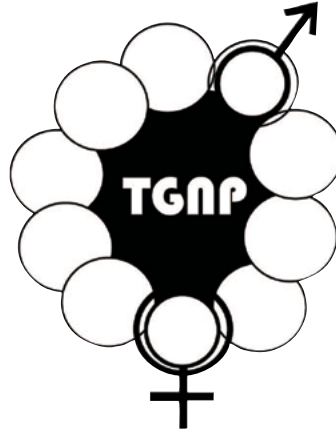




TANZANIA GENDER
NETWORKING PROGRAMME

The Beijing Journey





The Beijing Journey



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iv
MESSAGE FROM THE CHIEF EDITOR.....	v
ABBREVIATIONS.....	vi
CHAPTER 1	1
CHAPTER 2	22
CHAPTER 3:	45
CHAPTER 4:	53
CHAPTER 5	90
CHAPTER 6	99
CHAPTER 7	127
CONCLUDING THE JOURNEY	153
REFERENCES.....	156



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We also appreciate the powerful poetry of Hellen Bulungu, which adds depth and inspiration to this work. A special note of appreciation goes to Afrix Limited for the quality photo and video documentation.

The success of this groundbreaking publication is a testament to the visionary leadership of TGNP's Chairperson, Ms. Gemma Akilimali, the Executive Director, Ms. Lilian Liundi, and the unwavering dedication of TGNP's members and staff. In particular, we would like to acknowledge Zainab Mmary, Senior Program Officer of Research and Analysis, and Monica John, Program Officer in Communication, whose tireless efforts were instrumental in coordinating the production of this book.

We also extend our gratitude to Richard Mabala for his meticulous technical editing and proofreading of this book.

It is our sincere hope that the stories shared in *Beijing Journey* will inspire future generations and continue to fuel the fight for gender equality.

Message from the Chief Editor

The Beijing Book has been a journey, which entailed many processes, involving many individuals, who made this publication possible. On behalf of the team, I wish to thank all those who made valuable contributions to the process and enabled us to complete this task. I take this opportunity first to appreciate the responsibility given to me by my colleagues from the movement under the leadership of Dada Lillian, the Executive Director of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme. I wish to thank the team members for having made my coordination task easy, and for allowing me to push for delivery even when time was not at their side. I specifically thank Dada Zainab for coordinating the process from TGNP.

Indeed the process was energizing for me too and I have benefited most from the wealth of knowledge from all the chapters.

Prof. Ruth Meena,
Chief Editor

ABBREVIATIONS

ALA:	Activism, Lobbying and Advocacy
ALC:	Activism, Lobbying and Coalition Building (ALC)
AMB:	Activism and Movement Building
ARP:	Analysis, Research and Publications;
CONNECT:	Campaigns, organizing and networking with communities
CSOs:	Civil Society Organisations
DPs:	Development Partners
Femact:	Feminist Activist Coalition
FIC:	Feminist Information Centre (FIC);
GBI:	Gender Budget Initiative
GBS:	Gender Budget Support
GDSS:	Gender and Development Seminar Series
GF:	Gender Festival
GRB:	Gender-Responsive Budget
GTI:	Gender Training Institute
GBV:	Gender-based Violence
HBS:	Household Budget Survey
HRA:	Human Resource and Administration
IGD:	Information Generation and Dissemination
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
KAA:	Knowledge, Research and Analysis
KC:	Knowledge Centers
KGC:	Knowledge Generation and Communication
LGA:	Local Government Authority
LIC:	Low Income Countries
NGO:	Non-government Organisation

MACMOD:	Macroeconomic Modelling
MCDGC:	Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children
MDAs:	Ministries and Department Agencies
MKUKUTA:	Mpango WA Kuondoa Umaskini Na Kukuza Uchumi Tanzania (National Strategy for Reduction and Elimination of Poverty in Tanzania)
MNCs:	Multinational Corporations
MTEF:	Midterm Evaluation Framework
ODA:	Official Development Assistance
PAR:	Participatory Action Research
PER:	Public Expenditure Review
PLHIV:	People Living with HIV
PSM:	Programme Support Management
REPOA:	Research on Poverty Alleviation Programme
SAPs:	Structural Adjustment Programmes
TANGO:	Tanganyika Association of Non-governmental Organisations
TCB:	Training and Capacity Building
TCBO:	Training, Capacity Building and Outreach
TFMB	Transformative Feminist Movement Building
TGNP:	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
VIPP:	Visualisation in Participatory Programmes
WGs:	Women Groups
WTO:	World Trade Organisation



**The Beijing
Journey**

1

THE BEIJING JOURNEY: AN OVERVIEW

By Ruth Meena

Introduction

Join us in this journey we are about to embark upon; it's our journey to and from the Beijing Conference 1995 when World Governments were pushed by feminists around the world to rethink, address and commit to women's rights as human rights. This book is just a snapshot of 'our' experiences, our story, our voices in organizing, and fully engaging in the global feminist movement as a local chapter. Before we walk you through the process, meet our artist Hellen Bulugu, who will not only inspire you to read this book from the beginning to the end, but will artistically inspire you to appreciate the need to document our stories.

The Beijing Journey

A poem by Hellen Bulugu

Hello!

Hello!

Oh Hello, Oh Daughter of our motherlands,

Come join my fire and sing this marimba in my heart.

Feel the vibration of our possible tomorrow as we unfold today beats.

Dance,

find your long hidden mother-given khanga,

wrap it around your African waist

and dance like one of those harvest days.

Oh what a beautiful day to be a woman.

Days we long for came to life.

Come ye daughters of the land

Come join my fire.

Sing the Beijing song with Mama Gertude Mongella

Let her lead the way, she knows every stanza and chorus.

She could dance the twelve Beijing goals at heart.

At night.

What a beautiful day to be a woman,

And just like that our new chapter begun,

A day we fought for and battled without guns.

.....But fire sparked!

.....Fire did spark.

....From our backyards,

to all over the globe.

in that conference,

women sang the same chorus:

demanding to be at decision making tables!!!

demanding the right to enjoy economic rights!!!!

demanding resources to be equally shared.,,

Oh what a beautiful day to be a woman,

It's the Beijing meeting days.

Like a dream we made it there,

That journey is an experience of its own,

That meet up was needed for women and girls of that and this century to own.

A meet up so loud the noises never stop,

Matter of fact thy are getting stronger and louder.

*Ask Dada Professor Marjorie, a selfless feminist academician,
a mentor who believes in participatory learning.*

*The founder member of TGNP,
the centre for feminist discourses and knowledge.*

She is the Iron Lady.

She will tell you the power of togetherness.

Children can sing women empowerment chorus these days too.

These memories in the back of my head, give me goosebumps.

I remember it rained that day, no

It poured that day.

*It poured change and passion to empower women
to be something more than just being pretty.*

*To be at some places more than in the kitchen,
To carry something more than just family members.
To go some places more than the neighborhoods*

Back to the Beijing outcomes

Did we praise Mama Gertude Mongella well?

*Did we lift her up and carry her on our shoulders
in the midst of a congregation?*

We should do that one of these days.

That daughter of African soil is the treasure we need to protect.

Telling her story in this digitalized generation is perfect.

*It's from that Beijing meeting the world took turn
on stressing women agenda to actions.*

Patrolling around the 12 Beijing agendas

Girl child agenda

Political participants

Legal empowerment and economic rights.

It's like the world started seeing women as beings with equal rights to men.

Congratulations to the founding mothers for job well done.

*Oh what a beautiful day to be a woman.
My grandmother once said
“You want your lesson remembered turn it into a story”
So here come the stories of our founding mothers in women movements.
Super women behind the veil,
Behind covers and closed chapters..
Behind the pride and the dare of our young female leaders to date.
The ones who deserve a standing ovation.
The reason I wrote this poem standing.
Really, I am standing.
Here come the stories we don't tell enough,
Perhaps We don't stress enough or is it,,,,,, enough?*

*These stories embody the struggles, the process
and the sweet cake we partake.....To date.
These are stories about a pregnant idea given birth to reality.
it has been 25 years of a dream fulfilled to reality.
Can you imagine it?*

*These are stories young female leaders need to hear more,
One has to know where they are coming from
before heading where they don't know.*

*So here I introduce Dada Professor Ruth Meena, the golden heart.
Like a flower she unfolds the colourful four global conferences
whose landmark was Beijing.*

*Mexico City in 1975,
Copenhagen in 1980,
Nairobi in 1985, and
Beijing in 1995.
You will agree*

*Indeed the 1995 conference is considered as a turning point
of the global agenda for gender equality and women's empowerment.
In every line you will feel empowered again.*

Taking this advantage, activists in Tanzania organized, not only to influence the agenda but to engage with the global activists to challenge socio-economic and political processes which were discriminatory and unfair.

Oh what a beautiful day to be a woman.

With such women pillars behind us,

Our backs are safe.

And here is Dada Marjorie Mbilinyi as she explores the genesis of TGNP in the context of struggles in Tanzania and throughout Africa over Structural

*Adjustment and neoliberal ideologies
which were being imposed by World Bank and IMF
on poor and heavy indebted countries in the 1990s.*

In here you will see the power of women coming together

It's nothing like any gathering

It's strategic and daring.

About those faithful days in Beijing, here are the Voices in the Beijing journey the author Anneth Meena, creatively captured the voices of a few selected women who engaged in the Beijing process during preparation, during the conference and thereafter.

Oh what a process!

Here is Dada Victoria Lihuru and Ruth Meena, engaging in a discourse on politics of disruption by tracing various feminist struggles which have engaged and interrogated politics of exclusion globally with particular emphasis on the Tanzanian context.

The story walks us through TGNP's journey of translating feminist pedagogy into practices aiming at advancing the transformative feminist agenda and movement building in Tanzania and beyond.

Dada Asseny Muro, walks us through the development of various processes and institutional mechanisms which gave birth to the formation of learning forums namely the Wednesday Gender and Development Seminar Series Gender Festival: Gender Training Institute; Participatory Action Research, and Knowledge Centres.

Here Dada Mary Rusimbi starts by critiquing the macroeconomic frameworks which have resulted in the exploitative relationship between rich and poor citizens as women carry a disproportionate burden.

The second part of the story is a discourse and a feminist critique of economics of exclusion in resource allocation and distribution.

She challenges and interrogates the funding ecosystem as it fails to support or fund feminist transformative processes.

How should we dance unto women movement songs

Without these super women?

How should we know the right beat, steps and lyrics if they won't teach us.

How would we know the right tempo and when to stop if we should ever stop,

Enough with my poetry,

I will let you enjoy the book for now,

I will surely come.

The struggle for gender equality was still in its early stages at the inception of the UN in 1945. Of the original 51 Member States, only 30 allowed women equal voting rights with men or permitted them to hold public office. Nevertheless, the drafters of the UN Charter had the foresight to deliberately refer to the “equal rights of men and women” as they declared the Organization’s “faith in fundamental human rights” and the “dignity and worth of the human person”. No previous international legal document had so forcefully affirmed the equality of all human beings, or specifically targeted sex as a basis for discrimination. At that moment, it became clear that women’s rights would be central to the work that lay ahead.

The gender equality agenda promoted in the four UN Conferences on Women is a result of struggles by women rights and feminist organizations which were demanding that state parties to the UN take collective responsibility and accountability in translating UN Gender Equality Commitments into concrete plans and actions that would lead to transformation of structures, processes, actions and legal instruments which perpetuated discriminative practices against women. In summarizing the impact of women rights and feminist activists on the UN systems, one author claimed that the UN served as an “unlikely godmother” by sponsoring a series of conferences that brought together women from all over the world (www.cliohistory.org)

This chapter provides a brief overview of the story of the four global conferences on women by highlighting how the agendas of these conferences were shaped and influenced by women and feminist activists with particular focus on the Beijing conference which has been considered to have sparked a renewed global commitment to empowerment everywhere drawing unprecedented international attention.

The Mexico Conference: Opening Global Dialogue

In 1975 in Mexico City the first UN Conference on Women organized a parallel Forum attended by more than 4,000 participants whose presence was a sign to global governments that women, their diversities notwithstanding, were demanding a shift from the UN's paper commitments to concrete plans, strategies and actions to address gender specific discriminations. Of the 133 Member State Delegations, 113 were headed by women. Women rights activists and feminists did in a way influence the process and the outcomes of the conference.

During the 1970s, two strands of feminist discourse influenced the debate and shaped the Mexico outcome. The first strand was that of neo-liberals whose focus was on transforming institutions and processes that were a barrier to women's advancement by adding women to decision making processes, which was known as the WID approach. The second strand was that of the radical feminists who maintained that, without transforming the structures of power that perpetuated and legalized gender discrimination, women would continue to be relegated to lower positions. The three objectives of the conference were a result from negotiations and compromises by states and the delegates of the parallel sessions of the CSOs. Three objectives were set for the conference:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination;
- The integration and full participation of women in development;
- An increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace.

Two of the three objectives defined by the General Assembly seem to have created a balance between the neo-liberals and radicals. The objective of attaining full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination, speaks to the radical position which demanded complete transformation which would have led to full equality.

The Conference resulted in the adoption of a World Plan of Action, a document that offered guidelines that governments and the international community should follow for the next ten years in pursuit of the three key objectives set by the General Assembly. The Plan of Action set minimum targets, to be met by 1980, that focused on securing equal access for women to resources such as education, employment opportunities, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition and family planning.

This approach marked a change in the way that women were perceived by development partners which had started to take shape in the early 1970s. Whereas, previously, women had been seen as passive recipients of support and assistance, they were now viewed as full and equal partners with men, with equal rights to resources and opportunities. A similar transformation was taking place in the approach to

development, with a shift from an earlier belief that development served to advance women, to a new consensus that development was not possible without the full participation of women.

The Conference called upon governments to formulate national strategies and identify targets and priorities in their effort to promote the equal participation of women. By the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, 127 Member States had responded by establishing some form of national machinery, institutions dealing with the promotion of policy, research and programmes aimed at women's advancement and participation in development.

Within the United Nations system, in addition to the already existing Branch (now Division) for the Advancement of Women, the Mexico City Conference led to the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) to provide the institutional framework for research, training and operational activities in the area of women and development.

Sharp differences emerged among the women gathered at the Forum, reflecting the political and economic realities of the times. Women from the countries of the Eastern Block, for instance, were most interested in issues of peace, while women from the West emphasized equality and those from the developing world prioritised development. Nevertheless, the Forum played an important role in bringing together women and men from different cultures and backgrounds to share information and opinions and to set in motion a process that would help unite the women's movement, which by the end of the Decade for Women, the movement would become truly international. The Forum was also instrumental in opening up the United Nations to NGOs, who provided access for the voices of women to the Organization's policy-making process. Indeed, the Mexico Conference is believed to have opened "Global Dialogue" on women's issues. The conference did set in motion a process of learning, that involved deliberation, negotiations to set objectives, identification of obstacles and review of the progress made. The Mexico Conference set the tone for the other three conferences.

Copenhagen: The Review Process Begins

In 1980, as a follow up to the deliberations of the Mexico City Conference, The General Assembly convened a second Conference to review the progress made from the first UN Conference on Women. This conference was attended by 145 UN Member states. The purpose of this second conference was to review the World Plan of Action which governments and non-state actors had agreed on during the Mexico City Conference. The Conference theme was: *Equality, Development and Peace*. The three broad focus areas were:

- Equal access to education
- Equal access to employment opportunities
- Equal access to adequate health care services

Like the Mexico City Conference, the Copenhagen Conference processes and proceedings were marked by serious divisions expressed in geopolitical, ideological and North-South tensions. The tensions ranged from logistical issues emerging from relocation of the venue from Teheran to Copenhagen due to the 1979 Iranian Revolution, to broader ideological differences on what constituted ‘women’ issues. Women from ex-colonial and socialist states wanted to broaden women issues to include the discussion on global division of resources, hence demanding ‘a new International Economic Order’.

This broad focus on gender issues was perceived by western delegates to be ‘subverting’ and politicizing the agenda of women equality. The question of Palestinian Women was also considered by delegates from the western states as a measure to ‘politicize’ the agenda, which was expected to confine its focus to the narrow neo-liberal approach to gender equality. The debate on the role of the state in managing the economy as a strategy to ensure redistributive justice was defended by delegates from post-colonial and socialist states only. Of course, this position negated the neo-liberal approach to the agenda of women’s equality.

The different positions and views were clearly evident during the signing of the World Programme of Action with 94 votes in favour, 22 abstentions and 4 in opposition. The four countries which opposed the Programme included Australia, Canada, Israel and the United States.

One of the key achievements observed from the implementation of the conference process was the adaptation by the General Assembly in December 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, one of the most powerful instruments for women’s equality. The Convention, termed The Bill of Rights for Women legally binds 165 States that are now obligated to report on the steps they have taken to remove obstacles they face in implementing the Convention within one year of ratification and then every four years.

An Optional Protocol to the Convention, enabling women victims of sex discrimination to submit complaints to an international treaty body, was opened for signature on Human Rights Day, 10th December 1999. Upon its entry into force, it has put the Convention on an equal footing with other international human rights instruments with individual complaints procedures.

