

END OF PROJECT EVALUATION, BEST  
PRACTICES AND NEW PROJECT  
DEVELOPMENT FOR “WANAWAKE-  
WANAWEZA” PROJECT ON WOMEN  
LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL  
PARTICIPATION  
REPORT ON END OF PROJECT EVALUATION

Sambodhi Limited, Tanzania  
A103, Slipway Apartments, Chole Road, Masaki, Dar-es-Salaam



---

## 1. Acknowledgement

---

The **End of Project Evaluation of the Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation** commissioned by UN Women Tanzania has been conducted by Sambodhi Limited, Tanzania in association with Sambodhi, India.

Sambodhi would like to acknowledge the valuable support and input provided by the UN Women team whose guidance helped the evaluation team gain a better understanding of the impact provided by the project activities. The team members' insight on functions, success and challenges of the project activities helped us to identify gaps and enabled us to provide recommendations.

Sambodhi would also like to extend its gratitude towards all the project partners and political aspirants who gave us their valuable time and insight into the various aspect of the project. We are grateful to the Officer of the Registrar of Political Parties, National Electoral Commission and Zanzibar Electoral Commission who were willing to talk to us despite their busy schedule.

The study would not have been possible without the tremendous effort of the evaluation team members and research associates who did an excellent job in collecting all the required information and meeting the deadlines.

# Table of Contents

1.	Acknowledgement .....	1
2.	Executive summary .....	6
2.1.	Overview of the project.....	6
2.2.	Project partners .....	6
2.3.	Geographical coverage of the project.....	7
2.4.	Key achievements and areas for further development .....	8
2.5.	Recommendations to the project.....	10
2.6.	Conclusion.....	13
3.	Background .....	14
3.1.	Snapshot of elections in Tanzania.....	14
3.2.	About Wanawake-Wanaweza project .....	15
3.3.	End of project evaluation, best practices and new project document.....	17
4.	Evaluation methodology .....	18
4.1.	Methodology.....	18
4.2.	Key methods of inquiry.....	19
4.3.	Ethical protocol.....	20
5.	Limitations of the study .....	21
6.	Desk review of literature on political landscape in Tanzania.....	23
6.1.	Legal framework for increasing participation of marginalized groups .....	23
6.2.	Landscape of political participation in Tanzania .....	25
7.	Findings from the end of project evaluation .....	29
7.1.	Findings vis-à-vis Results Framework.....	29
7.2.	Findings on overall project management and delivery.....	36
7.3.	Findings from qualitative interviews.....	43
7.4.	Overall barrier enabler analysis .....	49
7.5.	Assessment of the DAC criteria components .....	50
8.	Best practices.....	55
8.1.	Identifying best practices.....	56
9.	Highlights and recommendations .....	63
9.1.	Success stories from the evaluation .....	63
9.2.	Recommendations to the project.....	64
10.	References .....	68
11.	Annexures .....	70
11.1.	List of participants for the study .....	70
11.2.	Process for conducting qualitative interview .....	72
11.3.	Analysis of the Results Framework.....	73
11.4.	Coding frame for qualitative analysis.....	78

11.5.	Visualization of code hierarchy .....	82
11.6.	Barrier-Enabler analysis for women aspirants .....	83
11.7.	Barrier-Enabler analysis for youth aspirants.....	85
11.8.	Barrier-Enabler for PWD aspirants .....	86
11.9.	Theory of Change.....	88
11.10.	DAC criteria tabulation .....	91

## List of figures

Figure 1: Process flow of the evaluation .....	19
Figure 2: Ethical protocols for the study .....	21
Figure 3: National and International frameworks on gender mainstreaming in Tanzania.....	24
Figure 4: Engagement areas for WW Project .....	36
Figure 5: Perception of women candidates and aspirants on the electoral process .....	40
Figure 6: Perception of youth candidates and aspirants on the electoral process.....	41
Figure 7: Perception of youth candidates and aspirants on the electoral process.....	42
Figure 8: Overall barrier-enabler analysis for the project.....	49
Figure 9: Identification of best practices .....	55
Figure 10: Process for building the coding frame .....	72
Figure 11: Visualization of the code hierarchy .....	82
Figure 12: Barriers for women aspirants .....	84
Figure 13: Barriers for youth aspirants.....	85
Figure 14: Barriers for PWD aspirants.....	86

## List of tables

Table 1: Women representatives in National Assembly of Tanzania (1995-2015).....	15
Table 2: Women representatives in House of Representatives, Zanzibar.....	15
Table 3: Research instruments .....	19
Table 4: Distribution of candidates for parliamentary and councillorship elections in 2005 .....	26
Table 5: Key drivers and barriers to political participation for women, youth and PWDs.....	27
Table 6: Summary of results framework analysis .....	32
Table 7: Area of engagement vis-a-vis proportion of overall grant .....	36
Table 8: Perception of stakeholders on project management indices .....	38
Table 9: EEF and its components.....	39
Table 10: Snapshot of best practices .....	56
Table 11: Project partners interviewed for the evaluation .....	70
Table 12: Political parties interviewed for the evaluation .....	70
Table 13: Political aspirants interviewed for the evaluation.....	71
Table 14: Results framework analysis for Outcome 1.1.....	73
Table 15: Results framework analysis for Outcome 1.2.....	73
Table 16: Results framework analysis for Outcome 1.3.....	77
Table 17: Coding frame for qualitative analysis .....	78
Table 18: Theory of Change for the project.....	88
Table 19: DAC criteria tabulation .....	91

## List of acronyms

WW	Wanawake-Wanaweza
DEP	Democratic Empowerment Project
WLPP	Women Leadership and Political Participation
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
URT	The United Republic of Tanzania
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
EMB	Electoral Management Bodies
NEC	National Electoral Commission
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission
IP	Implementing Partner
D	Donor
PI	Parent Implementer
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
RF	Results Framework
VAWE	Violence Against Women in Elections
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EEF	Equality and Empowerment Framework
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
LHRC	Legal and Human Rights Centre
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women's Association
TCD	Tanzania Centre for Democracy
TWCP	Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform
TWPG	Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group
WFT	Women Fund Tanzania
MP	Member of Parliament
SD	Standard Deviation
IDI	In-Depth Interview
UNDAP	United Nations Development Assistance Plan
TZS	Tanzanian Shillings
USD	United States Dollars
ToC	Theory of Change
WIL	Women in Leadership
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
GoT	Government of Tanzania
GEWE	Gender Equality and Women Empowerment
WCCR	Women's Coalition on the Constitutional Review
SADC	Southern African Development Community
CASS	College of Arts and Social Sciences
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam

---

## 2. Executive summary

---

### 2.1. Overview of the project

The Women's Leadership and Political Participation (WLPP), *Wanawake-Wanaweza* project was a 2-year project (2014-2016) designed and led by UN Women to improve participation and representation of women, youth and Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) as leaders in the political process in Tanzania. The project complements the Democratic Empowerment Project (DEP) which was implemented by UNDP with UN Women and UNESCO as core implementing partners. The *Wanawake-Wanaweza* project was supported by 2 development partners; Finland and United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

*Wanawake-Wanaweza* had 3 key outcomes namely;

**Outcome 1.1** – The Constitution, electoral and political participation laws advance and promote women's rights and gender equality in political participation

**Outcome 1.2** – Participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in political party structures and electoral processes enhanced and,

**Outcome 1.3** – Gender equality and social inclusion advocates effectively influence media, faith-based and community leaders and grassroots organizations and networks to promote gender equality and social inclusion in leadership and participation.

UN Women led the implementation of the *Wanawake-Wanaweza* project (2014-2016) through state and non-state actors. UN Women Tanzania commissioned the end of project evaluation of *Wanawake-Wanaweza* in February 2017 and the evaluation took place in February and March 2017.

### 2.2. Project partners

The *Wanawake-Wanaweza* project, led by UN Women, used a combination of capacity strengthening, technical advisory support, policy and law review, peer learning, strategy development, research, advocacy, media and community outreach through direct implementation as well as partnerships. The partners' key engagements have been summarized as follows:

1. The project engaged in providing technical and financial support to the two Women Parliamentary Caucuses (Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group – TWPG; Umoja wa *Wanawake Wawakilishi Zanzibar* – UWAWAZA) to advance women's rights through review of discriminatory laws and gender responsive budgeting. The project also supported the training and capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians in both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar.
2. The project collaborated with DEP partners to increase the media outreach and address the gender and social inclusion barriers during the 2015 elections. The media monitoring component of the project was anchored by Tanzania Women's Media Association (TAMWA) both in Mainland and Zanzibar to monitor reporting on women, youth and PWDs issues by media sources. *Femina Hip*, a prominent youth civil society organization (CSO), was identified to implement media and communication products to address the issue of youth participation in the electoral process.
3. SHIVYAWATA, an umbrella organization of 6 Disabled Person's Organizations (DPOs), was engaged to address the issues of PWDs during the general elections. Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD) and Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform (TWCP) was engaged as key

partners in relation to their mandate and comparative advantage in engaging with political parties.

4. To increase its outreach at the community level, the project engaged Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Legal Human Rights Centre (LHRC) as well as TAMWA, given their extensive outreach to local communities. The organizations played a key role in sensitizing community and religious leaders and carrying out media advocacy on issues related to inclusive participation of women, youth and PWDs before, during and after the 2015 elections. The project supported 13 grassroots women's rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women's leadership and political empowerment through the Women Fund Tanzania's (WFT) grants making facility.
5. The mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates were some of the key activities conducted during the project. TWCP was engaged in the mapping of aspirants for the 2015 elections and subsequently, TWCP, TGNP, LHRC and TAMWA were engaged in training of aspirants and candidates before the 2015 elections.
6. In the space of advisory support and policy development, the project engaged with the Office of the Registrar of Political parties (ORPP). The project provided technical and financial support to ORPP for identifying gender gaps in electoral laws, Code of Ethics for political parties, capacity strengthening and constructively engaging with political parties to uphold gender and social inclusion during internal party nominations. The project also indirectly supported the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) as a part of DEP in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce discrimination and violence against women and PWDs during the 2015 elections. In addition, technical support was provided to ZEC to adopt Gender and Social Inclusion Policy (GESI) and its principles were integrated into the Strategic Plan to guide implementation.
7. The project also partnered with researchers and academia from academic centres such as the University of Dar-es-Salaam for evidence and knowledge building through situational analysis, need assessments, feedback studies and peer reviewed papers.

### **2.3. Geographical coverage of the project**

The project covered Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The mapping and verification of women, youth and PWD aspirants for 2015 elections was done with all the 22 registered political parties across 30 regions in Tanzania. Sensitization and capacity strengthening of political party leaders at national, regional and district level to understand the importance of social inclusion in electoral process was conducted across 5 regions namely; Kigoma (Kigoma, Kasulu, Kakonko and Kibondo districts), Unguja (Mjini, Kati, Mjini Magharib, Kaskazini A and Kusini districts) , Lindi (Nachingwea, Ruangwa, Kilwa and Lindi districts), Mwanza (Sengerema, Misungwi, Magu, and Ilemela districts), Mara (Tarime, Bunda, Butiama and Musoma districts)

Women, youth and PWD aspirants and candidates were trained in 9 training centres that covered 15 regions including Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The regions included Mara, Geita, Morogoro, Shinyanga, Mwanza, Kagera, Arusha, Mbeya, Ruvuma, Manyara, Kilimanjaro, Iringa, Tanga, Simiyu and Zanzibar. The capacity strengthening of gender equality advocates, grassroots organisations/networks, media, faith based and community leaders to promote the leadership of women, youth and PWD was carried out by implementing partners across 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar.

SHIVYAWATA raised awareness of PWDs' leaders in 13 regions including 11 regions of Tanzania mainland namely; Dar-es-Salaam, Mtwara, Tanga, Dodoma, Shinyanga, Tabora, Mwanza, Mara,



Manyara, Ruvuma, Iringa and 2 regions of Zanzibar which are Mjini Magharibi in Unguja and Kusini Pemba in Pemba on PWDs' rights to leadership and political participation. SHIVYAWATA also raised awareness of media personnel from both mainstream and community radio in the 13 regions.

## **2.4. Key achievements and areas for further development**

**Outcome 1.1** – The outcome aimed to achieve 50-50 distribution of seats for women and men at all levels of governance in the new constitution. A key element of the support to this outcome was to support the women's movement through the Women's Coalition on the Constitutional Review (WCCR) on advocacy and awareness raising at the policy and grassroots level. The Coalition engaged and mobilized women to lobby the Constitution Review Commission, Constituent Assembly as well as Constitution Review Forums at the Ward level. This led to the adoption of 50-50 principle of gender inclusion<sup>1</sup> in the new proposed Constitution along with other women's rights principles. Out of the 12 key Gender Equality and Women Empowerment (GEWE) principles identified by the WCCR, 11 were included in the new proposed Constitution. The Coalition now consists of about 70 grassroots women's organizations advocating for women's rights including leadership and political participation.

The proposed constitution proposes the adoption of 50-50 principle. However, the revised constitution was not adopted before 2015 elections and is expected to be taken up in 2017-2018. As previously identified by UN Women in its risk assessment log, the provision of 50-50 at all levels in the new constitution was outside the control of the project.

It is also important to mention that advocacy and awareness raising with NEC by the WCCR under WFT's coordination resulted in an increase in the proportion of women parliamentarians through Temporary Special Measures from 30% (which is provided for in the current constitution) to 40% as a progressive step towards achievement of the SADC agreed benchmark of 50%.

The project aimed at supporting at least 2 institutions to develop recommendations on women's political participation and women's rights. During the project, 3 implementing partners were engaged in developing recommendations on inclusive political participation and women's rights. Among the 3 partners, ORPP developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy (GESI); ZEC developed the Gender and Social Inclusion Policy for Zanzibar and the Women's Coalition under WFT's coordination engaged in providing policy level recommendations and technical support on the review of 3 electoral laws namely; Electoral Expenses Act, National Elections Act and Political Parties Act. UN Women supported a review of the laws and provided technical support to incorporate GEWE principles as part of the review that was initiated by the ORPP on the two electoral laws within its mandate namely; the Electoral Expenses Act and the Political Parties Act. UN Women also engaged with NEC and ZEC through the DEP in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce discrimination and violence against women and PWDs during the 2015 elections. In addition, technical support was provided to ZEC to adopt Gender and Social Inclusion Policy (GESI) and its principles were integrated into the Strategic Plan to guide implementation.

One of the major achievements is that the project supported this outcome through the capacity strengthening of institutions to provide recommendations for the constitutional review process and capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians to raise the issues through parliamentary processes.

Another notable achievement that contributed to the realization of this outcome was the way 12 initiatives out of the 6 originally planned were effectively rolled out by the Women's Caucus in Parliament (Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar) on women's rights and gender issues, Constitutional Review and adoption of Gender Responsive Budgeting initiatives. The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians/ministries on legislations and policies

---

<sup>1</sup> The new proposed Constitution integrates gender equality principle in representation, i.e. Article 129 (4) (2) (a) "equal representation of women and men in the parliament"

toward gender mainstreaming and social inclusion. The women's caucus in Zanzibar has also tabled its first private motion on gender based violence in the House of Representatives for Zanzibar. Anecdotal evidence and qualitative interviews report that there has been an increase in the participation of women parliamentarians in the parliamentary proceedings, which can be attributed to the training and strengthening workshops provided under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project.

**Outcome 1.2** – This outcome aimed at enhancing the participation of women, youth and people with disabilities within the political party structures and electoral processes. The outcome's target was to increase the proportion of women, youth and PWDs in the political party nominations and as final Member of Parliaments. The outcome target was realized for Zanzibar with 13% of the total parliamentarians in Zanzibar as women in 2015 vis-à-vis the target of 10%. In Tanzania mainland, the proportion of women as elected representatives was 10%, excluding special seats. Based on the follow up studies carried out on the trained candidates under the project, 2.9% of all the MPs elected in Tanzania (both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar) through special seats or elections, were trained under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project.

Further to the above, notable efforts were made by the project through the training of 1282 aspirants and 713 candidates on leadership and communication skills, campaign management, budgeting and fundraising, conflict management etc., across 15 regions in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The 2015 elections also saw an increase in the number of female parliamentarians from 24 in 2010 to 26 in the National Assembly of Tanzania and from 3 in 2010 to 7 in 2015 in the House of Representatives, Zanzibar (2015). Including special seats, the total number of parliamentarians in the Tanzanian National Assembly after 2015 elections is 139. Four among the 139 female parliamentarians (elected plus special seats) in Tanzanian Mainland were a part of the Wanawake-Wanaweza training programme. One among the 29 female parliamentarians (elected plus special seats) in Zanzibar were a part of the Wanawake-Wanaweza training programme.

With the support of the project, TCD conducted sensitization workshops for 851 political party leaders across 6 political parties in 5 regions of Tanzania Mainland. The constitutions and manifestos of 10 political parties were reviewed by project partners to identify gender gaps and best nomination processes that promote the nomination of women and other marginalized groups.

The participation and response from political parties indicate the willingness of parties on mainstreaming gender and social inclusion in the internal nominations. One of the political parties' leaders interviewed officially recognized the need for party interventions to decrease discrimination and violence against women by instituting disciplinary committees across all levels. Another political party has amended its constitution to allow for women quotas in the party nomination process. These are examples of positive efforts made by various stakeholders that have contributed to this outcome.

Similarly, the project helped create a supportive environment for women, youth and PWDs by engaging with election management bodies and ORPP. ORPP held multiple discussions with political parties and anecdotal evidence suggests that all political parties agreed that gender and social inclusion should be mainstreamed in the nomination process. Political will has been strengthened through this project and this is evident through the various measures taken by some of the EMBs; for example, ORPP, with the technical support provided by Wanawake-Wanaweza project, is presently looking to incorporate gender equality principles in the amendments to the Political Parties Act and Election Expenses Act to fill gender gaps in the legislation. ORPP and ZEC have also developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy with the support of Wanawake-Wanaweza project. The abovementioned activities have contributed to creating an enabling environment for women, youth and PWD candidates, and have also contributed to the increase in political representation of women in Tanzania.

**Outcome 1.3** – The outcome aimed at advocating gender equality and social inclusion effectively by engaging with media, faith based and community leaders and grass-root organizations and networks. The outcome targets to increase the proportion of women councillors to 5% in Tanzania Mainland and

12.05% in Zanzibar. The outcome targets were realized as 5.2% of the total elected councillors in Tanzania Mainland are women and 20.7% of total elected councillors in Zanzibar are women. Among the total number of women councillors (elected and special seats), 4.5% have been trained under the Wanawake-Wanaweza training programme.

The success in achieving this outcome can be attributed to the strong community based initiatives and positive influence of media. Wanawake-Wanaweza project sensitized more than 10,000 community members directly through sensitization workshops. The project supported 13 grassroots women's rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women's leadership and political empowerment through the Women Fund Tanzania grants making facility. Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders, i.e. faith based and community leaders.

During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation such as; ITV, Radio One, TBC1, TBC Taifa, Star TV, East African TV, Clouds FM, Clouds TV, TV 1, Capital TV, Azam TV, Mlimani TV, Channel 10, Tumaini TV, ZBC TV, ZBC Radio, HITS FM, Zenj FM, CHUCHU FM and Kitulo FM.

Anecdotal evidence from implementing partners, beneficiaries and other stakeholders point to the fact that there has been a steady increase in awareness among community members. Studies have noted that 99% of study respondents would vote for a qualified female/PWD candidate and 98% would vote for a qualified youth candidate (TCD & LHRC, 2014).

## **2.5. Recommendations to the project**

The recommendations for phase 1 of Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) have been presented vis-à-vis the major project components.

### **i. Mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates for 2015 elections**

One of the key project strategies to increase the participation of women, youth and PWD aspirants in the electoral process was mapping and training of political aspirants and training of candidates across all political parties and regions in Tanzania. The strategy has been adapted previously in the 2010 elections and the Wanawake-Wanaweza project, learning from the previous experiences of this strategy, engaged with political parties through implementing partners to for this activity.

Partners that have engaged with political parties previously and were adequately placed to communicate and coordinate with political parties were identified to carry out the activity. Implementing partners reached out to all the 22 registered political parties in Tanzania to procure the list of women, youth and PWD aspirants for the 2015 elections across 30 regions. The process resulted in the mapping of 1925 aspirants who were then followed up for training before elections. The training of aspirants was conducted by implementing partners that had extensive experience in the space of aspirant training. Overall, 1282 political aspirants were trained by the project. Similarly, 713 political candidates were trained for the 2015 elections that consisted of 618 women, 25 PWDs and 70 youth.

Several challenges were observed during the process of mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates. There were delays reported in procuring a list of aspirants from political parties and the list of aspirants underwent several changes and updates before

finalization. During the training of aspirants, drop outs were reported across some training centres.

Despite the challenges, the activity of mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates was one of the major elements of support provided that had a positive effect on the self-confidence of women, youth and PWD trainees. Trainees felt more confident in planning their campaign, speaking out in the public and competing in a male dominated electoral process. It is suggested that the strategy should be adapted in phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza (2017-2020).

The project should reflect on the geographical coverage per region, continue to identify specific needs of aspirants and candidates within each region to tailor-make training and interventions according to needs. This recommendation is drawn from the engagements of implementing partners across the 15 regions, with Mara, Lindi and Mtwara requiring more intensive training and follow-ups than other regions. It is also recommended that the project should scale up the training activity to more number of regions than phase 1. Phase 2 of the project can draw from the previous engagement of working with local government authorities (LGAs) at district, village and ward level to advocate gender and social inclusion at the grassroots. Implementing partners engaged with LGAs across Dar-es-Salaam, Kilimanjaro and Morogoro in phase 1 with successful results.

## ii. **Policy support to ORPP and EMBs**

At a policy level, the project provided technical and financial support to ORPP on identifying gender gaps in existing electoral laws under its mandate (Political Parties Act & Electoral Expenses Act). A major highlight in this regard was the development of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy (GESI) by ORPP that focuses on gender and socially inclusive nomination process. Similarly, the Gender and Social Inclusion Strategy was introduced by ZEC before the 2015 elections. This strategy document is critical documents as it would guide ORPP in incorporating gender and inclusiveness principles in the electoral cycle plans and strategies and it is recommended that in Phase 2, the project should capitalize on this notable achievement, and support ORPP to implement and monitoring the implementation of the recommendations.

Phase 2 of the Wanawake-Wanaweza project should continue supporting the development and implementation of the elections manifesto developed by the Women's Coalition for the Constitution and Elections. The manifesto can be used by institutions, such as the ORPP, but also by the women's movement to advocate for greater gender equality and social inclusion within political parties, including during the party nominations. However, the monitoring of the commitments made by political parties should be intensified in the post-election period regarding whether the winning party is honouring their commitment to the implementation of the manifesto as they form a government.

While ORPP has the mandate of regulating the electoral process before the election period through the Political Parties Act, Election Management Bodies (EMBs) have the mandate of electoral regulation during elections. As noted in several studies, the past elections have witnessed incidences of violence and discrimination against women, youth and PWDs. EMBs (NEC/ZEC), through the National Elections Act and the Local Government Elections Act, have a critical role to play during elections to ensure conflict free and peaceful elections.

UN Women, through the DEP project, had supported the EMBs in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to discourage use of discriminatory language against women and persons with disabilities along with several other measures. UN Women also worked with NEC through DEP in providing technical assistance to engendering the voter education manuals and observer guidelines to

ensure recording and reporting of incidences of violence against women during elections (VAWE). The approach of partnering with EMBs during election period has shown potential as it can lead to a change in existing policies and should be continued in the second phase of the project, and it is recommended that this is scaled up in the next phase of the project.

iii. **Training and capacity strengthening of women's caucus**

It is highly recommended that training and capacity strengthening of the women's caucus should be scaled up. The project supported the Women's Caucuses across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar on training and capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians. With the project support, 12 initiatives were organized by the Women's Caucuses across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians/ministries on legislations and policies toward gender mainstreaming and social inclusion. Supported by UN Women, the women's caucus in Zanzibar has also tabled its first private motion on gender based violence in the House of Representatives for Zanzibar.

Similarly, training and capacity strengthening is a key element of support as several women parliamentarians do not have previous legislative and policy experience. In the absence of continued training and capacity strengthening support, many women parliamentarians may find it difficult to engage in policy debates in the male dominated the political landscape. Given the need for training and capacity strengthening activities, the phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza project should continue engaging with the women's caucuses to strengthen capacities on parliamentary procedures, gender responsive budgeting, policy advocacy, leadership and conflict management etc. In addition, the training can also focus on providing refresher training to women parliamentarians on their upcoming election campaigns, thus increasing their likelihood of getting re-elected.

iv. **Community awareness to increase the support for women, youth and PWD candidates**

Community mobilization and support are one of the important deciding factors which can act as a strong barrier or enabler to the electoral participation of women, youth and PWD candidates. The project strategy rightly identified the importance of garnering support from the community and engaged in 2 ways to positively influence the perception of the community.

First, the project directly engaged with grassroots leaders, CSOs, faith-based and religious leaders through the existing networks of its implementing partners. More than 10,000 community members were mobilized directly through sensitization workshops through implementing partners. The project supported 13 grassroots women's rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women's leadership and political empowerment. Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders, i.e. faith based and community leaders.

In the second approach, the project engaged with media houses such as newspapers, community radios and television networks to increase the coverage of gender and social inclusion issues. The second approach was aimed at increasing community's perception about women, youth and PWD candidates as well as identify and report cases of discrimination and violence against this group. During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the

implementing partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation.

Both the approaches have been effective in reducing the barriers and bias against women, youth and PWD leaders. Continuing the engagement, it can be recommended that the strategy should be adapted in phase 2 of the project. The engagement with the community, which was done in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar, can be scaled up to cover more regions.

v. **Research and evidence building for effective advocacy**

One of the highlights of the project was the literature produced on political participation of women, youth and PWDs in the political landscape of Tanzania. The extensive research and evidence building through situation analysis, baseline assessments, need assessments etc., have resulted in a rich pool of knowledge products that can be effectively used for advocacy.

