his independence. Females, on the other hand, use conversation to negotiate closeness and intimacy. The question is whether politicians are aware of this.

Communication defined

Communication is a process where a message is sent from a certain point, or from an individual, to another through a medium. For example, verbal communication takes place when the sender uses his or her voice to transmit the message to the receiver.

Contextualizing Figure 1, let us suppose that the sender is a female politician who has a message to send to her voters. It may be a message about herself and her contribution to the nation. She has to choose a medium through which to transmit her message: for example, she may stand up and give a speech to people at a meeting. The receivers have to capture the message that she sends them and react to it.

When the receivers respond the communication process, or the communication cycle, is complete as indicated in Figure 1 (next page).

Figure 1: Communication Cycle
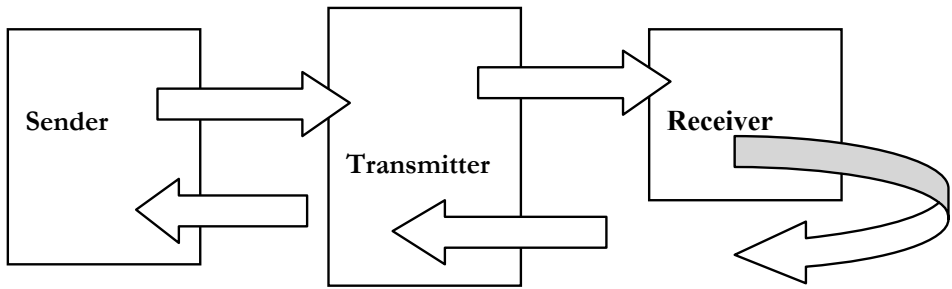
Who is a Good Communicator?

A good communicator is eloquent and the speech flows as a result of an inner logic. his or her A good communicator has the power to convince and he or she should be an eye, as well as an ear, catcher.

Rationale for Empowering Female Contestants

The 2010 elections are on our doorstep, yet there are still very few women eager to contest for political leadership. Many women bank on the women's seats rather than contesting for positions in the various constituencies. Currently, there is concern that women are given an unfair advantage because of the designated seats for women. Some men say that the women's seats deny women the opportunity to develop the rigour and strength to contest elections. Men also say that women are afraid of standing in elections against men. They say that women lack confidence and are incompetent. Some men contend that it is a case of double standards to have special seats for women and at the same time talk about equality. Some go as far as saying that the pro-vision of special seats for women actually disempowers them.

This article is not a contribution to this debate. It is a contribution to women's empowerment. Women should be instilled with the communication skills that will enable them to campaign effectively and serve their nation as members of parliament.

How Should Female Contestants Communicate?

Communication occurs only when the sender's intended message is understood by the receiver (Smith, 2001). The sender may have an idea to share with someone, but the sender's idea needs to be translated into a form, or code, that the receivers can understand. Depending on the audience, various symbols or signals are used to announce events, emotions, etc. These could be gestures, or vocal patterns such as groans or gasps. The receiver uses his or her eyes, ears or one or more of his or her others senses to take in the message. As the receiver- has to understand the sender the sender must use a language that is easy to follow.

Here are some communication tips for women who want to contest elections.

Aiming

What do I want to communicate?

The contestant may wish to tell her fellow men and women to vote for her because she will solve the water crisis in the village so that men and women of all ages, the able-bodied and the disabled, the young and old will be able to get water for domestic purposes as well as for agriculture and animal husbandry. The contestant should be honest and sincere about how she will deal with the problem.

Why do I want to communicate?

Do you want to speak to the audience to build confidence or simply to pass on information? Do you want to raise a debate? When you have clarified why you want to communicate, then you must prepare yourself thoroughly. Collect the correct information, not just information which sounds good but which is of no relevance to the people listening.

With whom am I communicating?

The contestant must know her audiences. Are they entrepreneurs? Men or women? Middle class or have they a low social economic status? Are they well educated? Are they students? And so on. When you know your audience it is easier to shape your speech, to stay focused and formulate appropriate questions for the audience when the need arises.

What do I want the receiver to do with the information?

The contestant must give voters information that will assist them not only to vote for the contestant but also to discern what is right and wrong so that the voters do not end up getting lured or bulldozed by other contestants. An example might be to give the voters information on gender issues and how the contestant intends to tackle the issues. It should be noted with concern that despite the fact that gender does not mean women only, many women expect female contestants to stand up for women. Therefore, it is very important for a female candidate to know the burning issues that are of concern to women. After all, women make up the majority of the voters in Tanzania.

Have I prioritized my information?

Let the most important and interesting issues come first so that you are not overtaken by events. Key members of audience may be too busy to listen to long speeches. Make sure that they hear what they need to hear.

Do your homework so that you do not tell the audience things that they already know. Find out whether or not there are common interests that you may want to capitalize on in the process of delivering your speech so as to attract your audience. Utilize the following questions as far as possible to facilitate the communication.

• What does the receiver already know about what I am saying?

- Do we have a shared basis of experience?
- Are these assumptions valid?

In other words, know your audience.

Encoding

As we have seen, the candidate should be very clear in her mind about what she wants to say. At this juncture, she has to think about the language she is going to use. Choosing the appropriate language helps deliver the intended message. Our choice of language and images are influenced by our own assumptions, our experiences, gender, status, culture, neighbourhood or location, as well as education. Use the following questions to guide your communication style during campaigns.

What language should I use: what would make the receiver interested in my communication?

The candidate must how people talk, their choice of words or terminology, mannerisms and body language that will attract the audience and glue their attention to what he or she is talking about. The language used should not offend people. It is important therefore to have studied the way people speak to one another in your constituency. Know what words are taboo. Know how to address elders, men and women, young and old, without harassing or embarrassing them. Use party buzz words and coin new slogans that deliver the intended message to your audience. Be mindful of your body language: signs may mean different things to different men and women.

What is the best way to communicate the message?

Know your audience's level of understanding and their own communication style. What is the literacy level? Do they like proverbs? Do they like being given examples? Do they use songs? Do they like pictures, charts, diagrams and that sort of thing? Which is more appropriate, a written or a verbal presentation?

Transmitting

It is now time to deliver the message. Make sure that everything is in place for the audience or your voters so that they can see and hear what you have for them. There should be no distractions. Be sure that whatever words, terms or jargon you want to use does not belittle, demean, or embarrass your voters. Be consistent and clear. Here are some questions to guide you.

- Is this the right time to communicate this?
- Can the receiver see/hear/read what I want to communicate?
- Will there be any distractions that will make communication difficult?
- Can I add anything to the words I use that will make my meaning clearer?
- Is what I am saying/writing/showing consistent with the way I am saying it?
- Am I being gender sensitive?

- Am I avoiding gender stereotyping or gender typing?
- Am I being sexist?
- Am I a chauvinist?

Receiving

After you have sent the information to your audience you should expect to receive information or questions from them. Do not hesitate to respond. However, do not rush to provide a response, if you do not have a ready answer.

Decoding

If the members of the audience have paid enough attention to what you were saying, they should be in a position to decode it effectively; i.e. be able to understand what has been said or written. Do not give any indication of favouring responses from one particular sex: men or women.

Responding

Be simple, avoid embarrassing your audience and do not make them feel that you are unapproachable. Remember, you are the one delivering the message from which they will draw their conclusions. Pay attention to the communication cycle and ensure that no steps are missed out along the way otherwise there is the risk that you will get the wrong response or no response at all. Use gender sensitive language. Address the audience using phrases such as ladies and gentlemen, or simply my voters, or other neutral words such as comrades, depending on the group of people you are addressing. Avoid gender stereotyping.

Presentability (appearance)

Know how to dress when you are addressing your voters. Dress casually, but do not overdo it. Avoid strong perfumes, glaring cosmetics such as eyelashes, eye-shadow, lipstick, big neck chains, big rings or even chains on your legs. How you talk and mannerisms should not distract your voters. Very short dresses may distract your voters or put them off. Do not wear clothes bearing slogans such as *women are better leaders then men. Do not vote for men*.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

In this paper we have attempted to define communication and its importance. We have also looked into the process of communication and the importance of communication for female contestants. Female contestants need to use language cautiously during campaigns in order to win over the voters. They should be presentable in line with the culture of the people they are addressing. They should avoid gender stereotyping or being sexist.

POVERTY REDUCTION AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN TANZANIA

By: Ann-Kathrin Hentschel*, Germany

"Dar [is] keen on gender"[1], said President Kikwete in July 2008 when he officially launched the *Millennium Development Goal 3* (MDG 3) torch[2] with the aim of putting more focus on gender equality and the empowerment of women. With his commitment to gender and increased focus on the different needs of women and men in the fight against poverty, President Kikwete is hitting the mainstream of recent aid strategies. Thus, he is responding to the many calls made by the international community to implement a gender perspective in development programmes and strategies.

In 2000, the United Nations came up with an agenda on how to eradicate extreme poverty. The outcomes of this summit are now known as the eight *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) and their road-map schedules them to be achieved by 2015. As national actions plans to reduce poverty in developing countries, the international finance institutions simultaneously came up with their own new concept of individually designed *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers* (PRSPs). Although the MDGs and the first generation of PRSPs were drafted independently of one another, when it came to drafting the second generation of PRSPs it had become clear that these strategies could serve as the means for implementing the MDGs in the respective countries. The third MDG is concerned with *promoting gender equality and empowering women* and thus aims at eliminating gender disparities in education, the employment sector and parliament. In response to these demands and the pressure of international stakeholders, the second Tanzanian poverty reduction strategy of 2005 – called *The National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty* (NSGRP) or *Mkukuta* – has a gender perspective.

Since Tanzania has no separate implementation framework for the MDGs, *Mkukuta* serves as the road-map for their implementation. Therefore, "the results of the implementation of MKUKUTA are also indicative of Tanzania's progress on the MDGS achievement gauge"[3]. In his speech in July 2008, President Kikwete stated that Tanzania is "grappling now with the best possible formula"[4] to reach

1 Mtambalike, Kilasa. Dar keen on Gender, says JK. Daily News. 25 July, 2008.

2 The MDG 3 Torch Campaign is part of the Global Call to Action Campaign that was initiated by the Danish Government in March 2008 (EoD 2008).

3 Tanzania Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (TANGO). CSO Perspective of MDGS 2008 Report. 2008: 18.

4 Embassy of Denmark (EoD). "President Kikwete

gender equality in Tanzania. This article looks at whether *Mkukuta* can serve as the right strategy to further women's empowerment and thus to reach MDG 3.

To answer this question, we will first take a look at the phenomenon of the feminization of poverty and why taking a gender perspective towards poverty reduction is necessary. The term *Feminization of Poverty* was shaped at the *Beijing Conference on Women* in order to pay attention to the fact that poverty is not gender neutral, but that more women than men are affected by it. It is estimated that 70 per cent of the world's poor are women and that although they do about 66 per cent of the world's work, they only earn five per cent of the income.[5] This is due to women's lack of access to resources, the routine and daily discrimination of women with respect to the allocation of the work load and aid benefits, as well as their greater vulnerability in the face of crisis. But the poverty of women is more specifically a result of the deprivation of their political rights - all this in spite of the fact that every category of human rights demands gender equality. It is therefore internationally recommended that poverty reduction strategies should have a multidimensional view of poverty: besides analyzing income poverty, they should also incorporate the non-economic dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability, powerlessness, voicelessness and male-biased governance systems and take account of how they affect women and men differently.[6] In Tanzania's agricultural sector, for example, "women are significantly more active […] than are men".[7] 78.9 per cent of all Tanzanian women work in agriculture, compared to 70.2 per cent of the male population.[8] Thus, a poverty reduction strategy needs to analyze the different roles of women and men in agriculture, identify their control of agricultural resources and promote equal access to land and the control of farming issues. In order to achieve sustainable progress, rural development policies have to be sensitive towards gender-differentiated roles. But, besides changing the existing policies and recognizing the contributions women make in the agricultural sector, a bottom-up approach is also necessary in order to include more women in the development process.[9]

Gender researchers refer to this as women's empowerment. Poor women often lack the capacities to participate in decision making processes, for several reasons. One factor is the lack of time. Especially for poor women, the combination of paid employment, e.g. in the fields, and doing domestic chores such as fetching water, preparing food, raising children lead to the fact that women work more than men. Women in Tanzania only

of Tanzania addresses Violence Against Women." 7 August 2008.

5 Millennium Campaign. "Gender Equity." n.d.

6 Whitehead, Ann. "Failing Women, Sustaining Poverty. Gender in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers." 2003: 7.

7 Zuckerman, Elaine. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Gender." 2002: 2.

8 National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). "Key Findings for the Integrated Labour Force Survey (ILS) 2006/07." 2007: 14.

9 Cf. James, Valentine Udoh (ed.). Women and Sustainable Development in Africa. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995: 4.

have an average of two leisure hours per day,[10] while men have an average of four and a half leisure hours per day. Besides, Tanzanian women often complain about laziness and drunkenness among men.[11] This double burden which women face places them in a more disadvantaged position and easing their time constraints would be one way of empowering them. Another factor contributing to women's low participation is powerlessness. Education is a precondition for women breaking this vicious circle and exercising their power. Education plays an important role in creating opportunities for women to get involved in policy formulation and "many studies demonstrate that better-educated women contribute to the welfare of the next generation by reducing infant and child mortality, lowering fertility, and improving the nutritional status of children"[12].

All in all, poverty can neither be seen as a purely economic phenomenon since its causes and effects are diverse, nor can it be tackled without the implementation of a gender perspective. Issues of human rights, of sector specifics such as access to land, education or health, of traditions as well as cultural and historical conditions all have their share in consolidating gender discrimination and thus have to be kept in mind when trying to alleviate poverty. Thus, a gender perspective on poverty reduction is a necessity.