While the World Programme of Action was endorsed by a majority, it did reveal the real politics when women issues are at stake. This notwithstanding, the document made reference to some of the key factors that are barriers to the realisation of substantive women's rights. These include:

- Number of women in decision-making positions.
- Insufficient services to support the role of women in national life, such as co-operatives, day-care centres and credit facilities.
- Overall lack of necessary financial resources.
- Lack of awareness among women about the opportunities available to them.
- Lack of sufficient involvement of men in improving women's role in society.
- Insufficient political will.
- Lack of recognition of the value of women's contributions to society.
- Lack of attention to the particular needs of women in planning.

The Second World Conference set the tone for the Third World Conference that took place in Nairobi.

Nairobi 1985: The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies: "The Birth of Global Feminism"

This conference took place when the world was going through an economic crisis, with developing countries experiencing double impact due to pressure from the global financial institutions (WB and IMF) to pursue austerity measures which aggravated the already poor economic conditions and impoverished the majority of third world citizens with women carrying a disproportionate burden of the economic crisis. Prior to the onset of the decade, most of the third world countries had pursued development models based on liberal theories of development which assumed that injection of capital to a few people and in a few sectors would trigger economic growth that was going to have a multiplier effect on the majority of people (gender neutral). For women, the WID approach assumed that accelerated growth would automatically benefit women by unlocking barriers to accessing economic opportunities. These hopes had been belied owing to the persistence and, in some cases, the aggravation of an economic crisis in the developing countries, which was

a serious obstacle that endangered not only the pursuance of new programmes in support of women but also the maintenance of those that were already under way.

The Third World Conference which took place in Nairobi in 1985 was supposed to ‘Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace’. The appraisal was guided by data collected by the UN agencies, governments, and non-state actors. Evidence generated revealed that while notable progress had been achieved during the decade in increasing engagement of women in the society, deteriorating economic conditions retarded efforts directed at promoting the equal participation of women in society. In the economic arena, it was further observed that while women increasingly participated in economic activities they did not benefit equally from the fruits of their labour. (See A/CONF.116/5 and Add.1-14).

The data generated by UN Agencies, governments and non-state actors informed the review and the appraisal of the achievements made and challenges faced during the decade. The gap between the developed and developing countries widened instead of narrowing, a factor which negatively impacted women from developing countries disproportionately in their productive and reproductive tasks as well as their ability to access and control resources. It also impacted their agency and voice. A need to make greater efforts in establishing a New International order was underscored. In addition, the need to address issues of injustices against women in totality, grounded in principles of equity, sovereign equality; interdependence and common interest was underscored. This required a holistic approach in implementing goals to attain development, peace and gender equality.

Feminist discourses and women right activists in the mid 1980s engaged and interrogated the neo-liberal models which were being advocated by the World Bank and IMF. Some of these voices influenced the Nairobi outcome document “Nairobi Forward Looking Strategy 2000” developed and adopted by consensus by the 157 participating governments with 15,000 representatives of NGOs attending the parallel NGO Forum. Many referred to the Nairobi Conference as the “The Birth of Global Feminism”.

The “Nairobi Forward Looking Strategy” proposed measures that national governments were obliged to implement through defining their own priorities and targets depending on their own policies and resource envelope. Some of these measures included:

- Constitutional and legal steps
- Equality in social participation
- Equality in political participation and decision-making

The Nairobi Meeting covered broader issues compared to the Copenhagen meeting. It adopted a more holistic approach with focus areas ranging from health, education, employment, participation in leadership and social services to science and technology. In Nairobi, there was a growing global consensus and appreciation that women's equality is not or cannot be treated in isolation from all other aspects in the development agenda. In light of this, the need to take into account women's perspectives in plans, policies and budgets was considered as a necessary precondition for the realization of the decade's goals. The Nairobi Conference provided the groundwork for the birth of the Fourth UN Conference on Women.

The Beijing Conference: Empowering Women—Empowering Humanity: Picture It!!

“The Beijing process unleashed remarkable political will and worldwide visibility. It connected and reinforced the activism of women's movements on a global scale. Conference participants went home full of hope and in clear agreement on how to achieve equality and empowerment” (UNWomen)

The Fourth World Conference on Women that took place in September 1995 in Beijing was preceded by a highly participatory preparatory process at national, regional, and finally global levels. Unlike the previous three conferences, the issues debated and finally deliberated on emerged from these participatory processes with women rights activists playing a critical role in influencing the process. The Conference was attended by 189 government delegates and approximately 30,000 activists in a parallel session who put pressure on the global governments to endorse the twelve critical areas of concern. The outcome of the conference was The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which is considered to be the most comprehensive agenda to date on gender equality and women's empowerment. Twelve areas of concern were agreed upon that required urgent action to ensure greater equality and opportunities for women and men, girls and boys. It also laid out concrete ways for countries to bring about change. Included in the 12 critical areas of concern are the following:

1. Women and Poverty

The Beijing Platform of Action revealed that more than 1 billion people of the world are poor the majority of whom are women who live in unacceptable conditions. Poverty in most of the developing countries has two faces, a rural face and a woman's face, in what scholars refer to as feminization of poverty (Valentine M (1998) (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590324>). Feminization of poverty has both economic implications as well as human rights implications. Women and poverty was hence considered to be a critical area of concern which needed strategic interventions.

2. Education and Training of Women

In following up the critical areas of concern, the Global Gender Gap Report 2022 on educational attainment, revealed that the educational attainment gender gap in 2022 stands at 4.7 percentage points away from full gender parity and is the area closest to achieving parity, in 22 years. This is despite some improvement which has been attained over a period of time.

The gender gap in education prevents girls and women unlocking their full potential as it forces them to give up opportunities thereby locking them in perpetual poverty, subjects them to violence as well as denying them voice. The Human Capital theory argues that closing the gender gap will have a multiplier effect on the individual, their households and the economy at large.

3. Women and Health

The UCL Center for Gender and Global Health readings posits that “*Gender inequality is transformed into health risk through a variety of factors: discriminatory values, norms, beliefs and practices, differential exposures and vulnerabilities to disease, disability and injuries, biases in health systems, and biases in health research. Gender discrimination across any of these areas impacts health and social outcomes). On a global scale, the burden of gender inequality drives large-scale excess in mortality and morbidity.*”

The 2022 Global Gender Gap Report observed that in 2022, health and survival is still 4.3 percentage points below parity, and the time to close the gap will remain undefined unless efforts to address it are increased or accelerated. The Health and Survival sub-index has varied only slightly over time, reaching its lowest point in 2018 and recovering marginally since then. However, it still falls short of its 2006 level. While countries continue to register high overall scores compared to other sub-indexes, the gender gap has not been closed. (Gender Gap Report 2022 available at <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2022/in-full/1-benchmarking-gender-gaps>).

While both men and women experience certain aspects of inequality, sustained and pervasive structural gender inequalities frequently and severely impact the health of women and gender non-binary people. Patriarchal gender norms, which determine idealized forms of masculinity, also have a substantial impact on men’s health.

4. Violence Against Women

The United Nations defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

GBV Facts

- Violence against women—particularly intimate partner violence and sexual violence—is a major public health problem and a violation of women’s human rights.
- Estimates published by WHO indicate that, globally, about 1 in 3 (30%) of women worldwide have been subjected to either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime.
- The most common is intimate partner violence. Worldwide, almost one third (27%) of women aged 15-49 years who have been in a relationship report that they have been subjected to some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner.
- Violence can negatively affect women’s physical, mental, sexual, and reproductive health, and may increase the risk of acquiring HIV in some settings.
- Violence against women is preventable. The health sector has an important role to play to provide comprehensive health care to women subjected to violence, and as an entry point for referring women to other support services they may need. (<https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>)

The prevalence estimates of lifetime intimate partner violence range from 20% in the Western Pacific, 22% in high-income countries and Europe and 25% in the WHO Regions of the Americas to 33% in the WHO African region, 31% in the WHO Eastern Mediterranean region, and 33% in the WHO South-East Asia region.

The global statistics are extremely alarming. For instance, about 38% of all deaths of women are caused by intimate partners. In addition to intimate partner violence, globally six percent of women report having been sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner, although data for non-partner sexual violence are more limited. Intimate partner and sexual violence are mostly perpetrated by men against women. (<https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>)

The World Health Organization estimates that at least one of every three women globally will be beaten, raped, or otherwise abused during her lifetime. In most cases, the abuser is a member of her own family. Of the 35 percent of women worldwide who have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence

- **29.8%** are from Region of the Americas
- **25.4%** from the European Region
- **37.0%** from the Eastern Mediterranean Region
- **36.6%** from the African Region
- **37.0%** from the Eastern Mediterranean Region
- **37.7%** from the South-East Asia Region
- **24.6%** from the Western Pacific Region
(<https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>)

5. Women and Armed Conflict

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace (BPfA) 1995 (p 56) acknowledged that aggression, foreign occupation, ethnic and other types of conflicts are an ongoing reality affecting women and men in nearly every region. Women are affected by armed conflict in a variety of ways: they are victims of gender-based violence; they are peace and reconstruction actors, and combatants or members of the armed forces, whether voluntarily or not. Women and children constitute some 80% of the world's millions of refugees and other displaced persons, including internally displaced persons. In addition, women often become caregivers for injured combatants and find themselves unexpectedly cast in the role of sole manager of household, sole parent, and caretaker of elderly relatives as a result of the conflict. (https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/browse/bpfa/bpfa_e)

This underscores the need for women to participate in the promotion of peace through conflict prevention, management and resolution as a necessary precondition for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security as well as ensuring equal rights.

6. Women and the Economy

The gender gap is not closing. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2022, it will take 132 years to close the it. As the crises continue to compound, the outcomes for the women's workforce are not improving (<https://www.weforum.org/report/global-gender-gap-report>).

Many studies have demonstrated that the gender gap in the economy has a negative impact on the economy as it is an inefficient way of using human capital resources in addition to abusing economic rights. Women constitute the majority in lowly paid jobs, they carry a disproportionate burden of care work, hence they experience time poverty. They also constitute the majority of the farm labour force in either family farms or as a lowly paid member of the workforce. Addressing the gender gap in the economy was hence considered to be one of the critical areas of concern in the Beijing Platform of Action

7. Women in Power and Decision-making

Michelle Obama once said, *“No country can ever truly flourish if it stifles the potential of its women and deprives itself of the contributions of half of its citizens.”* The percentage of women and men in the world is roughly equal, so why is it that so much data shows a large divide in business leadership roles? (<https://startupsavnt.com/how-to-close-gender-leadership-gap>)

The Global Gender Equality Report (2022) revealed that women’s share of senior and leadership roles has seen a steady global increase over the past five years (2017-2022). In 2022, global gender parity for this category reached 42.7%, the highest gender parity score yet (<https://www.org/gender-gap-report>)

8. Institutional Mechanisms

Implementation of gender equality commitments requires coordination, evaluation and monitoring because gender is a cross cutting issue which touches on many sectors including, education, health, economic planning, financing and budgeting as well as legal frameworks. There is a need to have one single institution not only for coordination but also for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the country’s commitment. In some countries, this responsibility has been given to a Ministry, unit, department, etc.

9. Human Rights of Women

The Beijing Platform of Action emphasised that women’s rights are human rights. Governments which are a party to the UN committed to take responsibility and accountability in protecting, defending and promoting women’s rights.

10. Women and the Media

Media is a double edged weapon which can either promote women’s rights or perpetuate discriminative practices by either portraying women in a stereotyped manner, making them invisible in news media, or publishing and promoting media bullying or violence particularly through online and digital platforms.

11. Women and the Environment

Due to their socially constructed and biologically determined roles, women are more impacted by climate change and environmental degradation than men. Their reproductive tasks at household level give women a greater burden of care in taking responsibility for domestic energy, water, food production and processing. When the environment is stressed through drought, floods, or other hazards, women carry a disproportionate burden. This calls for their greater involvement in decision-making processes in matters related to environmental protection.

12. The Girl Child

In patriarchal systems, the girl child suffers multiple impacts of discrimination in areas of education, gender-based violence and discrimination in regard to inheritance. The issue of the girl child was pushed into the Beijing Platform by voices from Africa.

The UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (2022) revealed that globally, 118.5 million girls and 125.5 million boys are out of school. Women still account for almost two-thirds of all adults unable to read. In two thirds of countries globally, young women make up 25% of the 771 million without basic literacy skills. In two thirds of countries, young women make up just 25% of students in Engineering and ICT (<https://www.unesco.org/en/gender-equality/education>)

“Girls’ education goes beyond getting girls into school. It is also about ensuring that girls learn and feel safe while in school; have the opportunity to complete all levels of education, acquiring the knowledge and skills to compete in the labor market; gain socio-emotional and life skills necessary to navigate and adapt to a changing world; make decisions about their own lives; and contribute to their communities and the world” (<https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/girlseducation>)

The Outcomes of the Beijing Process: Participants' Voices

Hon. Gertrude Mongella, Secretary General Beijing Conference, 1995

“Firstly, the conference brought together one of the biggest number of delegates seen anywhere in the world. About 15,000 people met in Beijing to discuss issues affecting women. It remains one of the largest conferences ever.

Secondly, the conference brought to global light issues of gender equality and women’s empowerment. It brought a kind of ‘revolution’ where we have to look at women and men as equal citizens of this world. Women should not be considered as ‘invitees’ on this planet. They belong to the planet just like the men. The Platform of Action which was adopted in Beijing at the end of the conference is the most important document I have ever come across in my life. It’s an honor that I participated in the production of this document, together with others from all over the world.

Thirdly, the UN has helped raise the status and dignity of women in the global arena” (<https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/october-2020/meet-tanzanias-gertrude-mongella-75-who-led-world-historic-beijing-conference>)

Roberta Manchu Tum, Nobel Peace Prize winner, 1992
(Guatemala)

“The most exciting thing in Beijing was the enormous preparation made by women. Prior to the conference, we worked on a powerful agenda, very diverse in its content, in which the demand for gender equality was not only a demand and a declaration, but an action for the benefit of women, toward their inclusion in sustainable development, towards the resolution of all conflicts that women face, and to end violence. It was an unprecedented gathering of women who raised their voices, and a key element was the presence and voice of indigenous peoples and women. The Beijing Conference was the context that supported our proposals as indigenous peoples and women [in the framework of Guatemala’s peace negotiations], and one of the reasons why we [were successful in including] our issues and concerns in the [Guatemala] Peace Accords. After Beijing, women lost the fear of demanding participation. It was a strong win for human rights.

What’s next? “I feel very proud because in Guatemala, there is an intergenerational dialogue among women; there is a diversity of women’s expressions, and plenty

of young women are involved, taking into their hands their future emancipation. I hope this continues and goes on forever: those women leave a footprint for others to continue fighting for their rights.”

What’s next? “Social attitudes towards women have not changed sufficiently. Whether it’s in the bedroom or the boardroom, attitudes towards women are derogatory. A culture of violence has emerged, at home, in the workplace, as well as in public spaces. Additionally, there is a tendency of victim blaming. [The] lack of education played a big role here. Mainstream curriculum has ignored human rights and gender issues for decades.” <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw59/feature-stories>)

Jaded Chouwilai, Thailand

“After the Beijing Declaration, we felt many significant changes in our country. The government provided funding and held campaigns on sexual harassment and violence against women across Thailand. Approximately 20 One-Stop Crisis Centers were established. Women investigators were appointed as contacts for women to file assault complaints. A new law was launched to protect women and children from being harassed.”

What’s next? “In a poll we found that 60 per cent of men still think that household work is a job for women. For men and boys to achieve an equal world, they first need to realize that gender [inequality] is also their problem.

Tonieh Talery Wiles, Liberia

“The Beijing conference made us feel that we needed to do more, put things into perspective and demand more action. The atmosphere at the conference was exciting, [we were] excited to be among other women. The Conference provided a lot of networking opportunities, discussions, and trainings. During the Conference, I met Hillary Clinton and the late Winnie Mandela... they were in leadership positions and we wanted recognition. I was inspired by their work. After the conference, I decided to focus on activism and advocacy on women and children’s rights.”

What’s next? “There is still a big gap in women’s political participation. Although we had a female President, we still have only a few women in parliament and in cabinet. We ratified almost all the conventions but [we still need to] change mindsets. Laws need to be implemented and some of them need to be revisited. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw59/feature-stories>)

Asia Khairullina, Kazakhstan

“The 1995 World Women’s Forum in Beijing was a stunning global event for me. It was a real centre of ideas, events, meetings, discussions, where every woman could find her own topic, place, like-minded people and new ideas for further work in her own country. After the conference, all countries received the guidelines, clear, coordinated goals, criteria, and strategies. Before, we did not separate the concept of a woman and a girl. But finally, there was an understanding that without protecting and strengthening the potential of girls and young women, we will never get confident, active and successful women.”