Continuing the initiative of evidence building, phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza should also continue supporting research initiatives on identifying new barriers and drivers for political participation among women, youth and PWD in the post-2015 and pre-2020 election scenario. Identification and assessment of similar interventions within and outside Tanzania can be one of the key areas of research that can enable cross-sectoral and cross-geographical learning.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

The Wanawake-Wanaweza project anchored by UN Women has complemented UN Women's role as Implementing Partner of the gender equality and inclusion of youth and PWDs within the Democratic Empowerment Project (2013-2016). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the before DEP and Wanawake-Wanaweza project, several interventions/programmes had been designed and delivered to increase the political participation of women in the larger political process. The Wanawake-Wanaweza project has been able to support the coalition of institutions and partners for concerted action. Qualitative interviews reveal that coordination and cross-organizational learning between implementing partners had improved under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project. It was agreed upon that *after the constitutional review process, it was the DEP and Wanawake-Wanaweza project that has brought implementing partners together to achieve common goals (implementing partners).*

The project identified several key issues and developed a holistic approach to delivering interventions. Women, youth and PWDs face under-representation and lack of capacities at personal, social and political level. In terms of political process, women, youth and PWDs are often left vulnerable as a voter, as a nominee and as a part of the government. The Wanawake-Wanaweza project has been able to map the vulnerabilities and design a range of activities to mitigate them. The activities range from identification and training of aspirants (direct engagement with final beneficiaries), sensitization of political parties and women members of parliament to technical support to EMBs & ORPP for legislative action. The project has also been able to generate large scale community awareness through community based initiatives and partnership with media. *Wanawake-Wanaweza has rightly identified all the key entry points for the project to work (implementing partner).*

Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-16) has built a strong momentum with the support of implementing partners and aims to work towards sustaining the project efforts through Wanawake-Wanaweza phase 2. As noted by implementing partners, *the issue of political participation and democratic governance requires sustained efforts at all levels.*

---

### 3. Background

---

While the world has progressed towards gender equality and women's empowerment under the Millennium Development Goals (including equal access to primary education between girls and boys), women and girls continue to suffer discrimination and violence in every part of the world (Nations, n.d.). Similarly, other vulnerable categories such as Persons with Disability (PWD) and youth are also subjected to discrimination and are exposed to socio-economic and political vulnerability. This global discourse on inequality has been recognized in the Sustainable Development Goals with Goal 5 (Gender Equality), Goal 10 (Reduced Inequalities) and Goal 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions) paving the way for Governments across the globe to follow gender balanced, democratic and inclusive policies.

Increasing the access of marginalized and vulnerable populations towards larger political participation is important for democratic development and sustainability (Makulilo, 2014). Equal and inclusive participation of all sections of the population often has a conflict-prevention effect and strengthens democratic structures<sup>2</sup>. Several studies conducted over past several years have pointed out that while Tanzania has made rapid strides in strengthening welfare policies, the political and legislative environment has not been favourable to youth, women and PWDs. Political participation and leadership remain male dominated while women, youth and PWDs continue to remain under-represented.

The *Wanawake-Wanaweza* project anchored by UN Women and in partnership with several state and non-state actors aim to enable the women, youth and PWDs to engage in greater political participation through multiple strategies such as; legal and policy frameworks, advocacy and policy dialogue, community sensitization, increasing capacity of political parties on women's political leadership, capacity strengthening of women representatives/parliamentarians and mitigating violence against women during elections (UNWomen). The project is in line with the legal framework of Tanzania's constitution and the UN and African Union Instruments to which Tanzanian government is a signatory (Killian, 2014).

The project is guided by UN Women's strategic plan (2014-2017) which identifies Impact Area 1 (women lead and participate in decision-making at all levels). The impact area resolves to promote and monitor women's participation in decision making in national and local decision making bodies including governments, parliaments, councils, political parties etc., and support adoption of constitutional reforms, laws and policies that promote women's inclusion in governance (UNWOMEN, 2013). The project also aligns itself with United Nations Development Assistance Plan for Tanzania (2011-2015) under cluster 3 (Governance, emergencies and refugees) and draws from the MKUKUTA and MKUZA (2010-2015) goals on good governance and national unity (UNDAP, 2010).

#### 3.1. Snapshot of elections in Tanzania

Women globally are under-represented as leaders in political structures. As per latest estimates, the world average of women leaders in parliaments is 22.1% (2015). The average for women leaders in parliaments in Sub-Saharan Africa is 22.3% (2015) and within African Nations, Tanzania reports a 24.8% jump in women parliamentarians between 1995 and 2015 (IPU). Women also constitute most of the population (51.3%) and voter population (52.5% registered voters)<sup>3</sup> (PHC, 2015). Over the years, the representation of women in Tanzanian parliament has shown a steady rate of growth, from

---

<sup>2</sup> Tanzania Centre for Democracy baseline survey report on "*Nominations of Women, Youth and People with Disabilities in the 2010 Elections*", mentions that an inclusive approach "*results into tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and more sustainable peace*".

<sup>3</sup> Information on registered voters derived from Office of Registrar of Political Parties

8 elected female parliamentarians in 1995 to 26 in 2015. In addition to elected representatives, the government of Tanzania also reserves 30% of the parliamentary seats for women. A break-up of the parliamentarians has been described in Table 1 and Table 2:

Table 1: Women representatives in National Assembly of Tanzania (1995-2015)

Year	Women representative		Total women	Total seats	% of women seats
	Constituencies	Women's seats			
2015	26	113	139	366	37.9
2010	24	102	126	350	36.0
2005	22	75	97	307	31.6
2000	12	48	60	279	21.5
1995	8	37	45	269	16.7

In the National Assembly of Tanzania, approximately 8 out of 10 women parliamentarians have been nominated through temporary special measures. The average rate of increase among women parliamentarians from 1995 to 2015 is 37.7%. The largest growth in elected women parliamentarians was recorded between the year 2000 and 2005 (83.3%) and the smallest was recorded across 2010 and 2015 (8.3%)<sup>4</sup>.

Table 2: Women representatives in House of Representatives, Zanzibar

Year	Male representatives	Female representatives	Total representatives	% of female elected representatives
2015	47	7	54	13.0
2005	48	2	50	4.0
2010	47	3	50	6.0

Women form less than 10% of the total seats in the National Assembly and though 36% of the National Assembly comprises of women, the indicator disguises the fact that most female Member of Parliaments has been selected through temporary special measures. Even among the female candidates who won in the 2015 elections, 15 of them were previous beneficiaries of affirmative action in form of temporary special measures. Similarly, for House of Representatives, Zanzibar, the proportion of female elected representatives was 13% in 2015.

Interestingly, studies have shown that the chances of women winning elections have been higher than men. A study by TCD (2013) noted that if a male and a female candidate with the same qualifications compete, chances are that a female candidate would likely win. 76% of women who responded to this question said that they would support a woman candidate. Similarly, men who responded to this question opined that they would vote for a woman by 48% against 44% in favour of a male candidate. On the other hand, the study by TGNP/LHRC (2014) noted that 57% of respondents opined that women are capable of being leaders as opposed to 28% who thought they are not capable (Meena & Makulilo, 2015).

The Wanawake-Wanaweza project anchored by UN Women aims to reduce the prominent barriers and act as a driver towards increasing the political participation of women, youth and PWD. The project follows a “bundled approach<sup>5</sup>” with several key entry points and implementing partners aiming toward holistic change.

### 3.2. About Wanawake-Wanaweza project

<sup>4</sup> (Present year) – (Past year) / (Past Year)

<sup>5</sup> Bundled approach refers to a range of activities/interventions bundled around a primary intervention, supporting the overall outcome. Bundled or “plus” interventions act as supporting components to reach the overall goal.



The Wanawake-Wanaweza project anchored by UN Women is aligned with the UN Women strategic plan to enable *women to lead and participate in decision-making at all levels*. The project recognizes the underlying issue that despite recognition of women's proven ability as leaders and their rights under the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, they remain under-represented. Similarly, youth and PWDs are marginalized and under-represented despite national and international safeguards/frameworks. Through multiple strategies and partnerships, the project aims to increase the rate and intensity of political participation among women, youth and PWDs.

The key outcome and output areas for the project are (UNWomen):

i. **Outcome 1.1 - The Constitution, electoral and political participation laws advance and promote women's rights and gender equality in political participation**

Output 1.1.1: Capacities of key institutions enhanced for review of Constitution and development of political participation and electoral laws that promote women's rights, women's political participation and leadership

Output 1.1.2: Capacities enhanced among members of women's caucus of parliament, Parliamentary Committees and House of Representatives Committees to engage in discussions on gender equality and women's rights, including in the Constitutional Review Process and on gender responsive budgeting.

ii. **Outcome 1.2 – Participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in political party structures and electoral processes enhanced**

Output 1.2.1: Women, youth and PWDs identified as aspirants for the 2015 elections

Output 1.2.2: Skills and capacities of women, youth and PWDs aspirants, candidates and party leaders strengthened

Output 1.2.3: Political parties' awareness, skills and knowledge enhanced to promote political participation and leadership of women, youth and PWDs.

Output 1.2.4: Capacities and processes for gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in Election Management Bodies (EMBs), both NEC and ZEC strengthened

Output 1.2.5: Women, youth and PWDs participate in the electoral process free from violence. Women's Situation Room or its equivalent established to ensure gender responsive monitoring and observation of electoral processes and violence free elections and campaigning period

iii. **Outcome 1.3 - Gender equality and social inclusion advocates effectively influence media, faith-based and community leaders and grassroots organizations and networks to promote gender equality and social inclusion in leadership and participation.**

Output 1.3.1: Capacities of advocates, grassroots organizations, media, faith- and community based leaders to promote women, youth and PWDs leadership and to participate in national dialogue strengthened, including in the context of the Constitutional Review

Output 1.3.2: Increased sensitization of the public and the media about women, youth and PWDs leadership and political participation

UN Women applies a holistic approach to achieving the laid down outputs and outcomes using the following strategies (UNWomen):

- i. **Legal and policy frameworks:** Investing in building capacities of both government and non-government organizations. This includes the establishment and revision of policy and legal frameworks and to increase and improve women, youth and PWD representation in decision-making positions and participation in the elections.
- ii. **Advocacy and policy dialogue:** Investing in civil society organizations' capacity to undertake research and engage in evidence based policy dialogue and advocacy on issues linked to rights of women, youth and PWDs with the aim of increasing the influence of the marginal groups on the development and adoption of gender responsive and inclusive policy frameworks/legislations.
- iii. **Community sensitization:** Working with opinion makers, such as political parties, community and religious leaders, as well as the media, to sensitize and build the capacity of these actors to publicly promote and advocate for a greater acceptance of women, youth and PWDs as leaders.
- iv. **Increased capacity of political parties on women's political leadership:** Encouraging and providing both financial and technical support to political parties through their umbrella organizations to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women, youth and PWDs; to develop their capacity to analyse issues from a gender and inclusiveness perspective, and to adopt policies and procedures, as appropriate, to promote the ability of marginalized groups to participate fully at all levels of decision-making within political parties and other decision making organs, e.g. Parliament and Councils.
- v. **Capacity strengthening of women, youth and PWD political aspirants and candidates:** Encouraging the participation of women, youth and PWDs in political leadership and electoral processes by identifying and training aspirants and candidates, targeting their specific needs for successful political candidacies within their constituencies and political parties.
- vi. **Mitigating violence against women in elections (VAWE):** Supporting the increased awareness and monitoring of VAWE during elections to enable a comprehensive understanding of the type and scope of the violence and its implications for women voters' turnout and overall participation in elections.
- vii. **Strengthening capacities of women's caucuses of parliament:** Supporting enhanced capacity among members of women's caucus of parliament, Parliamentary Committees and House of Representatives Committees to engage in discussions on gender equality and women's rights, including in the legislative reform processes and on gender responsive and inclusive budgeting.

### 3.3. End of project evaluation, best practices and new project document

UN Women engaged Sambodhi Limited (Tanzania) to conduct the end of project evaluation of its Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation. The evaluation exercise was conducted in February and March 2017 and touched upon key research questions in line with equity evaluation approach. This end of project evaluation is utilization focussed in nature. Outputs from the evaluation have been used to condense and present best practices emerging from the project. Together the challenges and success stories have provided key recommendations for the next phase of the project. A major output from the evaluation exercise is a new project document on women leadership and political participation, that incorporates the recommendations.

The evaluation exercise and new project document have been developed in a participatory and consultative manner. The evaluation exercise (methodology, planning and data collection) was presented to the stakeholders during an inception meeting, which allowed evaluators to improve upon

the comments/suggestions made by stakeholders. The results of the evaluation report were shared with the implementing partners in a stakeholder validation workshop after the evaluation exercise. The stakeholder validation workshop was also key to developing the new project document. Subsequent sections of this report present the evaluation methodology for the end of project evaluation, key findings and recommendations for the Wanawake-Wanaweza project on women leadership and political participation.

---

## 4. Evaluation methodology

---

The end of project evaluation plays a critical role in contributing to the existing body of evidence. Though several interventions and projects have been carried out in the past aimed at increasing political participation among women, youth and PWDs, there are very few evaluation studies that have commented on intervention effectiveness in a systematic manner. Learnings from the present study play a critical role for the future evaluations; *providing benchmarks for indicators, identifying attribution wherever possible and providing critical narratives on lived experiences of beneficiaries.*

### 4.1. Methodology

The evaluation methodology for this end of project evaluation was designed considering the intervention logic and objectives of the project. The methodology was shared with the stakeholders during an inception meeting and was improved upon subsequently.

The end of project assessment consisted of 3 components namely;

- i. Conducting a utilization and equity focused end-project evaluation answering the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) components of Design, Relevance & Coherence, Efficiency, Effectiveness and Sustainability.
- ii. Capturing best practices of the project as key learnings
- iii. Incorporating the key learnings to develop a new project document

Our evaluation methodology responds to the 3 components mentioned above. The evaluation methodology adopts the framework for equity-focused evaluations. We have further incorporated a mix of designs and frameworks that have anchored the overall evaluation exercise. The evaluation was **qualitative** in nature. The evaluation follows equity based evaluations framework as an overarching approach (Bamberger & Segone, 2010). This approach will be supported by bottleneck analysis based on secondary data synthesis, which is a sub-component of equity based evaluations approach. The evaluation also incorporates a strong gender based approach such as Equality and empowerment framework. A step-by-step guide for the evaluation process has been presented in Figure 1:

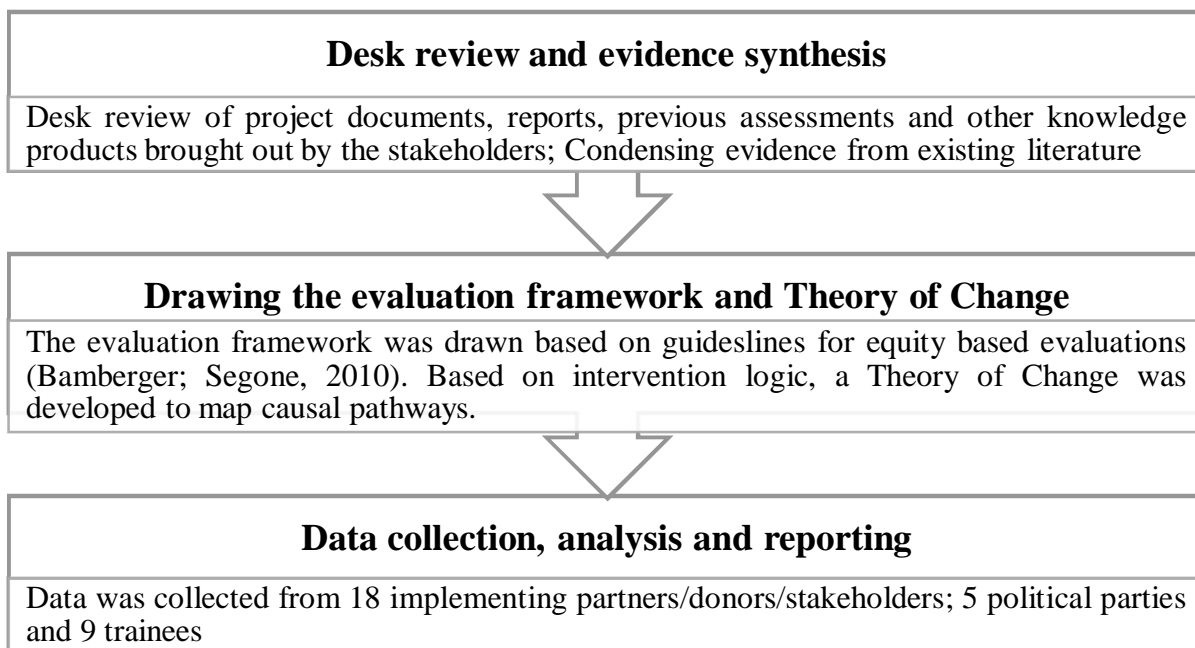


Figure 1: Process flow of the evaluation

The qualitative data captured through primary and secondary sources were analysed to comment on the outputs and outcomes of the intervention. Quantitative data points, captured from secondary sources, have also been presented. The key data collection tool used was **in-depth interview schedules**, enabling evaluators to capture qualitative narratives and conduct query analysis. A snapshot of the sample collected for the evaluation exercise is shown in Table 3:

Table 3: Research instruments

Sl. No.	Respondent group	(N)	Research instruments
1	Implementing partners	13	In-depth interview schedule; Project management framework
2	Electoral Management Bodies and ORPP	3	In-depth interview schedule
3	Donors	2	In-depth interview schedule; Project management framework
4	Political parties	5	In-depth interview schedule
5	Trainees	9	In-depth interview schedule; EEF framework

The respondent group for trainees (political aspirants) was distributed across 3 categories namely: trainees who attended the Wanawake-Wanaweza training and were nominated by their political party; trainees who attended the Wanawake-Wanaweza training but were not nominated by their political party; and trainees who did not attend the Wanawake-Wanaweza training but were nominated by their political party.

A more granular version of the list of respondents and evaluation framework with key indicators has been provided in the annexures.

## 4.2. Key methods of inquiry

### 4.2.1. EEF and Project Management Framework

The key method of inquiry for the stakeholders was guided by the Equality and Empowerment Framework (also known as the Longwe Hierarchy of Needs). The framework can be applied to any situation while deciding where to focus future activities. The EEF is based on 5 levels of progression namely; welfare, access, conscientization, participation and control.

The five levels of empowerment represent a progression. Higher levels of equality and empowerment indicate that individuals and groups possess increasing means of control. The lowest level is welfare, and the highest is control. Each level is given a score of 1. In this evaluation, respondents were firstly probed to provide their responses (qualitative/quantitative) on activities conducted under the project and how they affect the final beneficiaries. Subsequently, the answers were drafted in the EEF framework and scored. The EEF scores were collected from the trainees only and have been used to report their perception on critical components addressed by the project.

Secondly, the implementing partners were also asked to provide their perception on major project management components. The project management questions were built into a Likert scale where respondents were provided with a statement and asked to respond on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = completely disagree, 5 = completely agree).

#### **4.2.2. In-depth interviews**

Qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with the identified respondents. In-depth interviews assist in; *pooling together qualitative insights and developing narratives/case stories*. In-depth interviews are popularly used for gauging respondent's views/perceptions on key aspects of the intervention. In-depth interviews were transcribed and qualitatively analysed to provide narratives, key learnings, and case stories.

#### **4.2.3. Case stories**

Case stories were recorded as the method of inquiry for women, youth and PWD aspirants. Case stories is an effective method to capture an aspirant's journey through the intervention cycle. Case story schedule consisted of probing questions and their perceptions on the efficacy of an intervention along with the EEF framework. A combination of EEF framework scores, narratives, case stories and other insights within the broader boundaries of DAC framework (equity based evaluations) have answered the key evaluation questions for the Wanawake-Wanaweza project.

### **4.3. Ethical protocol**

The study incorporated ethical norms and confidentiality maintenance mechanisms. The underscoring core tenets of research ethics were:

**Beneficence:** Refers to the obligation of the researcher to maximize benefits for the individual participant, while minimizing the risk of harm to the individual.

**Autonomy:** Refers to the right of the participants to determine their participation in the study. The participant is liable to complete information regarding the study before deciding their participation. The information provided should be such that it is comprehensible by the participants and they can appreciate the consequences of the participation. The autonomy of the participant is gained through the informed consent process, whereby an investigator provides a potential research participant with full disclosure about the nature of the study, the risks, benefits and alternatives, and an extended opportunity to ask questions before deciding whether to participate.

**Justice:** This refers to the equal participation of participants.

Based on the above-mentioned points, we incorporated the following ethical mechanisms (Figure 2):

---

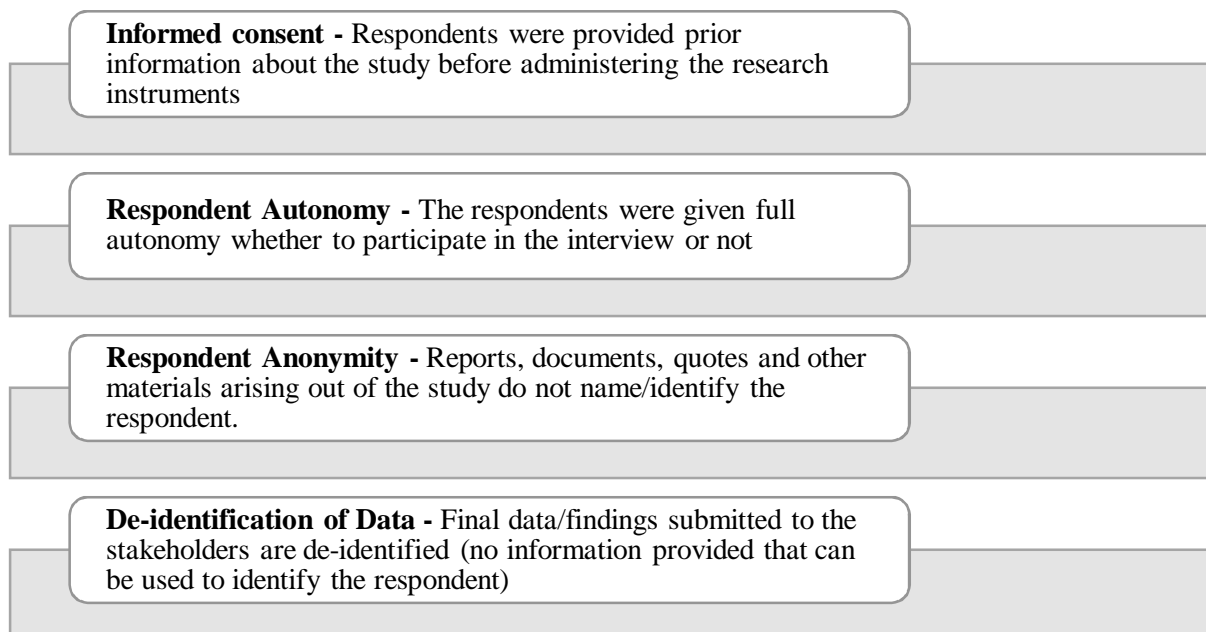
## 5. Limitations of the study

---

This section of the report presents the limitations of the evaluation. Limitations and challenges were encountered both at design and execution level and have been presented in the points below:

- i. The evaluation methodology is qualitative in nature and does not collect primary data on quantitative indices. The sampling methodology does not incorporate statistical significance, power or design effects. This study will not be able to provide statistically significant estimates for the indicators.
- ii. The study aimed to cover 14 implementing partners/stakeholders and 7 political parties, but the actual data collection could only be done with 13 implementing partners and 5 political parties. Some of the interviews could not be conducted as the key respondents had prior commitments/were unavailable for the interview. A detailed list of respondents has been presented in the annexures.
- iii. The sample of trainees (9 respondents) selected for the study would not be able to comment on the geographical effects of the project.
- iv. Cost-effectiveness for the project could not be computed due to the following reasons:
  - a. The nature of intervention deals with democratic empowerment, and the boundaries of the project are difficult to ascertain, quantify and assign monetary terms.
  - b. The nature of the project requires longer gestation period to show quantifiable

*Figure 2: Ethical protocols for the study*



impacts that can be then monetized. Since the project has only operated for a period of 2 years (2014-16), the resulting cost effectiveness outputs (NPV, IRR) may be misleading as they might show low-sustainability in the short term.

- c. The availability of data on accrued monetary benefits may not be available with the project team. Cost-effectiveness analysis depends on both cost of interventions as well as accrued benefits.

---

## 6. Desk review of literature on political landscape in Tanzania

---

A thorough desk review of existing literature on the political landscape of Tanzania was carried out to understand the situation of women, youth and PWD aspirants and candidates. The project partnered with several academicians to create a rich pool of research efforts concerning the political landscape of Tanzania. The efforts included baseline assessments, situational assessments, aspirant feedback assessments, barrier-enabler analysis and so on. Studies were also conducted to understand the incidence of violence against women during elections (VAWE) and analysis of media coverage of women, youth and PWD candidates during the elections.

The desk review borrowed extensively from the existing literature to develop a foundation for the evaluation. The following sub-sections describe the discourse of political participation in Tanzania in a nutshell.

### 6.1. Legal framework for increasing participation of marginalized groups

Since the 1990s, Tanzania has increased its engagement in advocating for women in leadership (WIL), specifically after signing and ratifying the CEDAW. Civil Society has increased its engagements and the voice of women became louder by the year 2000 when the government reviewed and approved the National Gender Policy. This formed the backdrop of gender equity initiatives that spawned from the disempowered state of women in the political as well as economic race. At that time, women were not given equal opportunity in various leadership positions because of several socio-cultural barriers that stemmed from a highly patriarchal society. Fuelled by the women's own lack of confidence, there was limited progress made in WIL. However, with time and against the backdrop of the Maputo Protocol, civil society gained momentum and was supported by external donors who backed gender initiatives across the country. Women leaders in the corporate sector began to take executive positions, and this gave rise to the interest of many to join the political race.

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) makes provisions to ensure equality to all citizens. Chapter 1, Part II of the constitution observes that *the government and all its agencies accord equal opportunities to all citizens, men and women alike, without regard to their colour, tribe, religion or station in life*. The section also observes that the state authority and all its agencies are obliged to direct their policies and programmes towards ensuring *that human dignity is preserved and upheld in accordance with the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (URT, 1977) (Killian, 2014).

Chapter 1, Part III, Section 13 of the constitution dealing with the right to equality states that *all persons are equal before the law and are entitled, without any discrimination, to protection and equality before the law* (URT, 1977). While the provisions made in the constitution provide the necessary legal framework, the challenge lies in the extent of the implementation, which is still lagging in many aspects (Killian, 2014). Reviews and reports on the analysis of the Constitution through the gender lens notes several drawbacks, especially pertaining to gender based violence. Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 in its bill of rights and duties (Articles 12 to 29 of this Constitution) bars discrimination based on sex. This address only the de jure (letter of the law) and not the de facto (the practical effect of the law on the intended population). This falls short of the definition of CEDAW which requires state parties to address both the law and the practice (TAWLA, 2014).

The National Elections Act (Cap. 343) 1985, Local Government Elections Act (Cap. 292) and the Political Parties Act No. 9 (1992) are meant to create a democratic process which promotes equal participation of all people (women, men, youths and PWD) in political processes (T-WCP, 2015). However, the report on the analysis of the National Elections Act (1985) observes several gender gaps in the language of the law. For example; a candidate is identified as *a person who submits himself for election to the National Assembly*. The use of word *himself* can be interpreted as being skewed



towards male candidates vis-à-vis female candidates (TWCP, 2013). Similarly, gaps have been observed in the language of the Political Parties Act (1992) that aims to provide terms and conditions and the procedure for the registration of political parties. For example; a political party has been defined as *any organized group formed for the purpose of forming a government or local authority within the United Republic through elections or for putting up or supporting candidates to such elections*. The term *organized group* does not reflect the representation of gender. Section 5 of the Act provides for the appointment of assistant registrars and other officers by the Minister but does not specify the requirement of gender balance/ proportionality (Semakafu & Lihuru, 2013).