Despite this knowledge, the Tanzanian government failed to implement a mainstreamed gender perspective in the first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper; instead gender was only referred to in specific sections. As a result, the paper was often criticized for its lack of a comprehensive gender perspective, as well as for treating gender as a specifically women's issue and not as something that both women and men are affected by.[13] Especially among groups advocating for gender issues "the relative gender-blind nature of PRSPs has caused concern"[14]. Although civil society was invited to participate in the drafting process of the first PRSP, it had very little influence on its content: the implementation of civil society's recommendations in the strategy was limited, including those related to gender and women's rights.[15] Only the annual progress reports[16] started to address the issue of how gender relations had an impact on power relations between the sexes and on women's higher vulnerability to poverty.[17] In the drafting process of *Mkukuta*, all stakeholders realized that "addressing the gender dimensions of poverty and creating gender responsive interventions enhances the likelihood of success of

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10 Cf. Zuckerman, Elaine. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Gender." 2002: 3.

11 Government of Tanzania (GoT). "Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper." 2000: 13.

12 Zuckerman, Elaine. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Gender." 2002: 4.

13 Cf. Selbervik, Hilde. PRSP in Tanzania: Do Mkukuta and The CCM Election Manifesto Pull in the same Direction? Bergen: Michelsen Institute, 2006: 17f.

14 Bell, Emma. "Gender and PRSPs: with experiences from Tanzania, Bolivia, Viet Nam and Mozambique." Bridge 67, 2003: 13.

15 Ibid.: 10.

16 From 2001 on, Tanzania has written annual PRSP progress reports.

17 Cf. Bell, Emma. "Gender and PRSPs: with experiences from Tanzania, Bolivia, Viet Nam and Mozambique." Bridge 67, 2003: 21f.

poverty reduction strategy efforts"[18]. Thus, more emphasis was laid on mainstreaming gender.

Already in the introduction of *Mkukuta* it is stated that the strategy is committed to the achievement of the MDGs. Therefore, the reduction of discrimination against women can be identified as being among the goals of the strategy. It mainstreams gender by stating women's and men's individual roles for every sector and analyzes it issue by issue, which is an obvious improvement compared to the first strategy. That this development was possible is most notably due to the work of gender advocacy groups and networks such as TGNP. This time they were engaged in the consultation and drafting process[19] to a much greater extent.

Although *Mkukuta* does not make a direct reference to *Millennium Development Goal 3*, it indirectly acknowledges it by having integrated a gender perspective. Thus it can be said that the strategy meets the overall aim of MDG 3, which is the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women. It has to be questioned if this gender sensitivity is sufficient to erase all gender imbalances so that "economic activities will not be identifiable by gender or race"[20], as it is envisioned by Tanzania's long term developmental *Vision 2025*. Therefore, it is necessary to

look on the actions Tanzania is taking in order to further gender equality and to promote the empowerment of women, which accordingly shall lead to the achievement of the three targets of the third MDG. These are namely the elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education, an increase of the share of women in wage employment outside the agricultural sector and thirdly the increase of the proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament.

According to *Mkukuta*, the goal for the education sector is to ensure equitable access to quality primary and secondary education for both girls and boys. It is aimed at increasing the primary enrolment rate of girls and boys from 90.5 per cent in 2004 up to 99 per cent in 2010. Strategies to achieve this goal are first of all the continuation of free access to primary education. This is especially important for girls, since the absence of school fees spares poor families from denying their girls access to education for economic reasons. Instead, free primary education encourages access to schooling for all children, regardless of their gender. Secondly, the NSGRP demands better school infrastructure as well as curriculum reforms and a review of the existing education policy in order to be more inclusive and gender sensitive.[21] Special strategies on how to achieve gender equality in school are not identified in the NSGRP. However, statistics show that progress has been made

18 Zuckerman, Elaine. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Gender." 2002: 1.

19 Cf. Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). Annual Report 2005. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, 2005.

20 Government of Tanzania (GoT). "The Tanzania Development Vision 2025." 2000: 3.

21 Cf. Government of Tanzania (GoT). "The National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty." 2005: 14f.

in the elimination of gender disparities in school. The percentage of female primary school enrolment has increased to 49.2 per cent of total enrolment in 2008,[22] the gender parity index now being 0.99[23], which indicates that the target of equal access to primary education for girls and boys has been achieved.

Unfortunately, quantitative improvement does not automatically lead to qualitative improvement. In its shadow report on Tanzania's achievement of the MDGs, TANGO states that "government is failing to maintain the quality of education"[24]. There are not enough resources to employ a sufficient number of teachers, so there are cases where there is only one teacher in a school of 200 students and an inadequate infrastructure to cater for the increased number of students.[25] Thus, "the achievement in addressing gender disparity in schools will not produce good results if the issue of quality education is not well addressed"[26]. All in all, it can be concluded that the achievements made for target one of the third MDG are rather mixed. Although *Mkukuta* has formulated strategies on how to achieve gender equality in the education sector, their implementation have only been fully successful with regard to gender equality in primary education. The high drop-out rate of girls

in secondary schools has a negative impact on the goal of achieving gender parity in both the enrolment and completion rate of secondary education. Although the quantity of enrolled children has increased, the quality of education has not. Especially for illiterate women it is questionable if there will be a sufficient number of programmes for raising their literacy rate before 2015. Well paid jobs outside the agricultural sector require a good education. So, unless the literacy rate of women is increased and more girls are enabled to gain access to higher education institutions, the share of women in paid employment outside the agricultural sector is unlikely to grow. Therefore, achieving target one of MDG 3 can be seen as precondition for the achievement of target two of MDG 3, which aims at increasing the share of women in wage employment outside the agricultural sector.

References to target two of Millennium Development Goal 3, which aims at a reduction of income poverty of women by integrating them in the formal sector, are missing in *Mkukuta*. Although the strategy aims at creating employment opportunities for both women and men, indicators on how to achieve this goal are missing. This might be due to the cleft between Tanzania's overall growth strategy which, because of its pro-poor nature, puts the agricultural sector first and the target of MDG 3, which aims at creating employment opportunities for women *outside* the agricultural sector. *Mkukuta* is insofar pro-women and through it pro MDG 3, since the agricultural sector still accommo-

22 Cf. Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT). "Basic Statistics in Education - National 2008." 2008: Table 5.1.

23 Ibid.: chart 2.8.

24 TANGO. CSO Perspective of MDGS 2008 Report. 2008: 12.

25 Mwalongo, Rose. "Just one Teacher in a School of 200 Pupils." The Guardian. 15 June 2009.

26 TANGO. CSO Perspective of MDGS 2008 Report. 2008: 15.

dates 78.9 per cent of all employed women. Thus, it is by far the biggest employer in Tanzania. Recent figures show that over 70 per cent of all women active in agriculture work on their own farm. Only 6.1 per cent of all women are paid employees, with many of them working in the personal service sector. This indicates that paid jobs outside the agricultural sector, as sought by the second target of MDG 3, are still very rare in Tanzania. At the moment, a slight feminization of rural smallholder farmers can be observed with 56 per cent of all female headed households being agriculturally active, most of them as subsistence farmers.[27]

Moreover, there is a large difference in literacy amongst female and male headed households, with 50 per cent of the female heads being illiterate compared to 21 per cent of the males. According to the *Tanzania Agriculture Sample Census*, this makes it even harder for them to find employment outside the agricultural sector.[28] But the development of their capacities is essential if poor women are to be enabled to move away from farming activities into the non-agricultural sector. Therefore, without investing in adult education programmes and special empowerment programmes, it is hard for women in Tanzania to flee poverty and to find work outside the agricultural sector.

In sum, *Mkukuta* has failed to set up indicators on how the different needs of women and men concerning

employment opportunities are to be met. It has also failed to implement a gender perspective on the share that women and men have in the reduction of income poverty and the growth of economy. Moreover, *Mkukuta* does not comply with the corresponding target of MDG 3, because they follow different growths perspectives. MDG 3 aims at increasing the share of women employed outside the agricultural sector. In contrast, the NSGRP favours an "Agriculture First" strategy in order to modernize the agricultural sector. Therefore, it can be concluded that Mkukuta fails to be Tanzania's chance to reach the second target of MDG 3. But since the second target of MDG 3 can also be criticized for its "one-frame-fits-it-all" nature, the second target of MDG 3 thus correspondingly fails to meet Tanzania's needs.

The increased participation of women in politics, which is target three of Millennium Development Goal 3, is not addressed directly in *Mkukuta*. The only link made is in the Annex to *Mkukuta*, where it is stipulated that vulnerable groups must have access to governance institutions.[29] Since the *Ministry for Community Development, Gender and Children* (MCDGC) is identified as one of the key actors for integrating the marginalized, it can be assumed that women fall under the category of vulnerable groups. Unfortunately, no precise strategies have been formulated on how to achieve the greater political participation of those groups. Here, the NSGRP fails again as a road map for the

27 National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania (NBS). Tanzania Agriculture Sample Census 2002/03. "Main Findings – Gender Profile of Rural Smallholder Farmers." 2003: 3.

28 Ibid.: 1.

29 Government of Tanzania (GoT). "The National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty." 2005: Annex 30.

implementation of the MDGs.[30] But although no strategies are mentioned on how to achieve gender equality in the national parliament, some efforts have been made. As a first step towards ending gender discrimination, Tanzania has established the so-called *Special Seats for Women* in order to increase the number of women in parliament. Since 2005, article 66 of the Constitution states that the minimum of special seats for women in the National Assembly shall be 30 per cent. This number has been exceeded in the current parliament, but according to LHRC, "the number of women who hold senior positions is still very minimal"[31]. Only four out of 26 ministries are lead by a female minister, which is less than 21 per cent.[32]

To further the participation of women in the political sphere, the African Union aims at empowering women by increasing the share of women in the national parliaments of its member countries to 50 per cent by 2010. Since CCM has included this aim in its 2010 election manifesto, gender equality in parliament might be achieved at the next elections.[33]

Although *Mkukuta* has obviously failed to include an operational target about women in politics in its cluster on governance, the government has

nonetheless taken certain measures and thus the MDG's target might be achieved by 2010.

In the course of this article, it has become clear that although *Mkukuta* itself does incorporate a gender perspective, it is still questionable whether it is being implemented in a way that both women and men can equally benefit from development efforts. The incorporation of a gender perspective in *Mkukuta* was a big achievement in comparison with the first PRSP and a first step towards achieving MDG 3.

But the goals of *Mkukuta* are not always in accordance with the targets of MDG 3. As far as the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education is concerned, *Mkukuta* and MDG 3 pull in the same direction and since the operational targets of *Mkukuta* are very committed, Mkukuta can be seen as Tanzania's chance to reach MDG 3.

By contrast, *Mkukuta* and MDG 3 have a different agenda concerning the economic empowerment of women. While *Mkukuta* pursues a strategy of putting the agricultural sector first, MDG 3 aims at increasing the share of women in paid employment outside the agricultural sector.

The last target of MDG 3 aims at increasing the proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament. Unfortunately, *Mkukuta* does not set operational targets concerning the achievement of this goal. Although actions have been taken and gender equality in parliament – thereby tackling the third target of MDG 3 –

30 Cf. TANGO. CSO Perspective of MDGS 2008 Report. 2008: 8.

31 Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC). Tanzania Human Rights Report 2007. Dar es Salaam: Legal and Human Rights Centre & Zanzibar Legal Aid Services, 2007: 42.

32 Government of Tanzania (GoT). "Cabinet." 2009.

33 Cf. Selbervik, Hilde. PRSP in Tanzania: Do Mkukuta and The CCM Election Manifesto Pull in the same Direction? Bergen: Michelsen Institute, 2006: 18.

will probably be achieved by 2010, *Mkukuta* fails to serve as the opportunity to reach that goal.

Unless problems relating to income poverty and non-income poverty are solved, other problems relating to the equal access of women and men to development can also hardly be solved. To put it in President Kikwete's words: "I know [that women empowerment] is not easy given the longstanding cultures, traditions and idiosyncrasies of men in our society. But we cannot give up nor should we resign to failure. We should keep fighting till success"[34].

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34 Embassy of Denmark (EoD). "President Kikwete of Tanzania addresses Violence Against Women." 7 August 2008.

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Notes

TRADE UNIONS

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY COMMON MARKET:
CHALLENGES AND THE POSITION OF THE TRADE UNIONS

By: Hezron J. Kaaya - RAAWU Affiliates of the Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA)

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The integration of the East African States is a necessity for the survival, protection and well-being of the populations of these states. It is a necessity because it is only through unity and cooperation that these states will be able to bargain with others for better terms in trade agreements. No state can stand up to the giants of this globalizing world alone.

It is in this context that trade unions in Tanzania supported the negotiations and eventually the Treaty of East African Community which was signed in November 1999.   Trade Unions still support the whole process and the stages leading to deeper cooperation as indicated by article 5 (2) which states that "the partner states undertake to establish among themselves and in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty; a customs union, a common market, subsequently a monetary union and ultimately a political Federation in order to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social political and other relations of the partner states to the end that there shall be accelerated harmonious and balanced development and sustained expansion of economic activities, the benefit of which shall be equally shared".

Trade Unions are aware that the next step after the customs union is the creation of a common market whose primary objective is a single internal market.

The common market protocol raises a number of issues which pose challenges to the trade unions of the East African Community partner states. For this reason the trade unions have been taking deliberate measures to mitigate these challenges.

2.0   PROTOCOL ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY COMMON MARKET

2.1   The protocol on the establishment of the East African Community Common Market is provided for under paragraph 4 of article 76 and article 104 of the Treaty. The objective for the establishment of a common market is to accelerate economic

growth and development through the free movement of goods, persons and labour, the right of establishment and residence and the free movement of services and capital.

2.2 Free movement of labour

- Article 9 of the protocol provides for the free movement of workers within the partner states and the partner states bind themselves to ensure non discrimination of these workers on the basis of nationality, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment.
- Without any prejudice, the free movement of workers entitles a worker to:

  a. Apply for employment and accept offers of employment
  b. Move freely within the territories of the partner states for the purpose of employment
  c. Stay in the territory of a partner state for the purpose of employment
  d. Enjoy the freedom of association and collective bargaining for better working conditions in accordance with the national laws of the host partner state
  e. Conclude contracts and take up employment in accordance with the contracts, national laws and administrative actions without any discrimination, and
  f. Enjoy the rights and benefits of social security as accorded to the nationals of the host partner state.