What’s next? “I think that the greatest obstacles to the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action are: falling educational standards, an increase in patriarchal tendencies in societies, disunity in the women’s movement, lack of clear goals and understanding of the importance of their achievement, which must be ensured by the State. We need to be united; we cannot forget the achievements accumulated over the years. We must use them as intellectual and political capital, including new goals and perspectives that correspond to the time. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw59/feature-stories>)

Layla Naffa, Jordan

“I was proud to have represented Jordan and I was eager to learn. For me, it wasn’t [about] participating for the sake of participation; I wanted to learn, and I wanted to be exposed to a global experience so that I could make a change when I returned to Jordan. [After] the Beijing Conference, ground-breaking resolutions such as the UN Security Council resolutions on [women, peace and security] were adopted because, in the conference, there was a loud outcry for addressing violence against women, including trafficking, sexual harassment and eliminating violence against women at times of war and times of peace.”

What’s next? “Globally, [we are] falling behind on [prioritizing] human rights. Even in our region, everyone is saying, “security first, human rights later”. I believe that the most prominent issue now is helping women in conflict. There are conflicts in almost all Arab countries, which put women in critical situations. So, for us, the first priority is providing services to victims.” <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw59/feature-stories>)

Diana Urioste, Bolivia

“The preparatory process before the conference was important to collect and articulate the demands, problems and concerns of women of diverse cultures, of different ideological positions from all over Bolivia and also from the entire Andean Region. Achieving consensus and linking up with feminist women in the sub-region was fundamental [to the success].

The inauguration was a memorable moment ... we saw the diversity and strength of women’s movements and feminist movements—women from all corners of the world, with cultural differences, with totally different concepts of politics and [different] interests, but faced by the same problems of violence and fully aligned with the objectives of the conference. Thanks to the Beijing Conference, the magnitude of violence against women became visible. For example, at the same time as the Fourth World Conference on Women, Bolivia approved Law 1674 against Domestic Violence, which in 2013 became the Comprehensive Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Violence. The law made domestic violence a public issue, and recognized femicide as a crime.”

What’s next? “It is now necessary to analyze and link violence against women and women’s sexual and reproductive rights as the issue of autonomy of women’s bodies. [Also required] is an analysis of the patriarchal system within a colonial and capitalist system, and what that means for women.” <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw59/feature-stories>)

Asmaa Khader, Jordan

“The Fourth World Conference on Women was an important and historic moment... It not only enabled the women’s movement, but it also enabled countries and partners to address [various] forms of discrimination and violence against women, and it [outlined] areas of concern to focus on, to fully realize women’s rights for an equal future. There is no doubt that the Arab countries have made great achievements [since then]. There is significant progress in the education of women and girls and an improvement in the number of women in decision-making positions at the executive, legislative and judicial levels, and a number of laws and constitutions now recognize equality between women and men.”

What’s next? “The gap between the laws and their application remains an issue. There are remnants of laws that still discriminate against women and do not give sufficient attention to the rights of women and girls. Women still face many forms of violence without an effective deterrent and without adequate remedies.

Another big challenge we face is the persistence of the exceptional circumstances experienced by women in several Arab countries, whether because of armed conflict...and we all know that women are the most affected by these circumstances.”
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/csw59/feature-stories>)

Heisoo Shin, Korea

“I can say that we were all very excited to be engaged in the Beijing World Conference on Women ... We were especially excited for the Beijing Platform for Action. [Learning about] what governments should do, what international organizations should do—it was the first time that we learned about the [phrase] ‘gender mainstreaming’, for example. I think it was critical to find out what the major issues in critical areas of concern were. Important issues [such as] women in education; violence against women, etc. [had] a big impact on government accountability and [their] obligations in terms of law, policy and implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action.”

What’s next? “The world has changed a lot, but [there are now] new difficulties for women. There is the digital divide, for example. Although there has been progress, women are experiencing unemployment. We need to rethink what the new challenges are. For example, we didn’t have that much violence against women happening on cyberspace back then, but now there are new forms of discrimination and violence.”

This chapter presents a snapshot of the Beijing process, outcomes, and impact. In the following chapters, we will explore the themes in more depth with concrete case studies.

2

GENESIS

by Marjorie Mbilinyi

Introduction

This chapter explores the genesis of TGNP in the context of its role in leading preparations for Beijing 1995. Beginning in December 1992 a group of facilitators called the Facilitation Committee organised three preparatory workshops for women's rights leaders on behalf of the Royal Netherlands Embassy and SNV Tanzania. In the process, they developed an identity of their own and called it the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme. TGNP was registered in 1993 as a full-fledged NGO in its own right, and has persevered for more than 25 years.

The 1990s was marked by struggles in Tanzania and throughout Africa over Structural Adjustment and neo-liberal globalisation. This provides the historical context which shaped the preparations for Beijing, and genesis of TGNP, and is presented in the first section of this chapter. The role of TGNP in preparing for Beijing at national and subregional level is explored in the second section. The third section examines the conceptual framework of transformative feminist movement building (TFMB), the strategies adopted and their application during TGNP's formative years. The fourth section briefly examines TGNP's participation in Beijing and focuses on 'Bringing Beijing Home' when the Platform for Action was formally presented by Hon Gertrude Mongella to President Benjamin Mkapa.

Historical Context: Neo-liberal Globalisation and Structural Adjustment

Our work past and present takes place in the context of heightened struggles over access to, ownership of and control over resources at all levels, from household/family to district, national, regional, and global. It is crucial to recognise the material relations underlying patriarchal customs and values, and the way patriarchy interacts with capitalism and imperialism to sustain male supremacy, racism, and corporate

globalisation. Ultimately ours is a struggle for participatory democracy and development, gender equity and women empowerment and social transformation.

Of special significance are Structural Adjustment policies of the mid 1980s onwards, which rolled back the gains of the socialist era and drove primitive accumulation processes in support of corporate led globalisation and neo-liberal macro-economic policies. This was further intensified during and after the 2008 global economic/fiscal crisis. Key elements of this primitive accumulation process are land grabbing, commodification of labour, suppression of alternative production systems, and intensification of exploitation of unpaid labour (Mbilinyi 2016, 2017; TGNP Mtandao 2012a).

The official policy slogan is ‘macro-economic stability’ in order to provide ‘an enabling environment’ for largely foreign private investment and the private sector in general. The main beneficiaries, however, remain multinational corporations (MNCs). African feminists have emphasised the way in which gender, race and class interact in capitalist accumulation processes. During the colonial and immediate post-colonial era in Africa, African men were more employed than women in the formal sector, and women employees were usually relegated to lower income positions at the bottom of the occupational ladder. As men shifted from non-capitalist peasant economies to seek work in wage employment, women became the major source of paid and unpaid labour in the countryside as well as in urban informal economies. However, changes in the labour markets of advanced global capitalism during the last 20-30 years have meant that women are often preferred as cheap temporary labour in the formal sector as well, in export processing zones, plantations and agro-processing industry. (See Mbilinyi 1991; Tsikata 2009, 2011 and Tsikata and Wilks 2009).

In Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, capitalist accumulation has also been based on the extraction of surplus from women peasants working in both paid and unpaid work. Women carry out the major work in producing crops for sale in the market as well as crops and livestock for home consumption. Much of the market-oriented production is subject to control and appropriation of proceeds by male household heads, however, and women have eagerly sought alternative crops to sell. In addition, rural women engage in multiple off-farm activities in order to earn cash incomes (Mbilinyi 1991, 2000).

A growing number of communities have been dispossessed of their land rights as a result of neo-liberal land reform which was a key part of structural adjustment and liberalization programmes, and land has increasingly become a commodity (LARRI 2011). Women are the most vulnerable to dispossession by the combined power of patriarchy and neo-liberalism and the most ferocious in their efforts not to succumb to imperialist domination, as shown by the struggles of pastoralist women

in Loliondo and many other locations (KIHACHA 2002, “Women of Ngorongoro District...” 2009). This helps to explain why there has been a growing interest among donors and some large scale corporations to fund ‘women’s empowerment’ projects as a way to divide women and co-opt feminist activism.

Primitive accumulation involves more than outright land grabbing, however. It also underlies past and present efforts to transform labour regimes from patriarchal [as well as feudal and slave] production systems into market-based waged and unwaged labour. During the colonial era, forced labour and forced payment of taxes in money was used to transform African labour into a commodity. Male peasants were forced to grow market crops and/or sell their livestock, or seek waged work outside of their peasant economies. These changes were marked by gender and age relations; young men were the majority of migrant workers in Tanganyika, for example, selling their labour not only in distant plantations of sugar cane and sisal in Tanganyika, but also in the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia and the gold mines of South Africa. In the rural areas, older men dominated production of cash crops for sale in local and export markets, extracting the unpaid labour of dependent women and men, including wives and children.

The imposition of user fees for education, health and water during the late 1980s onwards by the Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) represents the second round of transformation of labour regimes. Women as well as men were forced to intensify cash earning activities in order to pay for user fees, as well as to buy food and other consumption goods. This forced them to withdraw labour from food production for home consumption, and reduced the time they had available for child-caring and other reproductive activities, with negative consequences on children as well as their over-worked mothers.

Men experienced declining incomes and employment during the global economic crisis which began in the late 1970s and was associated with the oil price shocks; and later with SAP and the official policy of reducing public employment. As men lost jobs and incomes, women took up the slack in both paid and unpaid work. They were later encouraged in their efforts to substitute male labour with their own by a multitude of donor policies and funding of credit and training which specifically targeted women, programmes which continue until today (Mbilinyi 2000, 2010).

Primitive accumulation within the export-oriented enclave economy of Africa has led to the steady erosion if not outright destruction of local indigenous agriculture and livestock-keeping. The quality of life for the majority of peasant producers has declined, while productivity has increased for a small minority of local producers who are linked through contract farming to agri-business, as well as capitalist farmers and agri-business itself. In areas where large scale commercial farming has begun, women are marginalised and often reduced to becoming casual farm

workers on commercial farms and estates, or unpaid family labour and/or casual farm workers in peasant farm systems (Mbilinyi 2010).

In addition, the decline of state provision of basic public social services as a result of SAP undermined African families' capacity to reproduce themselves (Bujra 2004). As a result, marginalised girls/women and their communities had less access to quality education, health, safe and clean water. In the early days of SAP, this led to growing illiteracy, school drop-outs, maternal mortality, neo-natal mortality, higher malnutrition and food insecurity, and higher levels of disease. Immunity levels to virus infection dropped, and together these results created the ideal conditions for the HIV virus to flourish. Girls and women are the most vulnerable to HIV&AIDS infection, at an earlier age than boys/men. Moreover, they provide the bulk of the unpaid work in caring for AIDS patients, along with other forms of care work within the family and community (TGNP 2012ab).

The situation is worsened by high migration rates among young women and men who leave rural areas in search of more viable and independent livelihoods and employment. Out-migration undermines the reproductive capacity of local economies, however. Moreover, migration and urbanisation increase the risks of HIV infection and reinfection, especially among young girls/women. Job alternatives are limited; many become house servants, bar 'girls' and commercial sex workers and are highly at risk. Overall, women are more vulnerable to HIV infection because of patriarchal structures of power in sexuality in /out of market as well as poverty.

This was the reality for the majority of marginalised oppressed women in rural and urban areas in the early 1990s when TGNP began. In contrast, a small group of privileged elite women were able to take advantage of neo-liberal policies to enrich themselves and their families. Programmes of women economic empowerment were begun which focused on strengthening female 'entrepreneurs' as individuals, not as a collective. Donor funding increased for women's rights groups in an effort to win their support for neo-liberal macroeconomic reform.

TGNP adopted an alternative approach, transformative feminist movement building [TFMB] which links changes in gender relations with changes in class, race, and imperial relations. TGNP's positionality is defined by its identification with the interests and demands of the most marginalised women in Tanzania and their communities. Preparations for Beijing provided the founders with an opportunity to work together, network with other organisations and learn from experiences elsewhere.

In December 1992, Marije te Riele, the First Secretary, Women and Development, in the Royal Netherlands Embassy, and Demere Kitunga, SNV Gender and Development Programme Officer invited me to organize the first preparatory

workshop for the Beijing Conference on a consultancy basis. I thought that the concept of the preparatory workshop was very good, as it would provide an opportunity for leaders of Tanzanian women's rights groups to meet, assess the situation of women in Tanzania and prioritise issues to be raised in Beijing 95. However, I felt that an undertaking of this nature would best be carried out by a group of women facilitators with experience in women's rights activism. Both Marije te Riele and Demere Kitunga agreed, and we proceeded to identify nine people with strong animation facilitation backgrounds and gender analysis experience, including Demere herself.

The Genesis of TGNP

Major milestones were 1) the creation of the Facilitation Committee to carry out the preparation for Beijing; 2) three networking, review and planning workshops held in December 1992, March 1993 and June 1993, and 3) registration of TGNP as an activist feminist Organization in October 1993.

Review Workshop (19 December 1992)

As mentioned earlier, SNV Tanzania and the Royal Netherlands Embassy funded the first review workshop which had three goals:

- Prepare for EAWC Kampala June 1993 and review achievements and challenges of the Forward-Looking Strategies (Nairobi 1985),
- Develop strategies for networking within Tanzania, East and Southern Africa, worldwide and set up support structures, and
- Develop strategies and plans of action for implementation before and after Uganda '93 and Beijing '95.

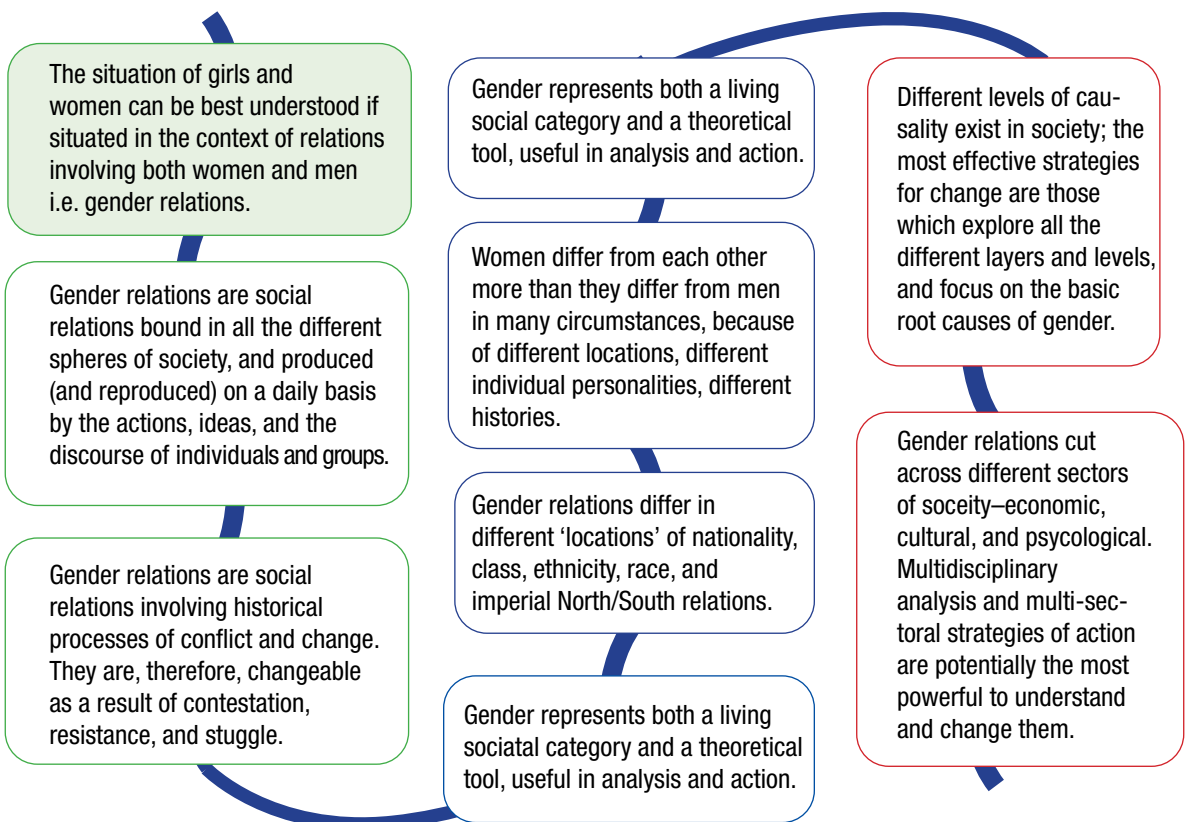
More specifically, the December workshop was intended to consider these three goals and agree to support them; consider main issues; develop joint plans of action; facilitate contacts and networking; and further develop and use animation techniques. As documented in the workshop report, "Women and Gender in Tanzania, Post-1985: How Far Have We Come? How Far to Go?" every member of the facilitation committee was actively involved in making presentations, facilitating discussions, sharing a song, acting in the role play. Likewise, workshop participants were fully engaged in discussions in plenary and small groups, and their ideas were quoted in the report. The workshop also acknowledged and shared the contributions made by other networks.

The first workshop provided space to collectively assess the situation of women and gender in Tanzania, the root causes of gender inequity and plan action for change. The background paper "Review of Women's Conditions and Positions in Tanzania: Issues and Methodology" by Marjorie Mbilinyi provided conceptual tools to assess,

analyse and act for change. Animation methodology enabled every participant to share experiences and ideas, criticise them constructively and generate new concepts. Even more clarity was provided by a short skit comparing the methodology/philosophy of awareness raising [uhamishaji] and animation/ participatory action [uraghibishi]. Warm up animation methods helped to break down barriers and encourage full participation.