However, there has been growing awareness and focus issues around gender and empowerment of women in line with the electoral process. In line with the objective of increasing democratic participation and transparency, MKUKUTA/MKUZA (Cluster 3) aimed to ensure the poor have access to democratic participation in the monitoring of public resources, rule of law, human rights etc., (National strategy for growth and reduction of poverty, 2010).

Tanzania is one of the African countries that have ratified the relevant United Nations and African Union instruments protecting the rights of women. In 1979, Tanzania signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Tanzania is also a signatory to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995. In addition, Tanzania is among the 23 countries that have ratified the AU Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003). Moreover, Tanzania has ratified the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and is a signatory to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development. In line with its commitments towards inclusive growth and governance, Government of Tanzania (GoT) has also introduced the National Strategy for Gender Development as well as a National Gender Policy (2000) that advocates supporting women in political participation and contesting for elections (National Strategy for Gender Development). Further, GoT has introduced the National Policy on Disability (2004), which advocates creating sustainable interventions for PWDs. However, the policy is silent on strategies to increase political participation among PWDs.

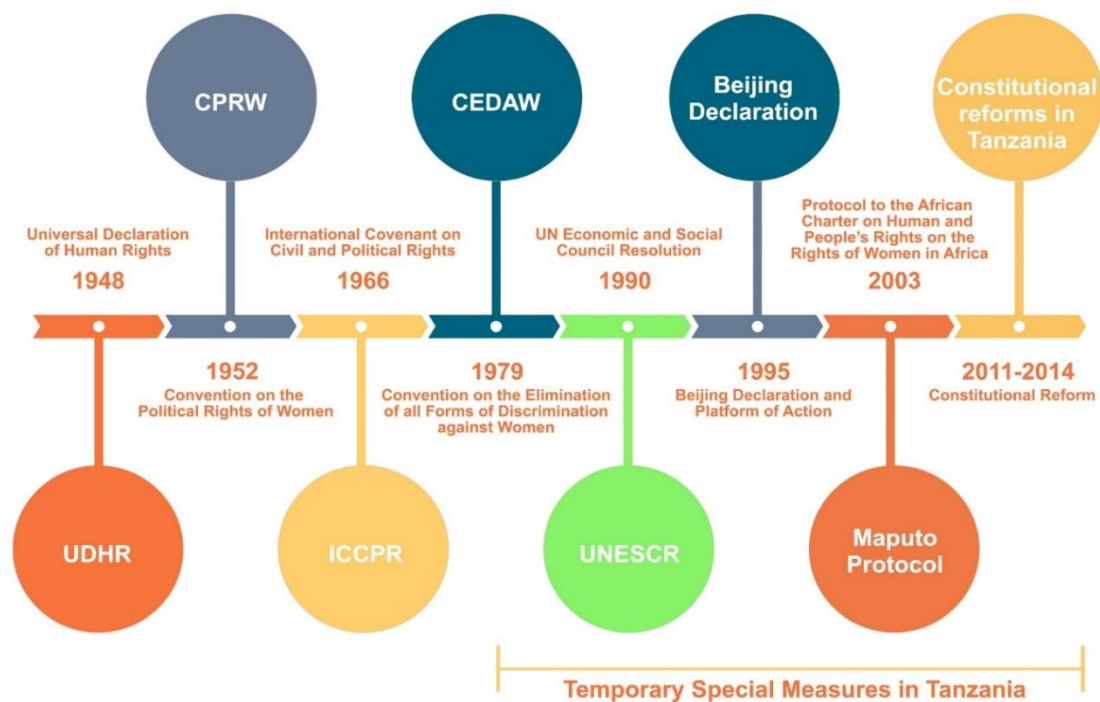


Figure 3: National and International frameworks on gender mainstreaming in Tanzania

## 6.2. Landscape of political participation in Tanzania

### 6.2.1. Women in Tanzanian politics

Despite constitutional measures and international frameworks, women, youth and PWDs remain under-represented in the landscape of Tanzanian politics. A quick look at the key indicators for women in Tanzania shows that gender disparities exist across a range of areas subjects. Women form much of the population in the country (51% of the total population) and provide 71% of labour force in rural areas<sup>6</sup> (Oscorio, Percic, & Battista, 2014). Nonetheless, women register a higher rate of unemployment than men in Tanzania<sup>7</sup> (WB, n.d.). 27.2% of females (15-24 years) were illiterate vis-à-vis 23.5% males of the same age group (UNICEF, n.d.).

Women in Tanzania also report a high rate of fertility (5.3%<sup>8</sup>). About 52% of adolescent girls are reported to have had sexual debut before the age of 18, 17% (of females between 15-19 years) have had a live birth and 6% are pregnant with their first child (Killian, 2014). The rate of child marriages in Tanzania is also high with 7% of girls married before 15 years of age and 37% of girls married before 18 years of age<sup>9</sup> (UNICEF, n.d.). The issue of gender based violence is also an area of concern with 31% of young women experiencing physical violence at the age of 15 years (Killian, 2014). The skewed socio-economic indicators present a picture of gender-based inequality among women which also makes women more vulnerable to stresses and shocks in the economy.

Similarly, women are under-represented politically with 95% of women in Tanzanian parliament selected through special seat arrangements between 1985-2010 (Meena, 2015). Currently, the number of female members of the parliament (MP) is at 37.9%, but the indicator disguises the fact that most of the MPs have been selected through Temporary Special Measures (TSM). Several reasons have been identified as contributing to this low participation of women in politics, including the majoritarian electoral system, political parties as gate keepers, corruption, electoral violence, lack of economic power, culture and limited civic education (Makulilo, 2014).

As noted in several studies, the practice of intra and inter-party nominations has shown a skewness towards nominating male candidates. Women, youth and PWDs are often left out as they are considered under-qualified for the job. A popular Swahili phrase “*hawauziki*” is used, which means that they do not have election market value (T-WCP, 2015). Considering that independent candidacies are not allowed in Tanzania, it is the political parties that are the gate keepers of the nomination and candidacy process. However, male dominated nomination systems within political parties may prevent women candidates from being nominated, particularly with the stiff intra-party competition. Gender discrimination remains one of the major obstacles for women, as several female candidates’ report experiencing gender discrimination during intra party and electoral campaigns (Killian, 2016). Such incidents are commonly reported, despite indicative estimates reporting that women nominees have a higher chance of getting elected vis-à-vis male nominees (Meena & Makulilo, 2015). It is also interesting to note that the women representation done through TSM provides only limited representation. As noted by T-WCP, the women MPs through special seats are treated as second class representatives who cannot access electoral resources and are not entitled to constituency funds (T-WCP, 2015).

Violence against women during elections is also one of the major concerns which have been highlighted in the recent studies. In a study conducted by College of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Dar-es-Salaam (CASS-UDSM) on mapping electoral violence during 2010 elections, 83% of respondents had heard of electoral violence, 58.5% had witnessed electoral violence while 31.7% had experienced electoral violence (Makulilo, 2014).

---

<sup>6</sup> The labour force participation rate for women is 71% and for men is 74% in rural areas

<sup>7</sup> World Bank estimates modelled on ILO data

<sup>8</sup> Statistics by UNICEF; Total fertility rate, 2012, stands at 5.3%

<sup>9</sup> Data provided by UNICEF for the period of 2008-2014

### 6.2.2. Youth in Tanzanian politics

Unlike gender, the evidence on political participation of youth in Tanzanian politics is lesser. Demographically, the median age of the population in Tanzania mainland was 18 years (male 17.4, female 18.5) (Census, 2014). The National Bureau of Statistics (2013) states that half of Tanzania's population ranges between 0-17 years (50.1%) (Killian, 2014). The population between 15-35 years is about 34.7%, however, the representation of youth in Tanzanian politics does not reflect the demographic trend.

As Table 4 depicts, candidates between the age groups of 46-65 years' form much of candidates for parliamentary and councillorship elections in 2005 (Killian, 2014). In 2010 general elections, a total of 239 candidates were elected to the Union Parliament, out of which youth garnered only 19 seats (7.8%).

Table 4: Distribution of candidates for parliamentary and councillorship elections in 2005

Age	Number of Candidates	Percentage %
Below 25 years	57	0.6
25 – 45 years	1501	17.0
46 – 54 years	2119	24.1
55 – 65 years	4663	53.0
Above 65 years	270	3.1
Age not indicated	196	2.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>8806</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The review of the literature on youth participation reveals two distinct set of issues. As reported by TCD, though youth wings of political parties exist, anecdotal evidence shows that the daily operations of the youth wings are often dictated by party veterans. In addition, youth have clustered themselves as support groups and have stepped back to the fringes of the political process (Makulilo, 2014). Secondly, Makulilo (2014) reports that the term “youth” in popular discourse often connotes “male/men youth”. The patriarchal language and perceptions act as a barrier for female youth leaders. Data on collected from key stakeholders reveal that a significant proportion views youth more positively than women and PWDs<sup>10</sup>. A significant majority (76.5%) of respondents identified youth in leadership positions in their respective areas; 35% were women and 65% were men (Makulilo, 2014). There is a significant support for youth that has been reported in the data. However, the support is skewed towards male sections of the youth which perpetuates gender inequalities across youth politics.

Children and youth in Tanzania are potential contenders for key government leadership positions in the future, and both boys and girls need to be empowered and given the tools and skills that will prepare them for leadership roles. Gender discrimination, harmful traditional practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), and the high rate of youth unemployment are examples of socio-economic barriers that impede the development of boys and girls from an early age. Despite the efforts made by state and non-state actors, more interventions are required so that children and youth are mentored in life skills, good governance and values-based leadership.

### 6.2.3. PWD in Tanzanian politics

Like youth, the data and evidence for PWDs in Tanzanian politics are limited and anecdotal. Demographically, 13.2% of households in Tanzania have persons with disabilities (13.3% in Tanzania Mainland, 9.3% in Zanzibar) (Tanzania Disability Survey, 2008). But the proportion of PWDs aspirants for political parties is minimal. The baseline survey carried out by TCD (2014) reports that

<sup>10</sup> In this context, “youth” is connoted as male/men.

in 68% of the mapped areas, PWDs were not found in leadership positions. It was learned that PWDs face discrimination and exclusion at different stages of their lives (Makulilo, 2014). This is further evidenced by the fact that in the 2010 general elections, only one (0.48%) MP was from the PWD group (*ibid*).

PWDs are stigmatized across sectors and 90% of PWDs do not attend schools due to a combination of stigmatization, inappropriate infrastructure and poverty. The illiteracy rate among PWDs stands at 47.6% compared to 25.3% of the people without disabilities (LHRC, 2011). As noted in the TCD baseline, the marginalization of PWDs in socio-economic areas has distinct implications, as PWDs lack skills and competence which reduce their resource base necessary for political competition. PWD nominees are often subjected to discrimination and stigmatization by fellow nominees, as anecdotal evidence from the 2015 elections reveals. The discrimination and stigmatization of PWDs stand in contrast to the Persons with Disabilities Act of 2010, which incriminates all forms of discrimination and mistreatment against persons with disability.

#### 6.2.4. Key drivers and barriers

A study of key drivers and barriers impacting the political participation of women, youth and PWDs has been presented as case studies across several reports. Table 5 clubs together common drivers that catalyse the political participation of women, youth and PWDs, and barriers that create bottlenecks.

Table 5: Key drivers and barriers to political participation for women, youth and PWDs

Drivers	Barriers
<p>1. Candidate’s educational qualification – Data collected from 2015 elections reports that those with higher educational qualification have a higher likelihood of winning.</p> <p>2. Prior leadership experience – One’s electoral viability is enhanced by accumulating leadership experience, allowing them to build social capital and networks.</p> <p>3. Access to funding – Anecdotal evidence reports that candidates with better access to funding have a better chance at being nominated within their political parties and getting elected in the elections.</p> <p>4. Empowerment training programme – Majority of women candidates interviewed for the 2015 elections mentioned that they had undergone capacity strengthening training which has proven beneficial.</p> <p>5. Special seat effect – A substantial proportion of women MPs who win in their constituencies have had been MPs through the special seat window.</p> <p>6. Support from political parties – Anecdotal experience indicates that when a party nominates a women candidate, the candidate receives support throughout the duration of the election.</p>	<p>1. Lack of funding – Women, youth and PWDs often find it difficult to fund or find sponsors to fund their campaign.</p> <p>2. Corruption – Another frequently occurring challenge for aspirants during the nomination and campaign process is corruption (monetary, material and sexual).</p> <p>3. The humiliation of women aspirants – Reports mention that female candidates are subjected humiliation, insults and misdemeanour at campaign rallies.</p> <p>4. Lack of support from political party – Political parties often act as gate keepers, choosing male candidates more than female/PWD candidates.</p> <p>5. Lack of experience – Women, youth and PWDs are often not considered for the nomination because the candidates may lack prior leadership experience to run for the office.</p> <p>6. Lack of economic power – Women, youth and PWD own fewer resources than their counterparts. These groups are, thus, systematically excluded from participating in politics because cannot afford the expensive elections which are common practice in Tanzania</p>

Drivers	Barriers
	<p>7. Violence against women during elections (VAWE) is a key area of concern reported by female aspirants.</p> <p>8. Delay in amending existing legislations to incorporate gender neutral language and filling-in the gender gaps in policy.</p>

The process of desk review helped in identifying the landscape of political participation across women, youth and PWDs in the political landscape of Tanzania. Insights from existing studies helped influence the research questions and analytical framework. Based on the review, tools for data collection were developed. The next sub-section will present the findings from the data collected across a range of evaluation components.

---

## 7. Findings from the end of project evaluation

---

### 7.1. Findings vis-à-vis Results Framework

This sub-section presents the key findings in line with the results framework for the project. The analysis on specific outcomes, outputs and targets have been presented in the Annexures.

#### 7.1.1. Narrative on Outcome 1.1

Outcome 1.1 states that the constitution, electoral and political participation laws advance and promote women's rights and gender equality in political participation. As a target, the outcome aims to achieve 50-50 distribution of parliamentary seats for women and men in the new constitution. The key activities (defined under outcomes) that were to support the outcomes were; *capacity strengthening of institutions to provide recommendations for the constitutional review process & capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians to raise the issues through parliamentary processes.*

Several strategic efforts were undertaken to realise the outcome. A key element of the support for this outcome was to provide technical and financial support to the women's movement through the Women's Coalition on the Constitutional Review (WCCR) on advocacy and awareness raising at the policy and grassroots level. The Coalition worked with and mobilized women to engage with the Constitution Review Commission as well as Constitution Review Forums at the Ward level. This led to the adoption of 50-50<sup>11</sup> principle in the new proposed Constitution and other women's rights principles. Out of the 12 key GEWE principles identified by the WCCR, 11 were included in the new proposed Constitution. The Coalition now consists of about 70 grassroots women's organizations advocating for women's rights including leadership and political participation.

However, despite the strategic engagement and efforts, the revised constitution was not adopted before 2015 elections. UN Women, in its project document, had rightly identified the risk, as the actual ratification of the new constitution by Tanzanian parliament was outside the control of the project. The ratification of the new constitution with the provision of 50-50 distribution of parliamentary seats across male and female parliamentarians is expected to happen before 2020 elections.

It is noteworthy to mention that advocacy and awareness raising with NEC by the WCCR under WFT's coordination resulted in an increase in the proportion of women parliamentarians through Temporary Special Measures from 30% (which is provided for in the current constitution) to 40% as a progressive step towards achievement of the SADC agreed benchmark of 50%.

The project aimed at supporting at least 2 institutions to develop recommendations on women's political participation and women's rights. During the implementation of the project, 3 implementing partners were engaged in developing recommendations on inclusive political participation and women's rights. Among the 3 partners, ORPP developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy (GESI); ZEC developed the Gender and Social Inclusion Policy for Zanzibar and the Women's Coalition under WFT's coordination engaged in providing policy level recommendations and technical support on the review of 3 electoral laws namely; Electoral Expenses Act, National Elections Act and Political Parties Act. UN Women supported a review of the laws and provided technical support to incorporate GEWE principles as part of the review that was initiated by the ORPP on the two electoral laws within its mandate namely; the Electoral Expenses Act and the Political Parties Act. UN Women also engaged with NEC and ZEC through the DEP in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce discrimination and violence

---

<sup>11</sup> The new proposed Constitution integrates gender equality principle in representation, i.e. Article 129 (4) (2) (a) "equal representation of women and men in the parliament"

against women and PWDs during the 2015 elections. In addition, technical support was provided to ZEC to adopt Gender and Social Inclusion Policy (GESI) and its principles were integrated into the Strategic Plan to guide implementation.

Another notable achievement that contributed to the realization of this outcome was the way 12 initiatives out of the 6 originally planned were effectively rolled out by the Women's Caucus in Parliament (Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar) on women's rights and gender equality, including in relation to the Constitutional Review process, gender gaps in existing laws and adoption of Gender Responsive Budgeting. The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians/ministries on legislations and policies towards gender equality and women's empowerment. The women's caucus in Zanzibar has also tabled its first private motion on gender based violence in the House of Representatives for Zanzibar. Anecdotal evidence and qualitative interviews report that there has been an increase in the participation of women parliamentarians in the parliamentary proceedings, which can be attributed to the training and capacity strengthening interventions provided under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project.

### 7.1.2. Narrative for Outcome 1.2

This outcome aimed at enhancing the participation of women, youth and people with disabilities within the political party structures and electoral processes. The outcome aimed at increasing the proportion of women, youth and PWDs in the political party nominations and as final Member of Parliaments. The outcome target was realized for Zanzibar with 13% (excluding special seats) of the total parliamentarians in Zanzibar as women in 2015 vis-à-vis the target of 10%. In Tanzania mainland, the proportion of women as elected representatives was 10%, excluding special seats. Based on the follow up studies carried out on the trained candidates under the project, 2.9% of all the women MPs elected in Tanzania (both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar) through special seats or elections, were trained under the Wanawake-Wanaweza and DEP projects<sup>12</sup> (Refer to annexures).

The project applied multiple strategies to increase the representation of women, youth and PWDs in the parliament. The activities implemented have been listed as follows –

- Identification of political aspirants (women, youth and PWD) for the 2015 elections
- Training and capacity strengthening of identified political aspirants and candidates (women, youth and PWD) for the 2015 elections
- Sensitization workshops with political parties to advocate for greater representation of women, youth and PWDs in the internal party nominations
- Review of 10 political parties' constitutions and regulations to identify gender gaps with specific focus on nomination process and learn best practices
- Capacity strengthening workshops and technical support to EMBs & ORPP to fill gender gaps in existing legislations and adopt gender responsive policies
- Involving stakeholder institutions in the coordination/response mechanism that express commitment and design strategies outlining their actions in ensuring violence free elections for female voters and candidates
- Sensitization and training of community leaders and stakeholders to accept and promote women, youth and PWDs as political aspirants and candidates

The project engaged with implementing partners who have a relevant mandate and necessary capacity to work with political parties for mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates before the 2015 elections, as well as the training and sensitization of political party leaders. Supported by the project, TWCP carried out the mapping of

---

<sup>12</sup> Total number of women elected MPs trained by the project = TMPp

Total number of women elected MPs = TMPe

Total number of women special seats MPs = TMPsp

**$[\text{TMPp} / (\text{TMPe} + \text{TMPsp})] \times 100$**

aspirants across all the regions of Tanzania, working closely with all registered political parties including validating the list of aspirants. TWCP's coordination and engagement with political parties were critical in identifying 1925 women, youth and PWD aspirants for the 2015 elections.

Implementing partners TWCP, TGNP, LHRC and TAMWA subsequently trained 1282 women, youth and PWD aspirants on leadership and communication skills, campaign management, budgeting and fundraising, conflict management etc. Similarly, 713 political candidates were trained for the 2015 elections that consisted of 618 women, 25 PWDs and 70 youth. The fierce competition between the ruling party and the opposition coalition was disadvantageous for women who aspired for different leadership positions in 2015 since political parties preferred to support male candidates, whom they perceived had a greater chance of being elected. Despite this political landscape, the 2015 elections saw an increase in the number of female parliamentarians in National Assembly of Tanzania from 24 in 2010 to 26 in 2015<sup>13</sup> and House of Representatives, Zanzibar from 3 in 2010 to 7 in 2015<sup>14</sup>. Including special seats, the total number of women parliamentarians in the National Assembly of Tanzania is 139 and House of Representatives, Zanzibar is 29 (2015). 4 among the 139 women parliamentarians in the National Assembly of Tanzania were a part of the Wanawake-Wanaweza training programme. Similarly, 1 out of the 29 women parliamentarians in the House of Representatives, Zanzibar was a part of the Wanawake-Wanaweza training programme (TGNP, 2016).

The project also engaged with political parties through implementing partners. Implementing partners such as TCD and TWCP were the key non-state actors that engaged with political parties given their extensive experience of working with political parties. TCD conducted sensitization workshops for 851 political party leaders across 6 political parties in 5 regions of Tanzania Mainland. The constitutions and manifestos of 10 political parties were reviewed by project partners to identify gender gaps. State actors such as ORPP were also provided with technical support to identify best practices regarding nomination processes that promote the nomination of women and other marginalized groups as a part of law review and adoption of gender responsive policies.

The participation and response from political parties indicate the willingness of parties to adopt gender responsive and inclusive internal nominations. One of the political parties' leaders interviewed officially recognized the need for party interventions to decrease discrimination and violence against women by instituting disciplinary committees across all levels. Another political party has amended its constitution to allow for women quotas in the party nomination process. These are examples of positive efforts made by various stakeholders that have contributed to this outcome.

Similarly, the project helped create a supportive environment for women, youth and PWDs by engaging with election management bodies and ORPP. ORPP held multiple discussions with political parties and anecdotal evidence suggests that all political parties agreed that gender and social inclusion should be mainstreamed in the nomination process. Political will has been strengthened through this project and this is evident through the various measures taken by some of the EMBs; for example, ORPP, with the technical support provided by Wanawake-Wanaweza project, is presently looking to incorporate gender equality principles in the amendments to the Political Parties Act and Election Expenses Act to fill gender gaps in the legislation. ORPP and ZEC have also developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy with the support of Wanawake-Wanaweza project to guide the systematic integration of gender equality and inclusive principles in the electoral processes. The abovementioned activities have contributed to the increase in political representation of women in Tanzania.

### **7.1.3. Narrative on Outcome 1.3**

The outcome aimed at advocating gender equality and social inclusion effectively by engaging with media, faith based and community leaders and grass-root organizations and networks. The outcome targets to increase the proportion of women councillors to 5% in Tanzania Mainland and 12.05% in Zanzibar. The outcome targets have been met

---

<sup>13</sup> Statistics from Office of the Registrar of Political Parties

<sup>14</sup> Statistics from the Zanzibar Election Commission



as 5.2% of the total elected councillors in Tanzania Mainland are women and 20.7% of total elected councillors in Zanzibar are women. Among the total number of women councillors (elected and special seats), 4.5% have been trained under the Wanawake-Wanaweza training programme<sup>15</sup>.

The success in realizing this outcome can be attributed to the strong community based initiatives and positive influence of media. Wanawake-Wanaweza project sensitized more than 10,000 community members directly through sensitization workshops. The project supported 13 grassroots women's rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women's leadership and political empowerment through the Women Fund Tanzania grants making facility. Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders, i.e. faith based and community leaders.

During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation such as; ITV, Radio One, TBC1, TBC Taifa, Star TV, East African TV, Clouds FM, Clouds TV, TV 1, Capital TV, Azam TV, Mlimani TV, Channel 10, Tumaini TV, ZBC TV, ZBC Radio, HITS FM, Zanj FM, CHUCHU FM and Kitulo FM.

Data available for 18 radio stations (both community and other radios) and 25 newspapers was analysed. The findings suggest that 44% of the radio stations and 28% of newspapers covered stories on women, youth and PWDs leadership more than 4 times during the 2015 elections. Anecdotal evidence from implementing partners, beneficiaries and other stakeholders point to the fact that there has been a steady increased in awareness among community members. Studies have noted that 99% of study respondents would vote for a qualified female/PWD candidate and 98% would vote for a qualified youth candidate (TCD & LHRC, 2014).