Furthermore, a worker shall have the right to be accompanied by a spouse and children who shall be entitled to engage in economic activities in the territory of the partner state, BUT, employment in the public service of partner states is restricted, unless national laws and regulations so permit.

2.3 Harmonization and mutual recognition of academic and professional qualifications

For the purpose of ensuring the free movement of labour, the partner states enjoin themselves to mutually recognize the academic and professional qualifications granted, experience gained, requirements, licences or certificates granted in partner states and to harmonise their curricula, examinations, standards, certification and accreditation of educational and training institutions.

2.4 Harmonisation of national labour policies, laws and programmes

Article 11 of the protocol stipulates that partner states shall harmonise their national labour policies, laws and programmes to facilitate the free movement of labour within the community.

The partner states also undertake to review and harmonise their national social security policies, laws and systems and to provide social security for self-employed persons who are nationals of other partner states.

2.5   Right of establishment

Article 12 of the protocol guarantees the right of establishment of nationals of partner states within the territories of the community, and this right of establishment entitles such nationals to take up and pursue economic activities as self-employed persons, to set up and manage economic undertakings, and to join social security systems of the partner states. There shall be no restrictions on the right of establishment for the nationals of the partner states. The same right is granted to companies and firms established in accordance with the laws of partner states. The only limitations allowed are those based on grounds of public policy, public security or public health.

3.0   CO-OPERATION IN SOCIAL WELFARE (PART XIV, ARTICLE 35)

Under this article, partner states undertake to co-ordinate and harmonise their social policies to promote and protect decent work and improve living conditions for the development of the common market. The partner states are enjoined to co-ordinate and harmonise their social policies in relation to:

- Good governance, rule of law and social policies
- Promotion and protection of human and people's rights
- Promotion of equal opportunities and gender equality
- Promotion and protection of the rights of marginalized and vulnerable groups

and thus the partner states shall implement programmes relating to:

- The promotion of employment creation
- Strengthening labour laws and improvement of working conditions
- Promotion of formal education
- Promotion of vocational and technical training
- Expansion and improvement of social protection
- Promotion of occupational safety and health at work places
- Promotion of social dialogue between the social partners and other stake holders
- The rights of persons with disabilities
- Prevention and management of HIV and AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis
- Prevention and management of the outbreak of epidemics and idle diseases in order to improve the general hygiene and health of the people
- Prevention of social vices such as alcoholism, drug abuse or substance abuse and perverse behaviour
- Effective abolition of child labour
- Elimination of human smuggling and trafficking
- Elimination of compulsory and forced labour, and
- Elimination of ignorance, diseases and poverty.

4.0 THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN TANZANIA

4.1   The trade union movement in Tanzania, among other stakeholders, was involved at various stages of the drafting of the Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community. The trade unions put special emphasis on the fundamental principles and objectives of the treaty, especially those which relate to the domain of trade union activities as elaborated above.

4.2   The trade unions in Tanzania had made it their duty to collaborate with the trade union movements of partner states of the community. In the negotiations on the establishment of the East African Community Common Market by 2010, the East African Trade Union Confederation (EATUC) represented the East African trade union movement. The East African Trade Union Confederation had prepared a draft social charter which included the basic concerns and recommendations of the trade union movement.

4.3   The East African Community Social Charter as per East African Trade Union Confederation (EATUC)

- The distinguishing feature of the social charter is its inclusion of fundamental social rights as elaborated in the ILO Employment and Labour Standards. The objective of the charter is to ensure the retention of the tripartite structure of the three social partners, namely, governments, employers and workers organizations with the view of strengthening social dialogue
- To promote the formulation and harmonization of legal, economic and social policies and programmes which contribute to the creation of decent work and productive employment opportunities and generation of incomes in partner states
- To promote labour policies and legislation, practices and measures, which facilitate labour mobility, remove distortions in labour markets and enhance industrial harmony and increase productivity in partner states
- To provide a framework for regional co-operation in the collection and dissemination of labour market information
- To promote the establishment and harmonization of social security schemes and protection for all in the region
- To harmonise regulations relating to occupational health and safety standards at work places across the region, and
- To promote the development of institutional capacities as well as vocational and technical skills in the region.

4.4   Fundamental trade union and workers' rights

The East African Trade Union Confederation draft social charter emphasises fundamental trade union and workers' rights. The East African Treaty omits any mention of trade unions and their organizational rights. The charter remedies this omission by calling on the partner states to revise

and domesticate their labour laws to conform to the ILO Core Conventions which are:

- Freedom of association and collective bargaining – by which employers and workers of the region shall be free to form national and regional employers' and workers' trade unions, trade union federations and employers' associations to negotiate and conclude collective bargaining agreements, to have access to dispute settlement machineries and to have the right to resort to collective action
- Equal treatment of men and women - providing gender equity in conditions and opportunities
- Protection of children and young people – in relation to the age of entry into employment and worst forms of child labour (Conventions No. 138, and 182, respectively)
- Abolition of forced labour – in all its forms
- Persons with disabilities – to be provided with conditions benefiting their situation
- Social protection – every worker of the region, regardless of status and the type of employment, is to be provided with adequate protection
- Elderly persons – to be enabled to enjoy a decent standard of living, including equity in post-employment security scheme
- Improvement of working and living conditions through harmonization of minimum standards laid down in the labour legislations
- Protection of occupational health safety and environment

- Information, consultation and workers' participation – to be enhanced through industrial and work place democracy, social dialogue and the tripartite structure of the three social partners, (governments, employers and workers organizations)
- Employment and remuneration – whereby every individual is free to engage in an occupation of choice, to receive decent wages, with the establishment of equitable wage rates across the region
- Education and training – to be provided for workers with participation by governments, employers and trade unions.

The draft charter also covers the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and migrant workers. Trafficking in persons, especially women and children, is to be eliminated through relevant legislation.

5.0   CHALLENGES

- The East African Trade Union Council must be officially recognized and given due respect in order to make way for its participation in the various stages of negotiations and in implementing the common market protocol.
- The recommendations of the trade unions in the social charter must be respected by the member states of the East African Community and they must figure as an important component of the protocol for the common market.
- The East African Trade Union Confederation has not yet made

adequate publicity for the members (workers) in East Africa so as to be accepted as a forum for advocating their issues on the social charter of the East African Common Market.

• The trade unions in all the member states of the East African Community must have clear strategies on the ground to address the ongoing changes related to the East African Union (Federation).

6.0   CONCLUSION

It is clear that the spirit of the East African Treaty includes most of the basic principles which the trade union movement in Tanzania and the trade union movements in the other East African countries would endorse. The challenge, however, lies in the mode of their operationalisation. This constitutes the future role of the trade unions.

Notes

THE NEW LABOUR LAW:

PROLIFERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, A POSITIVE PHENOMENON?

By: Dr. Titus Mlengeya, Conservation Hotels Domestic Services and Consultancy Workers Union (CHODAWU)

Introduction

The socio-economic and political changes taking place at both global and national level necessitated the re-evaluation of Tanzania's labour market policies, labour legislation and labour market institutions. This re-evaluation was undertaken by a Task Force on Labour Law Reform appointed by the Government of Tanzania in 2001. Members of the Task Force were drawn from the then Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports, the Trade Unions, the employers association, the Industrial Court of Tanzania, the Law Reform Commission, the University of Dar es Salaam, the business community and the legal profession. Although there are number of labour laws applicable in Tanzania, the Task Force was required to look into the current employment and labour relations law, dispute prevention and settlement machinery, occupational health and safety, worker's compensation, employment promotion and the legal structures and regulatory framework. The result of this work culminated in the formulation and enactment of two pieces of legislation, namely, The Employment and Labour Relations Act No. 6 (2004) and The Labour Institutions Act No. 7 (2004), both of which became operative on 20th December 2006 vide Government Notice No. 1 published on 5th January 2007.

These two laws were intended to streamline the cumbersome procedures that were required to address labour issues in many different legal organs and also reduce the time that was spent on such matters. More importantly, the laws needed to offer a full legal basis for practising freedom of association in trade union matters. Nevertheless, there are still other pieces of legislation that remain applicable in Tanzania alongside the two new laws. These include the Public Service Act, the Public Negotiation Machinery Act, the Occupational Health and Safety Act, the Workmen Compensation Act of 2008 and the Social Security Regulatory Authority Act. This paper will, however, discuss the effect of the new labour law, specifically the Employment and Labour Relations Act No. 6 (2004) which is relevant to the formation and operations of trade unions in Tanzania. The paper will look on the merits and demerits of the law and its consequences for the mushrooming of trade unions.

Freedom of association – fundamental rights and scope

Freedom of association is one of the fundamental rights, or literally hu-

man rights, which have to be protected by legal provisions. Under the International Labour Organization (ILO) freedom of association stems from two Conventions, that is No. 87 and 98, both of which have been ratified by the Tanzanian Government. There are four broad categories of these fundamental rights:

i. Freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining (ILO Conventions 87 and 98)
ii. Elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour (ILO Conventions 29 and 105)
iii. The effective elimination of child labour (ILO Conventions 138 and 182)
iv. The elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupations (ILO Conventions 100 and 111).

Freedom of association in trade unions literally means the right of workers to establish and join workers' organizations of their own choosing. The full freedom of association cannot be said to exist unless such freedom is fully established and respected in law and in fact. This freedom implies the effective possibility of forming, in a climate of full security, organizations independent both of those which exist already and of any political party. The right of workers to establish organizations of their own choosing also implies the effective possibility to create – if the workers so choose – more than one workers' organization in an enterprise provided that they believe it is desirable to safeguard their material and moral interests. No previous authorization is required in forming the workers organization.

While it may generally be to the advantage of workers to avoid a multiplicity of trade union organizations, unification of the trade union movement imposed through state intervention by legislative means runs counter to the principle embodied in Articles 2 and 11 of Convention No. 87. While fully appreciating the desire of any government to promote a strong trade union movement by avoiding the defects resulting from an undue multiplicity of small and competing trade unions, and whose independence may be endangered by their weakness, ILO recommends that it would be more desirable for a government to seek to encourage trade unions to join together freely and voluntarily to form strong and united organizations than to impose upon them by legislation a compulsory unification which deprives the workers of the free exercise of their right of association, and thus runs counter to the principles which are embodied in the international labour conventions relating to freedom of association.

The government also should neither support nor obstruct a legal attempt by a trade union to displace an existing organization. Workers should be free to choose the union which, in their opinion, will best promote their occupational interests without interference by the authorities.

It is thus recommended by the ILO that the State should amend its legislation so as to make it clear that when a trade union already exists for the same employees as those whom a new union seeking registration is organizing or is proposing to organize,

or the fact the existing union holds a bargaining certificate in respect of such class of employees, this cannot give rise to objections of sufficient substance to justify the registrar in refusing to register the new union.

Coverage of Employment and Labour Relations Act No. 6 (2004)

In view of the principle of freedom of association as provided by ILO, the Employment and Labour Relations Act No. 6 of Tanzania was formulated to give a legal basis and effect for practising, in full and in fact, these core conventions as well as other ratified conventions. The principal objects of the Employment and Labour Relations Act include among others:

- To promote economic development through economic efficiency, productivity and social justice;
- To provide the legal framework for effective and fair employment relations and minimum standards regarding conditions of work;
- To provide a framework for voluntary collective bargaining;
- To provide a framework for the resolution of disputes by mediation, arbitration and adjudication;
- Generally to give effect to the core Conventions of the ILO as well as other ratified conventions.

The Act consists of 103 sections divided into nine parts. Part I covers Preliminary Provisions in respect of short title, application, objects and interpretation. Part II is about Fundamental Rights and Protections, which basically deals with, among other things, human rights issues related to child labour, forced labour, discrimination and freedom of association. Part III deals with Employment Standards, and mainly it addresses hours of work, remuneration, all forms of leave, unfair termination and other incidents of termination. Part IV deals with Trade Unions, Employers Associations and Federations and basically it addresses issues ranging from obligations and requirements for registration, constitutional requirements, process and effect of registration, cancellation, dissolution of a trade union or employer's association.

Part V of the Act is all about Organizational Rights, under which matters related to the accessibility of the employer's premises, deduction of trade union dues, trade union representation, procedure for exercising organizational rights and termination of the said rights, are dealt with. Part VII deals specifically with Strikes and Lockouts, and matters related to the subject which include, among other things, the right to strike and lock out, restrictions on the said right; essential services; disputes of interest in essential services, provisions of minimum service during strike or lockout, procedures for engaging in a lawful strike and lock out and protection and protest action.

Part VIII covers Dispute Resolution. This is a broad area of the law and a core part covering the main activities to be undertaken by Mediators and Arbitrators in relation to dispute resolution. Lastly, Part IX deals with General Provisions in respect of record keeping by employers and employees, service documents, regu-

lations, guidelines, codes of good practice, exemptions, confidentiality, penalties, repeal, amendment of laws and saving provisions.

Recent history of trade unions in Tanzania

Trade unions in Tanzania have gone through a series of policy and structural changes which, by and large, have been influenced by the government. Before and soon after independence, trade unions were based on sectoral workers and they formed the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL). However, probably with the intention of curtailing workers' autonomy and political influence, the ruling party, then Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), decided to turn TFL into the workers' wing of the ruling party. Its name was also changed to National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA). Following the merger of the Tanzania Mainland ruling party TANU with the Zanzibar Afro Shiraz Party, since known as Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), NUTA was also changed into JUWATA, the workers' wing of the ruling party. The new drive for freedom of association of trade unions led to the enactment of new legislation in 1990 and it culminated in the establishment of the Organization of Trade Union of Tanzania (OTTU). The present Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA) was formed in 1992 from ten free trade unions. As a result of splits that took place in some trade unions later on, there are now fourteen trade unions affiliated to the TUCTA. All the TUCTA affiliates are formed on basis of sectoral relations.