We asked ourselves, what are the key issues today in the lives of ‘ordinary’ or ‘marginalised’ women? How do we explain women’s conditions? Women’s overwork and low incomes are common replies. [immediate factors] “Why are women overworked? Why do they have low incomes?” We were forced to think about underlying factors. “Because of low education, cultural values and patriarchy, the male bias, gender division of labour. Why do women have less education than men? What sustains patriarchy and male supremacy in modern society today? Who benefits from it? Our focus ended up on institutions, systems and structures, and ultimately control over resources [root causes]. We were guided by the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework of Gender



Two more preparatory workshops followed in March and June 1993.

Strategies for the Future Workshop (16-19 March 1993)

The March 1993 session, ‘Our Histories’, was organised around critical reflections of achievements made and challenges faced by each organisation; and later review of existing and proposed strategies for change at national and local level. To support their analysis, TGNP provided each participant with a study packet consisting of 13 articles by well-known African and other feminists.

To guide the self-reflections, each participant wrote a report providing background information about their organisation, outlining the background, history, objectives, organisational structure, successes, problems and future plans. These were shared in the plenary, documented the range of organising and activities being carried out in different areas of Tanzania, and enabled people to recognise commonalities and differences. We facilitators were moved by the seriousness and openness with which the organisation leaders wrote their reports. They contributed to the atmosphere of transparency, cooperation and solidarity. The reports were later compiled into one report, “Our Histories: Women’s Groups/NGO’s and Official Programmes in Tanzania “ (TGNP May 1993).

Next, participants assessed strategies adopted since 1985 to improve women’s conditions and promote gender equity in each of the main sectors, as well as the general issues of ownership, control and distribution of key resources. Groups presented reports which summarised their main ideas. These reviews of strategies were compiled together as Chapter Four of the Gender Profile. The Gender Profile was shared at the third workshop in June for comments and inputs.

Gender Profile of Tanzania

The *Gender Profile of Tanzania* of 1993 provides an introduction to TGNP itself, its conceptual framework and animation methodology; a situation analysis of women and girls in Tanzania with a gender perspective; a review of existing strategies for change, empowerment and transformation and recommendations for future strategies of action. In the following section we elaborate the formation of TGNP and then return to our engagement with the Beijing process.

The Birth of TGNP

In response to the workshop demand that we formally institutionalize ourselves, the Facilitation Committee set aside time to reflect on what kind of organisation should be created? After intense discussion and debate, we finally agreed to have a member-based organisation with a shared vision and mission, rather than an open

network along the lines of TANGO. What made our work different and unique was our shared conceptual and ideological framework and commitment to participatory approaches in organizing. An open network would not have this coherence. However, our organization would be committed to creating and sustaining open spaces for others through networking, training, research and documentation.

TGNP was formally institutionalized in October 1993 as an activist non-profit organization, and in 2012 was registered as TGNP Mtandao Limited. TGNP's ideology and philosophy is built on transformative feminism, which aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and other marginalized groups due to class, sex, gender, age, ethnicity, disability, geography, or nationality. 'Triple A Methodology' was used to guide this process. Focusing on a problem, people assess their situation, analyze underlying and basic causes, and plan strategies of action. Ideally, analysis and action go together. As noted in the December workshop report [p. 13], "*long-term fundamental transformation of gender relations depends on social mobilization of the majority of women who are poor, labouring, disempowered people, in grassroots organizations and groups led by themselves.*"

TGNP adopted the transformative feminist conceptual framework to guide the building of a feminist organizational culture which it employed in preparation for Beijing and thereafter. Animation [or participatory action research and pedagogy] was the basic principle of organizing. Animation enabled collective participatory empowerment, linked to mutual reflection and learning processes at organizational and network level. This process led to the production of the first Gender Profile.

With the expansion in the number of workshop participants and inclusion of new facilitators, the Facilitation Committee recognized the need to strengthen its own understanding and application of animation methodology and social gender analysis. A Training of Training Seminar was organised on gender and animation on 28th May 1993 with facilitation by committee members. Some of the training materials were also incorporated into the Gender Profile.

Institutionalization of TGNP

With the help of a lawyer, we prepared a Memorandum of Understanding and registered as a non-profit making company in October 1993. The MOU outlined our objectives, conceptual framework, membership responsibilities and strategies. Our governance structure evolved through a process of action, reflection and further action. At the beginning, the Facilitation Committee operated in a participatory way, led by the Chief Coordinator with the assistance of the Organising Secretary. After registration, TGNP adopted a more formalized structure during the first phase of its first Five Year Action Plan.

TGNP adopted a non-hierarchical group-centered leadership as distinct from leader-centred leadership. Group-centred leadership reflected the participatory decision-making process and ensured that the group identified with its collective actions and statements, and not by one leader. Decisions were made in a collective participatory way, enabling every member (and later staff) to contribute their ideas and be heard. This also entailed shared responsibility and accountability for carrying out different tasks and functions at every level.

The “Five Year Action Plan 1994/95-1998/99” consisted of two phases, the institutionalization phase (1994/95-1995/96) to establish the office and develop procedures for each activity; and the consolidation phase (1996/97-1998/99) that focused on consolidation and expansion of TGNP activities. It was envisioned that a Gender Network Centre would be built during this five-year period.

The founding members of TGNP (the original Facilitation Committee) became the Board of Directors that made policy and plans, helped to implement actions, administered TGNP assets, appointed staff and consultants, and evaluated performance. The organisation moved into rented offices on the seventh floor of the CRDB building on Azikiwe Street in downtown Dar es Salaam in January 1994. We began with two employed staff, the Programme Coordinator, Marjorie Mbilinyi, and the Organising Secretary, Aggripina Mosha, both members of the Facilitation Committee/Board, and ,after a short time, an Administrative Assistant, Farida Katuli was added. The members were expected to help implement activities, as well as a rapidly expanding network of associate members during the first phase, many of whom later became full members. Committees were established to guide each major strategy, consisting of associate members and resource persons, as well as TGNP members and staff.

We adopted strategies that enabled us to connect with women (and men) and their groups/organizations beginning at grassroots level. These strategies included 1) advocacy, lobbying and activism through organizing, coalition-building and networking, 2) training, 3) information/knowledge generation, documentation and dissemination, and 4) administration and resource mobilization. Our activities were as inclusive as possible, thus open to non-members. This was vital to meet our aim of strengthening a transformative feminist movement. The movement would be grounded in the interests and demands of the majority of marginalized women, the most exploited and oppressed, i.e., the working poor in rural and urban areas, sex workers, and gender identity minorities.

The depth and breadth of the plans can best be seen by looking at the summary of outputs for each of the six main objectives (TGNP 1994). They also show the link between the organisation’s plans and the processes for preparing for the 1995

Beijing Conference.. Many items such as the weekly Gender and Development Seminars (GDSS) had already begun.

Objective One: Identification of likeminded women's/gender-oriented groups.

Between 1994 and 1995, a database on gender issues and organizations was developed in two districts and by the end of 1999 it had expanded to cover twenty regions in mainland Tanzania. Focal point groups and TGNP facilitators carried out the surveys and identified potential groups to incorporate into the network (as yet, undefined).

Objective Two: Training for animation and social gender analysis.

Three main outputs were planned, beginning with identification of training needs of intermediary gender organizations in two districts each year, plus a training-needs study for a three week short course on gender, development, and animation. Training modules were developed to meet the needs in the districts as well as at national level for the short course. Training of Trainers programmes would be conducted accordingly. The Gender and Development Seminar Series GDSS began in March 1994 and is mentioned in the plan.

Objective Three: Strengthening conceptual and organizational capacity of women's/gender-oriented intermediary organizations, including TGNP

This included establishing grounding networks in Dar es Salaam and in one rural and urban location, i.e., IGNs, and outreach activities in response to other organizational initiatives. Evaluation and monitoring of TGNP activities would be carried out on a continuous basis, with mid-term and final reviews.

Objective Four: Communicating information about animation and gender at all levels

A wide variety of activities were planned, and all carried out, including the Annual Gender Studies Conference in 1996; a quarterly newsletter, *Ulingo wa Jinsia* [Gender Platform] whose first issue was October-December 1995; a popular booklet series, research reports, discussion papers, books, and a journal; the TGNP Documentation Unit and a separate Reference Library [with generous donations from several feminist scholars including Susan Geiger]; capacity strengthening to communicate information on gender by means of Gender Imagery Workshops for writers and journalists, zonal writers' workshops and quarterly writers' circles; and information disseminated through active participation in national and international conferences. The Structural Adjustment and Gender Symposium took place before the Plan, in February 1994; and several members took part in the animated panel on Structural Adjustment and Gender at the Annual African Studies Association Conference in Toronto in 1994, and also gave presentations on several university campuses in Canada and USA.

Objective Five: Generate information about animation, gender and organizational capacity

Participatory and applied research would be carried out with a focus on poverty, structural adjustment and gender, women's empowerment in politics and control of resources, and gender equity in all sectors. An East African Gender Conference was planned for 1996. Outputs from other objectives also fit here.

Objective Six: Provide human resources, physical space, equipment and other resources, and raise funds needed to carry out and sustain TGNP activities and meet the objectives noted above.

Outputs included appointment of new professional and support staff and remuneration of old and new staff; expansion of the number of facilitators and resource persons on the basis of GDSS and other TGNP activities; redesigning, partitioning, furnishing and making secure the present rented space (in CRDB building); the Gender Network Centre designed, constructed, furnished, ready to move in by 1998/99; office equipment and a vehicle acquired in 1994/95 as a matter of emergency; consultancy services provided to raise funds and promote gender issues with a consultancy fund to support outreach and extension services for community groups; and different fund-raising activities carried out.

This was an ambitious plan for any organisation, and especially one which began with two professional staff and one support staff. A key ingredient was the assumption that 'facilitators' or TGNP members and associate members would take an active part in implementation, as well as in planning and evaluation through committees.

Weekly meetings were adopted where staff and management met together to reflect on key achievements and challenges and plan how to overcome problems as well as to plan priority actions. Weekly learning sessions were held to strengthen capacity of everyone, staff and management alike, and to provide space for reflection as well. At the same time, members continued to hold periodic learning and reflection sessions of their own, involving management as well. Indeed, the first day of Annual General Meetings was a reflection learning retreat organised according to animation principles.

'Learning by Doing' and 'Don't agonize, organize' typified our approach. The first GDSS took place in March 1994 with seminar participants seated on woven mats from Mbeya for lack of basic furniture; parcels of Gender Profile books served as the reception desk to sign attendance. People came from diverse locations in spite of the fact there was no travel allowance. What they found was a welcoming space for diverse ideas, exposure to new thoughts and creative listening facilitated by animation principles.

More lengthy training activities began, involving GDSS participants and members of FemAct and outreach networks, other NGOs and government staff. This became the genesis of the Gender Training Institute (GTI). Participatory pedagogy employing animation methodology was used, and the transformative feminist conceptual framework guided discussions. GDSS topics increasingly depended on suggestions by GDSS participants, especially grassroots activists engaged in concrete struggles on the ground.

“To me, what defined TGNP most was our emphasis on policy advocacy and advocacy, linked to activism. Analysis of policies and budgets, was linked to activism based on mobilizing “a critical mass of politically conscious and organized men and women from among the marginalized communities and social groups, who are together empowered to take action on their own behalf.” (Kitunga 2003:45).

The Feminist Activist Coalition, FemAct, became our vehicle for organizing and networking with grassroots women and their communities. This was combined with public engagement to rally public support and awareness of the issues. Public engagement took various forms: rallies to protest Structural Adjustment, marches to condemn corruption in Parliament and in the central and local government, public speeches in different fora to raise popular demands for resources to reach the people. The speakers included members and staff of TGNP, organisation partners of FemAct, and grassroots activists

FemAct, was composed of women’s rights organizations, including many participants in the three preparatory Beijing workshops, and human rights organizations such as HakiArdhi, HakiElimu, and Legal and Human Rights Centre. The main objective of FemAct, as cited by Kitunga 2003 (34), “is to provide space for non-governmental organizations (hereafter NGOs) and community-based organizations (hereafter CBOs) to conceptualize, articulate, analyse and strategize for collective action on the state of unequal gender and power relations, gender inequality and inequity, and the disempowered position of women and other marginalized groups.” Theirs was an alternative notion of democracy whereby the people are sovereign, and hold their government accountable to its citizens. The challenges which emerged as well as the notable achievements are found in the chapter on Advocacy and Lobbying. The main challenge was and remains how to establish and sustain an autonomous transformative feminist movement in the changing political and economic context of Tanzania, Africa and the world.

TGNP forged its critical position on neo-liberal macro-economic policy and structure from the beginning, and linked it to the critique of patriarchy, capitalism and imperialism. We were not alone. As noted above, there was a national and regional debate in the late 1980s and 1990s over the imposition of Structural Adjustment policies by IMF and the World Bank. The Tanzanian government led by President

Nyerere rejected SAP for eight years, and received popular public support in spite of the challenges that resulted including shortages of basic commodities. The focus of our first public event to launch TGNP was Gender and Structural Adjustment in February 1994. Having a dynamic female MP, Hon. Shamin Khan, give the opening speech ensured wide media coverage, and made our position clear. The symposium was a landmark event in TGNP's history and is summarized in detail below.

Structural Adjustment and Gender: Empowerment or Disempowerment?

One month after moving into our new office in CRDB building, Azikiwe Street, TGNP hosted the open symposium, 'Structural Adjustment and Gender' at the Correspondence Education Building (TGNP 1995) More than 100 people took part, including professionals, NGOs, civil servants, academicians, development partners and students and staff from IFM, IST, Ardhi Institute, Tazara, Dar es Salaam Technical College, and Tanzania School of Journalism. The objectives were to (1) discuss gender and SAP, (2) launch TGNP as a registered organisation; (3) share TGNP plans with everyone who is interested; (4) invite everyone interested to participate in TGNP's activities, and (5) encourage networking among participating groups and individuals. The symposium was designed to sustain the networking and advocacy processes already started in the earlier fora, to publicize TGNP to the public and to emphasise its wish to involve as many people as possible. The format combined formal speeches in plenary, songs, a skit, and small group work.

In her opening speech, the guest of honour Hon Shamin Khan called for women's groups to mobilize grassroots and other women to register to vote, and to advocate for the minimum demands needed for development of all people. "Candidates can be asked to explain where they stand on specific gender issues, such as sexual harassment, and inequalities in education and employment."

The opening speech set the framework for the rest of the symposium. In the discussion which followed, the 'adjustment' role play and keynote address. Several participants were concerned about the fact that the many workshops, research and symposia conducted have not been successful in translating all the issues into concrete actions; in penetrating corridors of power. And yet this is the time when civil societies as a whole, and women in particular, needed each other hence making it mandatory to strategize and create pressure groups, figure out how to organize in such a way as to become powerful.

Following the SAP Symposium, the next big advocacy activity was the Annual Gender Studies Conference 1996 (renamed Gender Festival) organised with members of FemAct for four days at the Institute of Finance Management and was open to the public. Peggy Antrobus, a well-known feminist from the Caribbean, gave the

opening speech. Thus, the Gender Festival format was created, consisting of plenary sessions in the morning with an opening panel and keynote speaker and parallel workshops and a Gender Exhibition. The workshops were organised by different NGOs on the second and third day, and included members of FemAct, TAWLA, Kuleana, WRDP, and TGNP. These provided space for more active participation by grassroots and other participants.

Knowledge/Information Generation, Documentation and Dissemination activities were numerous during the early days of TGNP, defined by priority issues. The Gender Budget Initiative is an excellent example, which began in 1995, arising from lessons learned during preparation for the first multiparty elections which took place in 1994. The main theme was advocacy for participatory planning and budget making, beginning at the grassroots level. GDSS, for example, became a site of discussions about what should be the main guidelines for the next budget. Similar sessions were held in IGN locations at grassroots and district level. Budget analysis was also guided by high level policy analysis and critical examination of the macro-economic framework at all levels.

TGNP went through a transition period during the first two or three years of its establishment, as members handed over programme and implementation functions to employed staff. Inevitable tensions thus arose, as discussed in the first internal Evaluation and Planning session. One of the main issues was ‘too many activities’. I believe that animation methodology and participatory discussions enabled the organisation to move through this transition successfully, experience a change of leadership, and expand.

The Beijing Journey: TGNP's Role.

As earlier discussed, the Beijing Journey started with formation of a facilitation committee which was also instrumental in facilitating the processes that led to the birth of TGNP as discussed in the previous section. TGNP had a leadership role in planning, organizing and networking in preparation for Beijing, as well as in developing a coherent conceptual framework in which to analyze and act.

The preparatory processes of the Beijing entailed several strategies. First there were reflection sessions by the Facilitation Committee and later by members to identify key issues we wished to see in the Beijing outcome. Secondly workshops, and seminars were organised within the country as well as participation of the facilitation committee and others in the sub-regional and regional workshops. Thirdly we participated in the Beijing Conference and later the Bring Back Beijing conference.

In addition to reflection sessions among membership and staff, we divided the country into zones, and organized a series of zonal workshops with TANGO using data generated from the Gender Profile. Gender activists and local government authorities discussed priority issues to take to Beijing. More details about these sessions are found in Chapter 3.