### 7.1.3. Summarizing the analysis

Table 6: Summary of results framework analysis

Sl. No.	Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Target	Result in end-line
1	<b>1.1. (Outcome)</b> The constitution, electoral and political participation laws advance and promote women's rights and gender equality in political participation	The constitution and electoral/political participation laws integrate provisions on gender equality in leadership and political participation	Provision of 50-50 division of leadership positions at all levels	WW project supported the Women's Coalition on the Constitutional Review on advocacy and awareness. Out of the 12 key GEWE principles identified, 11 were included in the new constitution. The new constitution proposes a provision of 50-50 division of leadership positions in the parliament.
2	<b>1.1.1. (Output)</b> Capacities of key institutions	Number of institutions that develop	2 institutions	The project supported 3 implementing

<sup>15</sup> Total number of women elected councillors trained by the project = TCp  
 Total number of women elected councillors = TCe  
 Total number of women special seats councillors = TCsp  
 $[\text{TCp} / (\text{TCe} + \text{TCsp})] \times 100$

Sl. No.	Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Target	Result in end-line
	enhanced for review of constitution and development of political participation and electoral laws that promote women's rights, women's political participation and leadership	recommendations on the integration of provisions on women's political participation and women's rights in the revised constitution		partners in developing recommendations on inclusive political participation and women's rights (ORPP, ZEC, WFT in support of the Women's Coalition); UN Women also engaged with NEC and ZEC through the DEP in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce discrimination and violence against women and PWDs
3	<b>1.1.2. (Output)</b> Capacities enhanced among members of women's caucus of parliament and Parliamentary Committees to engage in discussions on gender equality and women's rights, including Constitutional Review process on Gender Response Budgeting (Mainland and Zanzibar)	Number of initiatives organized by the Women's Caucus in Parliament on women's rights and gender issues, including relation to the Constitutional Review and adoption of Gender Responsive Budgeting Initiatives (Mainland and Zanzibar)	6 initiatives	12 initiatives (5 TWPG, 7 UWAWAZA)
4	<b>1.2. (Outcome)</b> Participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in political party structures and electoral processes enhanced	Proportion of women, youth and PWDs in political party nominations and elected MPs	15% in Tanzania Mainland, 10% in Zanzibar	10% in Tanzania Mainland, 13% in Zanzibar
5	<b>1.2.1. (Output)</b> Women, youth and PWDs identified as aspirants for the 2015 elections	Number of women, youth and PWDs aspirants identified to stand in the 2015 elections	1500 women	1,925 aspirants were mapped; 1119 women, 701 youth men; among women, 105 PWDs identified
6	<b>1.2.2. (Output)</b> Skills and capacities of women, youth and PWD as aspirants, candidates and party leaders strengthened	Number of women, youth and PWD aspirants and candidates whose capacities are strengthened because of the project support	At least 900 women candidates trained	1,282 political aspirants have been trained by implementing partners; 723 aspirants that could be tracked in a follow up study and 438 were women. In addition, 713 candidates (618 women, 25 PWDs and 70 youth) who contested during the 2015 elections from various parties, were empowered to increase their public speaking, leadership and campaigning skills.
7	<b>1.2.3. (Output)</b> Political parties' awareness, skills and knowledge enhanced to promote political participation and leadership of women,	Number of political parties that have designed measures to promote political participation and leadership of women,	2 political parties	851 political party leaders across 6 political parties trained; among them, 1 political party has setup disciplinary

Sl. No.	Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Target	Result in end-line
	youth and PWDs and prevent harassment and violence against female aspirants and candidates	youth, and PWDs including mitigation of harassment and violence against women in elections		<p>committees at all levels to decrease violence against women; 1 political party has established quotas in their party constitution for women; The project also supported review of the constitution and manifesto of 10 political parties to identify gender gaps and learning on best nomination processes that promote nomination of women and other marginalized groups.</p> <p>UN Women also engaged with NEC and ZEC through the DEP to review and revise the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observers Guidelines, Voter Education Guidelines and Code of Ethics for political parties by the ORPP to include principles that promote gender and social inclusion.</p>
8	<b>1.2.4. (Output)</b> Capacities and processes for gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in Election Management Bodies (EMBs), both NEC and ZEC strengthened	Number of electoral processes/ procedures (implemented by EMBs) that integrate provisions for broader social inclusion for youth and PWDs and advancing gender equality and women's political participation and prevent violence against women in electoral processes in view of the 2015 elections	At least 2 initiatives linked to electoral processes/ procedures mainstreaming gender and social inclusion by end of 2015	<p>With the support of the project, ORPP and ZEC adopted the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy; ORPP is committed to incorporate gender equality and inclusion principles in the amendment of the Political Parties Act and the Electoral Expenses Act to fill in gender gaps.</p> <p>Advocacy and awareness raising with NEC by the WCCR under WFT's coordination resulted in an increase in the proportion of women parliamentarians through Temporary Special Measures from 30% (which is provided for in the current constitution) to 40% as a progressive step towards</p>

Sl. No.	Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Target	Result in end-line
				the achievement of the SADC agreed benchmark of 50%.
9	<b>1.2.5. (Output)</b> Women, youth and PWDs participate in the electoral process free from violence. Women's situation room or its equivalent established to ensure gender responsive monitoring and observation of electoral processes and violence free elections and campaign period	Percentage of stakeholder institutions involved in the coordination/response mechanism that expresses commitment and design strategies outlining their actions in ensuring violence free elections for female voters and candidates	70% of stakeholder institutions	45.4% of stakeholder institutions (Refer to sub-section 11.3 in annexures to see the list of stakeholder institutions)
10	<b>1.3. (Outcome)</b> Gender equality and social inclusion advocates effectively influence media, faith based and community leaders and grass-root organizations and networks to promote gender equality and social inclusion in leadership and participation.	Number of women, youth and PWDs elected as councillors in Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland	5% in Tanzania Mainland, 12.05% in Zanzibar	5.2% of councillors in Tanzania Mainland are women; 20.7% of councillors in Zanzibar are women
11	<b>1.3.1. (Output)</b> Capacities of advocates, grass-root organizations, media, faith and community based leaders to promote women, youth and PWDs leadership and to participate in national dialogue strengthened, including in the context of the Constitutional Review	Number of community based initiatives to promote leadership and political participation of women, youth and PWDs developed because of the project support	Not specified	Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the community and religious leaders
12	<b>1.3.2. (Output)</b> Increased sensitization of the media about women, youth and PWDs leadership and political participation (including on VAWE)	Percentage of media targeted through the project intervention that increases coverage of issues related to women, youth and PWDs' leadership and participation, including VAWE.	Not specified	During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation.

## 7.2. Findings on overall project management and delivery

### 7.2.1. Analysis of financial spending across engagement areas

The analysis of results framework indicators observes that many of the planned output targets were realized during the Wanawake-Wanaweza project period. To more effectively understand the performance of the project, we have analysed key project management (process) indicators.

The first part of this sub-section looks at the financial outlay of the assignment vis-à-vis the areas of engagement for the project. The key engagement areas can be summed up as follows (Figure 4):

WW Project on women leadership and political participation	Capacity strengthening of EMBs and ORPP for strengthening gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in existing legislations/policies
	Capacity strengthening and sensitization of political parties on gender mainstreaming and social inclusion
	Capacity strengthening and sensitization of community leaders, CSOs, faith based leaders etc.
	Capacity strengthening of political aspirants (women, youth and PWDs)
	Sensitization of media houses on gender balanced reporting and reporting violence against women during elections
	Capacity strengthening of women's caucus for both Mainland and Zanzibar
	Reporting incidences of violence against women and dissemination to stakeholders

Figure 4: Engagement areas for WW Project

A cross-tabulation of the financial outlay with the achievements in the key areas of engagement has been presented in Table 7:

Table 7: Area of engagement vis-a-vis proportion of overall grant

Sl. No.	Area of engagement	Highlights	% of the total grant received <sup>16</sup>
1	Capacity strengthening of NEC, ZEC, ORPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Capacity strengthening and technical support to ORPP on gender gaps in existing laws, which led to ORPP designing the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy and reviewing of the Political Parties Act and Electoral Expenses Act</li> <li>- Capacity strengthening and technical support to ZEC on gender gaps in existing laws, which led to ZEC designing the Gender and Social Inclusion strategy</li> <li>- Engagement with NEC/ZEC through DEP in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce discrimination and violence against women and PWDs</li> </ul>	6.3
2	Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Capacity strengthening of 851 political party leaders</li> </ul>	6.2

<sup>16</sup> Calculation of grants done through review of Project Cooperation Agreements and monitoring reports.

<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Area of engagement</b>	<b>Highlights</b>	<b>% of the total grant received<sup>16</sup></b>
	strengthening of political parties	across 6 political parties; Supported review of constitutions and manifestos of 10 political parties to identify gender gaps and learning on best nomination processes that promote nomination of women and other marginalized groups  - 2 political parties have taken steps toward reducing discrimination and violence against women	
3	Capacity strengthening and sensitization of community members, leaders, CSOs, faith based organizations	- Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders  - More than 10,000 people directly sensitized on voter education, importance of gender mainstreaming and social inclusion	25.6
4	Capacity strengthening of political aspirants	- 1925 political aspirants identified across all regions  - 1282 political aspirants trained  - 713 candidates (618 women, 25 PWDs and 70 youth) were empowered/trained  - 74 of the trained candidates are presently councillors, 5 of the trained candidates are MPs	19.4
5	Capacity strengthening of media houses	- 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing partners.  - 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation	6.7
6	Capacity strengthening of women's caucus (Tanzania and Zanzibar)	- 12 activities conducted by women's caucus in Tanzania and Zanzibar  - Training of parliamentarians on leadership, communication, gender responsive budgeting, tabling or private motions, policy review etc.  - Inter and intra country exchange visits for cross-border learning  - UWAWAZA (Zanzibar) has tabled its first private motion to the House of Representatives, Zanzibar	30.1
7	Reporting incidences of violence against women and dissemination to	- Training and deployment of 48 monitors to observe and report incidence of violence against women during elections  - 3 dissemination and commitment workshops	5.7

Sl. No.	Area of engagement	Highlights	% of the total grant received <sup>16</sup>
	stakeholders	conducted; with women wings and selected women candidates; with political parties, police force, EMBs, ORPP, CSOs, Ministry and development partners; with all the above as an overall dissemination workshop	

The analysis of financial allocation of grants across key engagement areas notes that the major areas of funding were; capacity strengthening and sensitization of community members, leaders, CSOs, faith based organizations (25.6%); capacity strengthening of political aspirants and capacity strengthening of women's caucus across Tanzania and Zanzibar (31.9%); Capacity strengthening of political aspirants (19.4%). The financial support provided by the project has led to several strategic initiatives and achievements in these areas as highlighted in the previous sections.

### 7.2.2. Analysis of project timelines and adequacy of resources

The second component of the analysis of project delivery indicators were the activity timelines. An analysis of engagement period (in months) of 9 implementing partners along with the extensions was carried out. On average, the implementing partners were engaged for a period of 8.7 months. Other than 2, all other implementing partners received extensions in delivering the assignments. On an average, implementing partners received an extension of 7.2 months to complete the project activities.

Stakeholders were asked to provide their comments on key questions related to the design and execution of internal project management systems. The questions were asked using a Likert Scale with a rating scale of 5 –

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Completely agree

The questions were administered as statements and the respondents were asked to provide their responses on a scale of 1 to 5. We received responses from 8 stakeholders. Descriptive statistics for each statement was computed and has been summarized in Table 8:

Table 8: Perception of stakeholders on project management indices

Sl. No.	Statements	% of stakeholders satisfied (score 4 and above)
1	The outputs identified for the <i>Wanawake-Wanaweza</i> project were realistic	62.5
2	The process of designing the project activities was done through participative process	62.5
3	There was an internal mechanism for effectively monitoring the project activities	75.0
4	The periodic monitoring reports (quarterly reports; final report) were delivered timely	50.0
5	The project funds were delivered timely	37.5
6	The project activities were delivered timely	25.0
7	I am satisfied with the overall management strategy in place for this project	37.5

62.5% of the respondents agreed that the outputs identified for the project were realistic and the same percentage of respondents agreed that the process of designing the project activities was done through a participative process. The higher rate of agreement is because UN Women arranged several consultative meetings and workshops with the implementing partners. The workshops and meetings discussed the project outputs, activities and methodologies for delivering results.

75% of the respondents reported that there was an internal mechanism for effectively monitoring the project activities. Quarterly narrative reports were used to track key indicators of the project and the reports were available for all implementing partners. But only 50% of the respondents reported to submitting the monitoring reports timely.

Only 37.5% of respondents reported that the project funds were provided timely which also resulted in the delay in delivery of activities. Overall, 37.5% of the respondents were satisfied overall with the management strategy in place for the project.

### 7.2.3. Analysis of stakeholder’s perception toward project’s effect thematically

In addition to the project management matrix, the perception of beneficiaries (trainees of the project) was also gauged on the overall thematic effect of the project. The key method of inquiry for the key stakeholders was guided by the Equality and Empowerment Framework (also known as the Longwe Hierarchy of Equality) (ILO, n.d.). The framework is applied to any situation while deciding where to focus future activities. The EEF is based on 5 levels of progression namely; *welfare (1), access (2), conscientization (3), participation (4) and control (5)*.

Table 9: EEF and its components

Level of participation	Positioning
Welfare (1)	This measure is concerned purely with the relative level of welfare. It is not concerned with whether women and men are themselves active creators and producers of their needs; such involvement would suggest the need for more empowerment and participation.
Access (2)	Access to factors of production on an equal basis for both genders is documented. This includes access to land, labour, credit, training, marketing facilities and all publicly available services and benefits on an equal basis. Here equality of access is obtained by ensuring the principle of equality of opportunity, which typically entails reforming laws and administrative practise to remove all forms of discrimination.
Conscientization (3)	This implies an understanding of differences between sex roles, which are biological, and gender roles, which are cultural and can be changed. Conscientization also involves consensus that gender divisions of labour should be fair and agreeable to both sides and not involve economic or political domination of one sex by the other. Belief in sexual equality is the foundation of gender awareness and provides the basis for collective participation in development.
Participation (4)	Equal participation in decision-making means participation in the processes of policy-making, planning and administration. Participation is particularly important in development projects, where involvement in needs assessment, project formulation, implementation and evaluation can alter resource allocation and distribution of benefits. Equality of participation means involving all members of a community affected by decisions taken – and involving them in the same proportions in decision-making as their proportions in the community at large.



Control (5)	Control entails not only participation in decision-making, but also utilisation of this participation, through conscientization and mobilisation, to achieve equality of control over factors of production and to achieve gender equity in control over the distribution of benefits. Equality of control means a balance of control between men and women so that neither gender is put in a position of dominance or subordination.
-------------	--

The five levels of empowerment represent a progression. Higher levels of equality and empowerment indicate that individuals and groups possess increasing means of control. The lowest level is welfare and is scored as 1 and the highest is control, scored as 5. Each level is given a score of 1. Respondents (political aspirants for 2015 elections) were asked to provide their responses on activities conducted under the project and how do they affect certain socio-political indices. Subsequently, the answers are drafted in the EEF framework and scored. The scores reveal the perceptions of trainees (political candidates) trained by the project on several components. The following figures present the EEF framework responses for women, youth and PWDs separately.

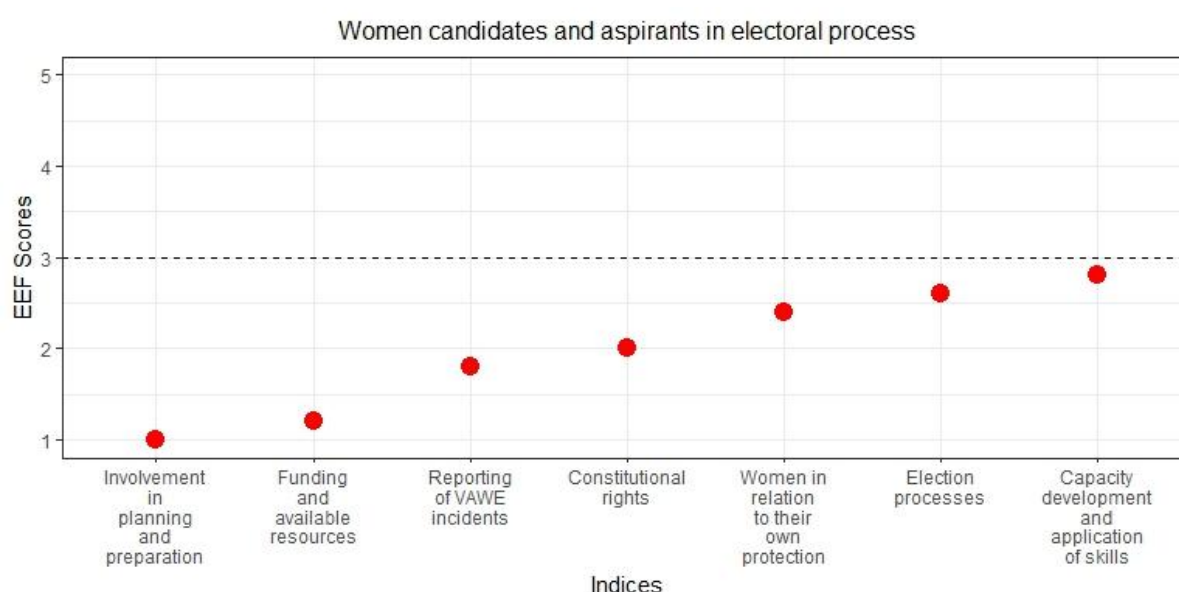


Figure 5: Perception of women candidates and aspirants on the electoral process

Three categories of women aspirants were interviewed namely; women aspirants who were trained under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) project and were nominated by their political party; women aspirants who were trained under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) project but were not nominated by their political party; women aspirants who were not a part of Wanawake-Wanaweza project (2014-2016) but were nominated by their political party. The respondents were asked to provide their responses on the EEF Scale (1-5) on several thematic areas such as; involvement of women in planning and preparation of electoral process especially pertaining to the internal party nomination process; availability of funding and resources from personal sources as well as party funds for their campaign; awareness regarding their electoral rights provided in the Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania (URT) etc. The objective of the EEF Scale was to understand the perception of women aspirants vis-à-vis their own level of empowerment and agency.

As shown in Figure 5, the highest amount of equality was perceived in the capacity strengthening and application of skills. Women aspirants, both trainees and non-trainees of the project, reported that several capacity strengthening workshops were held prior to the elections. The capacity strengthening workshops were skill oriented and women aspirants observe that they have been able to utilize the skills learn during the workshops. Qualitative interviews with political parties also triangulate the finding that training workshops are regarded as effective by political parties and aspirants. In the EEF

Scale, the component is close to the level of conscientization, which suggests that all stakeholders realize the importance of equal gender roles and equitable division of opportunities

On the other hand, indices such as involvement of women in the planning of internal party nominations and accessibility of resources for supporting their campaign remains a challenge. The findings also support the qualitative and anecdotal findings that women aspirants find it difficult to access funding and resources to compete in the elections both from personal sources and party funds. Although women groups within political parties are involved in the decision-making process, anecdotal evidence from current women political leaders suggest that decisions on party nomination and resourcing of campaigns are overshadowed by the male political leadership.

The reporting of VAWE issues has also been low. Although women aspirants and candidates have access to disciplinary committees to raise incidences of violence against them during elections, overall landscape of vulnerability in the absence of strict guidelines within political parties has acted as a deterrent. Studies conducted under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) shows that approximately 31.7% of respondents in a study experienced violence during elections (Makulilo, 2014).

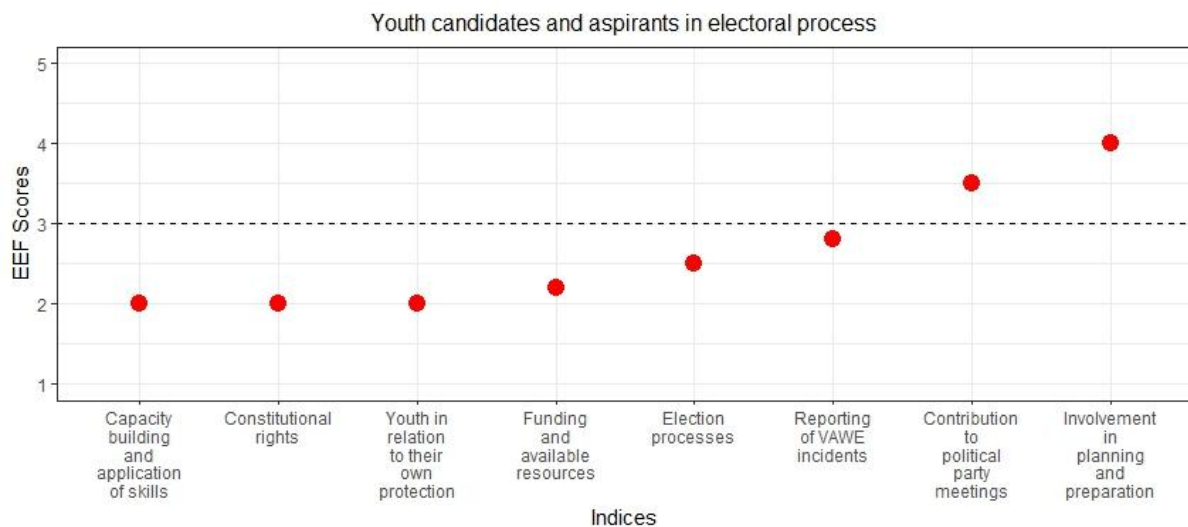


Figure 6: Perception of youth candidates and aspirants on the electoral process

Three categories of youth aspirants (<35 years old) were interviewed namely; youth aspirants who were trained under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) project and were nominated by their political party; youth aspirants who were trained under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) project but were not nominated by their political party; youth aspirants who were not a part of Wanawake-Wanaweza project (2014-2016) but were nominated by their political party. The respondents were asked to provide their responses on the EEf Scale (1-5) on thematic areas like that of women aspirants. The responses received from youth aspirants were different from the ones received from women aspirants. Youth aspirants scored high on their involvement in planning and preparation of electoral process especially pertaining to the internal party nomination process. They also scored high on the contribution of youth to the political party meetings. The scores support the qualitative findings that their youth are regarded as change agents and provided more space during the planning of internal nominations and preparation of campaigns for political parties. Their contribution in political party meetings is deemed important to reach out to the younger audience (voters).

On the other hand, youth face similar issues as women aspirants in terms of access to funding and resourcing of their campaigns. Youth aspirants also scored low on their understanding of electoral rights mentioned in the Constitution of URT; the applicability of the capacity strengthening workshops and access to support mechanisms for their own protection (especially youth women aspirants). The EEf scores suggest that though youth aspirants are considered as a vital part of the

electoral process to reach out to a younger audience and new voters, their actual participation in the electoral process as leaders is limited.

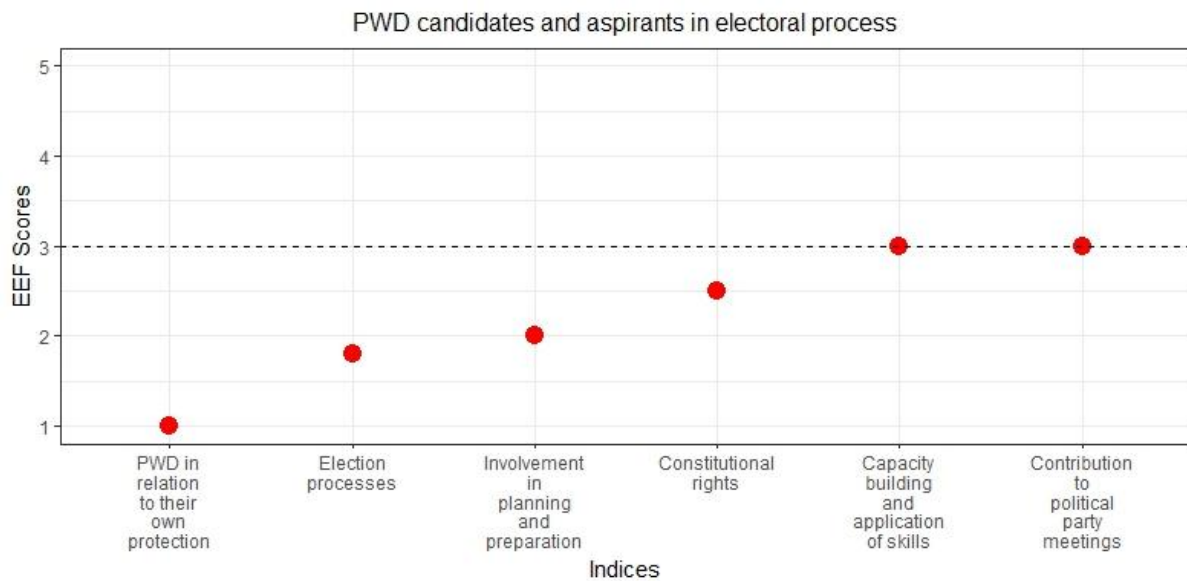


Figure 7: Perception of youth candidates and aspirants on the electoral process

Three categories of PWD aspirants were interviewed namely; PWD aspirants who were trained under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) project and were nominated by their political party; PWD aspirants who were trained under Wanawake-Wanaweza (2014-2016) project but were not nominated by their political party; PWD aspirants who were not a part of Wanawake-Wanaweza project (2014-2016) but were nominated by their political party. The respondents were asked to provide their responses on the EEF Scale (1-5) on thematic areas like that of women aspirants.

According to the EEF scale, the PWD aspirants scored high on the component describing their contribution during the political party meetings. PWDs, especially women PWDs within political parties have been represented in the women wings. PWD aspirants are given consideration for special seats. PWD aspirants have also noted that the capacity strengthening workshops have been effective as they have been able to translate learnings into action. Both the points point towards growing conscientization both on the part of aspirants and political parties. PWD aspirant’s vulnerability vis-à-vis violence during elections was noted as a major issue as aspirants felt that the present landscape was more welfare oriented.

The EEF framework captures perception of the project stakeholders on the level of equality that exists as perceived by the respondents. The EEF framework is an effective tool to understand the change in overall landscape pre-and-post intervention. However, the present analysis only captures this trend for the end-line. Overall, the average score of EEF ranges between *access* and *conscientization*. The beneficiaries perceive that there is an increase in accessing rights and entitlements in the form of voting, accessing nomination papers, getting access to voter registration process etc.

### 7.3. Findings from qualitative interviews

This sub-section provides a more granular look at the qualitative data and narratives collected from the implementing partners and project beneficiaries. The analysis and interpretation have been broken down across specific groups. The narratives aim to highlight the present bottlenecks and barriers experienced during the execution of project activities, complimenting the findings from the results framework analysis.

#### 7.3.1. Insights from implementing partners

The qualitative interviews with implementing partners gauged at several barriers and drivers directly affecting the activities of the project. The quotations and its interpretation have been presented in the subsections below.

##### 7.3.1.1. Barriers

###### Barriers within political parties

In the context of women aspirants, some of the implementing partners were reported to lack of support from political parties as a major reason for women aspirants failing to acquire leadership positions. Respondents attributed it to the fact that political parties are mostly led by men, who lack the political will to support women's political participation and leadership. Implementing partners engaged with mapping of aspirants and training of candidates for the 2015 elections reported that the process of vetting and identifying aspirants took more efforts than planned as political parties did not have the list of aspirants available with them. The absence of member's register across most political parties resulted in delays. It was also pointed out that there is a growing disconnect between decisions made in party headquarters and its effective dissemination in the regional offices. Often the gender and socially inclusive measures taken by headquarters dissipated till it reached the regional/district centres.

Political party tools, e.g. constitutions and manifestos, that do not ascribe to the national commitments to promote participation and leadership of women, youth and PWDs and lack of unified and inclusive nomination procedures have also acted as a barrier.

*“The major things that have acted as barriers are political parties and the male dominated leadership. There is a fear of losing constituencies if women leaders are nominated as candidates”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“A major barrier is that political parties are not practicing what is in their constitutions, they are male dominated and ORPP cannot hold them accountable”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

The process of nominating women, youth and PWD candidates in the political parties has been described by almost all implementation partners as difficult because the political parties are not legally or constitutionally mandated to nominate such aspirants. Also, a political party's motivation to nominate women, youth and PWD aspirants is influenced by several reasons such as; whether the political candidate has access to financial resources rather than depending on party funds and whether the candidate has prior office experience.

*“Political parties don't nominate women candidates as political nominees because of three reasons. The parties often look for candidates who can sponsor themselves. Male candidates are chosen because they have more experience in terms of elected office than women. Also, the political party structures have not opened for women, you will see women given the positions of deputy secretaries*

*under a male chairman. They would be appointed as vice chair of some committee within the political party, to take them out of the nominee race”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

Prevalence of corruption has been identified as the major reason for under-representation of women, youth and PWDs in the electoral race. Instances of financial and sexual corruption have been identified across the past and present election results.

*“There is a high level of corruption to ensure women do not win, exacerbated by selfish ambition”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

In the context of the youth aspirants particularly, the most significant barrier has been the lack of party support. The major reasons given by respondents on the under-representation of youth in leadership positions were; the lack of prior experience, lack of financial resources and immaturity of the youth leader.

*“Older party members feel the youth are immature and not ready for politics. Older party members do not trust the youth, labelling them as ‘rebels without a cause.’ Youth, as a result, feel further disempowered and cannot gain confidence”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

### **Religious and culture barriers**

Prevailing religious and cultural norms have also been attributed as major causes of under-representation of women, youth and PWDs in leadership and participation in political processes.