There is also an informal agreement amongst TUCTA affiliates of non-intervention between unions, although it is occasionally disobeyed. A project supported by the Danish Aid Agency (DANIDA) within TUCTA helps to organize union members collectively among the unions, thus reducing conflicts between unions.

The aftermath of the new labour law

Following the enactment and operationalization of the new labour law in 2006, at least seven new trade unions have been formed and registered by the Registrar of Trade Unions. These unions have been formed as splinter groups from the previously existing unions. Despite the rightful provision to establish trade unions in Tanzania, the main reasons given for the establishment of these new unions has mainly been poor or inadequate services provided to a group of members in the existing unions. However, differences in individual interests, competition for leadership among the leaders of the present unions and the purely egoistic desire to create opportunities for leadership cannot be ignored altogether as the motivation for the establishment of breakaway trade unions. Lack of knowledge about trade unions amongst Tanzanian workers also provides fertile ground for the proliferation of unions as the workers are easy to mislead.

These newly formed unions include the Tanzania Union of Private Security Workers (TUPSE). Private Security is one of the constitutionally recognized sectors within the Conservation Hotels Domestic Services and

Consultancy Workers Union (CHOD-AWU). TASIU was formed to address workers' interests in social services. This is a very broad sector which cuts across the membership of many trade unions. A more recent splinter union broke away from the Research Academician and Allied Workers Union (RAAWU) to form the so-called High Learning Institutions Workers Union (HLIWU). The Tanzania Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers (TUICO) is also on the verge of splitting: the workers in the Banking institutions are looking for an exit.

Although the new breakaway unions risk turning into small, weak and poorly resourced unions, the breakaway process has stimulated old trade unions to act more responsibly and to serve their members better. The sectoral monopoly enjoyed by the old trade unions had a negative impact on their members and workers in general. Consequently, the federation, the TUCTA, has become a non-responsive giant with little influence on affiliates in the country. In response, the affiliated unions, with the exception of only a few, have ignored their obligation to service the federation including paying dues and rents, and the reverse is also true.

Conclusion: Is the proliferation of trade unions a positive phenomenon?

Freedom of association is one of the fundamental rights embodied in the ILO Convention no. 87 and provided by the Employment and Labour Relations Act No 6 (2004) of Tanzania. The establishment of free trade unions is therefore hinged on a very important pillar of human rights. Unless the unions are established on the basis of evil motives such as the struggle for power and egoistic desires, the principal is pertinent and sound. Freedom for workers to establish unions of their own choosing has the positive result of stimulating better services for members from the unions. As such, genuine desires to form and join unions should be encouraged and nurtured among workers in Tanzania.

However, as a safeguard to ensure that the freedom of association is not misused, Tanzanian workers need to be encouraged to learn about labour relations including, but not limited to, the role of trade unions. This is a massive endeavour which requires vast resources.

Therefore, the existing trade unions, the federation (TUCTA), the employers' association, the government as well as social organizations such as FES should be brought together to make a concerted effort. All stakeholders should allocate substantial resources for this activity. This is because all the stakeholders have a vested interest in assuring that there is harmony in the work place as this leads to economic development, efficiency and productivity and hence it benefits everybody. Conflicts at work places as a consequence of fighting unions can result not only in the disruption of harmony but also in economic sabotage which can lead to heavy losses. The conflict between the Tanzania Plantation and Agriculture Workers Union (TPAWU) and TUICO at Tanganyika Planting Company (TPC), Kilimanjaro, in the past few years is a case in point.

Formal education amongst trade union staff has been accorded very lit-

tle merit in Tanzania for a long time. Unfortunately, however, the changing socio-economic pattern in the country, which includes private investments, demands that the trade unions have skilled and well trained personnel who are able to interpret the new laws, organize members and address disputes. Unions will have to compete to recruit staff with a formal education and skills. Well trained and competent staff will ensure that the unions are better organized and that they consequently render better services to their members and that they unionize more workers. Otherwise, they will not withstand the turmoil created by the proliferation of unions and ultimately the natural law of "survival for the fittest" will prevail.

Notes

A NEW CONVENTION FOR DOMESTIC WORKERS BY 2011:

THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE

By: Vicky Kanyoka, IUF Africa, Dar es Salaam

"Mum? If I am so precious to you, why do you pay so little to the woman who takes care of me?" [Respects and Rights, 2008, IRENE]

Domestic/household workers play a vital role in the well-being and economic structure of society. Millions of individual employers worldwide, from the formal sector to the informal sector, are spared having to carry out everyday household tasks because they are done by domestic workers.

Domestic workers look after children and contribute to their up-bringing, they clean the house and the environment, wash and iron the clothes, look after the elderly and the sick, cook, fetch water and firewood, look after poultry and take care of the garden. In fact, domestic workers carry out a multitude of tasks. Working conditions differ from one work-place to another, as well as from one country and one continent to another.

Domestic/household workers enable their employers to work away from home comfortably while their family and the home are taken care of.

In spite of its crucial role in society, domestic work is undervalued, poorly regulated, and exploitative. Domestic workers - who are often referred to as domestic servants - are invariably overworked and underpaid. They are often abused in many ways: they can be sexually harassed, beaten and raped, amongst other forms of maltreatment. In fact their workplace is invisible as they work in isolation behind closed doors and this makes such abuse by their employer easier as there are no witnesses.

Domestic work is often seen as just something that women or, all too often, girls do in the homes of others to "help out". Yet, they often look after other people's most precious things – their children.

For years there have been reports from different countries and continents, villages and cities, about the conditions to which domestic workers are subjected. These include physical and psychological violence, sexual harassment, rape which can lead to HIV/AIDS, threats, racism, deprivation of food, insults and false allegations. Sometimes they are remanded or jailed without valid reason and some are even killed. They also face poor working conditions such as low pay or pay in kind, excessive duties and hours of work, poor accommodation, health risks, no leave, no social protection and no social security schemes. Worse still, those who know

about trade unions are prevented from joining the trade unions. However, in spite of all these evils very few measures are taken against the employers.

Furthermore, the place where a domestic worker works is neither recognized as a work place, nor is the householder recognized as an employer. In the same way, the domestic worker is not recognized as a worker/employee but as a servant, home help or housemaid, names which show that they are not recognized as proper workers.

"We want the world to recognize us as workers – for that is what we are" [Domestic Workers Conference in Amsterdam, Netherlands, November, 2006]

The protection of domestic workers is a concern of domestic worker organizations, national trade unions dealing with domestic workers, non-governmental organizations and global unions like ITUC, PSI, UNI, and IUF - the lead organization at global level. These organizations have worked in close collaboration since November 2006 after the Amsterdam Conference.

On 19th March 2008, the governing body of the International Labour Organization [ILO] agreed to include the item "Decent Work for Domestic Workers" on the agenda of the 99th Session [2010] of the International Labour Conference. This means that an ILO Convention on domestic/household workers might be approved in 2011.

Hence a number of programmes and activities have had to be carried out in different continents, regions and countries to make sure that the agenda is approved by the ILO Conference in June 2009.

WHAT ABOUT TANZANIA?

As in other countries, in the United Republic of Tanzania domestic work is the domain of women and girls and here, too, they are exploited. Tanzania is one of the countries which has backed the campaign against child labour, including child-domestic labour, since 1995. The programme has been supported by ILO/IPEC.

For example, in 2005 the trade union CHODAWU carried out a strong campaign against child domestic workers and reached 7,500 children, either extracting children already involved or preventing new children from doing hazardous domestic work. Again in 2008 CHODAWU managed to extract 1,500 child domestic workers from the worst forms of child labour. KIWOHEDE has been successful in extracting 1,500 child domestic workers from the worst forms of child labour. This is a very valid indicator and it is evidence of how big the problem is and hence how great is the demand for such work in society.

Being one of the beneficiaries and recognizing the negative impact of the problem on child domestic workers, on adult domestic workers, and on society in general, Tanzania ratified both conventions – No. 138 of 1973 of Minimum Age and No. 182 of 1999 of Worst Forms of Child Labour. The Tanzanian Government works very closely with employers, trade unions

and NGOs to eliminate child labour and the worst forms child labour, including those found in the domestic work sector.

With regard to domestic workers' rights, the child domestic labour programme has been a driving force in achieving recognition of domestic workers as proper workers in the country. There is evidence of this in the Labour Institution Act cap. 30 [c] [Regulations of Wages and Terms of Employment] Order as per the Government Notice No. 116 of 2007 where among other Wage Boards as per the Act, mentioned was the appointment of members of the Domestic and Hospitality Services Sector Wage Board.

The Wage Board for the Domestic Sector members includes CHODAWU, a trade union representing domestic workers in Tanzania. This illustrates that the Labour Law of 2004 recognizes domestic workers as proper workers. All the institutions that deal with workers' issues such as trade unions, the Commission of Mediation and Arbitration [CMA], Ministry of Labour – the key Ministry - play a vital role in the country. Therefore, Tanzania has a law in place that protects and defends domestic workers, thereby having a valid reason for supporting the coming Convention of "Decent Work for Domestic Workers."

However, apart from all these opportunities, there are a number of challenges which still need to be sorted out for the Convention. Research should be carried out to uncover the magnitude of the problems facing domestic workers in the country. Awareness must be created amongst domestic workers on the labour laws and related issues.

- Do they really understand that they are proper workers like other workers? If so, do they know the institutions responsible for them and the procedure to be followed in order to get their rights?
- Are they willing to make their voices heard as domestic workers?
- Do the employers recognize them as workers, and what role does the Association of Tanzania Employers (ATE) play to support these workers?
- On the part of the trade unions, what is the status with regard to organizing and recruitment, training and education?
- Are they covered by the social security schemes?
- How does society perceive them?
- On the part of the government, are there any instruments or mechanisms in place to follow the implementation of the labour laws as far as domestic workers are concerned?
- Do the labour laws in place cover migrant domestic workers?

In order to have a successful campaign leading up to the convention, the government, trade unions, employers, non-governmental organizations and the domestic workers themselves have to work together to support the "Decent Work for Domestic Workers". Support includes a response to the questionnaires sent out by ILO with a view to including domestic workers in the trade union delegation in the ILO-ILC in Geneva by 2010.

DOMESTIC WORKERS SAY:
- Domestic/Household workers want the right to be treated properly as workers.
- Domestic workers demand respect for the work that they do.
- Domestic workers invite all domestic/household worker organizations and well-wishers in Tanzania to get involved in the campaign.

"As domestic workers, we want the world to recognize us as workers, for that is what we are!"

Notes

HUMAN RIGHTS

GLOBAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN TANZANIA

By: Prof. Abillah H. Omari, Centre for Foreign Relations, Dar es Salaam

Introduction

Global justice and human security are topical issues which have preoccupied the international community since the onset of the 21st century. They are new and emerging concepts and they are of common and global concern. This article looks at the relationship between global justice and human security with a particular focus on Tanzania.

Overview on Global Justice

The basic premise for global justice, or injustice, is *that we do not live in a just world[1]*. It is this premise which has enabled the establishment of a link between justice and economic wellbeing. Poverty, for example, is now considered to be more of an economic phenomenon than a moral issue as it was in the past. Thus the building blocks of global justice are economic issues of poverty, economic assistance, food, etc; while problems like governance, democracy and other dimensions of *politics* take a second-

ary position. This is not new, though, as it confirms that "in politics the critical issues are heavily economic."[2]
Global justice may also be viewed as a problem related to the production and distribution of the global economic cake – in other words as a management issue. When we look at global justice in this light, we witness conflicts and indeed wars and even genocide. When people fight for political space, there is an underlying sense of exploitation and economic marginalization. It is this view that has led economists to determine the poverty line, among other issues.
The economy is regulated by politics and therefore global justice also addresses the issue of international governance, including the structures of global organizations like the UN. But global justice goes beyond that by even addressing the operations of trans-national corporations in order to determine the extent to which they dispense justice or promote injustice. It is injustice which is thought to engender insecurity, and there is therefore a relationship between global

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1 Nagel, T. (2005), "The Problem of Global Justice:, Philosophy and Public Affairs 33, pp.113 – 147.

2 Mittlemen, J.H., 1988, Out from Underdevelopment: Prospects for the Third World, London: Macmillan.

justice and human security. This relationship is wide and deep. On the one hand, the whole issue of the political economy of development, which is heavily related to global justice, has rightly brought to the fore the timely reality of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These goals were set in recognition of the basic problem facing the world; that there cannot be global justice when some parts of the world experience poverty and hunger, illiteracy, gender inequality, child mortality, bad maternal health, serious diseases, a non-sustainable environment and no global partnership for development. The MDGs are a positive step forward because every single nation-state, big and small, has been urged to ensure that the goals are achieved. It is hoped that once the goals are achieved most developmental problems will have been solved. And this would bring about some justice to the global commons or citizens.

As a whole, the MDGs are the very foundation of human security. If they are left unfulfilled they will engender fear, rivalry and internecine conflicts, and thus, insecurity. Therefore, global justice is inseparable from human security.

Of Human Security and Insecurity

Human security is defined as the security of the individual human being. This is in respect to the satisfaction of life's basic needs and the absence of fear. In this sense, it involves the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental and cultural conditions that are necessary for the survival, the livelihood and

the dignity of the individual. It also includes the protection of fundamental freedoms, the respect of human rights, access to education, healthcare and opportunities and choices to fulfil one's own potential.[3]

This definition of human security is a departure from the traditional definition which held that the state was central to security, hence national or state security.[4] This departure is important, for the traditional definition of security was somehow militaristic. However, the role of the state is still crucial. Cases have been witnessed whereby the state itself has been the cause of the insecurity of its own citizens. The dimensions of human security described in this definition of human security resemble the MDGs. The resemblance arises out of the realization that security is related to development - there cannot be the one without the other. Furthermore, the two are tied to global justice.