One of our first sub-regional meetings was the East African Women's Conference from 5-8 July 1992 (TGNP 1993). Some 120 people attended the EAWC in Kampala, 30 from Kenya and Tanzania, 120 from Uganda and two from Rwanda. The 30 Tanzanians included five grassroots organisation leaders, one man and 24 women leaders of NGOs and government departments. Three TGNP leaders were members of the Conference Steering Committee, namely Fides Chale [Chair], Demere Kitunga (TGNP/SNV Tanzania) and Marjorie Mbilinyi [Chief Facilitator]. Funding was provided by SNV/NOVIB Kampala, SNV Tanzania and Kenya and the Royal Netherlands Embassy supported additional participants.

High level leaders addressed the meeting, including the First Vice Prime Minister and National Political Commissar of Uganda, Hon Eriya Kategaya who gave the opening address; the First Lady Janet Museveni who closed the conference; the Head of the Women in Development desk at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Dr. Mebo Mwaniki, who highlighted the role of ECA in preparations for Beijing; and the Uganda Deputy Minister of Women in Development, Culture and Youth, Loice Bwambale. The Deputy Director of SNV Kenya, Terry Kantai, presented a fiery Keynote Address.

The conference objectives were built on respective national workshops:

- Review the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies NFLS 1985 and Abuja Declaration achievements and challenges,
- Assess the impact of the different initiatives by both governments and NGOs in the East African Region aimed at addressing women's needs.
- Share experiences of a regional character about the successes, failures, obstacles encountered in the course of implementing programmes, activities and strategies developed since Nairobi 1985 to reduce women's subordinate position and social status in the three countries.
- Discuss prospects for networking within the East African region and at the national level and set up the necessary support structures for this purpose.
- Develop follow-up strategies and plans of action for implementation after the EAWC.

Animation techniques were used as much as possible to enhance participation. TGNP songs were sung enthusiastically by Tanzanian delegates and soon many others joined in including *chochea karama zako*/Growing Together, *Sema usio-gope*, and *Wanawake Msilale*. Group discussions on education, institutionalisation and empowerment were facilitated by Fides Chale, Marjorie Mbilinyi, and Asseny Muro using animation. Tanzania's "Country Report" was based on the Gender Profile of Tanzania was presented by a panel consisting of Fides Chale, Marjorie Mbilinyi, Mary Rusimbi, and Asseny Muro. It was well received and led to a dynamic discussion.

Throughout the proceedings, speakers and other participants linked gender issues to those of class and neo-liberal globalization. World Bank policies of Structural Adjustment were criticized for their negative impact on women and marginalized groups. Terry Kantai argued that perpetuation of unequal exploitative relationships between the North and South had aggravated the 'women economic dependency syndrome' and their unfavourable socio-economic status. Moreover, "*The elite have become part of the same system that has oppressed us. The elite design top-bottom strategies that suit themselves. The issue of corruption has characterized this region; as well as selfishness and tribal clashes.*" (p 9).

Small group discussants pointed out the shortcomings of Women in Development (WID) machineries. The focus was on sensitization, advocacy and project implementation, but WID machineries lacked sufficient human, financial and technical resources. They focused more on welfare and access issues; and less on conscientisation, popular participation, control and empowerment. It was time to move from assessment of problems to critical analysis and action, which incorporate short- and long-term measurable plans. The contradiction between policy statements and

constitutional rights and actual practice and implementation of human rights was noted. Citing the report, “we need a development strategy which is sustainable; rooted in indigenous knowledge and technology; people-centered; environment-friendly; and women friendly” (p. 11). “A multi-pronged gender-sensitive approach should be adopted, which focuses on policy reforms, transformation, lobbying, planning, evaluation and monitoring at local, national and regional levels and uses gender-sensitive statistics and a special focus on the grassroots. (Think globally, Act locally.” (p. 12)

There are however, two things which need to be highlighted (1) the relevance of the analysis today; and (2) the clarity and positionality of the critical analysis at that time, compared to the present, when, in my opinion, many feminist and gender activists bend over backwards to praise the governing class and their development partners, or adopt coded language for fear of retribution.

Seven resolutions were adopted which are summarized below (p 19-20):

- ... this network should be structured, and strengthened in order to effectively respond to the needs of women in the region.
- ... we call upon the International, Regional and National machineries and organizations to give it the support it deserves.
- ... organizations and countries represented in this conference...should strengthen their own initiatives in order to broaden democracy and empowerment of women and ensure full participation, transparency and accountability.
- Each country’s network should endeavour to get information about the forthcoming Dakar and Beijing conferences through their planning committees so as to adequately prepare for these conferences.
- We should tirelessly lobby our governments, to fully empower women in all sectors and remove all barriers to their advancement to power and decision-making levels.
- We appeal and request the governments of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya to relentlessly lobby for and seek debt cancellation so as to release our nations from the disastrous impact of debt servicing on our economies.
- We appeal and request the governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania that in any cancellation of debt servicing, such funds should be directed to women’s and children programmes for the promotion of women in East Africa.

The East African Women’s Conference proposed the idea of going to Beijing with one voice. It was decided to establish a facilitation process that linked the government and CSO processes in each country. In Tanzania Ruth Meena was assigned the role of linking government processes to CSO processes. This strategy was adopted

in later meetings, in Addis Ababa, Dakar and Durban. We agreed to go with a continental agenda which highlighted the Girl Child.

Along with other networks and organisations, TGNP participated in the Dakar 94 African Region Women's Conference. Africa succeeded to lobby for the Girl Child Issue which was adopted at Beijing. The first challenge was to get official sponsorship, and/or raise funds for members and staff to attend. The close relationship we had with the Secretary General of the Beijing 95 Conference, Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, was strengthened at this time.

Participation in the Beijing Conference

The 1995 NGO Forum on Women was held from 30 August to 8 September 1995; and brought together over 25,000 women, men and young people to discuss in workshops, symposia and other consultations, different aspects of concern for women empowerment and gender equity and justice. TGNP and fellow gender organizations participated in the NGO forum, and some TGNP individual members were also members of the government delegation. TGNP members and staff participated in as wide a range of NGO events and workshops as possible in Beijing, so as to share our vision, mission and position, and to learn from others. Our chapter on Voices illustrates the wide diversity of experiences, and the enthusiasm with which different NGOs, and individuals, participated.

One of our greatest moments was organizing the high-level ceremony to present the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action to the President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa after the conference. In contrast to some neighbouring countries where government leaders warned women to leave "Beijing" behind at the airport, the Tanzanian head of state acknowledged the in-country organizers of the Beijing process, received the Beijing Platform for Action formally, and identified four priority areas that the country would address.

Bringing Beijing Home

The Ceremony was held at Kilimanjaro Hotel on International Women's Day, 8th March 1996, and comprised a Gender Exhibition beginning at 2:30 p.m. followed by speeches by the Minister for Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWAC), Hon Mary Nagu, MP; Under Secretary General Special UN Envoy on Women and Development Issues and Secretary General of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, President Benjamin William Mkapa and UNICEF Representative in Tanzania, Agnes Akosua Aidoo. Other speakers during the opening were the UNDP Resident Coordinator, Victor Angelo, the Charge de Affairs of the Embassy of People's Republic of China, and the Ambassador of the Royal Netherlands. Laeticia Mukurasi of UNDP was the

Mistress of Ceremony. In attendance were Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers, Principal Secretaries, District Commissioners, Ambassadors, leaders of NGOs, partner agencies and Members of Parliament. A total of 127 people took part.

The ceremony was widely covered in the media, providing an opportunity to publicize not only Beijing 95 but the gender and development issues raised in the Platform for Action. UNDP hosted the ceremony, the Royal Netherlands Embassy funded it, and Aggripina Mosha organized it with support from Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, Ruth Meena and Paul Mkanze. TGNP provided support throughout.

In his opening statement, the Ambassador of the Royal Netherlands challenged the participants; he “insisted it should not be mere words, not more organisations, not more thinking, but action.” He asked “why are we here? Why not at Mnazi Mmoja with several thousands of women?”

Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, the UN Under Secretary for Special Duties pointed out:

- “Women are not a problem to society, in fact, through their contribution to the society they are a solution to the problem.
- Women’s human rights are invariably disregarded and violated in most societies.
- Women are not homogeneous. They come from diverse socio-cultural and political backgrounds and different levels of economic development. Despite this, there are common concerns which women share worldwide.
- It was clearly demonstrated that women’s concerns cut across all issues in society. Therefore, women’s issues should be addressed as the concerns of society rather than just women’s issues.
- Problems affecting women are a result of gender inequality which are further aggravated by global political and economic factors.

One cannot envisage how a country like Tanzania can exit from poverty and reach a sustainable level of development with:

- a. Women carrying water on their heads.
- b. Women walking long distances to look for firewood.
- c. High maternal deaths.
- d. Women working on land that they do not own.
- e. The absence of women in political and economic decision-making.
- f. Women having limited access to market their goods.
- g. Laws that discriminate against women.
- h. Women perpetually facing violence, harassment, and ridicule in the society.

Mr. President, the trend can be reversed, by government in collaboration with the NGOs, members of the civil society, development partners, and all of us playing our part. Action, commitment, accountability must be the guiding principles.”

In Beijing, I said, *“A revolution has begun, there is no going back. It is too just too long overdue. Women had fought alongside men to abolish slavery, colonialism, apartheid. It is now the turn of men to help the women in the struggle for their equality.”*

President Benjamin William Mkapa emphasized the government’s commitment to implement four areas of concern from the Platform which were going to be given priority, namely:

- a. Economic empowerment and poverty alleviation.
- b. Political empowerment.
- c. Women’s access to education and training.
- d. Women’s legal capacity and literacy.
- e. **Particular attention was given to the girl child, and their well-being.**

On cooperation: The President pledged that the Platform for Action would be implemented and not forgotten. He recognized the need for networking and cooperation among various actors in society: *“There is a growing awareness on the need to work together; the need for partnership between Government, NGOs and the donor community, in redressing inequalities between men and women. My government wishes to encourage this partnership without which our desired goal will elude us.”*

On economic empowerment: *“My government is committed to the creation of a socio-political legal and regulatory environment which will enable women to be full participants in decision-making over the production processes as well as key actors and equal beneficiaries of the fruits of their labour...Women in this country will have to face the 21st century as managers of large-scale economic ventures.”*

“Likewise, we will support all initiatives directed towards improving women’s access to science and technology so as to reduce the demand on their physical labour in production. We should avoid letting them enter the 21st century with hand-hoes and other primitive technologies which have turned our mothers’ sisters and daughters into ... beasts of burden.”

On political empowerment: *“The Government of Tanzania has, therefore, introduced affirmative action to increase the proportion of women in electoral positions. But affirmative actions are at best temporary measures to remedy inequalities in a socio-economic and political system. The guarantee we provide for a 25 percent*

women representation in local government electoral seats, and 15% in parliamentary seats, may not, in itself, sufficiently address the structural constraints which inhibit women's interest or competitive ability to enter electoral politics. My government is ready to receive concrete proposals, particularly from women, on how to rectify this problem."

On access to education and training: "Various affirmative actions in the past enabled the Tanzanian government to narrow the gap between boys and girls in primary and secondary schools. Similar efforts have not, however, been successful in tackling the problem in institutions of higher learning and training."

On legal capacity and legal literacy: "Let us work together then to explore a mechanism of extending these [legal aid] services to the people who need them most, that is both the rural and urban poor women."

"...providing legal capacity also entails reforming some of the laws which perpetuate or institutionalize discrimination in such aspects as inheritance, land and property rights, in matters affecting violence against women, labour laws, child custody, and marital property rights. The process has been slow due to resource constraints and the sensitive nature of some of the issues being addressed."

On the Girl Child: "Globally, girls have suffered specific forms of gender discrimination and Tanzanian girls are no exception. My government is collaborating with our development partners and local NGOs in speaking out for the interests and wellbeing of girl children."

Dr. Agnes Akosua Aidoo, UNICEF Representative In Tanzania [at a separate high level meeting to mark International Women's Day at the Kilimanjaro Hotel, 6th March 1996.

"The Tanzania delegation at the Beijing Conference was a driving force in developing a strong chapter for the girl child in the Beijing Platform for Action, based on the commitment to its own National Platform. Tanzania should now seize this opportunity to once again take the lead in internationalizing the Platform for Action (PFA) on the girl child issues."

"...today's girl child is tomorrow's woman. If tomorrow's woman is to become an equal partner with the man in social development and progress, this is the time to accord the girl child her rightful share of human...dignity, respect and opportunity."

Conclusion

The contestation between different class and gender interests is evident in the preparations for Beijing and the early days of TGNP. Is our focus on advancing the needs and interests of exploited and oppressed rural and urban women or on women 'entrepreneurs' and capitalists. The commitment by the government to work with NGOs and other civil society actors during the Post-Beijing Gathering was highly welcome. The challenge for this collection of essays is to explore what kind of partnership, if any, developed, and what the impact was: enhancement of emancipatory politics or domestication of activist voices? Solidarity with the exploited masses referred to by Terry Kontai at EAWC 93 or with the new middle class of women entrepreneurs and political leaders? Who is our constituency?

The distinction has become clearer between the women's movement [organising as women to work on issues of particular significance to women, including poverty, gender equality, imperialism where the major goal is not women's liberation] and the feminist movement [a part of the women's movement which focuses on changes in women's subordination and gendered power relations]. The tension between 'first world' and 'third world' feminist theory and practice [or neo-liberal and transformative feminist practice] have continued, and even heightened. There is a growing emphasis on 'women's economic empowerment' in the mainstream which underlies support for individual women 'entrepreneurs' i.e., owners of capitalist enterprises. What is missing are implementable strategies that empower working and marginalized women collectively to lead a popular transformative feminist movement. Nevertheless, tangible steps have been taken in that direction since the early days of TGNP, a Transformative feminist movement organization that challenges patriarchy and neo-liberalism at all levels, and advocates for gender equality /equity, women's empowerment, social justice in Tanzania and beyond. To translate these actions into programmes, TGNP charted a three-tier action strategy: a) generating and disseminating empowering feminist knowledge and information; b) feminist training services anchored in animation and organizing in using knowledge and skills in enhancing and strengthening women's and human rights activist groups networks and individuals; and c) conducting action-oriented research for policy advocacy, to influence change at all levels of society.

3

UNITY IN DIVERSITY: VOICES FROM THE BEIJING JOURNEY

by Anneth Meena

“The conference brought to global light issues of gender equality and women’s empowerment. It brought a kind of ‘revolution’ where we have to look at women and men as equal citizens of this world. Women should not be considered like ‘invitees’ on this planet. They belong to the planet just like the men.” —Gertrude Mongella

The fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 demonstrates the transformative power of the women’s movement, as women around the world called for nothing less than bold, decisive actions to secure women’s rights as human rights once and for all. The Conference was indeed the turning point of the women’s rights movement. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform of Action which was adopted by more than 189 countries has been considered as the agenda for women’s empowerment, providing a global policy document on gender equality”(www/https//.un.org-conferences-women-Beijing 1995)

In Tanzania, the processes entailed preparations that were very inclusive and participatory. For example, there were purposeful strategies to reach women in all parts of the country. The strategies of collecting women’s opinions and voices went beyond Tanzania. There were various meetings in different parts of Africa, starting with Nairobi, in Kenya, Lusaka in Zambia, and Dakar in Senegal. The result was to reach a consensus on the African Agenda ‘A Girl Child Agenda was born from African women’. At the conference, women went with one voice from Africa! At the conferences women had various roles to play depending on their portfolios – presentation of papers; series of negotiations, consultations, and lobbying with their

governments to ensure their agenda was put forward, attending various workshops and exhibitions. It was a very vibrant and energetic experience as some recalled.

This chapter takes a form of a documentary through which voices of powerful few women were captured and shared. While we understand that there were many women in Tanzania who made significant contributions to the process of Beijing, the few captured in this chapter represent the voices of many women not only in Tanzania but beyond. Their rich contribution from country to the continent gained grounds on a girl child agenda. For the women in the continent this was the biggest milestone ever achieved in the global policy document; the Beijing Platform for Action spoke of girls and girls' rights. This was agenda proudly carried by women from Africa.

The voice of Hon. Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, popularly known as Mama Beijing. She has been quoted in several articles. It was a world-first when important decisions at this level were taken by a forum comprised of women. Ambassador Gertrude Mongella carried the Tanzanian flag and made women, and Tanzania as a whole, proud as she led the the Fourth World Conference on Women as the General Secretary and Chair.

The “Bring Beijing Home” was a breakthrough within women movement and should never be underestimated. The late President Hon. Benjamin Mkapa symbolically received the Beijing Delegation as a gesture to demonstrate the political will and commitment of the government to the Beijing Agenda, as well as making concrete commitment of implementing four areas of immediate priority of the country out of the twelve critical areas of concern from the Beijing Platform of Action.

The four areas were

1. Enhancement of women's legal capacity.
2. Economic empowerment and poverty eradication.
3. Women's political empowerment and decision making.
4. Women's access to education and employment

In the following pages, we present some of the voices of women who represented the many women of Tanzania who either participated in the preparations or and actual process of the Beijing Conference.