*“Women in the rural areas are also expected to be socially submissive and respect elders. Often their rights and entitlements are regarded as secondary items”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“Cultures, values and norms do not allow for women to progress in leadership positions whether in politics or in the workplace”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

The overall negative perception of politics as a profession also impacts the participation of women as political leaders. Perception of both financial and sexual corruption prevalent in politics dissuades families from allowing women to participate as leaders in the electoral process.

*“It is thought that politics is only for certain people and that not everybody will be accepted within those groups of people. Women also hear stories about sextortion. This also discourages men to allow their wives to go into politics”*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“During elections, the women are discounted because they do not have the funding/cash to give as the men do, so they felt disempowered”*

*- Implementing Partner*

### **Lack of motivation**

The lack of motivation among women, youth and PWD candidates was also reported as an internal barrier. The socio-political barriers mentioned above have a compounding effect on the motivation and self-confidence of women, youth and PWD aspirants to participate in elections as leaders.

*“There is a lack of motivation among the women when it comes to political leadership”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“Women members often do not have experience in politics or leadership and do not have the confidence to contest the elections against male candidates”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“The education level of female representatives is very low. It is difficult for women to make representations in the parliament. People ask, what are you going to do there”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

### **Lack of support from community**

The lack of community support acted a major barrier, particularly to the PWD’s political participation and leadership. PWDs are discriminated with political parties as well as communities and are often deemed unfit to lead. Some of the major reasons noted for not nominating PWDs as candidates are; lack of experience in holding elected office; faulty perceptions of the community regarding their disability and perception that PWD aspirants do not have the skill and capacity to lead.

*“PWDs participation in leadership and politics is still a challenge because they are deemed incapable of leading”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“There is low community awareness about PWDs. Communities think that PWDs are incapable of holding leadership positions and stigmatize them. They have been called all kinds of names to show that they are unable to vie for and hold leadership positions. For example, in the 2010 general elections, one of the MP candidates told voters that they should not elect a PWD because his mental ability changes with time due to his disability.”*

*- Implementing Partner*

### **7.3.1.2. Enablers**

#### **Enablers for women, youth and PWD aspirants**

According to the Implementing Partners, for women, the most significant enablers have been the provision of temporary special measures in the present constitution, strong lobbying and advocacy efforts by CSOs and the training/capacity strengthening workshops conducted before 2015 elections.

*“The legal framework provides opportunities for women participation in leadership and politics. Affirmative action requires 30% women representation in parliament, various policies and regulations have been reviewed to address women’s issues”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

*“There has been a great increase in the political will (in support of women’s political participation) after strong CSO advocacy initiatives”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

In the context of the youth, the implementing partners identified advocacy efforts as the most significant enabler of their political participation and leadership. Because of the lobbying and advocacy efforts, youth rights are now recognized and promoted across political parties. Increasing level of awareness about rights and entitlements and activism among the youth was also cited as an important enabling factor.

*“Youth are gaining knowledge, they have a positive attitude, and are empowered to peacefully take part in electoral processes”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

For the PWD aspirants and candidates, the two major enabling factors have been the capacity strengthening of the aspirants and the awareness building of political party leaders.

*“There has been more sensitization of the PWDs, and the political party leaders are becoming more receptive to them. The political parties are now reviewing their perceptions/structures to be more accommodating. They are reviewing their own guidelines, and themselves are trying to build the capacity from within their parties”.*

*- Implementing Partner*

### **7.3.2. Insights from political aspirants (women, youth and PWD)**

#### **7.3.2.1. Barriers**

The political aspirants mentioned several factors acted as barriers to their political participation and leadership. Lack of resources was a factor that was frequently mentioned by the political aspirants as a significant barrier. The expensive election process adds to the already resource-constrained situation of the women, youth and PWDs. Combined with the lack of financial support from community and political party, several candidates drop out of the election race.

*“One of the major barriers is the low income of women. Women lack resources as they do not own valuables like their spouses”. “Lack of money is the major reason why women are unable to run campaign”. Another aspirant stated, “Lack of support from fellow women makes aspirants weak. Most successful candidates have men who would promisingly support them when they won”.*

*- Women aspirant, 2015 elections*

Similarly, the youth aspirants reported that the lack of financial resources was the most significant barrier to their political participation. Respondents observed that the lack of resources for the youth aspirants is a cause for their lack of skills and competency and they are often exploited to carry out disruptive practices during elections.

*“Lack of resources is a major barrier for political aspirants”.*

*- Youth aspirant, 2015 elections*

*“Youth are used for mob justice, disrupt the peace”.*

- Implementing partner

In the context of the PWD aspirants, the most significant barriers identified by them were the lack of community and political support. Prevailing religious and cultural norms were attributed as major causes for inaccurate and biased perceptions held in the community. The lack of financial resources and low income were cited as other important barriers for PWD aspirants.

*“The parties do no longer accept the incorporation of PWDs in leadership sphere due to the selfishness of top leaders who do not believe that PWD is capable just like other contesters”.*

- PWD aspirant, 2015 elections

### **7.3.2.2. Enablers**

While talking about the enablers, it was found that most of the political aspirants considered capacity strengthening to be the major driver for their participation and leadership in the political landscape. Advocacy drives by CSOs have also been cited as an important enabler which has led to change in community perception. The establishment and support of women wings in political parties has also acted as a key enabler for the political aspirants.

*“Training helped me so much. After a month, I could go and sign up as an aspirant. Many women did the same. I was happy to be chosen”.*

- Women aspirant, 2015 elections

*“The knowledge that was imparted helped women get self - realization had hence they came out to contest”.*

- Implementing partner

### **7.3.3. Government bodies (EMBs and ORPP)**

#### **7.3.3.1. Barriers**

EMBs and ORPP, in-charge of the pre and post-electoral process, were interviewed to understand their perception of the key barriers and enablers to women, youth and PWDs’ political participation as leaders. The representatives reported that the lack of support and political will from the political parties was a major barrier to the political participation of the aspirants. Existing patriarchal systems and gender gaps in electoral laws have also been mentioned by the respondents as significant barriers. Other important barriers mentioned include lack of resources, lack of community support, violence, corruption, prevalent religious and cultural norms, the gap in political party’s policy documents i.e., constitution, manifesto, and expensive election processes.

*In absence of any such guideline (for internal nominations), political parties are free to choose their own candidates, which acts as a barrier against women. Since political parties are male dominated”.*

- Representative, ORPP

*“Political parties do not put faith in women, youth and PWDs for fear of losing in the election given the very stiff competitions that elections and we have no legal mandate to influence them”.*

- Representative - NEC



### 7.3.3.2. Enablers

According to the respondents, the most important enabling factors to the political participation of women, youth and PWDs were *changing community perceptions* and *capacity strengthening* of the aspirants.

*“Recognising the need for women, youth and PWDs to participate in electoral processes, we have been involved in promoting participation of these groups in leadership and politics. With support from UN Women and UNDP, ZEC prepared a Gender and Social Inclusion Policy (2015)”.*

*- Representative, ORPP*

*“We organized and implemented special programs for women, youth and PWDs, such as sports bonanza, printing and distributing T-shirts with voter education messages, etc. We also gave the opportunity to women, youth and PWDs in the temporary job opportunities (voters’ registration, assistant polling supervisors etc.)”.*

*- Representative, ZEC*

## 7.4. Overall barrier enabler analysis

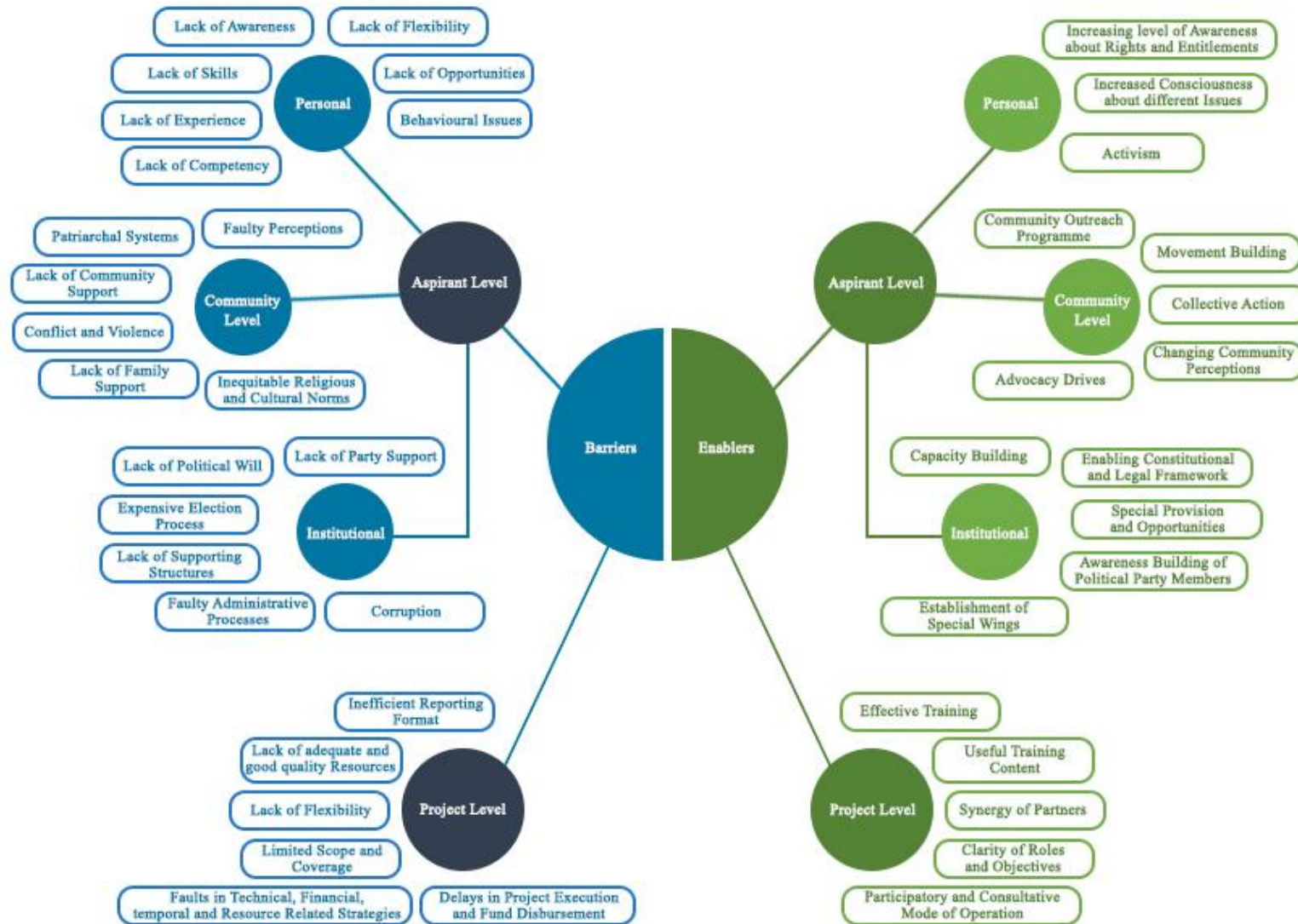


Figure 8: Overall barrier-enabler analysis for the project

## 7.5. Assessment of the DAC criteria components

The evaluation assessed the project on key criteria developed by the Development Assistance Committee (OECD, n.d.). The DAC evaluation guidelines consist of 5 key areas of inquiry namely; *design, relevance & coherence, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability*. The 5 components are key to conducting an equity focussed evaluations and have been used as the overall methodology for the present end of project evaluation study (Bamberger & Segone, 2010).

This section aims to break down the DAC criteria components and present key highlights. Answers to the DAC criteria questions have been sourced from both primary and secondary sources. The detailed DAC criteria factsheet has been attached in the annexures.

### 7.5.1. Design

Design entails questions and areas of inquiry on the overall design, planning and monitoring & evaluation of the project. The component consisted of 18 questions measured by 30 indicators. Among the 30 indicators, 18 were dichotomous (answered as a yes/no) and 12 were qualitative. Following are some of the key findings:

- i. The project did not have a Theory of Change describing causal pathways and assumptions /risks for each of the causal pathways.
- ii. The project operated within a results framework that clearly delineates project outputs and outcomes. The results framework also identifies key indicators for each output and outcome.
- iii. The process of designing the results framework and its targets was not homogenous for all implementing partners. 62.5% of the implementing partners have reported that the outputs identified for the Wanawake-Wanaweza project were realistic. The same percentage of partners have also reported that the designing the project activities was done through a participative process.
- iv. 75% of the stakeholders who responded to the project management framework questionnaire reported that there were internal mechanisms for effective monitoring of the project.
- v. The project had a monitoring and evaluation plan in place describing key indicators, periodicity and responsibility of data collection. The project collected baseline indicators from the baseline study done by the DEP. Several research studies were conducted under the ambit of the project to comment on critical indicators on political participation of women, youth and PWDs; incidence of VAWE during elections; perception of community etc. Additionally, a 2-day training was conducted for all IPs in March 2015.

---

*“We (implementers) were involved in the design process starting with submission of proposals, which was a very participatory process with back and forth discussions”*

*– Implementing partner (IP1)*

---

---

*“Lack of continuous programming has impeded the project from achieving what it really set out to do”.*

*- Implementing partner (IP2)*

---

Based on the key findings, the following recommendations can be made to the project design for the next phase of this project:

- i. Phase 2 of the project should develop its Theory of Change, detailing out the causal pathways, key assumptions and risks. Theory of Change is a key component towards project planning as well as M&E.
- ii. The process of developing Theory of Change and M&E plan should be done in a participatory method with all project stakeholders to homogenous learning. Implementing partners who join during project implementation should be oriented with the Theory of Change and M&E plan to avoid communication gaps.

### **7.5.2. Relevance & coherence**

Relevance & coherence entails questions on whether the project is aligned to the overall national needs and has been able to respond to the relevant needs. This section consisted of 4 questions measured through 8 qualitative questions. Following are some of the key findings from this component:

- i. The project is positioned to respond to the national needs on increasing democratic governance, human rights and gender equality. The MKUKUTA and MKUZA (2010-2015) clearly state the good governance and national unity as one of the key focus areas. The project was also aligned to the United Nations Development Assistance Plan for Tanzania (cluster 3) which aims at improving governance and increasing gender equality.
- ii. The project is also aligned with the United Nations Development Assistance Plan for Tanzania II (2016 – 2021) under the thematic area of democratic governance, human rights and gender equality.
- iii. Project partners strongly feel that the project responds to national needs. As per anecdotal evidence, several interventions have been undertaken to improve the participation of women, youth and PWDs in politics but the interventions have been isolated from each other. This project has been able to combine individual efforts into a single programme. The project is also aligned with the mandate of donors and implementing partners.
- iv. The project addresses the issue of under representation of women, youth and PWDs. The issue of leadership and political participation of women has been taken up with the constitutional reform, with a proposition of 50:50 seats at all levels for gender balance. The project supports this process through several activities and initiatives at all levels (community, political parties, government bodies, political aspirants, media etc.).
- v. While project partners strongly feel that the project responds to the relevant needs, there was also an agreement that the project activities and efforts are more skewed towards women than youth and PWDs. The need for capacity strengthening among PWDs candidates are different and it was noted that they should be given specific programmatic focus.

---

*“The project needs to separate women, youth and PWDs. Especially PWDs, they are a separate group and their needs for skill/capacity are different. They should not be lumped together with women and youth”*

*– Implementing partner (IP7)*

---

---

*“Generally, the project was relevant to the needs of PWDs, but needed to expand its scope and geographical coverage”*

*– Implementing partner (IP2)*

---

### **7.5.3. Efficiency**

Efficiency component aims to measure key project delivery parameters to understand whether project outputs have been met in a cost-effective manner. This component focusses on time, financial and human resources available for the assignment. The component consists of 6 questions measured through 28 indicators/questions. Key findings for this component are as follows:

- i. The project setup mandated implementing partners to provide a quarterly update on project indicators, including the use of financial resources. The quarterly reports were available for all implementing partners.
- ii. Findings from the quarterly reports observe that on an average, an implementing partner could spend 64.4% of their respective sanctioned grant. In 4 out of the 14 quarterly reports (latest quarterly report), the spending of their respective sanctioned grant was less than 30%. However, there are variations across implementing partners which can be observed through standard deviation.
- iii. Based on the secondary information, the project could directly reach out to 1282 political aspirants and 713 political candidates through training, 851 political party leaders through sensitization workshops and 10,000 community members through community based initiatives. The project conducted multiple capacity strengthening workshops for women parliamentarians in Tanzania mainland (139) and Zanzibar (32). During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation.
- iv. The cost of training 1 political aspirant/candidate was approximately TZS 166,000.1<sup>17</sup>; cost of training/sensitizing 1 political party leader was approximately TZS 302,616.73<sup>18</sup>; average project funds available for conducting capacity strengthening exercise for 1 woman MP through TWPG was approximately TZS 1,208,992.7<sup>19</sup>; and average project funds available for conducting capacity strengthening exercise for 1 woman MP through UWAWAZA was approximately TZS 3,585,414.8<sup>20</sup>.
- v. Analysis of the project documents, result frameworks and partner agreements observe that there was a deviation from the projected costs and actual donor funding made available. The

---

<sup>17</sup> Sum of sanctioned grants to the implementing partners engaged in training of aspirants/candidates by sum of total number of aspirants and candidates trained

<sup>18</sup> Sum of sanctioned grants to the implementing partner engaged in training of political leaders by sum of total number of political leaders trained

<sup>19</sup> Sum of sanctioned grants to the implementing partner engaged in capacity strengthening of female MPs in Tanzania Mainland by total number of female MPs in Tanzania Mainland

<sup>20</sup> Sum of sanctioned grants to the implementing partner engaged in capacity strengthening of female MPs in Zanzibar by total number of female MPs in Zanzibar

results framework projected an amount of USD 5,255,584 to be mobilized for the project activities, but the donor contributions amounted to approximately USD 2,635,000<sup>21</sup>.

- vi. However, the overall grants to implementing partners for the period of 2014-16 was approximately TZS 4,465,950,453 approximately. The latest data on actual spending by implementing partners observes that the overall spending amounted to TZS 2,981,411,201 approximately. It should be noted that implementing partners were still utilizing the grant for wrapping up the project activities during the period of data collection.
- vii. Project partners also reported that the financial resources under the project were sufficient to carry out the activities. However, delay in execution due to multiple factors including compliance with reporting obligations and subsequent disbursements as well as political and contextual factors caused an increase in project expenses for some implementing partners. For example; the mapping and training of aspirants were delayed as political parties struggled to provide the list of aspirants to the implementing partners. Among the 9 engagement agreements (minus TWPG and UWAWAZA) analysed, project extensions were reported for 7 agreements.
- viii. On an average, there was a delay of 7.2 months in the final execution of the project. The delay, as reported by project partners, was caused because of multiple factors. One of the chief factors noted was that key project activities such as training of aspirants and political parties were done very close to the election. It was difficult to mobilize political aspirants and political party leaders to attend training workshops.
- ix. Project partners reported that they had adequate human resources to execute the given project activities. While the core project team with UN Women reported that there was a need to recruit additional human resource to support overall project management. This can be attributed to the additional funding provided by UN Women on the management of the projects. 20% of the agreement value with IPs was allocated for personnel to manage the grants, 5% for administrative costs and 3% for M&E.

#### **7.5.4. Effectiveness**

This component aims to assess whether the project could achieve its targets across outputs and outcomes. The component comprises of 6 questions that have been answered qualitatively using primary and secondary sources. Key findings for this component are as follows:

- i. There were several targets identified for the project in the results framework. The project has made significant progress to achieve each of the targets. Most notably, the project has been able to influence changes at a policy level. The advocacy and lobbying efforts by WCCR in support of the project has resulted in the adoption of 50-50 principle in the new constitution. The detailed achievements of the project have been laid down in section 7.1 of the key findings.
- ii. Women aspirants trained by the project for 2015 elections reported that the training helped them gain self-confidence to contest in elections. They were made aware of their constitutional rights and were trained in communications, leadership, campaign management, budgeting and financial management etc. Learning the skills gave them the confidence to stand against male candidates.
- iii. Youth aspirants trained by the project for the 2015 elections reported that the training helped them gain self-confidence to contest in elections. The youth were made aware of the key issues and developmental agendas relevant to the national needs.

---

<sup>21</sup> The figures are an estimate based on latest currency exchange rates. The actual figures may differ.

- iv. PWD aspirants trained by the project for the 2015 elections reported that the training helped them gain self-confidence to contest in elections. PWD aspirants reported that training had a positive impact in terms of understanding key relevant issues, public speaking and developing inter-personal communication skills.
- v. The project has helped empower stakeholders and helped prevent further discrimination within existing power relations. The project has been successful in bringing together state and non-state actors for concerted action. The project activities helped train 1282 political aspirants and 713 political candidates (women, youth and PWDs) among which 74 candidates were elected as councillors and 5 candidates were elected as Members of Parliament. In addition, large scale mass media awareness was conducted Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. This had led to a growth in awareness on the criticality of gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in national politics.

### **7.5.5. Sustainability**

Sustainability is the last component of the DAC criteria and assesses the project in areas such as sustainability plan, exit strategy and financing strategy. The component consists of 3 questions measured by 6 qualitative questions. The key highlights of this section are as follows:

- i. As a part of project sustainability, the new project document on women leadership and political participation is presently under development. Learnings from various studies conducted during implementation, post-elections and evaluation study shall be incorporated in the new project document.
- ii. The process of developing the new project document is being done in a consultative manner with all implementing partners. The draft project plan will be shared with all project stakeholders in a stakeholder validation workshop.
- iii. In terms of financial sustainability, the management is in dialogue with the previous donors, has been able to identify new donors for the next phase. The new project will also be aligned with UNDAP II results framework as well as UN Women Flagship Programme Initiatives and Strategic Plan, 2017-2021.
- iv. Thematically, the project has been able to influence change at a policy level. The Gender Equality and Social Inclusion policy by ZEC and Strategy by ORPP is an example of such policy documents that will guide and sustain the effort towards streamlining internal party nominations in the future.

The assessment results for the DAC Criteria point to the fact that the project is aligned to the national needs and responds to the relevant issues in the country. In a short period, the project could achieve several of the outputs and outcomes laid down in the results framework and has resulted in a change at the policy level.

---

## 8. Best practices

---

This section provides a snapshot of the best practices emerging from the project engagements.

A **good practice** is one that meets at least two of the following criteria: leads to an actual change, has an impact on the policy environment, demonstrates an innovative or replicable approach, or demonstrates sustainability. — *U.N. Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality* (PPDARO, 2010)

Based on the definition, the report identifies key successes emerging from the project that has led to an actual change. The underlying processes have also been identified to assess their replicability and sustainability. Figure 9 explains the process of developing the best practices:

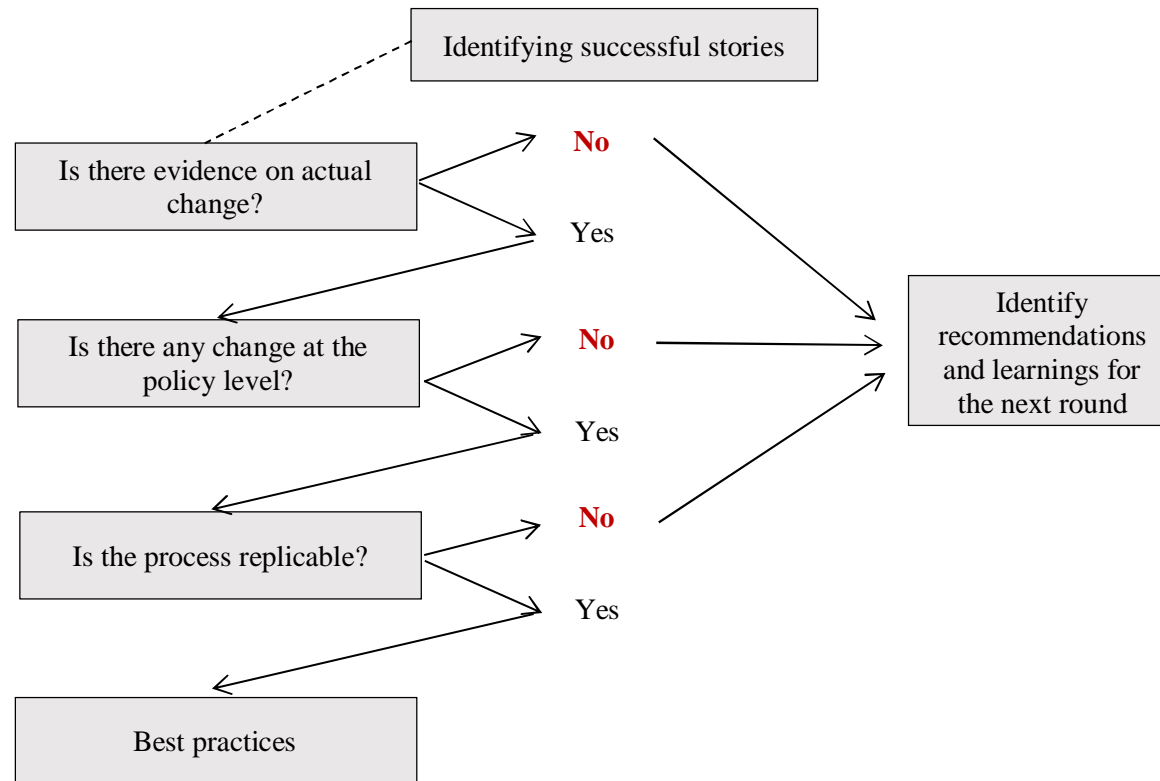


Figure 9: Identification of best practices



## 8.1. Identifying best practices

Table 10 aims at combining the key successes and underlying approaches/strategies of engagement from previous sections to identify best practices. The format follows the definition of identifying best practice as presented in Figure 9.