The Case of Tanzania

Tanzania has been struggling to uphold the virtues of global justice and human security. A lot has been done, and probably achieved, on this front.[5] As indicated above, the notion of global justice impacts upon human security and the two have a symbiotic relationship. To discern this relationship as far as Tanzania is concerned is not only difficult, but it is now more wanting that ever before. This is because

3 Jackie Cilliers (2004), "Human security in Africa. A conceptual framework for review: African Human Security Initiative. www.africanreview.org.

4 In most cases state security implied regime security.

5 It is difficult to document everything in a paper like this. Only a few indicators are discussed.

the *intermestic* dichotomy between global justice and human security is clear.[6] A half century of independence has taught Tanzania that there must be interplay between the domestic and the international. Thus, global justice and human security in Tanzania have been tightly intertwined, and therefore only a few elements can be discussed here.

Demand for global justice

The demand for global justice was first and foremost tied to the demand for independence and self-determination. Colonialism is a typical denial of justice. Independence was regained in 1961 during the Cold War. The world was bipolar and this posed a threat to that very independence. In order to survive Tanzania adopted non-alignment as the major principle of Tanzania's foreign policy. This ensured not only the survival of the nation-state, but it also provided a platform from which to press for global justice. This was also the basis for other principles of foreign policy: support for the Organization of African Unity (now African Union), adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the cardinal principle of good neighbourliness.

These principles were important ingredients of Tanzania's foreign relations and they told the international community what the new and young nation-state stood for. It was also a way of saying that there cannot be justice at domestic level when there is none internationally. That is why, even when Africa's last "colony", South Africa, was democratized, focus shifted to the democratization of that global institution, the UN. Here, Tanzania and others are focusing on the very core of the UN, the Security Council, and demanding its democratization, even if this means expanded representation. A seat or two for Africa, for example, may bring about some justice.

A call for global justice in terms of the democratization of the UN would be meaningless if Africa itself did not adhere to the principles of global justice. That is why the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) instituted the widely acclaimed African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a self-assessment instrument. The APRM process looks at the whole process of governance, human rights abuses, party politics and elections, and also at the whole issue of wider participation in economic development. Tanzania has recently submitted its positive peer review report to the AU.

As we have already argued, the most critical political issues have a heavy economic bias. Tanzanian leadership, and particularly former president Benjamin Mkapa, saw such critical issues in concrete terms. President Mkapa's regime saw the relationship between *economic assistance* and underdevelopment and pressed strongly for debt write-off. This intricate relationship needs to be critically appreciated.

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6 *Intermestic* means those elements, which are both international and domestic, e.g. diseases that know no international borders – swine flue, HIV/AIDS, etc.

Human Security at Home

It is tempting to discuss human security in strategic and political terms and it is easy to focus on the role of the state. However, this would lead to missing the critical point behind the relationship between global justice and human security. Tanzania has made efforts to relate and synchronize the two. It is cumbersome to look at each sector, so for the purposes of this analysis we will limit ourselves to only a few.

The father of Tanzania nation, Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere, was described as an *internationalist* who used the country's resources to project its name internationally. This is often described in terms of Tanzania's efforts to support liberation processes. Mwalimu Nyerere's regime was even criticized for fighting the war with Uganda, 1978/79. The economic woes of the 1980s have been attributed to the search for international grandeur and the war with Uganda.

On the other hand, Mwalimu Nyerere's successor, Mzee Ali Hassan Mwinyi, is described as inward looking. He provided redress from his predecessor's expensive international engagement by reforming the internal economy. The story goes on and on.

There is another way of comparing the two. The very foundations of Tanzania's foreign policy principles which pressed for global justice were put in place during Mwalimu Nyerere's regime (1961 – 1985). Nevertheless, although he was looked on as a *guru* of African liberation who propped up the international stature of Tanzania, many achievements were made at home, amongst others:

- Policy of Ujamaa and Self-reliance through the Arusha Declaration (1967) which stipulated an egalitarian society through self-reliance.

- Universal Primary Education (UPE), including an adult education campaign, which reduced the rate of illiteracy tremendously and put in place the primary school infrastructure.

- Ujamaa villages' philosophy is still instrumental in the provision of the much needed social services, e.g. water, medical care and education.

While it is obvious that the war with Uganda was forced on Tanzania, the economic doldrums of the 1980s affected Tanzania just like any other country and the leadership cannot therefore bear responsibility alone. It is, thus, a cliché to claim that Mwalimu Nyerere pressed for global justice and laid the foundation for human security in Tanzania.

In present times it may be rightly claimed that Tanzania has scored many points on the path to achieving the eight MDGs, exemplified by its efforts to promote MEM and MES,[7] and the programme that aims to have a health centre in every ward in the country. Added to this is the new programme, "Agriculture first",[8] which is yet to take root.

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7 MEM and MES are countrywide projects which aim to expand and improve primary and secondary school education.

8 *Kilimo Kwanza* was announced by the Minister of Finance and Economic Development at the Parliamentary Budget Session, Dodoma, in June, 2009.

In the political arena, the political parties and very competitive elections continue to entrench democratic institutions and practices. The opposition parties are weak perhaps because they are heavily dependent on the ruling party for their ideology. They have not come out as the best alternative.

There are, of course, black spots here and there. The political conflict between the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the opposition Civic United Front (CUF), particularly in Zanzibar, and the failure of the two to reach a rapprochement is one of them. The other is a *sacred cow*, the issue of the Union, which may raise its head sooner or later. A recent case which brought Tanzania into the media headlines was the killings of *albinos*. This was the result of superstition, but it was nevertheless a serious violation of human rights and an example of the serious insecurity to these *disabled* people.

Conclusion

It must be emphasized that global justice is related to the principles, and indeed execution, of foreign policy in Tanzania. It is known that any foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy and it has been shown that the humanity that Tanzania works for internationally has its roots at home. Efforts made to eradicate poverty through MKUKUTA and MKUZA,[9] and the various domestic efforts to observe human rights are clear examples. Human security is now paramount over the traditional state-centric security and it is tightly linked to global justice, each providing inputs for the other.

Of course, a lot needs to be done on all the fronts. The cry for more democratization will continue for a long time to come, and the eradication of poverty may well be hampered by the very process of globalization. It is our strong hope that the current and future leaderships will not let what has been achieved so far go down the drain.

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9 MKUKUTA and MKUZA are programmes towards poverty eradication and promotion of economic growth for Tanzania Mainland and Tanzania Zanzibar, respectively.

THE ROLE OF PARALEGALS IN PROMOTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS WITH A GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN TANZANIA

By: Jane Magigita, Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), Dar es Salaam

Who is a paralegal?

There is no fixed legal definition of who is a paralegal in Tanzania since paralegals are not yet recognized as part of legal system. Generally, 'paralegal' is the term used to describe non-lawyers who do legal work - regardless of their job title. In other jurisdictions the word 'paralegal' is used interchangeably with 'legal assistants', also known as a distinguishable group of persons who assist attorneys in the delivery of legal services. Through formal education, training and experience, legal assistants have knowledge and expertise regarding the legal system and substantive and procedural laws which qualify them to do work of a legal nature under the supervision of an attorney.

In Tanzania paralegals are under the supervision of civil society organizations. Such organizations have qualified lawyers who recruit, train and monitor paralegal work. The 1st Paralegal Forum (2005) composed of various civil society organizations defined the term 'paralegal' as a person with the following distinguishing features:

- Non-lawyer
- Trained by lawyers and social workers
- Works on selected legislations/ laws
- Is able to communicate properly with the community

Paralegals are ordinary people who are highly respected within their communities. They conduct awareness raising activities and they provide legal advice on specific legal matters.

Paralegal work in Tanzania

The paralegal system in Tanzania started in the early 1990s after the failure of the state to provide legal aid services to all citizens who were in need of them. The majority of the population is poor and ignorant, so people are often caught out by the law and they cannot afford to hire legal counsel to represent them. Moreover, statistics indicate that the number of legal personnel is inadequate seen in relation to the population as a whole. For example, there are only 793 advocates in Tanzania to serve a population of more than 35 million.

In Tanzania 87% of the poor population live in rural areas (NSGRP, 2005) where access to reliable legal services is limited. In most rural areas there are limited numbers of courts and competent magistrates to tackle technical legal issues. The few magistrates

designated to serve the rural majority are therefore overloaded with cases and this causes long delays in the justice process. The denial of or delayed justice is against the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 (as amended from time to time) and negates the concept of good governance and this in turn contributes to aggravating the level of poverty as time and resources are lost in the pursuit of a case.

Tanzania has a total population of 35.9 million people with 23% living in urban areas (Census, 2002). Most advocates are located in big commercial towns thus far away from most of the marginalized and poor people in rural areas. In any case, Tanzania has about 700 advocates and these are not sufficient to serve a population of about 35.9 million people (at a ratio of about 1:50,000). However, advocates have no role in primary courts and thus there is no representation for the poor and disadvantaged in the community. Furthermore, the majority of people in rural communities have language barriers and thus they cannot access basic laws (both substantive and procedural) or relevant legal information as most of it is written in English and in a complicated legal language. Thus paralegal services are crucial to save the disadvantaged groups in the rural community where legal services are limited.

In recognition of the fact that the state is incapable of providing legal assistance and services to the poor sections of society, a number of civil society organizations and institutions have come up with a variety of pro-grammes to assist indigent people with legal problems. Nevertheless, it is simply not possible for the organizations to provide all of those in need with legal assistance.

The paralegal units established by various organizations have been through training on legal and human rights issues. Some of the NGOs that have such paralegals are:

- The Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC) in Arusha, Kibaha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Kiteto, Hanang, Lindi, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mtwara, Mwanza, Singida, Shinyanga, Songea, Bukoba, Tabora and Tanga. WLAC's main focus is women's legal and human rights
- The Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA) in Iringa within Mufindi District, Igowele, Isalavanu, Ihalimba, Malangali, Mafinga and Nyololo. TAWLA's area of interest is women's rights and gender equality
- The Women Advancement Trust (WAT) in Mbeya within Rungwe, Ileje, Mbozi, Mbarali, Chunya and Mbeya Rural Districts. WAT's main focus is land rights and property ownership.
- The Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) in Kiteto, Babati, Mbulu, Serengeti, Tarime, Kilosa, Mvomero, Hanang and Ngorongoro. LHRC concentrates on monitoring of human rights violations in their respective areas.
- The Tanzania Women Volunteers Association (TAWOVA) in Morogoro and Kagera. TAWOVA focuses on legal aid.

- ENVIROCARE in Kilimanjaro is specifically interested in environmental issues.

21 WLAC Paralegal Centres: Their role in promoting women's rights and the challenges ahead

As the first organization to initiate paralegal work in Tanzania at the beginning of 1990s, WLAC is proud of its vast knowledge and experience. Establishing paralegal work in Tanzania was in line with WLAC's goal of ensuring marginalized communities, especially women and children, access to justice through the court system. So far more than 750 individual men and women have been trained as paralegals and 21 community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations have come into being as a result of this initiative. The majority of the paralegal centres established by WLAC have grown to become independent organizations reaching out to hundreds of community members within their respective regions. In the year 2008 a total number of 6,499 cases were assisted by WLAC coordinated paralegals in the country.

WLAC train paralegals on basic laws and human rights with particular emphasis on women's human and legal rights. After the initial training there is follow-up training to keep the paralegals up-to-date and to ensure that their knowledge relates to their practical experience. The aim of the training is to get hold of people at the grass roots, people who will help members of their communities with legal problems through counselling and who will monitor human rights violations and report them to the responsible authorities. Apart from the provision of legal assistance, paralegals carry out educational campaigns on legal and human rights issues through seminars, workshops, songs and drama. Despite the fact that paralegals do commendable work, they are still not recognized by the legal system.

Thousands of women have been reached through the service of paralegals in Tanzania. Some of the successes include:

- Women deprived of their property have been able to acquire back their property through reconciliations and filing of cases in court.
- Various discriminatory practices and traditions related to wife inheritance, elderly killings, property grabbing, early marriage and gender based violence have been challenged/discouraged and condemned.
- Paralegals follow up cases in the law enforcement institutions and other bodies and they challenge such institutions to be gender-responsive when addressing gender biased practices.
- Massive awareness and educational campaigns have been carried out at the grass root level to encourage both men and women to promote gender equality, including protecting girls from any form of abuse such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).

Need for legal recognition

Many paralegals have accumulated knowledge and experience and this must be recognised. The ongoing Legal Sector Reform Strategy underscored the importance of formalizing paralegal work in Tanzania and it is therefore high time that the government took action.

In 2005, six NGOs mentoring paralegals, namely the Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), the Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), the Women Advancement Trust-Human Settlement, the Environmental Human-Rights Care and Gender Organization (ENVIROCARE) and the Tanzania Women Volunteers Association (TAWOVA), formed a Paralegal Forum. The aim was to have a platform for NGOs to have a common voice in advocating for the recognition and formalization of paralegals. In 2005 the Paralegal Forum jointly organized a national paralegal symposium where, amongst other things, it was decided that advocating for the recognition of paralegals was of paramount important.

The Law Reform Commission submitted its recommendations to the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs on paralegal reforms. Amongst its recommendations was that a paralegal should have high qualifications thereby creating a new cadre of lawyers who most likely would eventually seek greener pastures in commercial towns. The reforms would lead to the death of the paralegals established by CSOs in the rural areas. The marginalized are simple and do not require expert legal opinion or formal representation, so a trained paralegal can assist with most of the conflicts which arise in the everyday lives of ordinary people. More complex matters can be referred to advocates should the need arise. Thus paralegals can help the justice system to at least reach those in the rural areas, those who cannot afford paid advocates and those who are already entangled in the justice systems.

During the second National Paralegal Symposium 25th-26th August, 2009 paralegals came together with the aim of initiating the process of forming a National Paralegal Network, a forum for them to amplify their voices and seek government recognition and support to reach out to communities and provide legal assistance. As for them too "Justice Delayed is Justice Denied".