Voices of Women Reflecting on Their Experience Throughout The Beijing Processes



1 **Gertrude Mongella –**
“The revolution had begun there is no going back; it can be difficult, it can take longer but it is a big revolution in all aspect; Everyone has to take a portion for the decision made in Beijing”



2 **Marjorie Mbilinyi –**
“There has never been the same level of participation like Beijing Platform of Action; We had good vibes; It was a wonderful experience; we realized TGNP is more than Beijing; if you have a will it is not about resources rather it is learning by doing”





3

Zakhia Meghji

“What is happening now is from Beijing; we went, we were very energetic; we discussed together and we were very positive for the implementation”



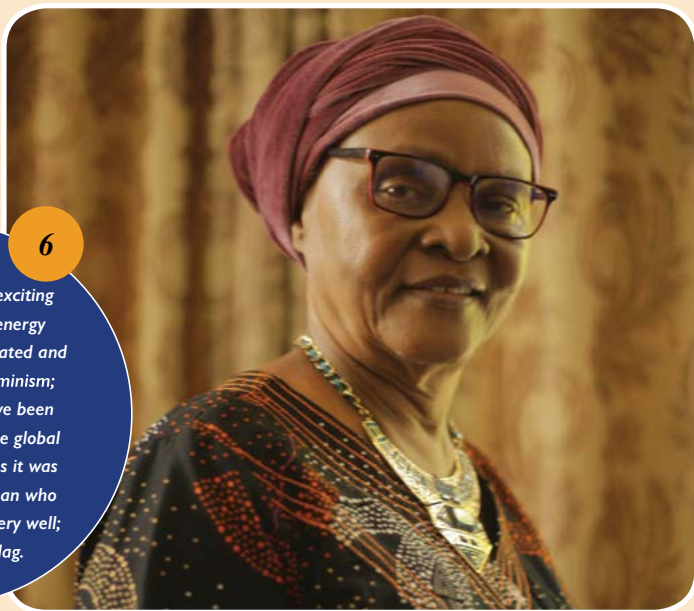
4

Mary Rusimbi

The Preparation of agenda setting was the ground work that we call movement building; A big mileage in promoting gender equality for transformative change. It also prepared the groundwork for gender budgeting”



5 **Fatma Alloo**
"It affected our spirit in a positive way; we were energetic made things happen impacted laws and worked on a girl child agenda; we have built a generation of younger women and men to take over"



6 **Ruth Meena**
The process was very exciting it generated a lot of energy throughout Africa; It created and re-affirmed African Feminism; I am very proud to have been part of the design of the global agenda, and more so as it was led by a Tanzania woman who managed the process very well; She did raise our flag.





7

Asseny Muro

“Very exciting moment for women in the country; we mobilized and we were very united; a process that gave us a wake-up call!”



8

Ave Maria Semakafu

“Power of convening and sticking to the Agenda; with intergenerational strategy. This has been carried through during the constitutional amendment period.”



9

Edda Sanga

It was a learning process on the power of association, power of collaboration and adversity of competition. Life time achievement”



10

**Hellen Kijo
Binsimba**

It was extremely exciting to be part of it, and put our ideas as women of Africa, to participate and learn that all women face similar problems; they differ in degree and context. It was an eye opener on why women should stand and fight for their rights.



Lessons From The Voices And The Process

The following lessons can be drawn from all the phases of the processes from preparations to the conference:

- The fundamental lesson drawn from the process was the power of collective organizing. The participatory processes allowed voices of women from different backgrounds to be part of the processes. The processes crossed borders and allowed women to forge bonds within the continent and reach consensus on their agenda. Women of the continent had one agenda and that was ‘The Girl Child’
- In the conference, there were negotiations, lobbying and advocacy; women worked diligently to advocate for their issues, which resulted in the 12 critical areas of concerns drafted in the Beijing Platform of Action. The conference illustrated resilience, determination and unity of women from the continent and globally.
- The political will and commitment of the late President Benjamin Mkapa cannot be underestimated. Women were invigorated by the speech of the Late President; 4 critical areas of concerns were identified and the government was committed to work on them.
- Finally but not in order, availability of resources, both human and financial, made possible this remarkable process; this included support from development partners, and government.

The legacy of many women who were part of the Beijing processes will forever shine as a beacon of hope and inspiration, reminding us of the power of organizing, working on one agenda with one voice; their determination, resilience, and unity in the pursuit of a more just and equal world that will forever be remembered. Further, the Beijing Platform for Action was a turning point, not only in Tanzania or in the continent of Africa, but globally; it facilitated the understanding of women’s and girls’ rights and ushered in a new mindset that realizing the full potential of women and girls is a powerful and essential component of successful, sustainable development.

4

THE LEARNING AND KNOWLEDGE HUBS: HERSTORY OF BUILDING A LEARNING CULTURE FOR CAPACITY AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

By Asseny Muro

This chapter presents TGNP's experience as a feminist learning and knowledge hub and capacity and skills building institution; demonstrating how it has been able to translate feminist pedagogy into practice aiming at advancing the transformative feminist agenda and movement building in Tanzania and beyond. The chapter is structured in three sections:

Section One covers the introduction and background, and focuses on feminist epistemology, which has guided the creation of TGNP's feminist knowledge hub and influenced the methodologies employed in sharing this knowledge with a wider constituency. The objective is enhancing feminist consciousness and the inclusion of women in the mainstream knowledge.

Section Two focuses on the organization's experience of building a learning culture, capacity and skills services, systems and processes which gave birth to the formation of learning forums namely the Wednesday Gender and Development Seminar Series (GDSS), Gender Festival (GF): Gender Training Institute (GTI), Participatory Action Research (PAR), and the Knowledge Centers.

Section Three draws some conclusions and raises key issues, and makes recommendations for the way forward to enhance TGNP's learning culture and knowledge and capacity building services for a stronger transformative feminist movement in Tanzania and beyond.

The process of writing the chapter itself has been a learning process for me —retrieving my own knowledge about TGNP as an organization as well as consulting fellow members and feminist activists; TGNP staff, and fellow chapter writers. I also reviewed relevant written literature, documentations from TGNP library; TGNP/GTI personal archive materials, and relevant websites.

Feminist Epistemology and Feminist Theory of Knowledge

What is now considered as formal knowledge is socially constructed by patriarchal knowledge-based systems that have excluded women as knowers, and rendered their knowledge and lived experiences irrelevant in male stream knowledge. Simone de Beauvoir made the claim that “representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth (Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parsley N.Y: Vintage, 1972, 16)

And yet throughout human history, women have been a primary source of knowledge that has sustained life and its living things. Feminist epistemology has interrogated this exclusion by showing how such exclusion has endorsed and justified deprivation of women of their voice, agency and economic empowerment. (Anderson 2020) argues that male stream knowledge disadvantages women by (1) excluding them from inquiry, (2) denying them epistemic authority, (3) denigrating “feminine” cognitive styles, (4) producing theories of women that represent them as inferior, or significant only in the ways they serve male interests, (5) producing theories of social phenomena that render women’s activities and interests, or gendered power relations, invisible, and (6) producing knowledge that is not useful for people in subordinate positions, or that reinforces gender and other social hierarchies.

Based on that stance, feminists have sought to engage and interrogate conventional ways of producing, distributing, and consuming knowledge which have rendered women’s knowledge invisible and irrelevant in the mainstream knowledge. Additionally, feminists have developed tools and frameworks which enable them to generate knowledge that is more inclusive as it captures knowledge bases of women and men from varied social positions in given contexts. Feminists have raised the following questions as a way of interrogating male views on knowledge. Who can be the “knower” (can women be?); Whose knowledge matters (men’s experiences and observations)? What kind of things can (be known as “subjective truth”) count as knowledge? Who decides what knowledge should be packaged, and whose knowledge is rendered irrelevant? At what cost? How else can we generate knowledge which is more inclusive, with what tools? With what framework?

The feminist theory of knowledge seeks to construct a distinctively feminist epistemology; in order to recreate and reconstruct the feminist theoretical positions that

include women as knowers, producers and consumers of knowledge. Additionally, feminist epistemology considers women's lived experiences as relevant sources of knowledge. Therefore, feminist epistemologists attempt to reconstruct theories that catalyze liberation of knowledge from male biases which render women's knowledge irrelevant or invisible. This connects to the invisibility of women in all the collective struggles against colonial occupation, in decolonization processes as well as in struggling against neo-liberalism. It reflects how patriarchal systems have been easily absorbed into the systems of knowledge which excluded women's knowledge bases, experiences and indeed their contributions in the making of 'our collective' story as marginalized persons.

Feminist philosophers are interested in how gender stereotypes situate knowing subjects—a fundamentally male approach to knowledge and the world. This is well articulated by one author who says that "*Science is the male intellect: the active, knowing subject; its relationship to nature—the passive object of knowledge —is one of manipulation, control and domination; it is the relationship of man to woman, of culture to nature.*"

The main thesis here is that much of what has been recognized as knowledge and passed on in academic and industrial circles has been produced by men. Consequently their experiences and concerns have served to determine its direction. According to feminist epistemologists, these failures in dominant knowledge result from faulty scientific methodologies and knowledge conceptions.

A few male educational philosophers from 'Third World' countries whose work has inspired feminists include Paulo Freire, a Latin American adult educator, and the late first President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere. In his book, *The Pedagogy of Oppressed*, Freire identified four main issues of relevance to feminist methodology.

Dialogue: According to Freire, informal education was dialogical or conversational, rather than a curriculum form. It should not involve one person acting on another, but rather people working with each other. Too much education, Freire argues, involves banking, where the educator makes 'deposits' in the empty mind of the student. Dialogue constitutes one of the feminist pedagogical approaches to learning. According to this position, education is a reciprocated process through which the learner and educator learn from each other. Participatory learning has informed most of the feminist epistemology.

Praxis-Action or consciousness raising: Dialogue isn't just about deepening understanding—but is part of making a difference in the world. Dialogue in itself is a co-operative activity through which the hierarchical approach is replaced by a mutual, cooperative method. Freire argued that learning should result in informed action and as such provided a useful counter-balance to those who stick to theory

per se. Feminist activism is about self-awareness of the forces that deny voice and undermine dignity, of discriminative practices. This awareness leads or causes collective actions to transform the systems of oppression including patriarchy.

Pedagogy of the oppressed: Freire's idea of building a 'pedagogy of the oppressed' or a 'pedagogy of hope' and how this may be carried forward has provided a significant impetus to feminist pedagogic approaches in conscientization, which has the power to transform the patriarchy-based epistemologies. He insists that knowledge must be democratically available to everyone in order to transform society politically. Knowledge is perceived in Freirean epistemology as a medium of communication between human beings.

According to this view, knowledge offers everyone the possibility to think more critically about the world so as to act on it in a more humanizing way. It is ideally a liberating methodology aimed at reshaping the socio-political power structures so as to create a culture of freedom and inclusiveness. The teacher is a political pedagogue who encourages students to "read reality" in a critical way in order to radically transform it. Such thinking and approach are indeed relevant to the feminist pedagogic methods.

In our Tanzanian's context, the educational philosophy relevant to the feminist educational standpoint is that of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere the first President of the United Republic of Tanzania. Central to his philosophy is the concept of education for liberation. This concept has its roots in Nyerere's resentment of colonial education, which facilitated the process of enslaving the colonized by making them submissive. According to Nyerere, the purpose of post-colonial education should be to liberate human beings (body and mind) by creating a consciousness of their potential in contributing to their own development and that of their respective communities. This position is critical to the feminist epistemology of knowledge. Many times, discriminative processes deny women opportunities to discover and use their human potential.

Nyerere also emphasised that education has to increase men and women's physical and mental freedom to increase their control over themselves, their own lives and the environment in which they live. Feminists have been demanding freedom to control themselves, their bodies and their choices.

He further argued that the ideas imparted by education, or released to the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. According to Nyerere, education should impart to the learner three basic principles: an inquiring mind; an ability to learn from others, and a basic confidence in oneself as an equal member of society, who values others, and is valued by them. All these values are embraced by feminist epistemology.

Additionally, Nyerere affirmed that human consciousness is developed in the process of thinking, deciding and acting. And that human capacity is developed through doing things. This position informed the functional literacy adult education programme which earned Tanzania a UNESCO award for being one of the poor countries which had managed to provide a practical literacy programme to the majority of its citizens. It also informed secondary and tertiary education through specializing in certain basic skills which would enable an individual to be self-reliant after formal schooling. Feminist pedagogy is anchored in lived experiences which contribute to the construction of theory. Finally, Nyerere concludes by affirming that teaching which induces a slave mentality or a sense of impotence is not education at all. (Nyerere 1967)

The feminist epistemology as well as the critique of colonial education discussed above influenced and inspired TGNP in the processes that were to lead to a knowledge hub and learning institutional bases, as well as the methodologies which were developed and applied. The following section provides herstory of processes which facilitated TGNP to be a knowledge as a learning hub.

HERSTORY OF BUILDING A LEARNING CULTURE, CAPACITY AND SKILLS SERVICES, AND SYSTEMS

Building a learning culture through self-learning

Our journey has been a learning process. From our inception we identified ourselves as a learning institution in order to provide informed leadership in the agenda we had adopted—transformative feminist movement building. The founding members of TGNP came from diverse backgrounds with diverse skills and knowledge bases. To be able to read from the same slate, initially we had to hold a lot of self-learning and reflection sessions for staff and members—first and foremost, to learn how to run a gender/ feminist organization, sustain it and manage to keep up with the pace of the anticipated transformation.

The initial learning process was to agree on the agenda, build conceptual clarity among ourselves on feminist knowledge and methodologies of sharing the knowledge with our immediate network members as we slowly expanded our constituency. We also had to broaden understanding of how patriarchy overlapped with other broader oppressive regimes and ideologies with particular focus on neo-liberalism. During the initial period, each week we held learning sessions through which we expanded our collective knowledge base and understanding of feminism in a broad context. Such sessions helped us to create a collective agenda, based on conceptual clarity of the agenda within the membership and its networking partners and the courage to embark on a mission to contribute to the building of a vibrant transformative feminist movement that challenges patriarchy and neo-liberalism at all

levels, and advocates for gender equality /equity, women's empowerment and social justice in Tanzania and beyond.

Having adopted a learning culture, TGNP has institutionalised in-house learning practices which include:

Learning collectively to run the programme and the office: The initial members had not been to any school that taught them how to run a gender/ feminist NGO. We learned through self-learning, bringing whatever experience we had from our backgrounds. We joined the organization with the belief that “we all are learners, and no one knows it all.” With this perspective, the TGNP secretariat worked very closely with the member in all the initial processes, leading to the growth of the TGNP we see today.

We continued to pursue the self-learning practice through initiating the GDSS and Gender Festival which have continued to date. We went through a process of reflection, consultation and learning from within and without, while strengthening ourselves as we went along.

As a membership organization we hold an Annual General Meeting (AGM) every year to update ourselves on the progress of the organization and make strategic deliberations and decisions. We have instituted a practice of self-learning prior to the AGM official business. The Secretariat organizes self-learning sessions for members and the Secretariat to update ourselves on different subjects such as transformative feminism; gender responsive budgeting and others. These fora are explained below.

Writers' Circle: Through GDSS, young potential writers were encouraged to write on gender/ feminist and development issues. This was facilitated by seasoned writers who took up the role of mentoring the group of interested youth in development of gender transformative materials. This activity has been phased out as due to inadequate resources but it quite strategic in the transformative feminist movement building. Given the potential of the writers' circle in developing the skills of the young in the field, it is necessary to mainstream the initiative in IGD programmes as this is a very creative way instilling gender interest in the youth

Mentorship Programmes: TGNP has initiated mentoring to help young feminists tap into the knowledge of women leaders with more experience than themselves. The programme has often attached young people to female political leaders to guide them into political leadership and decision making.

Storytelling: We bring women of an older generation to share their life stories and experiences with young women. Such sessions focus on a selected subject such as vying for a political position - councillors/members of parliament for the purpose of inspiring young women to take up leadership positions. The oral presentations are made in a relaxed environment to make the young people learn fast.

Inter-generational dialogue and storytelling: TGNP creates spaces for women of different generations to hold dialogues on various issues such as the Beijing Conference process and its impact on gender equality. Such sessions are meant to inform young people about national and international events, which they hear about but cannot relate to. Such programmes also help to promote intergenerational links in the women's movement.

Safe space dialogues: These sessions are organized for people with similar issues to learn from each other's experience, for example on gender-based violence (GBV), CSO management, or political leadership. Organisers ensure a safe space for learning, so as to enable participants to share their lived experiences freely. These learning sessions are under closed house and no media is allowed.

Developing Learning Structures, Forums, Systems and Processes

Emerging from the in-house learning, members realized that in order to build a transformative feminist movement in Tanzania that would lead to the transformation of the patriarchal system, we needed to undergo further self-learning that would strengthen our conceptual clarity of a broader constituency and clear understanding of the broader context. This underscored the need to institutionalize in-house self-learning and put in place learning forums such as the Gender and Development Seminar Series (GDSS) and the Gender Festival; institutional structures such as the Gender Training Programme; feminist research; and creation of grassroots-based Knowledge Centres.