Table 10: Snapshot of best practices

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
Mapping and training of women, youth and PWD and aspirants and training of candidates	A key element of support provided by the project was to identify women, youth and PWD candidates for the 2015 elections and build their capacities. The mapping and training exercise was done in collaboration with political parties. The parties shared the list of women, youth and PWD aspirants with implementing partners. TWCP was engaged in the mapping of aspirants and TWCP, TGNP, LHRC and TAMWA were engaged in training of candidates.	<p>The project identified 1925 aspirants; 1119 women, 701 youth men; among women, 105 PWDs identified.</p> <p>1282 aspirants and 713 candidates were trained on leadership skills, campaign management, fundraising, communications, public speaking etc. In a follow-up study, 74 of the trained candidates became councillors and 5 candidates were chosen as Member of Parliament in the 2015 elections.</p>	The project aimed at training 1500 women. The project targets were partially met, with more than 1000 women political aspirants trained.	The strategy aimed at collaboration with political parties for mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates. The strategy did not cause any change at the policy level.	<p>The strategy is replicable and can be followed for the 2020 election cycle. However, in the implementing partners have suggested that alternative approaches for mapping and identification of political aspirants can be identified.</p> <p>The previous strategy, although collaborative, had limitations. The response from political parties was delayed and implementing partners could not assess the reliability of data</p>	Based on the learnings from 2010 and 2015 elections, the strategy used for identifying aspirants can be reviewed to find alternative approaches.	In the stakeholder workshop conducted with implementing partners, it was suggested that the mapping and identification of aspirants can be done directly at the community level. Implementing partners noted that their network of CSOs, faith-based and religious organizations and gender networks can be used to identify potential women, youth and PWD aspirants. However, experience from the 2010 elections, where aspirants were identified directly from the community,

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
					(aspirant lists) provided to them by political parties. In several cases, 1 candidate was proposed by multiple political parties.		was not as effective. A review of the strategy for identifying aspirants should be carried out for the 2020 elections.
Institutions (EMBs, political parties, ORPP)	The government bodies engaged with the electoral process (NEC/ZEC/ORPP) were provided technical and financial support to identify and correct gender gaps in the existing legislations. The key element of support was to enable ORPP to integrate gender equality and inclusion principles in the amendment of legislations under its mandate (the Political Parties Act; the Electoral Expenses Act)	ORPP has developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy (GESI) to advice political parties on their internal nomination policies; ZEC has developed the Gender and Social Inclusion Policy for Zanzibar.  ORPP held several consultative meetings with political parties before the 2015 elections to advocate for more gender and socially inclusive nomination process. Technical support provided to ORPP through capacity	The project aimed at enabling at least 2 institutions to develop recommendations on existing laws, to fill in gender gaps. The target was achieved as ORPP and ZEC have developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Policy, a framework regulating the internal nomination systems within political parties. Capacity strengthening of ORPP has also resulted in the integration of gender equality and inclusion principles in the review electoral laws	The strategy of engaging directly with ORPP and EMBs as key stakeholders to advocate for greater gender and social inclusion in the electoral process has resulted in a change in the policy level. The Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy is a measure of changing policy landscape. With ORPP addressing gender gaps in PPA and EEA review process, the strategy has had a strong impact at the	The strategy of providing technical and financial support to government bodies in charge of the electoral process should be continued (and scaled up). Partnership with ORPP can be leveraged to introduce gender and socially inclusive manifestos. With the onset of GESI Strategy, advocacy at the level of ORPP can be carried out to introduce more tangible	The strategy and underlying process of engaging with ORPP can be identified as a best practice	Phase 2 should focus on supporting ORPP in amending the PPA and EEA before 2020 elections. Phase 2 should also look at collaborating with NEC for effective monitoring of VAWE and reducing the incidence of discrimination during elections.

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
		building exercises under the project has also helped ORPP in integrating gender equality and inclusion principles in the review of electoral laws such as the Political Parties Act (PPA) and Election Expenses Act (EEA).	such as PPA and EEA. ORPP has also started the practice of analysing nominee data disaggregated by gender, age group and disability status.	policy level. This strategy led to the adoption and implementation of specific measures, such as the inclusion of women, PWDs and youth into several consultative bodies, resulting in e.g. gender sensitive voter education, gender and PWD sensitive polling stations etc.	commitments at the level of political parties such as; introduction of party quotas for women etc.  Advocacy and capacity strengthening of ORPP can be continued to ensure adoption of the principles included in the revised EEA and PPA		
Women's caucus	The project aimed at capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians to raise the issues through parliamentary processes. Women parliamentarians lack the skills and capacities to participate in the parliamentary process and the project aimed at providing resources	As a target the project aimed at organizing 6 initiatives by the Women's Caucus in Parliament on women's rights and gender issues, including relation to the Constitutional Review and adoption of Gender Responsive Budgeting Initiatives.	The project has met its targets and because of the project support, UWAWAZA (women's caucus in Zanzibar House of Representatives) has been able to table its first private motion of gender based violence and gender based crimes (GBV, GBC).	The project utilises existing policy platforms (women's caucus) for advocacy. The women's caucus is a strong platform that can result in policy change and legislative action.	Analysis of project grants notes that approximately 30% of the total grants were provided to the women's caucuses. The phase 1 of Wanawake-Wanaweza focussed on leveraging	The strategy and underlying process of engaging with women caucuses across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar can be identified as a best	It is suggested that phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza should aim at increasing the number of initiatives to be carried out by women's caucuses.

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
	to build skills/capacities among the women caucus across Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland.	Based on the evaluation findings, there were 12 initiatives organized by the women's caucus across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians/ ministries on adoption of gender responsive legislation and policies. The women's caucus in Zanzibar has also tabled its first private motion on gender based violence in the House of Representatives for Zanzibar. Anecdotal evidence and qualitative interviews report that there has been an increase in the participation of women parliamentarians in			women's caucus as a platform for advocacy and phase 2 should continue the existing focus.	practice	

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
		the parliamentary proceedings, which can be attributed to the training and capacity strengthening workshops supported by Wanawake-Wanaweza project.					
Community leaders	The project strategy was to advocate gender equality and social inclusion effectively by engaging with media, faith based and community leaders and grass-root organizations and networks. Community engagement was aimed at increasing the support for women, youth and PWD candidates as political leaders.	The project sensitized more than 10,000 community members directly through sensitization workshops. The project supported 13 grassroots women's rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women's leadership and political empowerment through the Women Fund Tanzania grants making facility. Awareness raising sessions and	There were no targets provided for this target group.	The activity was aimed at generating community awareness.	As suggested by the implementing partners during stakeholder validation workshop, the engagement with existing community organizations and gender networks can be scaled up to cover more regions across both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar.		

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
		<p>advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders, i.e. faith based and community leaders.</p>					
Media organizations	<p>The project aimed at partnering with media houses to increase the media coverage of women, youth and PWD leaders. Sensitization workshops with media houses (radio, newspaper, TV) was conducted by implementing partners.</p>	<p>During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing</p>	<p>There were no targets provided for this target group.</p>	<p>The evaluation exercise did not find evidence on policy level change resulting from the engagement with media organizations</p>	<p>There is a potential for scaling up the strategy to ensure the continued participation of media houses, community radios and newspapers for the 2020 elections.</p>		

Target groups	Strategy	Output	Whether met target?	Was there a change in policy level?	Can the strategy be scaled up?	Comments	Recommendation for Phase 2
		<p>partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation such as; ITV, Radio One, TBC1, TBC Taifa, Star TV, East African TV, Clouds FM, Clouds TV, TV 1, Capital TV, Azam TV, Mlimani TV, Channel 10, Tumaini TV, ZBC TV, ZBC Radio, HITS FM, Zenj FM, CHUCHU FM and Kitulo FM</p>					

---

## 9. Highlights and recommendations

---

There were several learnings and key takeaways emerging out the Wanawake-Wanaweza project. The end of project evaluation captures key indicators to comment on the overall efficacy of the intervention model. The key takeaways from the evaluation have been divided into sub-groups and presented in the sub-sections below:

### 9.1. Success stories from the evaluation

1. The Wanawake-Wanaweza project anchored by UN Women complemented the components of gender equality and inclusion of youth and PWDs within the Democratic Empowerment Project (2013-2016). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the before DEP and Wanawake-Wanaweza project, several interventions/programmes had been designed and delivered to increase the political participation of women in the larger political process. Some of the implementation partners for Wanawake-Wanaweza project had previously been engaged in developing legislative recommendations for the constitutional review process. The Wanawake-Wanaweza project provides necessary technical and financial support to such organizations for concerted action. Qualitative interviews reveal that coordination and cross-organizational learning between implementing partners had improved under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project.
2. The project was aligned with the national and international commitments/priorities of Tanzania. The project was in line with the United Nations Development Assistance Plan for Tanzania (UNDAP) and anchored the goals for MKUKUTA and MKUZA and responded to the relevant national needs, integrating gender equality and social inclusion within its project goals.
3. The design of Wanawake-Wanaweza project was robust and it integrated gender equality and social inclusion within the project goals. The project design was underscored by results framework, which was used to identify lay down outputs and outcomes for the project. Adapting results framework has improved the project design in 2 ways; *providing clarity on the goals of the project; providing clarity on what to evaluate for this project.*
4. The project entailed the capacity building of implementing partners on project management, reporting, UN Women financial rules and regulations, monitoring and evaluation etc. Customized result frameworks and workplans were developed by the implementation partners with the support of UN Women as a part of the project agreement. The implementing partners also received financial support for the programme management as follows: 20% of the total programme budget is given to the IPs for recruitment/cover costs of personnel with the required skills and knowledge to manage the project, 5% as administration cost, 3% monitoring and evaluation and 2% audit costs.
5. The project identified strategic approaches to delivery holistic interventions. Women, youth and PWDs face under-representation and lack of capacities at personal, social and political level. In terms of political process, women, youth and PWDs are often left vulnerable as a voter, as a nominee and as a part of the government. The Wanawake-Wanaweza project mapped the vulnerabilities and designed a range of activities to mitigate them. The activities range from identification and training of aspirants (direct engagement with final beneficiaries), sensitization of political parties and women members of parliament to technical support to EMBs & ORPP for legislative action. The project was also able to garner community support through community based initiatives and partnership with media.
6. The project mapped 1925 aspirants and trained 1282 aspirants and 713 candidates for the 2015 elections. 851 political party leaders across 6 parties were sensitized on gender and



socially inclusive nomination practices. The constitutions and manifestos of 10 political parties were reviewed by project partners to identify gender gaps. 4.5% of present women Councillors and 2.9% of present women MPs across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar were trained under the project. Anecdotes from trainees note that the training helped them gain self-confidence and help them manage their campaign more effectively. The project also helped build an enabling environment in communities through community based initiatives and mass media.

7. The project provided technical and financial support to the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties for integrating gender equality and inclusion principles in the review of existing legislations. ORPP worked closely with the Wanawake-Wanaweza project to develop the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy and include gender equality and social inclusion principles in the Code of Ethics for political parties. UN Women also engaged with NEC and ZEC through the DEP in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce discrimination and violence against women and PWDs during the 2015 elections. The project has also supported the capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar on legislation and policy development. Women parliamentarians in Zanzibar have been able to table their first private motion on gender based violence. Qualitative interviews with representatives of women's caucus report that the voice of women in the assemblies has been growing, you can see that the capacity strengthening exercise is having a positive effect on the young parliamentarians.
8. Given the strong advocacy platform provided under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project, political parties have also gained awareness and are more sensitized on the project. One of the major political parties has setup disciplinary committees to hear cases on harassment against women at all levels. The party has officially recognized the presence of violence against women during elections as an issue requiring a systemic solution. Another political party has introduced quotas for women candidates, in addition to the special seats. As noted by ORPP and EMBs, political parties agree with the resolution to bring in more gender and social inclusion within the political party nominations.

## **9.2. Recommendations to the project**

### **i. Mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates for 2015 elections**

One of the key project strategies to increase the participation of women, youth and PWD aspirants in the electoral process was mapping and training of political aspirants and training of candidates across all political parties and regions in Tanzania. The strategy has been adapted previously in the 2010 elections and the Wanawake-Wanaweza project, learning from the previous experiences of this strategy, engaged with political parties through implementing partners to for this activity.

Partners that have engaged with political parties previously and were adequately placed to communicate and coordinate with political parties were identified to carry out the activity. Implementing partners reached out to all the 22 registered political parties in Tanzania to procure the list of women, youth and PWD aspirants for the 2015 elections across 30 regions. The process resulted in the mapping of 1925 aspirants who were then followed up for training before elections. The training of aspirants was conducted by implementing partners that had extensive experience in the space of aspirant training. Overall, 1282 political aspirants were trained by the project. Similarly, 713 political candidates were trained for the 2015 elections that consisted of 618 women, 25 PWDs and 70 youth.

Several challenges were observed during the process of mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates. There were delays reported in procuring a list of aspirants from

political parties and the list of aspirants underwent several changes and updates before finalization. During the training of aspirants, drop outs were reported across some training centres.

Despite the challenges, the activity of mapping and training of aspirants and training of candidates was one of the major elements of support provided that had a positive effect on the self-confidence of women, youth and PWD trainees. Trainees felt more confident in planning their campaign, speaking out in the public and competing in a male dominated electoral process. It is suggested that the strategy should be adapted in phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza (2017-2020).

The project should reflect on the geographical coverage per region, continue to identify specific needs of aspirants and candidates within each region to tailor-make training and interventions according to needs. This recommendation is drawn from the engagements of implementing partners across the 15 regions, with Mara, Lindi and Mtwara requiring more intensive training and follow-ups than other regions. It is also recommended that the project should scale up the training activity to more number of regions than phase 1. Phase 2 of the project can draw from the previous engagement of working with local government authorities (LGAs) at district, village and ward level to advocate gender and social inclusion at the grassroots. Implementing partners engaged with LGAs across Dar-es-Salaam, Kilimanjaro and Morogoro in phase 1 with successful results.

## ii. **Policy support to ORPP and EMBs**

At a policy level, the project provided technical and financial support to ORPP on identifying gender gaps in existing electoral laws under its mandate (Political Parties Act & Electoral Expenses Act). A major highlight in this regard was the development of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy (GESI) by ORPP that focuses on gender and socially inclusive nomination process. Similarly, the Gender and Social Inclusion Strategy was introduced by ZEC before the 2015 elections. This strategy document is critical documents as it would guide ORPP in incorporating gender and inclusiveness principles in the electoral cycle plans and strategies and it is recommended that in Phase 2, the project should capitalize on this notable achievement, and support ORPP to implement and monitoring the implementation of the recommendations.

Phase 2 of the Wanawake-Wanaweza project should continue supporting the development and implementation of the elections manifesto developed by the Women's Coalition for the Constitution and Elections. The manifesto can be used by institutions, such as the ORPP, but also by the women's movement to advocate for greater gender equality and social inclusion within political parties, including during the party nominations. However, the monitoring of the commitments made by political parties should be intensified in the post-election period regarding whether the winning party is honouring their commitment to the implementation of the manifesto as they form a government.

While ORPP has the mandate of regulating the electoral process before the election period through the Political Parties Act, Election Management Bodies (EMBs) have the mandate of electoral regulation during elections. As noted in several studies, the past elections have witnessed incidences of violence and discrimination against women, youth and PWDs. EMBs (NEC/ZEC), through the National Elections Act and the Local Government Elections Act, have a critical role to play during elections to ensure conflict free and peaceful elections.

UN Women, through the DEP project, had supported the EMBs in revising the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to discourage use of discriminatory language against women and persons with disabilities along with several other measures. UN Women also worked with NEC through DEP in providing

technical assistance to engendering the voter education manuals and observer guidelines to ensure recording and reporting of incidences of violence against women during elections (VAWE). The approach of partnering with EMBs during election period has shown potential as it can lead to a change in existing policies and should be continued in the second phase of the project, and it is recommended that this is scaled up in the next phase of the project.

iii. **Training and capacity strengthening of women's caucus**

It is highly recommended that training and capacity strengthening of the women's caucus should be scaled up. The project supported the Women's Caucuses across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar on training and capacity strengthening of women parliamentarians. With the project support, 12 initiatives were organized by the Women's Caucuses across Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians/ministries on legislations and policies toward gender mainstreaming and social inclusion. Supported by UN Women, the women's caucus in Zanzibar has also tabled its first private motion on gender based violence in the House of Representatives for Zanzibar.

Similarly, training and capacity strengthening is a key element of support as several women parliamentarians do not have previous legislative and policy experience. In the absence of continued training and capacity strengthening support, many women parliamentarians may find it difficult to engage in policy debates in the male dominated the political landscape. Given the need for training and capacity strengthening activities, the phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza project should continue engaging with the women's caucuses to strengthen capacities on parliamentary procedures, gender responsive budgeting, policy advocacy, leadership and conflict management etc. In addition, the training can also focus on providing refresher training to women parliamentarians on their upcoming election campaigns, thus increasing their likelihood of getting re-elected.

iv. **Community awareness to increase the support for women, youth and PWD candidates**

Community mobilization and support are one of the important deciding factors which can act as a strong barrier or enabler to the electoral participation of women, youth and PWD candidates. The project strategy rightly identified the importance of garnering support from the community and engaged in 2 ways to positively influence the perception of the community.

First, the project directly engaged with grassroots leaders, CSOs, faith-based and religious leaders through the existing networks of its implementing partners. More than 10,000 community members were mobilized directly through sensitization workshops through implementing partners. The project supported 13 grassroots women's rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women's leadership and political empowerment. Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders, i.e. faith based and community leaders.

In the second approach, the project engaged with media houses such as newspapers, community radios and television networks to increase the coverage of gender and social inclusion issues. The second approach was aimed at increasing community's perception about women, youth and PWD candidates as well as identify and report cases of discrimination and violence against this group. During the 2015 elections, 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the

implementing partners. In addition, 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation.

Both the approaches have been effective in reducing the barriers and bias against women, youth and PWD leaders. Continuing the engagement, it can be recommended that the strategy should be adapted in phase 2 of the project. The engagement with the community, which was done in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar, can be scaled up to cover more regions.

v. **Research and evidence building for effective advocacy**

One of the highlights of the project was the literature produced on political participation of women, youth and PWDs in the political landscape of Tanzania. The extensive research and evidence building through situation analysis, baseline assessments, need assessments etc., have resulted in a rich pool of knowledge products that can be effectively used for advocacy. Continuing the initiative of evidence building, phase 2 of Wanawake-Wanaweza should also continue supporting research initiatives on identifying new barriers and drivers for political participation among women, youth and PWD in the post-2015 and pre-2020 election scenario. Identification and assessment of similar interventions within and outside Tanzania can be one of the key areas of research that can enable cross-sectoral and cross-geographical learning.

---

## 10. References

---

- Bamberger, M., & Segone, M. (2010). How to design and manage equity focussed evaluations. *Evaluation Working papers, UNICEF*, 35-39.
- Census, 2014. (2014). Retrieved from United Republic of Tanzania (2014). National Housing and Population Census: [http://www.tanzania.go.tz/egov\\_uploads/documents/Descriptive\\_tables\\_Tanzania\\_Mainland\\_sw.pdf](http://www.tanzania.go.tz/egov_uploads/documents/Descriptive_tables_Tanzania_Mainland_sw.pdf)
- ILO. (n.d.). *A conceptual framework for gender analysis and planning*. Retrieved from International Labour Organization: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/mdtmanila/training/unit1/empowfw.htm>
- IPU. (n.d.). *Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review*. Retrieved from Inter-Parliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP20Y-en.pdf>
- Killian, B. (2014). *Gender and Inclusive Participation in Elections in Tanzania for Women, Youth and PWDs*.
- Killian, B. (2014). *Gender and Inclusive Participation in Elections in Tanzania: Women, Youth and PWDs*.
- Killian, B. (2016). *Analysis of challenges and enabling factors for women candidates during the 2015 general elections*. Dar-es-Salaam: University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- LHRC. (2016). *Tanzania Human Rights Report*. Dar-es-Salaam: Legal Human Rights Centre, ISBN: 978-9987-740-25-3.
- Makulilo, A. (2014). *Baseline survey for nominations of women, youth and people with disabilities in the 2010 elections*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Centre for Democracy.
- Meena, R. (2015). *Women participation in the election process of 2015 Tanzania*. OXFAM.
- Meena, R., & Makulilo, A. (2015). *Gender analysis for political parties' internal regulations for candidate nominations*. TCD.
- Meena, R., & Makulilo, A. (2015). *Gender Analysis of Political Parties' Internal Regulations for Candidate Nominations*. March: Tanzania Centre for Democracy.
- Mushi, A. (n.d.). *Achieving Gender Parity in Political Participation in Tanzania*. Retrieved from Tanzania Gender Networking Programme: [http://www.mcdgc.go.tz/data/achieving\\_gender\\_parity\\_in\\_political\\_participation\\_tanzanian\\_experience1.pdf](http://www.mcdgc.go.tz/data/achieving_gender_parity_in_political_participation_tanzanian_experience1.pdf)
- (n.d.). *National Strategy for Gender Development*. Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children.
- (2010). *National strategy for growth and reduction of poverty*. Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs.
- Nations, U. (n.d.). *Sustainable Development Goals*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>
- OECD. (n.d.). *DAC Criteria for Evaluating Development Assistance*. Retrieved from Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm>
- Oscorio, M., Percic, M., & Battista, F. D. (2014). *Gender inequalities in rural employment in Tanzania Mainland*. Rome: Food and Agricultural Organizations of the United Nations.
- PHC. (2015). *Gender Dimension Monograph*. Retrieved from The 2012 Population and Housing Census, Vol IV: <http://www.nbs.go.tz/>
- PPDARO. (2010). *Good Practices*. Retrieved from Partners in Population and Development Africa Regional Office: <http://www.ppdafrika.org/programs/good-practices/>
- Semakafu, A. M., & Lihuru, V. (2013). *ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES ACT CAP 258 R.E 2002*. Dar-es-Salaam.
- (2008). *Tanzania Disability Survey*. National Bureau of Statistics.
- TAWLA. (2014). *Review of Laws and Policies related to gender based violence of Tanzania Mainland*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (ISBN: 978-9987-9489-7-0).

- TCD, & LHRC. (2014). *Analysis of response collected from participant's survey conducted in 8 regions of Tanzania Mainland*. Dar-es-Salaam: UN Women.
- TGNP. (2015). *Election Manifesto of Constitution and Election Women Coalition*. Dar-es-Salaam: TGNP, UN Women. Retrieved from <http://wft.or.tz/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Womens-Election-Manifesto-2015.pdf>
- TGNP. (2016). *Feedback Report on Trained Aspirants for the 2015 elections*. Dar-es-Salaam: TGNP.
- TWCP. (2013). *A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL ELECTION ACT CAP 343 R:E 2002 AND ELECTION EXPENSES ACT, ACT NO. 10 OF 2010*. Dar-es-Salaam.
- T-WCP. (2015). *Report on the mapping of women, youth and people with disabilities aspiring to contest elections in Tanzania*. Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform.
- UNDAP. (2010, December 13). *United Nations Development Assistance Plan (2011-2015)*. Retrieved from [http://www.afro.who.int/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_download&gid=6133](http://www.afro.who.int/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=6133)
- UNICEF. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-protection/child-marriage/>
- UNICEF. (n.d.). *Statistics for The United Republic of Tanzania*. Retrieved from [https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/tanzania\\_statistics.html](https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/tanzania_statistics.html)
- UNWOMEN. (2013, July 23). *United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women Strategic Plan, 2014-2017*. Retrieved from UN Docs: <http://undocs.org/en/UNW/2013/6>
- UNWomen. (n.d.). *In Brief - Women's Leadership and Political Participation*.
- UNWomen. (n.d.). *Project Document for Wanawake-Wanaweza*.
- URT. (1977). *The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania*. Retrieved from <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/tz/tz008en.pdf>
- WB. (n.d.). *World Bank*. Retrieved from World Bank Open Data: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.LTRM.MA.ZS?locations=TZ>

## 11. Annexures

### 11.1. List of participants for the study

Table 11: Project partners interviewed for the evaluation

#	Name of the Partner	Acronym	Method of data collection
1	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme	TGNP	In-depth interviews
2	Legal and Human Rights Centre	LHRC	In-depth interviews
3	Tanzania Media Women's Association	TAMWA	In-depth interviews
4	Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform	TWCP	In-depth interviews
5	United Nations Development Programme	UNDP	In-depth interviews
6	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women	UN Women	In-depth interviews
7	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	UNESCO	Unavailability of respondent
8	National Electoral Commission	NEC	In-depth interviews
9	Zanzibar Electoral Commission	ZEC	In-depth interviews
10	Office of Registrar of Political Parties	ORPP	In-depth interviews
11	Tanzania Centre for Democracy	TCD	In-depth interviews
12	University of Dar-es-Salaam	-	In-depth interviews
13	Tanzania Federation of Disabled People's Organizations	SHIVYAWATA	In-depth interviews
14	Women Fund Tanzania	WFT	In-depth interviews
15	Femina Hip	-	In-depth interviews
16	Embassy of Finland	-	In-depth interviews
17	United States Agency for International Development	USAID	In-depth interviews
18	Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group	TWPG	In-depth interviews
19	Tanzania Women House of Representatives Zanzibar	UWAWAZA	In-depth interviews
<b>Total</b>			

Table 12: Political parties interviewed for the evaluation

#	Name of the Political Party	Acronym	Method of data collection
1	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo	CHADEMA	In-depth Interviews
2	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	CCM	Unavailability of respondent
3	Civic United Front	CUF	In-depth Interviews
4	National Convention for Construction and Reform – Mageuzi	NCCR-M	In-depth Interviews
5	Alliance for Change and Transparency	ACT	In-depth Interviews
6	United Democratic Party	UDP	In-depth Interviews
7	Tanzania Labour Party	TLP	Unavailability of respondent
<b>Total</b>			

Table 13: Political aspirants interviewed for the evaluation

#	Stakeholder	Method of data collection	Sample Size (N)
1	Women aspirants trained and subsequently nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
2	Women aspirants trained but not nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
3	Women aspirants who were not trained under the project and were nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
4	PWD aspirants trained and subsequently nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
5	PWD aspirants trained but not nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
6	PWD aspirants who were not trained under the project and were nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
7	Youth aspirants trained and subsequently nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
8	Youth aspirants trained but not nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
9	Youth aspirants trained but not nominated by their political party	Case stories	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>9</b>



## 11.2. Process for conducting qualitative interview

The following steps were observed in the process of building the Coding Frame.

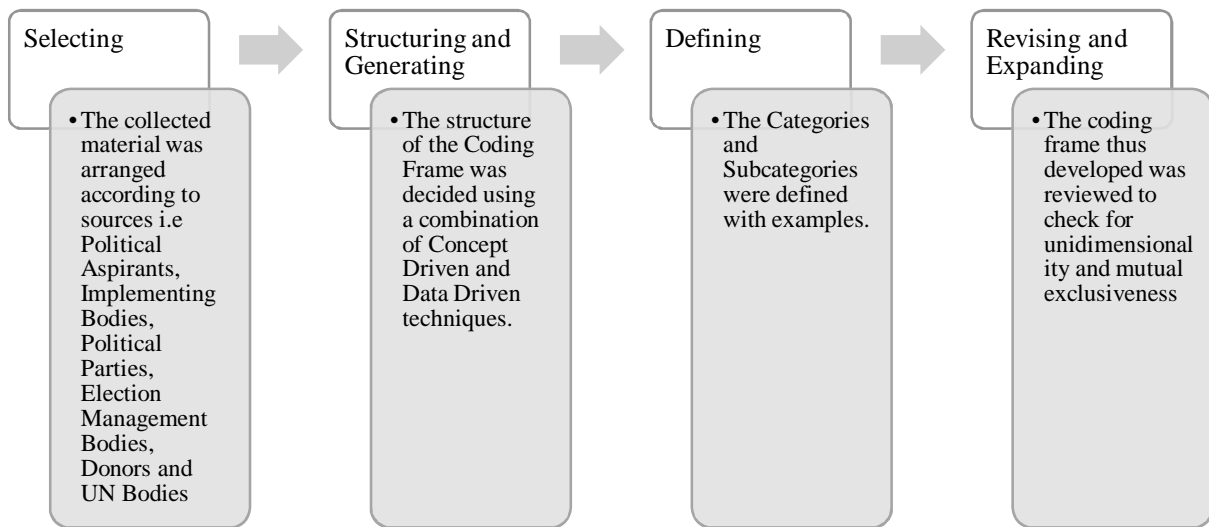


Figure 10: Process for building the coding frame

The following measures were taken to ensure the rigour of the process:

1. The selection of the relevant material was done as a research team to mitigate individual biases/limitations in viewing the data.
2. Two Researchers worked simultaneously to develop the Coding Frame. Once the two coding frames were developed, the researchers convened to deliberate and compare each coding frame and the rationale behind it. This exercise helped ascertain the exhaustiveness of the constructs covered under the coding frame. The final coding frame was then developed after detailed discussion among the three researchers.
3. The structuring and generation of the coding frame were done using a combination of two strategies:
  - a. In a concept driven way; i.e. based on what the researchers already knew from the literature review, constructs and the framework
  - b. In a data driven way i.e. by letting the categories/dimensions emerge from the collected data.
  - c. The combination of these two strategies enabled the researchers to incorporate both deductive and inductive processes.
4. The final categories and subcategories were then defined by the researchers using examples. The definition contains definitions of that category that are the aspects of the data that point to the category. Examples help further in illustrating the categories. This exercise, in general, helps in improving the reliability of the coding frame.
  - a. Uni dimensionality: Each Dimension in the Coding Frame would capture only one aspect of the material.
  - b. Mutual Exclusiveness: Each unit of coding could be assigned to only one subcategory within a given dimension or main category.