For the special guest at the opening, the Hon. George Mlawa, Commissioner for the Human Rights and Good Governance Commission, it was an opportunity to hear about the work of paralegals and the harsh (legal) environment they work in. He encouraged the WLAC to work more closely with his Commission and look for common ways of getting the paralegals recognized by Tanzania's legal system.

Useful Tools

Internet and e-Mail

The Internet

This is a computer network that joins other networks together e.g. those of academic and government institutions, schools, libraries and corporations, making them seem to be just one network to the user, who sits in front of her / his computer at home, in the office or at an "internet cafe". The Internet provides access to information stored in different computers all over the world and it also provides the opportunity to engage in discussions and to share ideas and research with people connected to the network.

To access the Internet you need a computer with the adequate software, a telephone-line and a modem (modem = contraction of modulator / demodulator) to link your computer with the telephone. You also need to subscribe to an "internet provider".

World Wide Web (www)

Through the Internet, you can access the www. This is the name given to the apparently seamless "web" of many geographically separate sources of information. The mass of data available is overwhelming. There is no guarantee that it is acurate, up-to-date or even meant to be helpful. Anyone with access to the internet can publish her / his own material and make it accessible on the web. Internet users must therefore approach websites witha very critical mind.

A web is distinguished by the prefix http:// in its address, which you should write on the top of the page of your "browser" software (e.g. Fire fox, Opera, Internet Explorer, ...). Each website has a unique address, known as URL. The FES Tanzania address is http://tanzania.fes-international.de Take care when writing the web addresses for they are sensitive to punctuation and spaces (there are no spaces in electronic addresses), and are normally written in lower case.

Search engines and websites

When you are looking for information you might already know the website to look in and its address. If you do not know where to look, then you will have to use a search engine. A search engine helps you find information. To access the search engine you write http:// and the name of the search engine, e.g. www.google.com OR www.altavista.com OR www.yahoo.com. These addresses open the websites of Google, Altavista and Yahoo. When you access a search engine, you will have to type some key words in the space provided. The search will be based on those words you chose as the most important ones. Here is the secret: what sort of key words should you use, and how to combine them?

1. Be specific!

The more specific your search is, the more likely you will find what you want. For example if you want to know how many international treaties Tanzania has signed, you should write "Tanzania international treaties signatories" or you should even write "how many treaties Tanzania has signed?" You will be surprised at how often this works!

2. Use the symbol + to add

If you want to be sure that the pages you will find contain not only one or another word you typed, but all of them, you should use the symbol +. For instance, you want to find pages where there are references to President Kikwete together with references to Mwalimu Nyerere. You should then type: +Kikwete+Nyerere. You can narrow down your search by adding more specific words.

3. Use the symbol - to substract

If you want all the pages related to those

key words but not the ones referring to a specific subject, you can use the symbol -. Using the above example, you want to reference to President Kikwete and Nyerere, but do not want reference to Ujamaa, you can type: +Kikwete+Nyerere-Ujamaa.

4. Use quotation marks to keep expressions together

If you want to find references to a special combination of words, you will have to write those words in quotation marks. For example, if you type +President+Kikwete, you will get sites that make reference to those words together or separated. But if you write "President Kikwete", you will get only the reference where both of the words appear in that same order.

5. Combining all of it

Try to use the different signs to be specific. For example: +"President Kikwete"+"Mwalimu Nyerere"+development-"international cooperation". Here are the names of a few search engines:

- Google (www.google.com)
- Altavista (www.altavista.com)
- Yahoo
- RSS
- AskJeeves
- HotBot
- InfoSeek
- MSN

You can also enter a search engine and search for specific search engines, for example, +"search engines"+Africa. Some of the specific search engines for Africa are:

- Mosaique.com
- ClickAfrica.com
- Orientation Tanzania
- Woyaa.com
- Ananzi.com

- Zebra.co.za
- Siftthru.com
- Searchenginewatch.com
- Fishboo.com

E-Mail

This refers to electronic mail as opposed to airmail or surface mail (today popularly known as "snail mail"). You can send messages to anyone with an Internet account, and it can include not only text, but also pictures and spreadsheets.

Incoming messages are stored in you mail-box on your internet provider until you access it. E-Mail is delivered very fast, in a matter of seconds or a few hours.

This depends amongst other things on the amount of data being transferred and the quality of telephone lines and that of your modem. The cost of sending email depends on the amount of data and therefore the length of time it takes to send it from your computer to the local server. It is relatively cheap: sending email to the other side of the globe is not more expensive than sending one to a computer next door.

To send and receive e-mails you will need a dedicated program, such as Outlook Express, Microsoft Outlook, Morilla, Thunder bird, and others. You will have your own electronic address and will send your message to another address.

FES Tanzania´s electronic address is HYPERLINK "mailto:info@fes.or.tz" info@fes.or.tz

Chatting and conferencing

The Internet provides the possibility of communicating directly with others online.

In other words the people chatting or holding conference are at their computer and are on the internet at the same time.

HOW TO CHOOSE THE RIGHT COMPUTER FOR YOUR BUSINESS

By: Vipul Shah, PC Solutions Dar es Salaam

Many people think that purchasing a computer for their business is a simple matter of knowing how much they want to spend and then finding something that fits the budget. This is not ideal.

To ensure that the users can maximise their productivity on the computer it is important to understand what the computer is going to be used for. Only then can you specify what hardware and software is needed. This is often difficult because the user is rarely the person who decides what to buy. Usually such decisions are made by the procurement department, so it is essential that the user informs the buyer about what he needs and why. For example, if the computer is going to be used primarily outside the office, then a desktop computer will be of little use because the user will not be in the office to use it!

Deciding on the hardware

The first decision you need to make is whether you need a laptop or a desktop. Increasingly users choose laptops because (a) they allow the user to work even when they are out of the office, (b) they are now as powerful as desktop computers, and (c) the price of laptops is now similar to that of desktops so it does not cost the organisation more to invest in a laptop.

Deciding what to buy is about matching specifications to the actual need, with processor, memory, hard disk and screen size being the most important specifications to take into account. Performance is measured by a combination of processor speed and the amount of RAM available.

Processors - Intel processors are the most popular and fall into two main families –

Celeron and Intel Core 2 Duo. The Celeron processor is fine for applications where the user is only going to run a single application at a time as it is not geared towards multi-processing. However, most businesses opt for the Intel Core 2 Duo (or the new Intel Quad core) processors which allow users to work with several applications at the same time e.g. Outlook, Word and Internet Explorer.

Memory (RAM) – You can never have too much RAM. Whilst this is not entirely true, most users will see significant performance improvements in their computers by upgrading to 2GB of RAM (particularly if using MS Windows Vista).

Hard disk size – Hard drives have been increasing in size at an amazing rate. Today you can have 1TB (1,000GB) as the hard disk in your computer. This reflects the growing use of multimedia applications both at home and in business. However, unless you are a graphics designer, the basic 120GB or 160GB hard disk will be plenty of storage for your work

Screen size – whilst CRT screens are still available most users now only purchase LCD screens because they use less power, take up less desk space and look nicer. LCD screens come in many sizes but the two most popular sizes are 17" and 19" in standard and wide format. The standard format monitor is preferable if you use lots of Word and graphics design files whereas the wide format is better if you use lots of applications simultaneously or work with wide format spreadsheets.

How to determine the ideal computer for you

The first step is to determine what you need to use the computer for by asking questions like the ones below:

Question	What you need
Do you need to take your work with you?	This will tell you whether a laptop or a desktop is best for you.
Do you use many applications at the same time?	This will help you determine the processor speed and the amount of RAM you need.
Do you work with media (music, video, graphics) files?	This will help you determine the processor speed, amount of RAM and the size of hard disk you need.
Do you use large spreadsheets with automated macros?	This will determine the amount of RAM and the size of screen you need.

Once you have answered the above questions you will be able to identify your specifications because you have determined your priorities. The priorities can then be communicated to the computer retailers who will be able to show you some of the options that meet your needs.

Some practical advice
If the choice is between a faster processor and more RAM, choose the RAM as that is more likely to improve the performance.
If the choice is between RAM and hard disk space, choose the hard disk if you need to store lots of data because it is easier to add more RAM than to upgrade the hard disk afterwards.
If you have the money, choose the 19" screen: you will see the difference and you find it much easier to work on.
If you are going to use MS Windows Vista make sure you have at least 1GB of RAM.

More practical advice
Always make sure that you get a genuine operating system with your computer. The operating system is what allows the computer to work and pirated software will stop you from being able to update your system and may even leave you vulnerable to viruses and worms. In the business environment always specify MS Windows Vista Business.

In the old days it was enough to ask for "anti-virus". Now you must insist on a comprehensive "internet security" solution because this will protect you against viruses, worms, phishing attacks, and also ensure safe internet browsing. The security threats are serious and once the computer is infected it can costs a lot of money to disinfect it.

If you work for an organization with more then fifty computers, than it is important that you purchase a branded computer (HP, Dell, Apple) that is consistent with the others in the organization because this makes it easier to get support from your IT support in case of problems. In addition, a lot of branded computers integrate management and support tools into the computer making them easier to manage. This lowers the total cost of ownership.

Peripherals that you must consider

UPS are essential. The range of UPS has grown so that you can now purchase a cheap UPS for as little as $45. This is not recommended as the quality is unknown and the organisation is not only risking damage to the computer but also possible loss of data due to power problems. It is best to purchase a line-interactive UPS (also known as a Smart UPS) because it provides the protection required in our environment.

Printers are the most obvious peripherals that you require. For most users the choice is between inkjets or laser printers. Laser printers are cost effective for black and white print and inkjets are cost effective for low volume mix of colour and black & white. If you print more then 500 pages per month then go for a laser. Colour laser printers are now less then $500 and give the cost benefit of laser black & white copies whilst providing the advantage of colour.

Microphones and headphones are becoming essential because they allow users to communicate with colleagues around the world for free user applications like Skype and MSN messenger. This can lead to significant cost saving for the organisation.

Basic system maintenance
By Carl Vancil

One of the most common questions I have been asked has been, "Why is my computer so slow?" This has been followed closely by, "What can I do to speed up my computer?"
The answer can be as varied as the number of computers with the problem. The solutions can range from some simple maintenance to hardware repair/upgrades or even a combination. Here are some common things you can do to improve system performance.

1. Run a thorough scan disk
Errors in the files on your harddrive can reduce performance as can a hard drive that is developing physical errors. Scan disk will repair many of the file errors on your hard drive. Running the thorough scan disk will also check the hard drive for physical errors. Remember, depending on the size of your hard drive this can take a lot of time and you cannot do anything else at the same time. The best time to run scan disk is when you do not need to use the computer.

2. Delete temporary files from your hard drive
Temporary files are usually the files left over after installing a program and can be safely deleted.

3. Clean your internet browser cache
Cache files are those left over from your browsing experience. They mostly consist of images that your browser had to download in order to display on a web page you are viewing.

4. Defrag the files on your hard drive
Defrag arranges the files on your hard drive so that they can be accessed more efficiently. This has two advantages. One, your system operates more efficiently. Two, your hard drive will last longer because it will not have to work as hard to access files.

5. Perform a virus scan
Many viruses use so much of your system's resources that they will greatly degrade performance. Some will even crash your system completely. Make sure your virus definitions are up to date and run a complete virus scan of your system. This should be done weekly.

6. Check your system for spyware / adware
Many websites install spyware/adware on your system without your knowledge. These can be as simple as cookies that track where you surf to actual programs that give others access to your computer. There are many utility programs that you can download to scan for these files.

7. Clean the dust out of your computer
It seems too simple but just having a

dirty computer can slow it down. If there is an excessive buildup of dust inside your computer, it will cause a heat buildup. This heat buildup will degrade performance as well accelerate wear and tear on the parts inside your computer which can lead to the premature failure of a critical part. Remember to unplug your computer before opening the case. Also, remember to NOT bump any of the internal parts with the vacuum to prevent damage.

These steps are something that we can all try if our system is running slow. If these do not get the performance of your system back to where you think it should be then a few more things can be tried. Many utility programs will perform deep checks on your system's registry as well as look for missing shortcuts and even missing Windows files.

Another possibility is that there are too many programs starting when you turn on your computer. In Windows 98SE or XP (both home and pro) this is easy to check using the msconfig utility. From the 'run' command type 'msconfig' and hit the enter key. This will bring up the Windows Configuration Utility where you can check what is starting with Windows and it gives you the option of turning off the auto startup of many programs. In other versions of Windows (95, NT, 2000) it would be best to have someone with a good working knowledge of the Windows Registry service your computer.

If all this fails then you may need to reformat your hard drive or upgrade hardware. Remember too that you always have the option of taking your system in to a qualified service technician. Sometimes spending a little extra money will save you hours and hours of headaches or worse yet, the loss of data.

HOLDING A WORKSHOP, SEMINAR OR CONFERENCE

Planning and Budgeting

1. Develop the idea
Identify:
• The main objectives
• The target group
• The intended outcome
Write the outline.

2. Develop the program
Decide:
• Which topics
• The time frame
• The organisational style (conference, lectures, working groups)
• How much time is needed for the various elements, not forgetting recreation
• Who will act as resource persons
• Whether or not to seek media coverage of the event

Try to involve participants in developing the program.

3. Calculate the budget
• Preparatory meetings
• Hall charges
• Catering
• Refreshments during sessions
• Accommodation
• Travel
• Stationery
• Secretariat/organising team
• Reception (if necessary)

4. Income and expenditure
Record all income - donations, participants' fees etc.
Record all expenditure, remembering to keep receipts for each item

Organising

1. A checklist
• Book the venue & accommodation

• Hold preparatory meetings
• Prepare PR (public relations) activities if relevant
• Make agreements with resource persons
• Prepare the invitations
-State the objectives clearly
-Give information about the program, venue, dates, resource persons and participants
-If participants have to do homework beforehand, make this clear
-Explain financial and other conditions clearly
• Make the necessary travel arrangements
• Hold a joint session with all resource persons
• Prepare the necessary materials, forms, documents
-Stationery
-Registration forms
-Claims forms for allowances
-Printed program
-Papers and teaching materials
-Workshop documentation

2.Terms of reference for resource persons
• Discuss subject, objectives and duration of their input
• Explain how these fit in to the overall objectives and program for the workshop
• Discuss the desired method of presentation
• Give information about the venue and the facilities / equipment provided for the workshop
• Request a written paper and or hand-outs if they are considered necessary
• State the terms of payment for the persons services
Try to hold preparatory meetings with resource persons.