Gender and Development Seminar Series (GDSS)

The Gender and Development Seminar Series is an open forum established in 1996 for the purpose of creating space for sharing information and experiences, building capacity, lobbying and advocacy; networking and having fun. These weekly seminars bring together women and men from all walks of life to the TGNP Gender Resource Centre (GRC) to exchange information and experience, learn new knowledge and skills and network. The sessions enable participants to plan together and often come up with a joint action to address various topical and burning issues of concern. The GDSS seminars are conducted in a participatory manner to allow full engagement in the discussions and activities.

The GDSS is popularly known as the Wednesday Seminars as they take place every Wednesday of the week from 3.00 pm to 5.00 pm. It started as a very informal learning activity in the initial TGNP premises in the city centre of Dar es Salaam. Participants who used to attend the seminars then were working men and women who would come to the sessions after office hours.

Following the shift of the physical location of the organisation from the city centre to the TGNP GRC in Mabibo there was a drastic change of the profile of the participants to the GDSS because the residents of Mabibo were low-income people, the majority of whom were engaged in small business in the nearby market, famously known as “*Soko la ndizi*.” More and more people from the surrounding area including youth became interested in the seminars. By word of mouth participants who found the session useful would spread the news to others. Attendance to GDSS grew day by day. While the average number of participants per session was 30-40, there were some days when the number went up to 200 following an particularly attractive topic or debate such as the budget speech, water shortage, or the discussions during the Constitution revision process in 2016.

Facilitation and Methodology

Facilitation and methodology are important aspects of the GDSS seminars. We ensure that the facilitators are conscious about gender and feminist issues; vested with analytical skills; and can apply different animation methods. The facilitator also provides conceptual guidance on the topic at hand on a given day and enable effective discussions that enable the seminar participants to analyse the issues from a gender/feminist perspective. It also takes a good facilitator to guide the participants in developing follow-up action points and create a friendly and free environment for participants throughout the sessions. On another note, GDSS facilitation has served as an opportunity for TGNP members, network members and staff to sharpen their skills in gender analysis and animation and participatory methodologies as well as touch base with the grassroots to learn and share knowledge.

Methodological Approaches

To ensure a high level of participation, the seminars employ a variety of animation methods which include: small group discussions, VIPP cards, and brainstorming, panel discussions, group discussion and drama. All the methods have, in one way or another, provided the opportunity for all participants to contribute their views and raise their voices. Of particular note are drama performances especially by youth organisations and video shows. In addition to being entertaining, the performances carry powerful messages that aim at changing the attitudes of the participants and the society at large on specific issues such as HIV and AIDS, GBV, and child labour.

The GDSS often provide a forum for presenting new videos which help to disseminate knowledge/information. Organisations such as UNICEF, Family Care International and TGNP itself have used GDSS to inform and sensitise the public on issues of elections, the girl child and reproductive health rights through videos.

The video show is followed by discussions to enable the participants to link the issues viewed with their own situations and later develop follow up action plans.

The Gender Festival

A large number of organizations and individuals in Tanzania and the Eastern and Southern African region were involved in the promotion of gender and feminist issues, with increased depth and breadth of their activities during the 1980s and 1990s. However, there were few opportunities to meet together and exchange knowledge, information, skills, experiences, and to reflect on the opportunities and constraints around gender and development issues especially on the issue of African Feminist struggles in the context of globalisation. TGNP and its partners, therefore, organised the Gender Festival in 1996 for the purpose of providing an open safe space for women rights activists from different backgrounds to come together to reflect on progress; celebrate achievement; share experiences, lessons and challenges and strategies to overcome the challenges; and to strengthen networking and coalition-building.

The Gender Festival is organised within the long-term goal of TGNP and her partners of transforming the constraining systems, structures, and macro-contexts that contribute to gender inequality and social injustice in the country and beyond.

The overall objectives of the Gender Festival are:

- To enhance understanding of the global context of patriarchy and neo-liberal globalization, its impact on marginalized women and their communities, their resistances and struggles against these and other oppressive structures, and alternative strategies for sustainable, equitable and just development and growth.
- To share knowledge, reflect, and initiate new feminist analysis/action on gender women's struggles and social transformation in Africa within the context of anti-globalization struggles.
- To celebrate feminist activist struggles and achievements in advocating for and realizing social transformation at different levels and spheres of society.
- To broaden and strengthen the coalition of like-minded individuals and organizations at the local, national and international levels to spearhead, influence and advocate for transformative African Feminist perspectives in development.
- To enhance gender transformative skills and conceptual frameworks, building on participants' own experience and knowledge.
- To contribute to public debate on issues relating to the specific themes of the GF as well as the broader theme of gender, democracy, and development.

Gender Festival Organisers

Key partners in organising the Gender Festival were initially TGNP, FemAct, intermediary gender networks at district level, and the many grassroots outreach groups who were part of the GDSS. While TGNP has been the overall organiser of the Gender Festival, TGNP has worked with FemAct and their grassroots partners to successfully organise a series of 14 Gender Festivals at national level, which have been held in Dar es Salaam and four decentralized Gender Festivals which have been held at district level. Gender festivals were held annually for the first four years from 1996 up to 1999. Its growth and corresponding logistical needs for organizing annual festivals led to a decision to hold them biannually. This interval also allows more time for follow-up actions and preparation for the next festival. The number of participants at national level has steadily grown from around 400 in 1996 GF to over 5,000 in the 2019 GF.

Gender Festival Participants

Participants come from NGOs and CBOs from across the country and beyond. Participants also take part in the event as facilitators and presenters of workshops. Some of them participate in the exhibition, to show the development efforts they have made thus far and their achievements and challenges in the process.

The organisation also facilitates and supports the participation of women groups from the grassroots around the country to participate in the GF. The demand for grassroots participation at the Gender Festival is high, on average about 2000 participants.

Gender Festival Process

The Gender Festival follows these steps to organise the conference: **Develop a concept note.** This step is crucial as it provides the overall framework of the Conference including specific objectives and theme for a given year. **Set up task teams** who take on specific tasks and collective responsibility. **Set the festival programme and activities** to achieve the conference objectives.

Gender Festival Activities: Plenary Presentations, workshops/ training sessions. case studies and Gender Exhibition. To make the conference effective general guidelines are provided with focus on: participatory methodology, interactive techniques and artistic and cultural expressions that are expected for all workshop sessions.

Guidelines are also provided to prepare a paper, case study, video, art form, cultural expression and/or facilitated workshop session for the conference workshops. Additional guidelines are provided for workshops and/or papers from individual

organisations and/or networks to fit their ideas into the proposed festival workshop framework.

Organization of the Gender Festival

Every Gender Festival is guided by a main theme and sub-themes drawn from a series of on contextual reflections on women priority issues. The broad themes of GF have been '*Gender, Democracy and Development*' and *Transformative Feminist Movement Building*. Based on the broad theme, the GF is organized to include plenary discussions and workshops spread over four days:

Day One includes the Opening of the Gender Festival, with keynote presentations, which focus on the main theme for the festival, and the launch of the Gender Festival Exhibition. The day one sessions set the tone of the GF through providing a conceptual framework. The launch session is followed by a plenary session which is normally based on the theme of the Conference.

Exhibitions run throughout the festival, providing space for TGNP Mtandao and other participating organizations and networks to share information about the work they do through a variety of media (videos, poster displays and photos). Publishers, CSOs and individual women artisans are also encouraged to display and sell their products. Separate spaces are provided for special interested groups to create hubs for networking, information sharing and planning (including young feminists, women with disability and others). The 2019 GF provided a 'Hall of Fame' where our mothers, sisters, daughters were remembered for their contribution to the struggle for women's rights, gender equity and equality and social justice. Participants are also encouraged to display photographs and write short descriptions of their heroines.

A number of workshops are run in Day Two and Day Three guided by the sub themes of the festival. Day One and Day Two evenings are open for participating organizations and individuals to meet, network, and/or create alternative encounters. In the evening of day three, an African Feminist Night is usually held, where participants dine together, and celebrate activism in various forms of artistic expression including: songs, poetry, dance, and storytelling.

Finally, Day Four hosts a series of closing sessions which synthesize workshop discussions and issues raised throughout the four days to inform the key GF deliberations and take -home plans before the closing ceremony.

Gender Festival Methodology

In order to facilitate effectively the activities outlined above, the following methodologies are used.

Case studies provide evidence-based information and relate theory to lived experiences. Participants share actual incidences or scenarios that they have experienced for analysis and discussion. This method has helped to motivate participants as they relate to the situations.

Artistic and Cultural Expressions: Participants are invited to share in plenary and in workshops their own artistic productions: such as works of fiction, cartoons, plays, poetry, songs, dance, films, pop culture, etc which are used to decentre and challenge mainstream culture and male dominated creative enterprises, so as to radically change the collective psyche of society. These performances are also used to highlight the conference themes and sub-themes.

Workshops are conducted based on the sub-themes such as rights to land and livelihoods; political participation focusing on the new Constitution and Local Elections; rights to education, reproductive and health rights, focusing on FGM/C, child marriage and sexual/maternal health; as well as collective organizing and movement building for change.

The Gender Exhibition is intended to highlight on-going efforts to combat impoverishment within the country. This includes a mix of products made by small-scale entrepreneurs, organisations and institutions, as well as exhibition of publications and literature. The space provides an opportunity for entrepreneurs and others who have been working towards economic empowerment to highlight their developmental stages, improve their skills, and share their experiences and products.

Decentralization of the Gender Festival to the District Level

TGNP has been striving to support the growth of a broad feminist movement which is grounded locally by working directly with grassroots women/feminist/activist groups; gender networks; and coalitions at local level. TGNP in collaboration with its partners at the ward, district and regional level have been conducting Gender Festivals (GF) at the district level since 2010. District level GF is a space for community groups, knowledge centres, CBOs FBOs and individuals from the district and regional level to share outputs of their work, sharpen their skills and capacities, celebrate their victories, network and establish further linkages with other actors at different levels. Furthermore, it enhances participants' capacity at the district, level to organise and demand transformative approaches to governance, and decision-making on policies and resource allocation so as to promote gender equity, women's empowerment, and social transformation.

The first district level GF was organized in Kisarawe, Coast Region, the second was in Mkambarani in 2010, Morogoro Region (2012 and 2016), Tarime, Mara Region (2014), and Kishapu District, Shinyanga Region (2018). The latest one was held in October 2022 in Same District, Kilimanjaro region. These District Gender Festivals have been attracting more than 5000 participants, with women constituting more than 80% of the participants.

The themes have been derived from the contextual analysis which concludes with the fact that the transformative feminist movement stands at the forefront in the struggle for alternative macro-economic policies, because women are the ones who are most exploited and oppressed with respect to employment and livelihoods, access to and control of natural resources, quality health, water and education.

Participants in the district Gender Festivals are made up of a wide variety of people including, TGNP, local CSOs and CBOs, district officials, police officers, villagers and ward representatives.

GDSS and Gender Festival Impact and Achievements

The GDSS and GF forums have enhanced voices to demand transformative changes in international and national systems and policies. They have sharpened our feminist knowledge, bringing more clarity to processes that have subjected women to multiple forms of oppression: thus, enabling gender activists to raise debates which challenges global inequalities, the macro-economic frameworks including those led by the World Bank and IMF such as Structural Adjustment Programmes. In addition, GF has helped to sharpen the women/feminist agenda and build consensus on priority issues for advocating for women's rights, empowerment, gender equity, equality and social justice.

Knowledge and Information Sharing

TGNP uses the GF/GDSS space to disseminate to the conference participants - from grassroots and national networks and coalitions - transformative Feminist knowledge/information, research reports and other documents. A lot of information/knowledge has been shared on a variety of subjects and issues including land, GBV, constitutional reforms and NGO policy. Debates and discussions are raised around these issues to enable participants to link them with their own activities and daily lives. Researchers also get space to present their research findings for scrutiny and more input from a gender perspective

Creation of a Sustained and Collectively Owned Space

Gender activists attending GDSS are regarded as TGNP networkers and they take the space as theirs. GDSS provides a Wednesday outing for many women who would otherwise be at home. Participants are also involved in assessment sessions of GDSS. For example, at the end of each year one GDSS seminar is turned into a reflection session in which the participants get the opportunity to share their views on the GDSS. The participants go through the major topics that featured for the year. The reflection session focuses on the areas of content, methodology and logistics bringing up the achievements and challenges. The feedback received from the reflection sessions has been instrumental in improving the seminars in accordance with the requirements and the demands of the participants.

Capacity Development: Learning and Skill Building

The GDSS forum is organised and facilitated in such a way that the participants are able to develop their gender conceptual and analytical skills on critical issues such as power analysis, which seeks to disrupt patriarchy and other intersecting power structures and ideologies.. In this process, topics are translated from the abstract to a more practical view of issues. Progress in capacity development is indicated by the way participants who attend the seminars frequently have demonstrated a great ability to analyse issues from a gender/feminist perspective. For example, some regular GDSS attendants have been able to make presentations on topics of their choice while others have become regular facilitators of the seminars. Others have shown commendable capacities to raise and analyse issues in public debates such as “Malumbano ya Hoja”, on ITV.

Through the same processes, TGNP actors have also had the opportunity to build their understanding of various topics such as legal, environmental, and global issues.

A notable impact of GDSS is the generation of gender activists who are able to analyze the national budget from a gender and pro-poor perspective. During the national budget session, GDSS focuses on discussions of the budgets, raising issues of potential marginalization of women such as maternal mortality rates vs allocated budget; and promoting public debate on the budget as a whole and specifically on gender and pro-poor perspectives.

The fora have further enhanced the capacity of women’s organisations, NGOs and CBOs at grassroots district, national, and regional level to organise and demand transformative approaches to governance, policy and decision-making and resource allocation so as to challenge patriarchy and neo-liberalism at all levels, and advocate for gender equality/equity, women’s empowerment, social justice and transformation in Tanzania and beyond.

Lobbying and Advocacy

GDSS has been used to promote collective lobbying on issues of concern. For example, a concern was raised on the issue of gender imbalance in the 1999 presidential appointments for new agricultural boards. A letter was written to the president providing a list of capable persons (women) who could be considered for such posts. With the same letter the President was reminded that the government should implement the various commitments it has signed on gender equality and women empowerment. Press releases have been another strategy for reacting to burning issues of concern. In most cases such publicity raises a lot of awareness among the general public on injustices that might otherwise have passed unnoticed.

Feminist Activist Space/Promotional Space

The Wednesday seminars have been a platform for wide dissemination of civil society information. Specifically, it has been used in making announcements about important events organised by the FemAct coalition members and other partners. TGNP actors have found the forum quite useful in promoting its activities particularly those which require support from the participants such as public rallies. Through the seminars, participants are prepared to take more active roles public events.

GDSS has been used as a space for gender and feminist events such as:

- i) Celebrating International Women's Day** on 8h March.
- ii) 16 Days of Activism:** The objectives of this day are to bring women activists together to generate an increased level of awareness among Tanzanians pertaining to the evidence of violence perpetuated against women and children, how it manifests itself within Tanzanian society and its negative impact on vulnerable groups; enhance partnerships between civil society, media and the community in an effort to spread the message; and further the "SAY NO TO GBV" movement.
- iii) Launching of the Gender Profile of Tanzania** and the popular Report on Key Advocacy Issues Emerging from Beijing+ 10 Assessment. during the Commemoration of the 16 Days of Activism The objectives of the launch were to: publicize key gender issues raised in the Gender Profile and Beijing+10 report and contribute to public debate on these issues; popularize the role of information and research in gender advocacy; advocate for further commitments to Gender Equity and Equality and Social Transformation and network and celebrate as part of international women's week.

Establish Training Programmes: Institutional Bases, Systems, Programmes and Processes

The need for gender training was expressed in the initial meetings of TGNP with women's groups and networks in 1992 and 1993 who required training and capacity building to enhance their effective contribution to the transformative movement. It was for this reason TGNP sought to expand feminist knowledge through training and capacity building based on animation philosophy and methodology as a strategic approach in its mission to contribute to and facilitate the transformative feminist movement in the country and beyond. Hence TGNP embarked on providing gender/feminist training at different levels for such purpose as explained below.

At individual level, the need has since then been to impart transformative knowledge to women in order to work on personal attitudes, values and beliefs and particularly towards addressing stereotypes and prejudices regarding gender and feminism; and to develop strong feminist consciousness, decisive voice and commitment to take collective action in their localities. It was anticipated that feminist and animation-oriented capacity building would help to build a critical mass of women who in turn would attract other women and girls to engage confidently in the feminist movement with an informed attitude. A good example is the continued voluntary attendance of individual women to Gender and Development Seminar Series -GDSS).

TGNP came into being when there were already established women's organizations, groups and CBOs at grassroots and national levels. All through its growth, TGNP has continuously worked with other networks and coalitions on various feminist, development discourse and social issues in Tanzania and beyond. TGNP has been taking the opportunity to provide the much needed capacity and skills for lobbying and advocacy; for running feminist organizations; and to enable them to create institutional strategies for transforming the Women Rights Organisations (WROs) to become feminist institutions. The organizations also needed capacity to enhance their conceptual understanding of feminism in order to uphold its values and principles in their organizations, including applying feminist leadership and principles in general.