### 11.3. Analysis of the Results Framework

Table 14: Results framework analysis for Outcome 1.1

Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Result	Remarks
1.1.1. (Output) Capacities of key institutions enhanced for review of constitution and development of political participation and electoral laws that promote women's rights, women's political participation and leadership	Number of institutions that develop recommendations on the integration of provisions on women's political participation and women's rights in the revised constitution  Target = 2	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Number of institutions that reported developing recommendations under the Wanawake-Wanaweza Project = 3 (ORPP, ZEC, WFT leading the efforts of WCCR)</li> <li>Recommendations developed on 3 laws; National Election Act, Political Parties Act, Election Expenses Act; Development of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy; 11 out of the 12 GEWE principles developed by women's coalition were adopted</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Several organizations and implementing partners have developed recommendations for the review of the constitution which extends from political participation to other areas such as land rights, maternal health, sexual offences, marriageable age of girls, gender based violence, female genital mutilation etc. The present indicator only considers the institution that developed recommendations within the purview of the project</li> </ol>
1.1.2. (Output) Capacities enhanced among members of women's caucus of parliament and Parliamentary Committees to engage in discussions on gender equality and women's rights, including Constitutional Review process on Gender Response Budgeting (Mainland and Zanzibar)	Number of initiatives organized by the Women's Caucus in Parliament on women's rights and gender issues, including relation to the Constitutional Review and adoption of Gender Responsive Budgeting Initiatives (Mainland and Zanzibar)  Target = 6	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Number of initiatives organized by TWPG = 7</li> <li>Number of initiatives organized by UWAWAZA = 5</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The initiatives captured by the indicator includes; internal workshops on leadership, communications, gender budgeting, preparing and presenting private motions, TV and radio programmes, external workshops on Gender Based Violence, exchange visits intra and inter country etc.</li> <li>In terms of private motions tabled in respective assemblies; UWAWAZA has tabled 1 private motion and TWPG has not been able to present any private motion till the time of this evaluation.</li> </ol>
1.1. (Outcome) The constitution, electoral and political participation laws advance and promote women's rights and gender equality in political participation	The constitution and electoral/political participation laws integrate provisions on gender equality in leadership and political participation  Target = New constitution integrates 50-50 provision at all levels	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The draft constitution proposes provision for 50-50 distribution of seats for male and female candidates in the parliament</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As a key focus area, the project supported the women's coalition on developing 12 GEWE recommendations for the constitutional review process.</li> </ol>

Table 15: Results framework analysis for Outcome 1.2

Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Result	Remarks
1.2.1. (Output) Women, youth and PWDs identified as aspirants for the 2015	Number of women, youth and PWDs aspirants identified to stand in the	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1,925 aspirants were identified; 1119 women, 701 youth men; among women,</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The results framework does not specific the targets for youth and PWDs</li> </ol>

Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Result	Remarks
elections	2015 elections  Target = 1500 women	105 PWDs identified  2. 10,292 aspirants were sensitized on political rights and entitlements.	2. It is not clear whether 10,292 aspirants were a part of the identification process and whether it includes the 1,199 aspirants
1.2.1. (Output) Skills and capacities of women, youth and PWD as aspirants, candidates and party leaders strengthened	Number of women, youth and PWD aspirants and candidates whose capacities are strengthened as a result of the project support  Target = At least 900 women candidates trained	1. 1,282 political aspirants and 713 political candidates have been trained by implementing partners  2. Out of the 723 aspirants that could be tracked in a follow up study by TGNP, 438 were women (60%), 251 were youth (35%) and 42 were PWDs (6%).  3. 70% of the tracked aspirants (509) filled up nomination forms; 23% of the tracked aspirants (169) had been nominated within the party and 10% of the tracked aspirants (79) have been elected as councillors or MPs.  4. Project attribution for councillors = 4.5%  5. Project attribution for MPs = 2.9%	1. The results framework does not specific the targets for youth and PWDs  2. Implementing partners could not provide a break-up of women, youth and PWDs for the 1,282 aspirants  3. The valid indicator to be measured for this output is the number of aspirants who could be reached in the follow-up study. Aspirants who could not be reached in the study should be excluded for evaluation purposes.  4. The mapping report does not provide a breakup between those elected directly and those nominated through special seats.
1.2.2. (Output) Political parties' awareness, skills and knowledge enhanced to promote political participation and leadership of women, youth and PWDs and prevent harassment and violence against female aspirants and candidates	Number of political parties that have designed measures to promote political participation and leadership of women, youth, and PWDs including mitigation of harassment and violence against women in elections  Target = 2 political parties	1. 851 political party leaders across 6 political parties were trained on the promotion of gender equality and leadership in elections. The project also supported a review of 10 political parties' tools-constitutions and regulations to identify gender gaps and learning on best nomination processes that promote the nomination of women and other marginalized groups.  2. 100% of all political parties interviewed (N=5) mentioned that their party constitution provides equal opportunity to women, youth, PWDs and people from all social groups to contest for intra party nominations	1. The results framework does not define "measures" in terms of guidelines/ manifestos/ party constitution etc.  2. The monitoring reports do not provide information on whether political parties have introduced any measure to promote political participation and leadership of women, youth and PWDs including mitigation of harassment and violence against women in elections  3. The indicator is prone to be affected by extraneous factors in addition to the project activities  4. The term "enhanced" as stated in the output is difficult to measure

Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Result	Remarks
		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. 1 out of the political parties interviewed (N=5) have introduced any women quotas to their internal party constitution, reserving seats for women</li> <li>4. 1 out of 5 political parties interviewed (20%) mentioned that they have setup disciplinary committees at all levels to deal with cases of harassment and violence against women during elections</li> </ol>	
<p>1.2.2. (Output) Capacities and processes for gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in Election Management Bodies (EMBs), both NEC and ZEC strengthened</p>	<p>Number of electoral processes/ procedures (implemented by EMBs) that integrate provisions for broader social inclusion for youth and PWDs and advancing gender equality and women's political participation and prevent violence against women in electoral processes in view of the 2015 elections</p> <p>Target = At least 2 initiatives linked to electoral processes/ procedures mainstreaming gender and social inclusion by end of 2015</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. NEC and ZEC took initiatives to provide voter education across various platforms (including platforms anchored by Wanawake-Wanaweza project)</li> <li>2. NEC has initiated providing data on elections disaggregated by gender (cannot be attributed to the project)</li> <li>3. ZEC has initiated providing data on elections disaggregated by gender, age group and disability status.</li> <li>4. Office of Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), as an initiative, provides data of aspirants disaggregated by gender, age and disability status</li> <li>5. ORPP has developed the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Strategy anchored under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project</li> <li>6. ORPP is also amending the gender gaps in Political Parties Act and Electoral Expenses Act based on consultations with Wanawake-Wanaweza project</li> <li>7. The project also engaged with NEC/ZEC through DEP to review and revised the Electoral Code of Conduct, Election Observer's Guidelines and Voter Education Guidelines to reduce</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. NEC and ZEC have not been able to clearly identify activities done under the Wanawake-Wanaweza project. The identification of activities has been done by cross-referencing transcripts from implementing partners and NEC/ZEC.</li> <li>2. NEC/ZEC's guidelines on electoral conduct prohibit political parties and candidates from using abusive language that may endanger peace or use of any kind of discrimination relating to gender and disability in campaign meetings.</li> </ol>

Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Result	Remarks
1.2.3. (Output) Women, youth and PWDs participate in the electoral process free from violence. Women's situation room or its equivalent established to ensure gender responsive monitoring and observation of electoral processes and violence free elections and campaign period	<p>Percentage of stakeholder institutions involved in the coordination/response mechanism that expresses commitment and design strategies outlining their actions in ensuring violence free elections for female voters and candidates</p> <p>Target = 70% of stakeholder institutions</p>	<p>discrimination and violence against women and PWDs during the 2015 elections.</p> <p>1. 45.4%<sup>22</sup> of the stakeholder institutions in the project were involved/developed initiatives and coordination/response mechanisms that express commitment toward ensuring violence free elections for female voters and candidates.</p>	<p>The stakeholder institutions are limited to implementing partners in the project</p>
1.2. (Outcome) Participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in political party structures and electoral processes enhanced	<p>Proportion of women, youth and PWDs in political party nominations and elected MPs</p> <p>Target = 15% in Mainland, 10% in Zanzibar</p>	<p>1. Proportion of women among total nominations for Parliamentary Seats (Tanzania Mainland) = 19%; Proportion of women among total elected MPs (Tanzania Mainland) = 10%</p> <p>2. Proportion of women among total nominations for Parliamentary Seats (Zanzibar) = 16.6%; Proportion of women among total elected MPs (Zanzibar) = 13%</p>	<p>1. Disaggregated data for PWDs and youth was not available with NEC</p> <p>2. Disaggregated data for PWDs and youth was not available with ZEC</p>

<sup>22</sup> Stakeholder institutions – TGNP, LHRC, TAMWA (Mainland & Zanzibar), TWCP, UNDP, ORPP, TCD, SHIVYAWATA, WFT, TWPG, UWAWAZA

Table 16: Results framework analysis for Outcome 1.3

Outputs and Outcomes	Indicator	Result	Remarks
<p>1.3.1. (Output) Capacities of advocates, grass-root organizations, media, faith and community based leaders to promote women, youth and PWDs leadership and to participate in national dialogue strengthened, including in the context of the Constitutional Review</p>	<p>Number of community based initiatives to promote leadership and political participation of women, youth and PWDs developed as a result of the project support</p> <p>Target = Not specified</p>	<p>1. The project supported 13 grassroots women’s rights organizations from both Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar to implement different interventions to promote women’s leadership and political empowerment. Awareness raising sessions and advocacy conducted by implementing partners in 8 regions in Tanzania Mainland and 4 regions in Zanzibar led to the adoption of 30 initiatives/Action Plans by the grassroots leaders</p>	<p>1. The results framework does not provide targets for the indicator</p>
<p>1.3.2. (Output) Increased sensitization of the media about women, youth and PWDs leadership and political participation (including on VAWE)</p>	<p>Percentage of media targeted through the project intervention that increases coverage of issues related to women, youth and PWDs’ leadership and participation, including VAWE.</p> <p>Target = Not specified</p>	<p>1. 40 community radios (i.e. 36 community radios under COMNET and 4 community radios, i.e. Country FM, Furaha FM, Hope FM and Over Corners FM) increased coverage on issues that promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation because of sensitization conducted by the implementing partners.</p> <p>2. 20 mainstream TVs/Radios actively promoted women, youth and PWDs leadership and participation.</p>	<p>1. The results framework does not specify the number of organizations that will be reached out through the project activities</p> <p>2. The results framework does not define the term “increase”; does not provide a baseline to capture increase.</p>
<p>1.1. (Outcome) Gender equality and social inclusion advocates effectively influence media, faith based and community leaders and grass-root organizations and networks to promote gender equality and social inclusion in leadership and participation.</p>	<p>Number of women, youth and PWDs elected as councillors in Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland</p> <p>Target = 5% in Tanzania Mainland, 12.05% in Zanzibar</p>	<p>1. Proportion of women among total nominations for Councillor’s Elections (Tanzania Mainland) = 6%</p> <p>2. Proportion of women among total elected Councillors (Tanzanian Mainland) = 5.2%</p> <p>3. Proportion of women among total nominations for Councillor’s Elections (Zanzibar) = 25%</p> <p>4. Proportion of women among total elected Councillors (Zanzibar) = 20.7%</p>	

## 11.4. Coding frame for qualitative analysis

Table 17: Coding frame for qualitative analysis

Coding Categories	Definition	Example
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_Women_Personal</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the personal circle of concern of women directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to women's political participation and leadership. In this context, a personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect women at individual and interpersonal levels	<i>" I did not have enough resources to cover the election process costs" (PA7)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_Women_Community</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the community level circle of concern of women directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to women's political participation and leadership. A personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect women at social and community levels	<i>" Cultural norms and patriarchy lead people to believe that a woman cannot lead us" (PA5)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_Women_Institutional</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the institutional circle of concern of women directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to women's political participation and leadership. An institutional circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect women at the infrastructural and systems levels	<i>"It is very clear that women's role in the political process has been undermined. You will see women being given the seats as deputies under a male chairman. They are either asked to wait for special seats to contest or given the seats as treasurer etc. in order to take them out of the nominee race" (IP5)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_Youth_Personal</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the personal circle of concern of youth directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to youth's political participation and leadership. In this context, a personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect youth at individual and interpersonal levels	<i>"The youth are stagnant, not working, and they are not motivated"(PA1)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_Youth_Community</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the community level circle of concern of youth directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to youth's political participation and leadership. A personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect youth at social and community levels	<i>"I did not win because the public perception is that young people cannot lead" (PA6)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_Youth_Institutional</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the institutional circle of concern of youth directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to youth's political participation and leadership. An institutional circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect youth at the	<i>"Older party members feel the youth are immature and not ready for politics as they know it. The parties do not trust the youth,</i>

Coding Categories	Definition	Example
	infrastructural and systems levels	<i>labelling them as rebels without a cause"(IP9)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_PWD_Personal</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the personal circle of concern of PWDs directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to PWD's political participation and leadership. In this context, a personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect PWD at individual and interpersonal levels	<i>"One of the barriers for PWD aspirants is their economic weakness" (PA2)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_PWD_Community</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the community level circle of concern of PWDs directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to PWD's political participation and leadership. A personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect PWD at social and community levels	<i>"No community member believes that a PWD has any kind of ability, despite his/her skill set and level of education. Many have been relegated to the back seat of politics where they are seen but not heard"(IP10)</i>
<b>Barrier_Aspirant_PWD_Institutional</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the institutional circle of concern of PWDs directly or indirectly contribute as impediments to PWD's political participation and leadership. An institutional circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect PWDs at the infrastructural and systems levels	<i>"Manifestos, legal instruments and policies of political parties are not inclusive of the PWDs" (IP9)</i>
	A unit of coding applies to this category if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors associated with funds, supplies and assets contribute as impediments to the Wanawake-Wanaweza project	<i>"There were delays in getting the money, which delayed implementing of activities" (IP3)</i>
	A unit of coding applies to this category if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors associated with systems, strategies and infrastructure contribute as impediments to the Wanawake-Wanaweza project	<i>"Lack of continuous programming has impeded the project from achieving what it really set out to do"(IP1)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_Women_Personal</b>	A unit of coding applies to this category if and interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the personal circle of concern of women directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to women's political participation and leadership. In this context, a personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect women at individual and interpersonal levels	<i>"Women are now becoming better researchers of their constituents, listening to the community and understanding the context" (PA1)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_Women_Community</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the community level circle of concern of women directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to women's political participation and leadership. A personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect women at social and community levels	<i>"Women can make very good leaders, they are trust worthy, know the key issues, and can be transforming agents" (IP4)</i>



Coding Categories	Definition	Example
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_Women_Institutional</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the institutional circle of concern of women directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to women's political participation and leadership. An institutional circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect women at the infrastructural and systems levels	<i>"The legal framework provides opportunities for women participation in leadership and politics. The constitution has some clauses which are against women discrimination; affirmative action requires 30% women representation in parliament, various policies and regulations have been reviewed to address women's issues" (IP3)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_Youth_Personal</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the personal circle of concern of youth directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to youth's political participation and leadership. In this context, a personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect youth at individual and interpersonal levels	<i>"Youth have gained knowledge and, have positive attitudes. They are empowered to peacefully take part in electoral processes"(IP8)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_Youth_Community</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the community level circle of concern of youth directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to youth's political participation and leadership. A personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect youth at social and community levels	<i>"Support from their spouses and friends and the community are enabling factors for youth" (PA7)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_Youth_Institutional</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the institutional circle of concern of youth directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to youth's political participation and leadership. An institutional circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect youth at the infrastructural and systems levels	<i>"The existence of NGOs interventions has continued to educate youth in inspiring for leadership positions"(PA6)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_PWD_Personal</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the personal circle of concern of PWDs directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to PWD's political participation and leadership. In this context, a personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect PWD at individual and interpersonal levels	<i>"Courage of PWDs is an enabling factor" (PPI)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_PWD_Community</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors in the community level circle of concern of PWDs directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to PWD's political participation and leadership. A personal circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect PWDs at social and community levels	<i>"Television publicity has encouraged PWDs to engage and participate in political leadership and voting" (PA3)</i>
<b>Enabler_Aspirant_PWD_Institutional</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion	<i>"The political party leaders are</i>

Coding Categories	Definition	Example
	that certain factors in the institutional circle of concern of PWDs directly or indirectly contribute as catalysers to PWD's political participation and leadership. An institutional circle of concern encompasses all those factors that affect PWDs at the infrastructural and systems levels	<i>becoming more receptive (of PWDs), review their perceptions/structures to be more accommodating, e.g. review their own guidelines, and they themselves to build the capacity from within their parties" (IP4)</i>
<b>Enabler_Project</b>	A unit of coding applies to this category if the interviewee expresses her/his opinion that certain factors contribute as catalysers to the Wanawake-Wanaweza project	<i>"The funding from Wanawake-Wanaweza Project helped the organisation to push this agenda (in promoting leadership and political participation of PWDs) more forcefully in collaboration with other partners who were involved in the project" (IP2)</i>
<b>Project_Mandates</b>	This category applies to a unit of coding if the interviewee describes factors associated with the Wanawake-Wanaweza Project	<i>"Within the framework of Wanawake-Wanaweza Project, each partner worked on specific outcome areas which had a comparative advantage. We were involved in the design process starting with submission of proposals, which was a very participatory process with back and forth discussions" (IP2)</i>