Implementing

1. Arrival
Organisers should be in place well before the participants
• Check the venue and the technical facilities needed
• Give resource persons a final briefing
• Prepare for the registration of participants
• Display the program and other documents, if relevant

2. Registration

3.Welcome
Explain:
• Subject of the meeting
• Who are the organisers and sponsors
• Objectives
• Logic and timing of program
• Methodological approach
• Expected outcome

4. Holding the sessions
• Handle transport claims
etc. during tea breaks only

5. Departure
Collect all that is necessary before people leave
• Signed registration forms/list of participants
• Signed allowance claims
• Original detailed invoices and receipts for venue, food, drinks, accommodation, travel, stationery etc.

6. After the event
As soon as possible take care of
• Accounting
• Report writing
• Any other follow-ups needed

8 TIPS ON HOW TO SUCCESSFULLY CHAIR A CONFERENCE

1

It is the conference chairperson's responsibility to see that the atmosphere during the discussion is always friendly, communicative and fair.

2

The conference chairperson introduces the topic in an objective and informative way. He/she formulates the discussion goals for each item on the agenda. During a discussion, he/she must not initially express his/her own opinion or assessment as this would bias the discussion.

3

The chairperson speaks as little as possible in order to give maximum time to the conference participants. Conference chairmanship principally entails raising questions and giving the word to different speakers.

4

Questions from the chairperson should always be designed to stimulate dialogue and consequently should never be answered by the chairperson himself/herself.

5

Preference should be given to open questions (W-questions: who, why, where, when, etc.) and information questions. Closed questions (which can only be answered with a "yes" or "no") can be fatal to a discussion.

6

Should a discussion peter out it is up to the chairperson to get it moving again by means of (open) questions, thought-provoking remarks and a summary of the proceedings so far.

7

The chairperson should make interim summaries to emphasize the thread of the discussion. At the close, the chairperson gives a general summary and his/her evaluation as to which of the goals formulated at the outset have or have not been achieved.

8

At the end of the conference, it is also up to the chairperson to formulate and delegate tasks to individual participants. Nobody ought to leave the conference without precisely knowing:
a. what has been achieved in today's discussion,
b. what is my specific assignment until the next conference/meeting,
c. where and when is the next conference/meeting?

Source: Schulte, Carla (1997) Talking Politics (and being understood), Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

HOLDING EFFECTIVE
INTERNAL MEETINGS
AND PLANNING SESSIONS

Starting the meeting

1.Who is chairing the meeting?
(It is best to have agreed on this in
advance.)

2. Who is going to write the minutes?

3. If the agenda has not been prepared
in advance, then the chairman, (you),
should collect the issues that need to be
discussed from the participants. They
should be written up on a board or a
flipchart, so that everyone can see them.
Remember the issues that might have
cropped up at the previous meeting.

4. In collaboration with the participants
decide how much time it will take to
discuss each issue. Confirm at what time
the meeting has to close. Ask if anyone
has to leave early.

5. Then ask participants which issues
they wish to concentrate on at the
meeting and which ones can be
postponed (if necessary). After that ask
which issue should be dealt with first,
second, third and so on. This should not
take more than five minutes!

During the meeting

1. Follow the agreed agenda, discussing
the issues in turn. The chairperson or
moderator must see to it that the agreed
time frame is adhered to. If this proves
difficult, then the group must be asked
to decide
whether to continue the discussion
of the issue in question and therefore
extend the meeting, or whether to stop
the discussion and continue it at an
agreed time.

2. Never move on to the next issue
before making a decision on the one
being discussed.

Closing the meeting

1.Quickly repeat the decisions that have
been made.

2. Decide when and how the minutes
will be distributed.

3. Decide who will chair the next
meeting.

4. Close the meeting at the agreed time.

Notes

PROJECT OUTLINES

Should be short, clear and promising.

Explain briefly aims, general objectives, former projects!

Those who really know what they want can usually do with 2-3 objectives. Be as concrete as possible.

Who takes interest in this project? Who shall be involved? Who profits from the project and how?

Detailed list of expected expenditures (personnel material, travel, etc.)

Do you foresee any prohibitive difficulties or problems?

Any workshops about maintenance and organisation of the project?

Convince the reader of the need for this project! Explain the idea of the project and how you want to fulfill the objectives, describe the Impact!

Do you need to contact other persons to fulfill your objectives? Specify their capacities or know-how!

Be precise about the venue, duration, methodology!

Which further impact does it have?

By whom? List names.

TITLE OF THE PROJECT

- Name of proposing agency
- Address and contact person
- Short presentation of your NGO
- Objectives
- Justification for choosing the project
- Target group
- Know-how from outside needed?
- Budget
- Scedule / program
- Feasibility
- Sustainability
- Intended follow-ups
- More info about your NGOs background, work done so far etc. (optional)

- 🕐 **Practical advice**
- • **use white, clean sheets of A4 - paper**
- • **present your project in a typewritten version if possible**
- • **write on one side of the paper**
- • **make sure you have a clear structure**
- • **attach a covering letter**

QUALITIES OF A MODERATOR

The Moderator

Moderation technique can best be used in groups of up to 15 participants. How to be a good moderator is not something to be learned quickly and easily, but is a matter of guided experiences, self reflection and continuous learning. A moderator's tasks are to:

• help the group to know and appreciate their own knowledge and strengths

• help the discussion process to be coherent and resultoriented

• be expert at guidance as far as the "how" of the discussion process is concerned, and not the "what"

• visualise and thus document the steps of the discussion process and its immediate results

• ask the right questions and break deadlocks

Usually two people can fulfil these tasks easier than one...

The ideal Moderator is a person who is...

• regarded as neutral by all participants

• therefore an outsider to the discussion group

• able to use visualisation techniques, such as pinboards, flipcharts and blackboards

How to prepare a Moderation

• The issue, the main objective, and the quality of the intended results have to be very clear

• Be aware of the participants' composition, background, knowledge, interests and potential conflicts

• Determine the duration of the process, the facilities available and their limitations

• Identify clear-cut objectives and goals for every session, what methods to use and the amount of time needed

• Make sure that sufficient visualisation materials are available.

Notes

THE MODERATION METHOD

The typical steps in moderating a discussion

1. OPENING
- Warm-up with participants (explain your role, make them know each other).
- Discuss and agree on time-frame and organisational matters.
- Collect the expectations of participants.
- Discuss and agree on expectations that shall/can be objectives for the workshop.
- Agree on methodology.
- How will minutes be taken?

2. COLLECT ISSUES/SUBJECTS
- Phrase the guiding question carefully and in a very focused manner and visualise it!
- Collect all answers/ideas of participants, without discussing them first!
- Visualise answers/ideas as they come.
- Group them into clusters and give a name/title to each cluster.

3. SELECT ISSUES/SUBJECTS
- Phrase a guiding question carefully and write it down visibly.
- Allow participants to prioritise clusters according to their individual preferences.
- The agenda will then be determined by the number of "votes" per cluster, going through as many clusters as time or workshop-concept allows.
- In doing this, every participant gets the same number of "votes" which he can use on the clusters as he wishes. (One way of doing this is to hand out little markers of some sort to every participant so that they can all jot down their preferences at the same time.) If possible avoid "voting" by raised hands.

4. WORK ON THE ISSUE AND FIND A WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM
- Find a method of how to discuss or "solve" the prioritised subject/s.
- The method has to depend on the kind of issue at hand and the intended results.

5. PLAN ACTION/DETERMINE THE FOLLOW-UPS
- Visualise the activities regarded necessary by the group.
- Write down who will be in charge and by when different tasks need to be done.

6. CLOSING
- Find out, whether participants' expectations have been fulfilled,
- Whether they are satisfied with the process and the result.

Always come up with a result!
Always pin down which task is assigned to whom!
Always ascertain if you have addressed the needs and expectations of the participants!

THE STRUCTURE OF YOUR SPEECH

The aim of a discussion is to convince the listeners of the correctness of the speaker's opinion on the subject in question. Such speeches should not last longer than 30 minutes.

How do you most effectively structure such a speech?

AUDIENCE RELATED INTRODUCTION
(max. 1 minute)

• Create the right atmosphere for the speech by referring to the audience, the venue, the occasion, etc.

SUBJECT-RELATED OPENING REMARKS
(max. 3 minutes)

• Begin with a provocative proposition, a rhetorical question, a current event, etc.

PREVIEW THE MAIN POINTS OF YOUR SPEECH
(max. 1 minute)

MAIN BODY
(max. 20 minutes)

• Discuss the current situation/the facts/ the problem.
• Discuss a variety of possible solutions.
• Discuss the pros and cons of these solutions.
• Present your own evaluation.
• Prove the accuracy of your assessment.

SUBJECT-RELATED CONCLUSION
(max. 4 minutes)

• Summarise the main argument in a maximum of three points.

AUDIENCE RELATED CONCLUSION
(max. 1 minute)

• Close your speech by, for instance, thanking the audience for their attention.

Source: H. Hess: Party Work in Social Democratic Parties

ARGUMENTATION TECHNIQUES

Good argumentation techniques are always beneficial. Your chances to win others over are higher if you can:

• present effective arguments and
• refute your opponent's arguments.

PRACTICAL TIPS

• Try to understand the position of your counterpart first, then react to it.
• If your counterpart's argumentation is weak, repeat your own good arguments.

• If you are interrupted, insist on the right to finish what you were saying.
• Anticipate your counterpart's arguments by including them in your own argumentation.
• Use the persuasive power of examples. Ask your counterpart to provide concrete examples of how to apply his theories.
• Expose generalisation and inaccuracies.
• Stick to the facts of the issue.
• If somebody evades the issue, return to the subject.

Source: C. Schulte, 1997, Talking Politics (and being understood): Kampala, Fountain Publishers

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere during an interview with the German magazine "Der Überblick" in Hamburg in April 1999.

HOW TO USE BLACKBOARDS AND FLIPCHARTS

Blackboard

Useful in gatherings of up to 25 people.
+ It is easy to write information & easy to correct it.
- Information is wiped off, it disappears and it is hard
for participants to retrieve.

TIP If the chalk squeaks - this always makes participants uncomfortable - break the chalk and continue writing using the broken end.

Flipchart

Useful in gatherings of up to 35 people.
+ Sheets can be prepared in advance. Information can be displayed for a long period by removing sheets from the flipchart and posting them on the wall.
TIP Useful for a wide range of information e.g. displaying the day's agenda, important overviews, central statements, flowcharts, participants' contributions.

• Do not write down too much: concentrate on key issues only.
• Give the audience time to copy the contents of the presentation OR give it to them as a hand out afterwards. If you intend to distribute a handout, tell the participants so. Otherwise it is likely that they will spend time making unnecessary notes.
• Do not talk with your back turned to participants (e.g. while writing on the blackboard or flipchart).
• Do not stand in front of your presentation - the participants will get irritated at not being able to read what is written.

THE CHECK LIST FOR GOOD IMPLEMENTATION OF ACTIVITIES

1. Important: plan step by step. What should be done first?

2. Consider all improbabilities, and plan alternatives.

3. Fix deadlines for you and for your partner.

4. Follow-up the results before the deadline.

5. Keep an eye on the indicators to be achieved.

6. Hire assistants, delegate, mobilize people.

7. For seminars & workshops, check everything in advance on loco.

8. Take care of the documentation (dates of receipts, use of materials, tasks of people involved ...)

9. Support partners in the learning process. Sell the idea "on-the-job learning".

10. Take care of the financial settlement and reporting as soon as possible.

11. Evaluate with the partners the achievement of objectives and indicators. Write recommendations. File documents. Release important papers. Inform other related institutions.

12. Write a reminder for following-up the results sometime later. Document it.

13. Keep your colleagues informed and updated.

TWELVE STEPS TOWARDS CONFLICT RESOLUTION

1. Understanding the conflict
• its type
• its sources
• its intensity
• its impact

2. Identifying the parties to the conflict
• whether bilateral or multilateral conflict

3. Identifying the issues involved

4. Determining the method of resolution
• Conflict prevention: Preventive diplomacy
• Conflict resolution: Negotiation
- Direct negotiation between the conflicting parties.
- Assisted negotiation: Use of a third party.
Mediation/Facilitation
Conciliation
Good offices
Arbitration

5. Determining the mechanism of resolution
• The actors/agents
- States
- NGOs
- Individuals: Eminent personalities
- Inter-governmental organizations

6. Determining the venue and dates for negotiation

7. Negotiating rules of procedure

8. Setting the agenda

9. Launching the substantive negotiations

10. Reaching a compromise agreement

11. Implementing the negotiated settlement

12. Guaranteeing and monitoring the implementation of the agreement

TIME MANAGEMENT - SELF MANAGEMENT

Most people bristle at the idea of becoming a slave to time: "The Swiss have clocks, but we have time", said a wise old man in Bhutan. A certain degree of time and self-management is nonetheless necessary if you wish to be effective and to achieve your goals.

Many people rely on their memory as their management tool, but most find that at some point their memory lets them down. "Sorry, I forgot" is not an uncommon statement. This is not necessarily a catastrophe, but in some instances forgetting can have unfortunate consequences. You might lose an important contract, you might lose your job, you might even lose your husband/wife to-be!

RULE 1: Write things down - use a diary and a calendar, (e.g. the FES diary/calendar)
• Keep a "things to do" list.
• Enter all your appointments and deadlines, putting in a reminder maybe a week before the deadline falls.