## 11.5. Visualization of code hierarchy

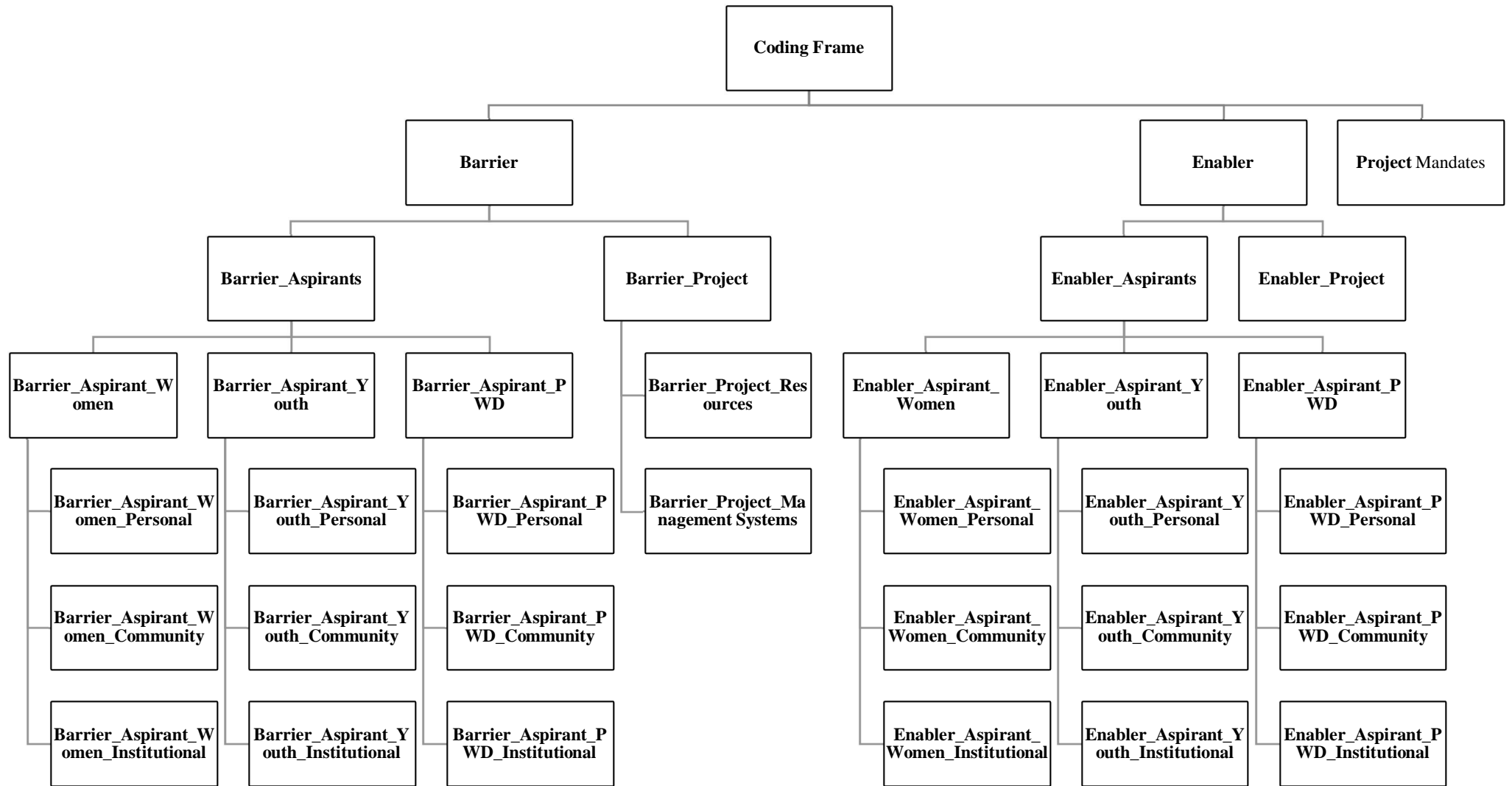


Figure 11: Visualization of the code hierarchy

## **11.6. Barrier-Enabler analysis for women aspirants**

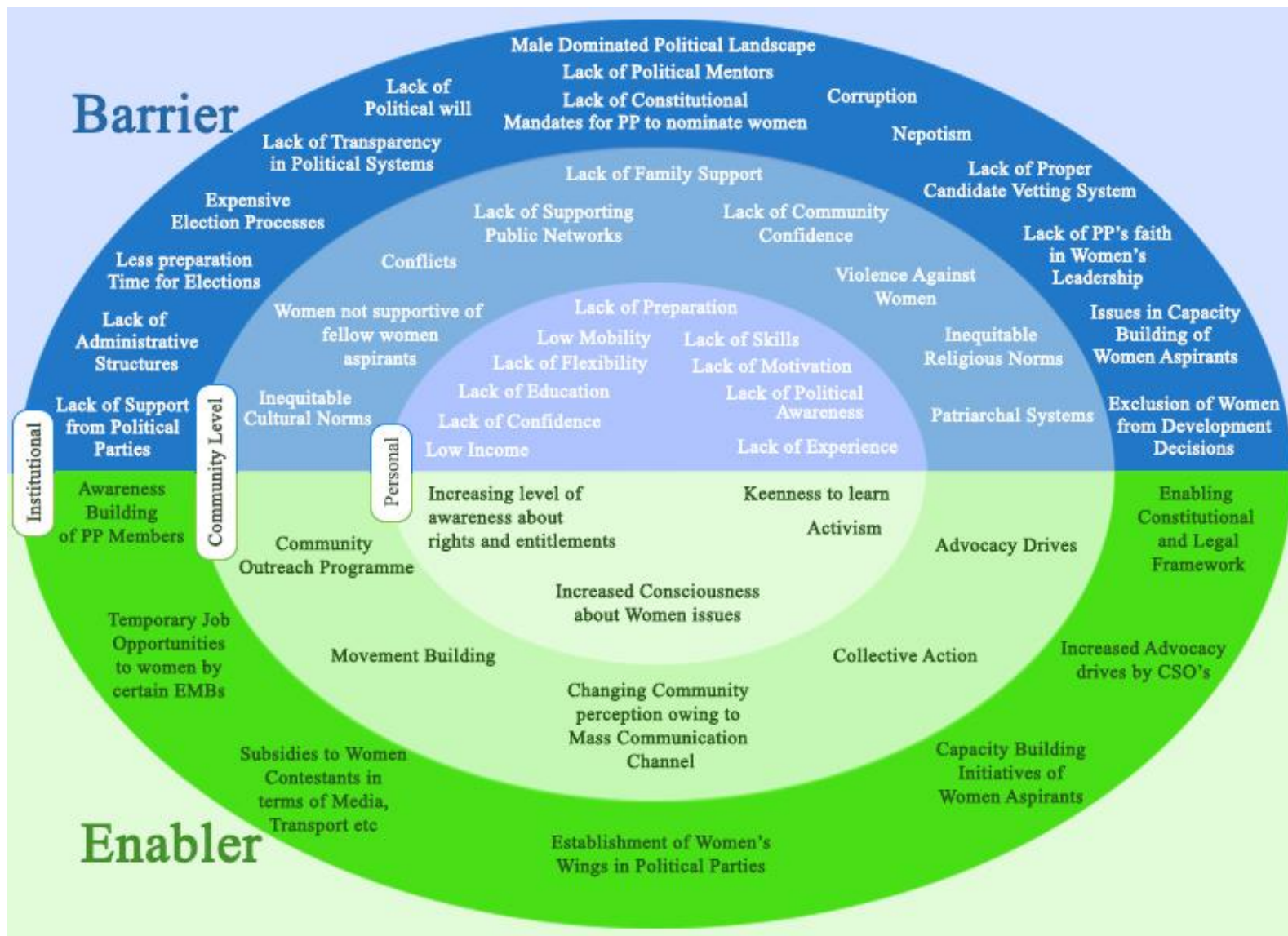


Figure 12: Barriers for women aspirants

## 11.7. Barrier-Enabler analysis for youth aspirants

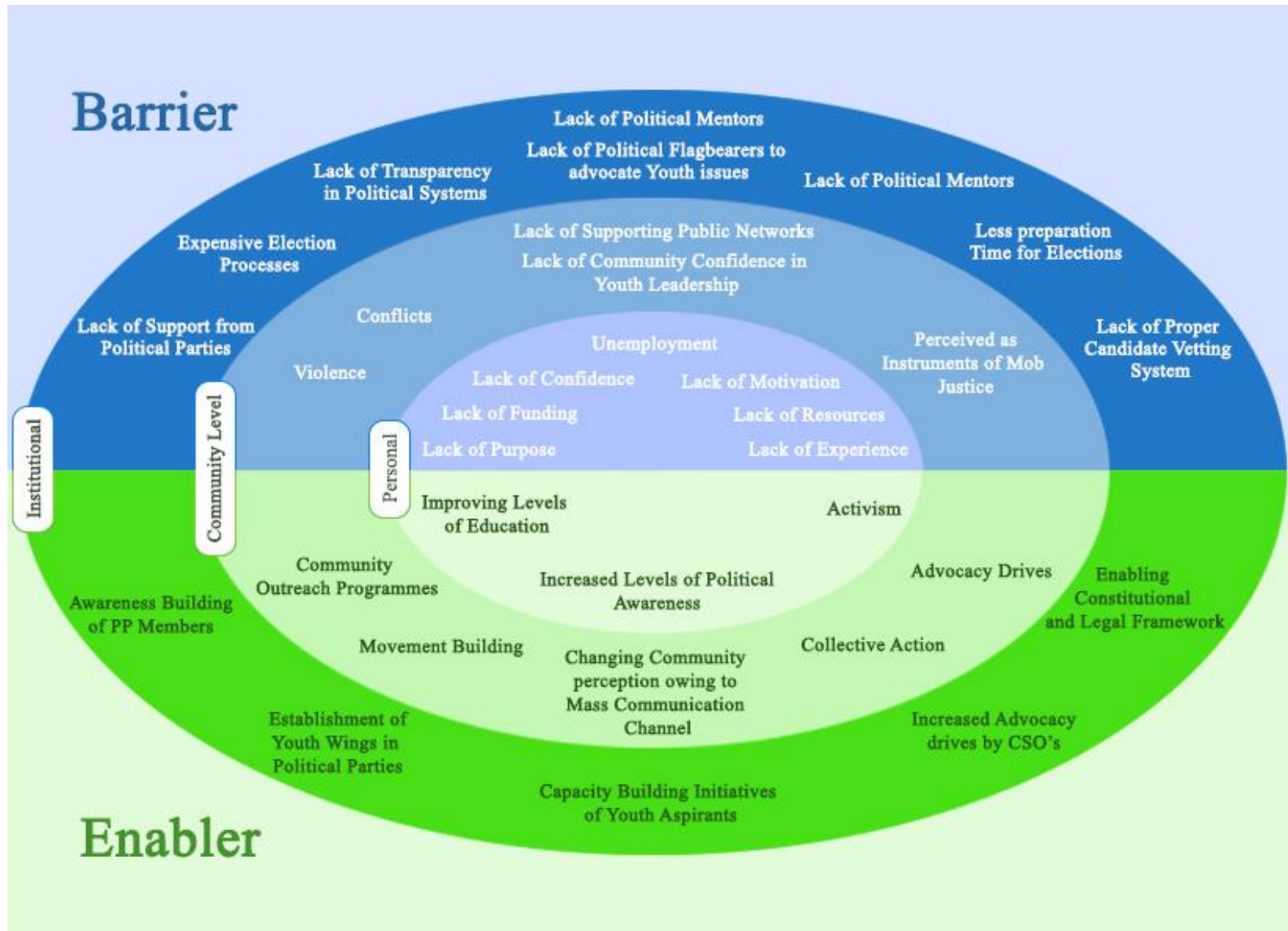


Figure 13: Barriers for youth aspirants

## 11.8. Barrier-Enabler for PWD aspirants

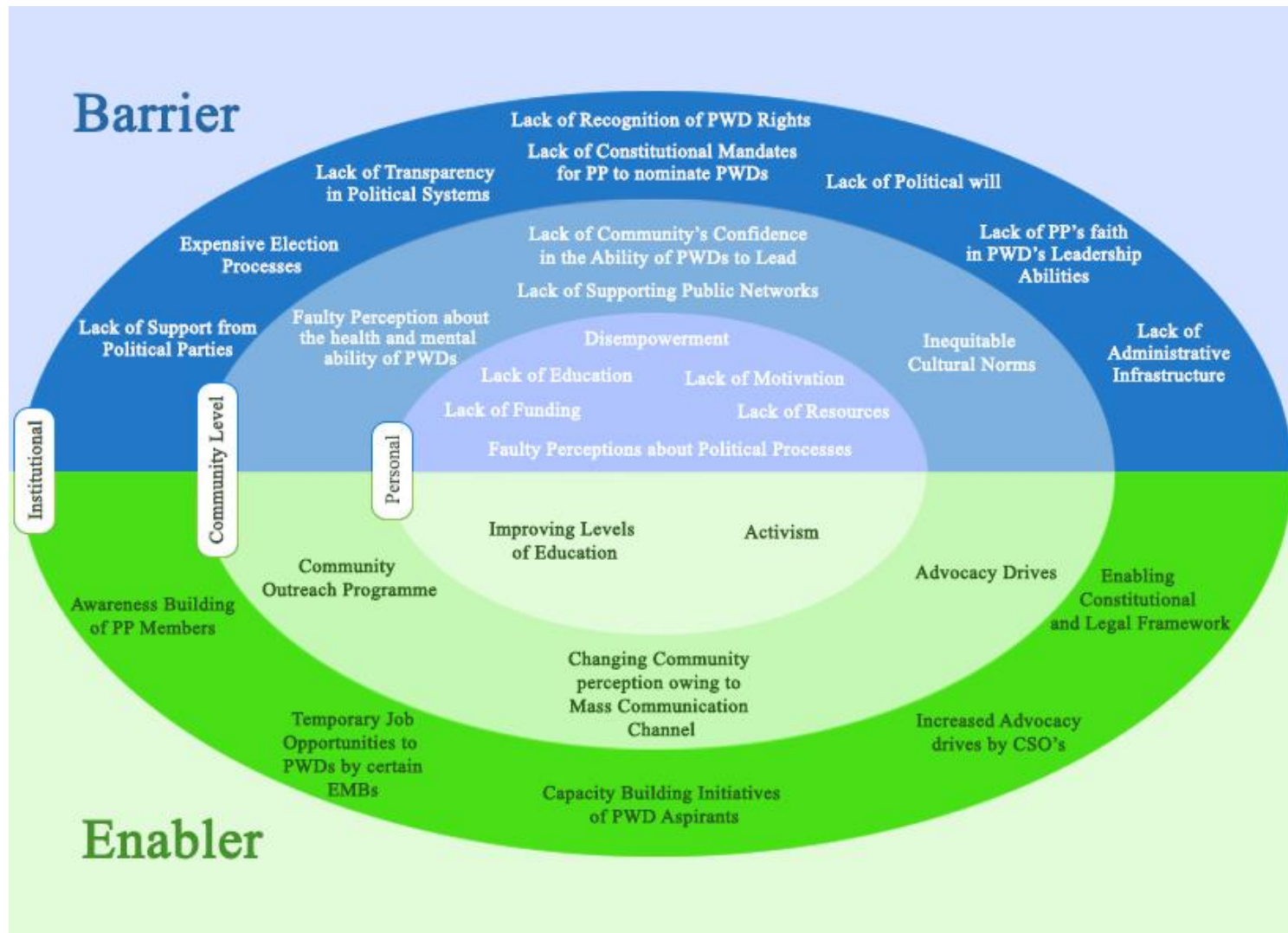


Figure 14: Barriers for PWD aspirants





## 11.9. Theory of Change

Table 18: Theory of Change for the project

Outcomes	Outputs	Interventions	Key Assumptions	Risks
1.1. The constitution, electoral and political participation laws advance and promote women's rights and gender equality in political participation	Capacities of key institutions enhanced for review of constitution and development of political participation and electoral laws that promote women's rights, women's political participation and leadership	Capacity strengthening of government institutions and civil society organizations	Capacity strengthening exercise consists of relevant modules and delivery techniques to deliver desired output; Willingness of institutions to participate in the project	Institutions may not be willing/open to participating in the project activities
		Amendments to the policy, existing legal frameworks and draft legislations to fill in gender gaps	The framework and legislation developed are strategically clear and coherent that allow streamlined activity programming	The revised policies and frameworks will take time to be effected and transformed into action
	Capacities enhanced among members of women's caucus of parliament and Parliamentary Committees to engage in discussions on gender equality and women's rights, including Constitutional Review process on Gender Response Budgeting (Mainland and Zanzibar)	Enhancing the capacity of women's caucus of parliament, Parliamentary Committees and House of Representatives Committees to engage in discussions on gender equality and women's rights	Women parliamentarians participate in the capacity strengthening exercises; Capacity strengthening sessions facilitates application of knowledge and skill imparted	Political parties are not open to allow parliamentarians to participate in the capacity strengthening exercises; Women parliamentarians do not participate in the capacity strengthening exercises; Trainers and resource not available for conducting capacity strengthening exercises
1.2. Participation of women, youth and people with disabilities in political party structures and electoral processes enhanced	Women, youth and PWDs identified as aspirants for the 2015 elections	Identification and Mapping of aspirants	Political parties share the vetted list of candidates (women, youth and PWDs) in a time bound manner	Political parties delay in providing the list of aspirants; Multiple lists shared with the implementing partners; Delay in completing the identification exercise

<b>Outcomes</b>	<b>Outputs</b>	<b>Interventions</b>	<b>Key Assumptions</b>	<b>Risks</b>
	Skills and capacities of women, youth and PWD as aspirants, candidates and party leaders strengthened	Training aspirants and candidates by targeting their specific needs for successful political candidacies within their constituencies and political parties	Identification of political aspirants successfully completed; Aspirants and candidates are notified by their respective political parties about the training; Aspirants and candidates are interested in attending the training	Identification of political aspirants lacks vetting; Political aspirants and candidates are not interested in attending training; Proxy aspirants and candidates attend the training to avail sitting allowance
	Political parties' awareness, skills and knowledge enhanced to promote political participation and leadership of women, youth and PWDs and prevent harassment and violence against female aspirants and candidates	Sensitization workshops for political parties to encourage participation of women, youth and PWDs	Political parties are open to attending sensitization workshops	Political parties are not open to attending sensitization workshops on intra party nomination processes
		Capacity Development of political party leaders' capacity to promote the ability of women to participate fully at all levels of decision-making within political parties	Political party leaders are committed and have the political will to change	Political party leaders are not open to attending sensitization workshops on intra party nomination processes
	Capacities and processes for gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in Election Management Bodies (EMBs), both NEC and ZEC strengthened	Continuous technical and financial support to EMBs and ORPP to strengthen their capacities for the full integration of gender equality and social inclusion within the implementation of their mandates	EMBs & ORPP are willing to participate in the project and utilize the support provided by the project	EMBs & ORPP are not open to participating in the project activities
	Women, youth and PWDs participate in the electoral process free from violence. Women's situation room or its equivalent established to ensure gender responsive monitoring and observation of electoral processes and violence free elections and campaign period	Awareness and monitoring of VAWE during elections in order to enable a comprehensive understanding of the type and scope of the violence and its implications for women voters' turnout and overall participation in elections.	Implementing partners can train election monitors; coordinate with EMBs on election monitoring; Data is collected on incidences of violence	Implementing partners not able to train election monitors; Implementing partners may not be able to collect required data on incidences of violence
		Training and briefings for electoral observation missions	Training provided facilitates application of knowledge and skill imparted	Faulty administrative processes prevent the application of training for electoral missions

Outcomes	Outputs	Interventions	Key Assumptions	Risks
<p>1.3. Gender equality and social inclusion advocates effectively influence media, faith based and community leaders and grass-root organizations and networks to promote gender equality and social inclusion in leadership and participation.</p>	<p>Capacities of advocates, grass-root organizations, media, faith and community based leaders to promote women, youth and PWDs leadership and to participate in national dialogue strengthened, including in the context of the Constitutional Review</p>	<p>Capacity strengthening of stakeholders to undertake research and engage in evidence based policy dialogue and advocacy on issues linked to women's rights</p>	<p>Capacity strengthening exercise consists of relevant modules and delivery techniques to deliver desired output; Stakeholders are willing to attend the capacity strengthening exercise and utilize the findings</p>	<p>Stakeholders may not be able to provide adequate time to attend the capacity strengthening exercise; Stakeholders do not convert the learnings into action</p>
	<p>Increased sensitization of the media about women, youth and PWDs leadership and political participation (including on VAWE)</p>	<p>Sensitization and capacity strengthening of media to publicly promote and advocate for a greater acceptance of women and girls as leaders</p>	<p>Capacity strengthening session facilitates application of knowledge and skill imparted; Media houses are open to attending the capacity strengthening sessions</p>	<p>Media houses may not be able to attend the capacity strengthening sessions</p>

## 11.10. DAC criteria tabulation

Table 19: DAC criteria tabulation

DAC Criteria	Research Questions	Indicator/ Line of inquiry	Response
Design	Does the project have a clear theory of change/logic model?	Does the project have a Theory of Change/Logic Model?	No
		Do the project partners understand the causal pathways underlying the Theory of Change/Logic Model?	Not applicable
	Does the project have a clear results framework?	Does the project have a results framework?	Yes
		Do the project partners understand the logic underlying the results framework?	Yes
	Does the results framework reflect the project objectives?	Outputs specified in the results framework	Yes
		Outcomes specified in the results framework	Yes
	Are the components of results framework measurable?	Indicators specified for the outputs	Yes
		Indicators specified for the outcomes	Yes
		Baseline value for all outputs	No
		Baseline value for all outcomes	Yes
	Does the results framework assign specific roles to stakeholders/ partners?	Stakeholders in-charge for executing interventions	Yes
	Are the outputs laid down in the results framework realistic?	Perception of UN Women, whether outputs are realistic?	UN Women reports that the outputs laid down were sourced from the DEP Project document and is aligned with the UNDAP strategy. The outputs were realistic but the timelines for delivering the outputs was tight.
		Perception of project partners, whether outputs are realistic?	25% of the stakeholders who responded on the project management framework said that the outputs were not realistic
	Are the outcomes laid down in the results framework realistic?	Perception of project partners, whether outcomes are realistic?	The stakeholders could not comment on the outcomes
	Does the results framework provide specific time-lines for project activities?	Timeline to realise each output mentioned in the results framework	Timelines were a part of the agreements/ contracts
	Are the outputs laid down in the results framework clear?	Perception of project partners, whether outputs laid down in the results framework are clear	The response from project partners was mixed, with some partners finding the results framework clearer than others. The clarity on project outputs was not homogenous.

<b>DAC Criteria</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Indicator/ Line of inquiry</b>	<b>Response</b>
		Number of project partners that report being a part of the results framework exercise	The response was mixed with certain project partners being a part of designing their results framework. The response was not homogenous.
	Are the outcomes laid down in the results framework clear?	Perception of project partners, whether outcomes laid down in the results framework are clear	The stakeholders could not comment on the outcomes
		Number of project partners that report being a part of the results framework exercise	5 project partners mentioned that they were a part of the results framework exercise
	Does the results framework provide specific indicators for each of the outputs?	Indicators for each output	Yes
	Does the results framework provide specific indicators for each of the outcomes?	Indicators for each outcome	Yes
	Does the baseline information exist for the specified indicators?	Was baseline study carried out for this project?	Yes
		Does baseline information exist for outputs?	No
		Does baseline information exist for outcomes?	Yes
	Are there provisions to generate baseline information on the indicators?	Does the project plan have provisions to generate baseline information on indicators?	Yes
	Does the project have an M&E plan?	Does the project have an M&E plan?	Yes
	Does the M&E plan identify the key indicators to be assessed?	List of indicators in the M&E plan	Yes
	Does the M&E plan identify the periodicity for data collection for the indicators?	Does the M&E plan identify the periodicity of data collection for the indicators?	Yes
	Does the M&E plan identify the data sources for indicators?	Does the M&E plan identify the data sources for indicators?	Yes
Relevance & Coherence	How are UN Women positioning itself within the national needs and the UNDAP priorities?	Desk review of Project documents regarding positioning of the project within the national needs and UNDAP priorities	The project is aligned with the UNDAP for Tanzania, cluster 3 and is also in line with the MKUKUTA, MKUZA (2010-2015) on good governance and national unity
		Perception of UN Women regarding positioning of the project within the national needs and UNDAP priorities	The project is also aligned to the UNDAP II (2016-2021) under democratic governance, human rights and gender equality

DAC Criteria	Research Questions	Indicator/ Line of inquiry	Response
	Has the project addressed the relevant needs in the country?	Perception of project partners regarding positioning of the project within the national needs and UNDAP priorities	Project partners strongly feel that the project has been able to combine individual efforts into a single programme. The project is aligned with the mandate of donors and implementing partners.
		Perception of UN Women, whether project has addressed the relevant needs in the country	The project has been able to address the issue of under representation of women, youth and PWDs. The issue of leadership and political participation of women has been taken up with the constitutional reform, with a proposition of 50:50 seats at all levels for gender balance. The project supports this process through several activities
		Perception of project partners, whether project has addressed the relevant needs in the country	Project partners strongly feel that the project has addressed relevant needs relating to under-representation among women and youth. But the project partners also feel that the project focus is skewed towards women, followed by youth and PWDs.
	Have new, more relevant needs emerged that the project should address?	Perception of UN Women, whether more relevant needs emerged that the project should address	There is a need to improve capacities among implementing partners to improve programme delivery, avoid delays in implementation and maintain robust monitoring.
		Perception of project partners, whether more relevant needs emerged that the project should address	Some project partners feel that there is a need to increase the engagements with political parties. Political parties are the gate keepers to the internal nomination process and there is a need for greater sensitization among political party leaders
	Have the stakeholders taken ownership of the project concept?	Perception of the project partners, about the level of ownership of the project concept and interventions	Most of the project partners plan to continue their engagement, taking forward the learnings from the project. Though none of the implementing partners has mentioned about new donors.
	Efficiency	Have the resources been used efficiently?	Are financial reports available for the project?
Review of financial reports			On an average, an implementing partner could spend 61.7% of the total respective grant; 4 out of the 13 reports analysed noted spending less than 30% out of the total respective grant
Are financial reports available for the project partners?			Yes
Periodicity of the financial reporting for project partners			Quarterly reports presented every 3 months

DAC Criteria	Research Questions	Indicator/ Line of inquiry	Response
		Average number of beneficiaries reached out through the project	The project directly trained 1282 political aspirants and 713 candidates, 851 political party leaders and conducted sensitization workshops for 10,000 community members. The project conducted multiple capacity strengthening workshops for women parliamentarians in Tanzania mainland (139) and Zanzibar (32). At least 6 community led initiatives were conducted; 40 community radio stations, 20 mainstream TV/radio stations and 25 newspapers covered stories relating to the project activities/gender mainstreaming in the political process. It is a challenge to estimate the indirect beneficiaries.
	Have the project activities been cost-effective?	Cumulative yearly cost of the project activities	The project payment trenches were not yearly for all implementing partners
Yearly cumulative returns (monetized benefits) because of the project activities		Do not have adequate data to comment on monetary benefits arising out of the project	
Net present value of the returns		Do not have adequate data to comment on monetary benefits arising out of the project	
Internal rate of return for the project		Do not have adequate data to comment on monetary benefits arising out of the project	
Cost of reaching out to each of the beneficiaries		Approximate cost of training 1 political aspirant = TZS 166,000.1; Approximate cost of training 1 political party leader = TZS 302,616.73; Average expenditure on 1 MP in Tanzania Mainland (2014-16) = TZS 1,208,992.7; Average expenditure on 1 MP in Zanzibar (2015-2016) = TZS 3,585.414.8	
	Have the project funds and activities been delivered in a timely manner?	Timelines for disbursing project funds	Data on timeline for disbursement not available
Perception of project partners, whether project funds have been delivered in a timely manner		37.5% of project partners agreed or completely agreed with the statement that the project funds were disbursed timely	
Timelines for delivery of project activities		Based on the analysis of project extension agreements, there is an average delay of 7.2 months in the final project timelines	
Perception of UN Women, whether project activities have been delivered timely?		There were delays in delivering of project activities.	

<b>DAC Criteria</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Indicator/ Line of inquiry</b>	<b>Response</b>
		Perception of project partners, whether project activities have been delivered timely?	Project partners reported that they were satisfied with their delivery of assignments and reported that they had adequate human resource to complete the tasks timely.
	If not, what are the bottlenecks encountered?	Bottlenecks reported by UN Women for disbursing project funds	Revision of narrative reports to streamline them as per UN standards.
		Bottlenecks reported by project partners for delivery of project activities	Project partners reported that there were delays in delivery timelines as most of the activities were done close to or within the election year. It was difficult to reach out to political leaders and political aspirants close to the election period.
	Are there sufficient financial resources for the project activities?	Projected estimates of financial resources required for the project activities at the baseline	There were adequate financial resources for the project. On an average, an implementing partner could spend 61.7% of their respective project grant
		Financial resources available for the project	As per the results framework, the fund to be mobilized was USD 5,255,584; The total grant approved by donors was 2,635,000 (approximate figure based on present exchange rates)
		Actual disbursement of the financial resources	Based on the analysis of financial reports, the total grant for the project amounts to TZS 4,465,950,453 and the latest total disbursement made to project partners was TZS 2,981,411,201.
		Perception of project partners, whether there was sufficient financial resource for the project activities	Project partners reported that there was adequate financial resource for the project activities
	Are there sufficient human resources for the project activities?	Projected estimates of human resources required for the project activities at the baseline	Data insufficient to comment on human resources
		Human resources available with the project	Data insufficient to comment on human resources
		Perception of project partners, whether there was sufficient human resource for the project activities	Project partners reported that there they had adequate human resource for the project activities
		Perception of UN Women, whether project partners could provide sufficient human resource for the project activities	There is a need for human resource, especially support staff and programme/research associates to support the coordination team



<b>DAC Criteria</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Indicator/ Line of inquiry</b>	<b>Response</b>
		Perception of UN Women, whether project provides sufficient time to integrate human right and gender equality in project design, implementation and M&E	The designing of project was done before the actual implementation and integrates human right and gender equality in project design
		Perception of project partners, whether project provides sufficient time to integrate human right and gender equality in project design, implementation and M&E	The project partners reported that there was insufficient time to plan and execute project activities within the stipulated timeline. However, the designing of project was done before the actual implementation and integrates human right and gender equality in project design
		Were all the planned project activities executed within the time?	There was an average delay of 7.2 months in the final deliverable of the project
Effectiveness	Did the project make sufficient progress towards the laid down outputs?	Did the project outputs meet the laid down targets?	The project made significant advances to meet the targets. Classification into achieved and not achieved is not feasible.
	Did the project make sufficient progress towards the laid down outcomes?	Did the project outcomes meet the laid down targets?	The project made significant advances to meet the targets. Classification into achieved and not achieved is not feasible.
	Did the project achieve the outputs laid down in the results framework?	Did the project outputs meet the laid down targets?	The project made significant advances to meet the targets. Classification into achieved and not achieved is not feasible.
	How have the stakeholders been involved in the project implementation?	Perception of UN Women, about how have stakeholders been involved in the project implementation	Multiple consultations, capacity strengthening and one-on-one meetings were conducted with stakeholders before and during the project implementation
		Perception of project partners, about how have stakeholders been involved in the project implementation	The response from project partners was mixed, with some partners finding the process of project designing implementation more consultative than others. There was no consensus on whether the project design and implementation were consultative.
	Did the outcomes meet the targets specified in the results framework?	Did the project outcomes meet the laid down targets?	The project made significant advances to meet the targets. Classification into achieved and not achieved is not feasible.
What are the bottlenecks encountered in meeting the specified targets?	Bottlenecks encountered in meeting specific targets, reported by UN Women	Improvement in the reporting quality is required to meet the UN reporting standards.	

DAC Criteria	Research Questions	Indicator/ Line of inquiry	Response
		Bottlenecks encountered in meeting specific targets, reported by project partners	Project partners mentioned that the project activities happened too close to the 2015 elections. Several agreements were signed in the year 2014 and interventions started towards the 2nd half of 2014 or 1st quarter of 2015, which did not provide them adequate time for a more coordinated execution.
	Have all the target beneficiaries (women, youth & PWDs) accrued benefits of the project equally?	Perceptions of women beneficiaries on benefits of the project	Women beneficiaries reported that the training helped them gain self-confidence to contest in elections. They were made aware of their constitutional rights and were trained in communications, leadership, campaign management, budgeting and financial management etc. Learning the skills gave them the confidence to stand against male candidates.
		Perceptions of youth beneficiaries on benefits of the project	Youth beneficiaries reported that the training helped them gain self-confidence to contest in elections. The youth were made aware of the key issues and developmental agendas relevant to the national needs.
		Perceptions of PWD beneficiaries on benefits of the project	PWD beneficiaries reported that the training helped them the self-confidence to contest in elections. PWD aspirants reported that training on key relevant issues, public speaking and communications helped them gain confidence.
		Perceptions of project partners on effect of project activities on beneficiaries	Project partners observed that the beneficiaries had reached a level of conscientization where there was an understanding that gender roles should be equitable and equally distributed. In their experience, they have witnessed an eventual increase of awareness among political parties to allow for greater gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in the nomination process.
	How did the project help empower stakeholder or prevent further discrimination and/or exacerbation of existing power relations?	Did the project outputs meet the laid down targets?	The project was successful in bringing together state and non-state actors for concerted action. The project activities helped train 1282 political aspirants and 713 political candidates (women, youth and PWDs) among which 74 trainees were elected as councillors and 5 trainees were elected as Members of Parliament. In addition, large scale mass media awareness was conducted across 18 radio stations and 25 newspapers

<b>DAC Criteria</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Indicator/ Line of inquiry</b>	<b>Response</b>
			across Mainland and Zanzibar. This had led to a growth in literature and awareness on the criticality of gender mainstreaming and social inclusion in national politics.
Sustainability	Does the project design include an appropriate sustainability and exit strategy?	Does the project design include a sustainability strategy?	The project draws from the UNDAP II which also includes democratic governance and gender equality as one of the key focus areas. Currently, a new project document on WLPP is being developed as a part of the sustainability strategy
		Does the project design include an exit strategy?	No
	To what extent were stakeholders involved in the preparation of the sustainability strategy?	To what extent were stakeholders involved in the preparation of the sustainability strategy, reported by UN Women	Stakeholders have not been a part of sustainability strategy
		To what extent were stakeholders involved in the preparation of the sustainability strategy, reported by project partners	Stakeholders were a part of the consultative workshop to design the new project document on WLPP
	How do stakeholders show ownership of the project?	Number of project partners that have developed their own sustainability plan for the project activities	Cannot comment
		Number of project partners that have developed their own financing strategy for the project activities	Cannot comment