• Review your appointments and deadlines regularly, informing those implicated in good time if you want to change them.
• Plan your week: Make the "things to do" list, get an overview over your appointments and deadlines.
• Plan your day.
• At the end of each day and at the end of each week make a review. Did you do all that you had planned to do? Did you meet your deadlines? Did you attend the scheduled meetings? Were you late? Why?

RULE 2: Be realistic about what you can manage to do
• Do not get overloaded: you have to be realistic about what you can overcome in the given amount of time.
• Prioritise: decide what are the most important issues.
• Say no, if the task is beyond what you are capable of doing.
• Remember to make time for your private life - family, friends, hobbies and your own relaxation. This is where you renew your energy.

WHAT IS PUBLIC RELATIONS?

Public Relations (PR) is about relations between an organization - be it a business enterprise, a political party or an NGO - and the public. Such relations exist, whether we want them to or not. It is therefore wise to consider what image you wish the public to have of your organization and to work consciously on the promotion of that image.

An organization manifests itself to the public in many ways. It can be through its propagated political aims, the behaviour of its representatives and members, its public statements and activities, the

atmosphere at its public meetings and press conferences, its transparency and its accountability.

The traditional "tools" of a public relations officer are:
• press conferences • publications • leaflets • posters • press releases • public events

These tools must be used carefully. A public meeting held without being well prepared or a badly designed and written publication may do more harm than good!

PREPARING AND RUNNING A PRESS CONFERENCE

A press conference is an event to which members of the press are invited for a briefing by the host organisation or personality. The briefing is followed by an opportunity for the journalists to ask questions.

Often press conferences are held when the subject matter is intricate and further questions from journalists are expected and desired.

If the information/news to be given at the press conference is not sufficiently interesting, relevant or "meaty" for the invited media's readers/viewers, then it is likely that the journalists will not show up.

Preparation

• Are the objectives clear and is the topic well defined?
• Which media are to be invited? Remember,TV & radio may have special needs.
• Is the time/date well chosen and convenient for journalists? Does it allow them to meet their deadlines? Does it coincide with other important events?
• Who will chair the conference?
• Who will act as the organisation's spokesperson/s?
• Is the opening statement well prepared?
• Are the major arguments well supported in the written handouts?
• Check the venue: make sure that there are enough chairs, tables and lights.
• Have handouts ready, e.g. press release.You might prepare a press folder that includes the most important statements, a report and background material.

Invitation

• The headline must clearly indicate the host organisation, the name of the person responsible and how to contact him/her.
• State the subject matter clearly. (Who did/does what, when, where, why and how.)
• Provide information about the speakers.
• Provide details about the venue, time and date.
• Send out/deliver the invitation at least a week in advance.
• Send out a reminder one or two days before the event.

Running it

• Ask journalists to note their names and which media institution they represent on a prepared list. This is useful information for making follow-ups.
• Make the written handouts available for journalists when they arrive.
• The chairperson opens the conference and introduces the speakers and subject.
• The key presenter makes his/her statement clearly and concisely, and relates them to the handouts.
• The chairperson moderates the question and answer session.
• Answers must be brief, clear and concise. It is good to give practical

examples to illustrate the message you want to give.
• Speakers must remain relaxed, friendly and forthcoming even when provoked.

A PRESS RELEASE

This is one of the most useful mediums through which an organization can make itself and its views known to the public. The contents might be:
• Statements on pertaining issues.
• Reports on activities or events you have organized.
• Announcements of forthcoming events.
• Reactions to statements made by others.

PROS AND CONS

Issuing a press release is a relatively cheap way of creating awareness about one's stand. However, badly written press releases and those dealing with unimportant issues will annoy the recipients and may create negative feelings towards your organization.

HOW TO WRITE IT

• The headline must state clearly the name of the organization issuing the release and the subject matter.
• State the most important themes first.
• Make clear why you are issuing the press release at this particular point in time.
• The journalist must be able to pick out relevant information easily and quickly.
• Use a typewriter or word processor, double-space and use only one side of the page.
• Give information about how to contact the person responsible: name, address, telephone, e-mail address.

Notes

PARTICIPATORY IMPACT MONITORING AND EVALUATION

By Constanze Pfeiffer, Freiburg, Germany

1. WHY IS IT SO IMPORTANT?

It is not only important to implement activities but also to learn about the perceptions of and the consequences for those people involved in the interventions. Through participatory impact monitoring and evaluation you find out if your project is still on track or if things need to be changed. More importantly, you learn not only what people think about your activities but if your work has initiated any changes, and if so what kind of changes.

2. WHAT ARE THE KEY TERMS?

What is Monitoring?

Monitoring is a repeated observation, reflection and correction of activities. It allows us to observe change in order to get a better picture of what is happening. There are two main types of Monitoring:

1. Monitoring of activities: Involves the observation of activities with regard to the intended project activities, for example workshops or production of training materials.

2. Monitoring of impacts: Impact Monitoring is done to find out whether a project initiated changes, which contribute to achieve the project's objective. Impact Monitoring is crucial since it investigates further than monitoring of activities what has been achieved.

Monitoring should include those people, who are involved in the project, because they know their situation and problems best. Since people may be biased because they are too close to the project, outsiders can additionally come in.

What is Impact?

Impact means mid- and long-term changes attributed to a certain factor or intervention. Impact can be positive or negative, intended or unintended, planned and unplanned.

What is Evaluation?

Evaluation is based on the information discovered during monitoring. Data from monitoring formats are summarized, compared, analysed and interpreted. Evaluation can be internal or external. This means evaluation is done either by a member of your organisation or by an independent person who is an outsider to your organisation. Both approaches have advantages and disadvantages. During internal evaluation the evaluator can use his/her insider knowledge and avoid misunderstandings, however, this might lead to biased reports. External evaluators are more neutral but they need to backstop results with all people involved, in order to make sure that there are no misunderstandings.

What are Indicators?
Indicators are "pointers", "signs" or "markers" which are "related to" certain changes and which can be felt, seen and questioned.

Quantitative Indicators:
They use measuring or counting (e.g. number of people that took part in the training) and give us exact numbers.

Qualitative Indicators:
They describe in words only (e.g. participants of the training find the trainings useful and apply their knowledge accordingly) and therefore give us descriptions about opinions, experiences etc.

3. WHAT TO CONSIDER WHEN MONITORING AND EVALUATING?

When planning monitoring and evaluation, a matrix is a very helpful tool. It tells you what needs to be covered. First, you should be clear about your

Broad objectives	Training of paralegals
Expected impact	• Communities will access information of their rights and if needed claim their rights
Indicators	• Number of trainings conducted • Number of participants trained • Cases recorded by paralegals at community level • Clients feel satisfied with paralegals and use their services
Methods	• Interviews/Focus group discussions • Records
Who can give information?	• Paralegals • Communities
Who can collect information?	• Paralegals • Project management unit

objectives and your expected impact; then decide on appropriate methods, the interview partners and those who will collect information. One example: A monitoring matrix focusing on a women's rights project (see table above).

4. WHAT TOOLS TO USE IN ORDER TO LEARN ABOUT CHANGES?

There are two types of methods: quantitative and qualitative ones. It is highly recommended to use a combination of both methods.

4.1 Quantitative methods

Statistics
Record keeping is very helpful to track down changes by collecting numbers (e.g. number of the participants of a workshop divided by sex and age) and comparing them over time.

Questionnaires
Questionnaires consist of open (describing in own words) and closed questions (choosing given answers/categories) focusing on a specific topic. They start

with information on the interview partner (e.g. sex, age, economic and educational status) before proceeding with questions related to the addressed topic.

4.2 Participatory qualitative methods

Introduction
In order to learn from local people about their conditions, experiences and problems, a set of participatory data collection methods named "Participatory Rural Appraisal" (PRA) was developed. Up to now, new methods are still being added to the list of participatory data collection methods. PRA can therefore be understood as a growing tool-box of participatory methods. PRA is based on several very important principles:

- Learn from the locals at the site, face-to-face in the local context

- Be relaxed and not rushed, listen and do not lecture

- Use the different PRA methods in a flexible and innovative way

- Use several methods and compare their results in order to look at findings from different angles

Gender perspectives
During planning- and implementation stage, Gender aspects need to be covered in order to learn about different perceptions of women and men (e.g. additionally broken down by social and age group). Depending on the cultural setting, the discussions should take place in either single-sex or mixed groups.

Tools
Most of the PRA methods use visualisation techniques which allow for visualising conditions, problems and experiences of local people. Useful tools are:

Qualitative interviews
Qualitative interviews play a key role in the PRA approach. There are several ways of conducting an interview with systematically or randomly selected:

- Groups of women and/or men

- Individuals

Interviews rely heavily on questions. That is why questions:

-Need to be clear, simple and relevant

-Need to consider the target group (e.g. gender sensitive)

Focus group discussions
Group discussions often provide a useful addition to the information gathered in one-to-one interviews. Instead of interviews, discussions are held with groups on various topics, e.g. whether the project has led to any changes and if so what kind of changes.

Before/after comparison
This method compares situations and conditions before the beginning of a project with the current situation. In this context, it is important to find out whether the situation has changed since the project began and if so, why.

Case studies
Case studies of individual women and men in the target group provide information on their lives and on changes that resulted from the project.
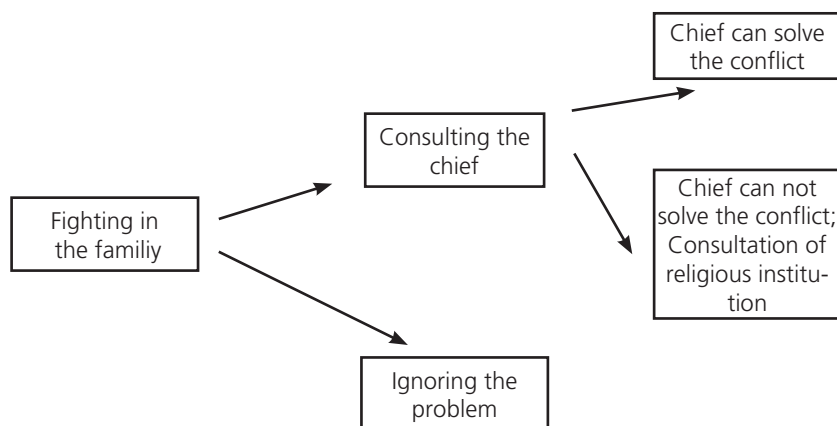
Observations
The intention is to observe the lives of the target group and to gain a better understanding of their perspectives, experiences and problems.

Diagrams
Often, some people in the target group are illiterate, and it has therefore proved useful to illustrate certain aspects by

Example : Fighting in the family

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Fighting in          →     Consulting the          →     Chief can solve
the familiy                     chief                         the conflict

                                  →              Chief can not
                                                 solve the conflict;
                                                 Consultation of
                                                 religious institu-
                                                 tion

          →     Ignoring the
                  problem
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using visualisation techniques. Hereby, diagrams are a helpful tool. During meetings with the participants, processes are initiated that enable them to discuss certain issues and to illustrate these by using diagrams. For example, to obtain information on specific consequences of an intervention or action, so-called flow charts can be used.

Ranking techniques

Ranking techniques can help to reveal certain aspects of the target group's problems and preferences and what criteria apply to their choice. The aim is to discuss various aspects and to rank their importance. Hereby, participants assign values (e.g. 5 = most important, 1 = least important). The aspects to be assessed when using ranking technique are best collected during brainstorming sessions or interviews held beforehand.

Role exchange

Here, men analyse the situation of women and vice versa. This method can serve to open people's eyes on both sides. A change of view often enables men to perceive for the first time how life is for women and vice versa.

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Source:

Germann, Dorsi & Gohl, Eberhard (1995): Participatory Impact Monitoring. Eschborn: Gate/ GTZ.

Juliane Osterhaus & Constanze Pfeiffer (2003): Monitoring – Guidelines for partner organisations of the GTZ sector project 'Strengthening Women's Rights'. Eschborn: GTZ.

Notes

Notes

Editorial

NB: Articles which carry an author's name do not necessarily reflect the view of FES. All facts and figures in this Calendar are correct to the best of our knowledge. However, FES bears no responsibility for oversights, mistakes or omissions.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung[1], or FES, was founded in 1925 as a political legacy of Germany´s first democratically elected President, Friedrich Ebert, who died in that year. Ebert, a Social Democrat of humble origins, had risen to hold the highest office in his country dispite considerable opposition from his political adversaries. He assumed the burden of the presidency in a country which was crisis ridden following its defeat in World War I. His own personal experience led him to propose the establishment of a foundation with a threefold aim:

- to further a democratic, pluralistic political culture by means of political education for all classes of society.
- to facilitate access to higher education for gifted young people by providing scholarships.
- to contribute to international understanding and co-operation in order to avert a fresh outbreak of war and violent conflicts wherever possible.

Today, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is a political non-profit making, public-interest institution committed to the principles and basic values of social democracy in its educational and policy-oriented work.

Development Co-operation

In the Foundation´s offices in Africa, Asia, Laitn America and Oceania approximately 80 German staff and 600 local nationals are involved in projects in the fields of economic and social development, socio-political education and information, the media and communication and in providing advisory services.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung sees its activities in the developing countries as a contribution to:

- the improvement of political and social frameworl conditions
- the democratisation of social structure
- enhancement of developing countries´position in the International Trade arrangements
- the empowerment of women and the promotion of gender
- the strenghening of free trade unions
- the improvement of communication and media structures
- regional and international media co-operation
- regional co-operation between states and interest groups
- the resolution of the North-South conflict

This calendar is intended to provide not only an individual tool for purposes of time planning but also a day-to-day handbook for quick reference on issues that may be of interest to the people in Eastern Africa and to those who are politically active.

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1 Stiftung is the German word for „foundation"

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North-South Dialogue: Julius Nyerere, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania and Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

WILLY BRANDT:
„International co-operation is far too important to be left to governments alone."