On the other hand, TGNP witnessed and participated in the formation of several coalitions The earliest was the Feminist Activism Coalition (FemAct), founded in 1996, which was a loose coalition of more than 30 like-minded CSOs in Tanzania. It was founded with the understanding that collective action is a vital force in the creation of a vibrant movement for social transformation, and that, coalition building is a key organising strategy for effective lobbying. The FemAct Coalition was formed because the gender/women challenges or issues in society were too large and complex for a single individual or organization to tackle. In order for these coalitions to function well and reach their goals, they need to acquire and strengthen knowledge,

capacity and skills on coalition formation; feminist consciousness; n how to set transformative feminist agendas; and skills to replicate knowledge on feminism to women who would join their coalitions.

Another important ally was the Government. TGNP had built in its programmes strategies to interrogate government structure, policies and programmes for gender equality/responsiveness and women's rights. This would mean taking actions to strengthen government institutions to execute their duty to protect the rights of citizens, men and women and girls, including passing laws that are gender-sensitive, and ensuring that national resources benefit both women and men. TGNP implemented several interventions with government institutions including; capacity development of skills on policies/programmes analysis with a gender perspective; training on gender-responsive budgeting; general gender-aware seminars for government officials and parliamentarians.

As a result of these expectations, TGNP had to put in place an institutional base and structures, systems and processes for feminist training that would facilitate the realization of the organization's strategic objectives including activism, policy advocacy, information generation and dissemination; and capacity building for feminist organizing and movement building.

Development and Growth of Gender Training Institute (GTI)

The training and Capacity Building Department (TCB) was established to: support the capacity building processes for the Activism, Lobbying and Advocacy programme (ALA); strengthen knowledge and skills of members and networks on gender analysis and related social development; to establish consensus among actors on key issues related to gender and feminism. TCB carried out training and capacity development in its capacity as a department between 1993 and 2007.

The training content and animation methodological approach earned TGNP recognition as no other organisation was offering gender training in the same way as TGNP. Further, there were increasing demands from the training needs assessments and researches namely; the Training Policy of 2003, Training Plan 2000, 2006 and Gender Training Needs Assessment 2000, 2006 and 2009. Further, the TGNP Transformative Feminist Movement Building Study in 2007 generated more training needs from potential feminist animators, communicators, media workers, leaders at all levels, lawyers, economists/economic analysts and others who were identified by the study – raising the need to translate the emerging issues into the curriculum and training packages.

It was against this background that TGNP had to make a deliberate decision to transform the Training and Capacity Building Department into an autonomous Gender Training Institute (GTI). In 2007 TGNP's Annual General Meeting (AGM)

approved the transformation of TCB Department to become a semi-autonomous institute. This process did not occur abruptly overnight. TGNP members and its secretariat entered into days of reflection and consultation, learning from within and without on how to establish a feminist training institute. The process led us to a consensus to establish a feminist/gender institute with the title “GTI Centre for Feminist Leadership” The institute was registered in 2008 as a Technical Education and Training Institute under the provisions of the National Council of Technical Education Act No. 9 of 1997.

The vision of GTI was to become the epicenter for feminist transformation.

The Mission of GTI was to develop competent animators, activists, leaders, and intellectuals with capacity to generate knowledge and to spark and sustain transformative feminist movement building.

We set up GTI with the following overall objectives:

- To develop competent animators, leaders and intellectuals with the capacity to generate knowledge to stimulate and sustain the transformation for social justice, gender equality and empowerment of women and the marginalized;
- To provide training and capacity building services for mainstreaming gender, promoting social inclusion and the empowerment of women, girls and marginalized groups; and
- To conduct Participatory Action Research (PAR) so as to produce evidence-based information and statistics for policy engagement, advocacy and lobbying in support of the envisaged feminist transformation.

i) Participants

The GTI Training service has reached women and men and youth, especially girls, from local communities; TGNP networks; government officials from different levels and sectors; grassroots, community animators and community organizations; higher learning institutions; development agencies; non-governmental institutions; faith-based organizations and individuals. Our participants have come from all across Africa, including Botswana, the DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and the host Tanzania.

In line with our tradition of in-house self-learning, the course coordinator invites representatives from the TGNP secretariat to attend some of the training programmes for skills and knowledge enhancement. This practice has helped to broaden in-house knowledge and skills for our training programmes.

ii) GTI Governance

To institutionalize the GTI as an autonomous institute required that it has in place its own systems and structures. Starting November 2008, GTI set up an Interim Board of Directors which was nurtured under the TGNP Board for the first two years of the TGNP Strategic Plan (2008 -2012). GTI then drafted an Organogram which divided the GTI structure into three departments: Research and Marketing, Curriculum Development and Quality Assurance and Training / Capacity Services. This milestone extended to the recruitment of a GTI Principal in 2010. The institute recruited a female to this position as per our Constitution that states that all top leadership posts in the organization will be occupied by a woman. The principal had in the office a slim secretariat, all female. Both the Principal and the secretariat had been recruited in accordance with feminist principles including feminist consciousness, leadership and team work. The leadership had also to observe issues of staff welfare, accountability and resource mobilization for sustainability. In 2013 GTI had a full Board of Directors that was directly answerable to the TGNP AGM. The role of the Board was to provide guidance to meet the vision of GTI ensuring adherence to feminist governance principles, quality assurance in academic excellence; the provision of guidance in expansion and growth; marketing the GTI broader goals; and monitoring of outcomes.

iii) Development of Training Preparation of Programmes and Learning Materials

GTI mobilized gender resource persons within and outside TGNP to prepare the training manuals; materials and tools. The resource persons worked individually or in teams, basing the materials on animation methodology. Materials were developed in response to existing gender training needs assessments. Some of the materials that were developed included: Animation approach material – “KITITA”, Foundation Course on Gender and Development, Training of Trainers Course; Gender Policy and HIV&AIDS; Gender; and Organizational Development. Other manuals included: Women’s Empowerment/gender equality, Gender Policy and HIV&AIDS and Gender Budgeting, Gender in Macro-Economics, Policy, Planning and Budgeting. Every year GTI published a prospectus announcing the regular courses it would offer.

GTI trainings materials are complemented by the Feminist Bookshop and the specialized library which has cutting edge materials on women’s empowerment, gender equality, gender and policy analysis, gender budgeting, gender and health, women in decision-making, gender and education. The Feminist Bookshop provides transforming and empowering information not only to GTI trainers but also to FemAct members, GTI course participants, higher learning institutions,

GTI resource persons, government institutions, ministries and sectors, CSOs researchers and the general public.

iv) Gender/ Feminist Training/Courses

Since its inception, drawing on the Training and Capacity Building Programme in TGNP, GTI has been providing transformative gender training and capacity development services based on animation/participatory approaches to a diverse group of people. There are both regular and tailor-made trainings and other capacity development services and the courses can be residential, non-residential or provided through outreach to the grassroots.

Between 2000 and 2010 GTI-CFL conducted a total of 118 courses in different gender-related areas. Of these, 96 courses were tailor-made and 22 were regular courses. These courses attracted 4,504 participants, 2,720 females and 1,784 males.

Tailor-made Courses

GTI has always offered tailor-made training programmes to accommodate diverse backgrounds and needs. GTI's tailor made courses have included: Transformative Feminist Organizing and Movement Building; Foundation course on Gender; Feminist Theories and Principles; Gender Budgeting and Performance Tracking; Coalition Building, Gender-Based Violence, Lobbying and Advocacy; Policy Analysis/Review with a Gender Perspective; Gender and Media Advocacy, Collective Organizing and Advocacy for Community Animators; Participatory Action Research, the the constitution-making process in Tanzania. Demand for tailor-made courses increased year by year, showing recognition of GTI as a resource for gender training at both national and regional levels. That trend was also a result of the TFMB study which had generated a lot of enthusiasm for capacity development for movement building as well as using GTI as their space. The tailor-made training also enrolled many GDSS attendants and Pre-Gender Festival outreach as participants.

Regular Courses

Since 2008, GTI succeeded in delivering Regular Regional courses including

The Regional Course on Gender Budgeting and Performance Trackin
Developed in response to the need to analyze the impact of expenditure and revenue on women and girls as compared to men and boys. The objective of the training was to sharpen participants' knowledge and skills in understanding the impact of policies, where adjustment can be made, and where resources need to be reallocated to address poverty and gender inequalities

The Regional Course on Gender Policy and HIV and AIDS. This course aims to strengthen participants' gender analytical skills and capacities in regard to on-going debates, policies, programmes, and activities related to HIV and AIDS. The course also helps to articulate challenges and opportunities in the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of progressive and gender-focused HIV interventions, as well as develop concrete action plans to address gender gaps/issues within HIV and AIDS policies and programmes.

The Training of Trainers in Gender and Development (TOT). This is a skill building course that exposes participants to both the theory and practice of animation and participatory methods. It develops and strengthens the skills and capacities of gender trainers in animation; and participatory facilitation methods and techniques. Participants are further stimulated to acquire an interest in animation and participatory learning practices and understand and apply the use of various learning materials including audio visual aids.

Advocacy and Coalition Building for Feminist Transformation. In this course participants come to understand the basic principles and need for organised for advocacy, coalition building and networking, and advocating for women's empowerment.

Gender and Organizational Development This course is designed to equip participants with knowledge on how institutions build and reinforce gender hierarchies as well as appreciate the relationship between gender hierarchies and other social hierarchies in their context. During the course participants gain insights into the gender implications of institutional structures and how institutional culture determines the conventions and unwritten rules, norms and practices which define the gender culture of an organization. Students are also be able to identify existing and potential institutional elements which both hinder or promote women empowerment.

Accredited Courses

For GTI to be officially recognised as a gender training institution in Tanzania it had to acquire registration status from the National Council for Technical Education (NACTE). The registration process involved investigation of options that would give GTI official recognition, including being able to seek affiliation with higher learning institutions inside and outside the country. As no such possibilities materialised, GTI resolved to operate under NACTE and in October 2005 it was accorded official registration, as a step towards getting short term accreditation. The registration gave the Institute a mandate to deliver accredited courses on feminist, gender, and development studies.

In as far as the GTI was going to engage students in learning transformative feminist knowledge and skills, the curriculum with Qualification Standards for NTA level 5-8 was required to integrate training needs identified by the Situation Assessment Study and TFMB study of 2009. The curriculum development processes were initiated in a very participatory way, bringing in resource persons with experience in curriculum development and feminist awareness, as well as persons who were conversant with NACTE regulations. GTI also sought technical support from curriculum experts from NACTE to facilitate curriculum development workshops. Thus, GTI succeeded in developing Curriculum NTA levels 4 -8 under temporary accreditation for two years. The curriculum was approved by the GTI Board and NACTE. GTI managed to conduct a two-year Diploma course on Gender and Development, issuing Certificate on Gender Studies to 11 students who completed one year of the Diploma Course on Gender and Development and awarded Advanced Diploma to five (5) students who completed two more years of their Diploma Course.

All courses include a component of enhancing participant's skills in areas of relevant gender concepts, animation methods, and networking and information/experience sharing.

v) Preparatory Process Prior to Training

Prior to any training, the institute holds pre-workshop planning meetings with facilitators and organizers in order to have adequately planned and organized the training materials tools/ equipment and venue. Prior preparations of the training workshops ensure effective training. The initial stage is to mobilize the training team which includes the facilitators, training coordinator, and rapporteurs who are the main actors of any training course and are responsible for delivering the training in such a way that it meets the laid-down objectives.

The training team normally hold several planning sessions prior to the training to develop objectives of the training, the course programme and itemise the roles and responsibilities of the team course coordinator/ secretariat, and facilitators as well as the rapporteurs. The facilitators must be conversant with the workshop objectives which guides them when preparing the training programme and defining learning methodologies. They also ensure the training materials are relevant and appropriate as well as becoming conversant with the methodologies to use (how, where and when). Further, the facilitators (in some situations with co-facilitators) prepare teaching aids and tools including, audiovisual equipment, making sure they are working and if necessary, the facilitators to be oriented on how to use them before the training. Where there is co-facilitation, it becomes

necessary to build group dynamics in advance and share responsibility and notes. The rapporteurs help to document the process in accordance with the guidelines provided. Training reports serve as resource materials for future courses.

The secretariat oversees logistical issues such as venue/training rooms, training tools, food and refreshment and related logistics. The training team collectively check the training venue to ensure a setting that allow application of participatory methods such as group formation, class interaction and free movements. The facilitators also develop evaluation tools and forward-looking take-home action plans which indicate commitment to continue to act back home. The TGNP/GTI training courses have usually adopted the following procedure to evaluate the courses:

The evaluation tools are divided into: pre- and post-course evaluation (knowing where you are and how far you have come with understanding, securing new ideas), the daily evaluation which uses mood metre; end of the course evaluation; and the overall course evaluation. Both the facilitators and organizers make sure they understand the evaluation methods and tools they have selected. TGNP/GTI regard course evaluations as a very important component as they the immediate reaction of the participants to the training; indicate the extent to which new knowledge and skills have been acquired and; reveal changes in participants' attitudes and outlook, particularly the transformative feminist outlook.

vi) Facilitation and Animation Methodology In Feminist Training

Facilitation of Feminist Training

Any transformative training starts from the premise that participants have valuable experiences and contributions to make. Much of what adults learn comes from one another. The role of facilitators is to validate these experiences and to facilitate addition of new information/theory to their experience-based knowledge. With this principle in mind, the facilitator needs to create an enabling environment for a collective process where the participants and the facilitator learn and share experiences together, and where learning involves a high level of active participation by everyone.

The feminist perspective of facilitation is about assisting the process of learning and knowledge generation to bring about transformation. Therefore, our facilitators have to be well equipped with relevant knowledge in terms of content and methodology. It is equally important for facilitators to have sufficient tools and learning materials as well as support to choose the appropriate methodologies for the particular group.

Identifying Facilitators: GIT facilitators are sought from among TGNP members and networks. Potential facilitators are often identified during training sessions, GDSS and GF. During its growth GTI sought to establish a resource person database. An effort was made to revise tools for collecting data both in Kiswahili and English and have the tools filled in by potential resource persons during different trainings. The goal was to: establish a pool of resource persons who have conceptual clarity on gender/ transformative feminist issues; who understand animation and participatory approaches, can apply different animation methods in facilitation sessions and select appropriate methods for different sessions.

GTI continued to update its database of resource persons/trainers categorized according to areas of competency. Key areas are: Training of Trainers on Gender and Development; Gender Policy and HIV & AIDS; Gender and Macro-Economics; Policy, Planning and Budgeting; and Community Organizing and animation for TFMB. The database was made more functional through engaging the resource persons in training activities and other relevant processes including equipping them with sufficient knowledge in terms of content and methodology.

vii) Animation Methodology

Basic to transformative facilitation is the belief that each individual possesses experiences and knowledge, which can be released through group processes to contribute to collective knowledge that is useful to transformative feminist movement actions. The organisation's animation methodology is applied in gender training programmes as well as in all TGNP programmes, fora, meetings and any other fora for the purpose of facilitating critical thinking and reflection, challenging stereotyped knowledge, being able to acknowledge the knowledge base of fellow participants; enabling participants to question power hierarchies; and motivating participants to partake in producing new knowledge. Below is a short synopsis of some of the animation methods we have applied in our trainings.

Group Work

During training sessions participants are organized in small groups of between five and ten to allow participants to share experiences and take charge of their own learning. The facilitator sets a clear task that can be accomplished within the time limit; making sure the task is interesting to participants and relevant to their learning goals. Participants come back to the plenary for reporting back. Facilitator(s) usually devote as much energy to the reporting back and processing as to the small group work itself. Various creative ways are used by groups to report to the plenary: gallery walk, songs, skits, drama and others.

Visualisation in Participatory Planning (VIPP)

Our facilitators use VIPP methodology to capture all participants' ideas on moveable cards of different colours and shapes, thereby visualizing and focussing deliberations. VIPP is widely used in our trainings as it facilitates generation of knowledge from participants and enables interaction between all actors involved, leading to creativity in joint reflection.

Short Presentations

In our trainings the facilitator makes a short presentation on the topic for the purpose of clarifying key concepts and introduces the session sometimes though the use of VIPP cards and a flip chart. The facilitator allows interaction in between the presentation to clarify emerging questions.

Brainstorming

During a session the facilitator asks participants to provide ideas randomly and freely. No idea is silly or unimportant. Usually, no discussion or comments on the ideas are allowed during the brainstorming phase, except for purpose of clarification. The ideas are written down as they flow, without modifying them. The ideas are put into categories by the facilitator or participants, followed by a discussion and consensus on the ideas agreed upon, we have always found brainstorming useful as it allows many contributions in a short period of time.

Panel Discussion

This method is best used when a facilitator would like to present a number of different perspectives on the same topic. The facilitator gathers people with the relevant expertise, experience or knowledge on one panel and prepares a guide for the panelists, to help them prepare in advance and to ensure that her objectives are met. At the end of the session, the moderator summarizes the discussion.

Role Plays/Mini Dramas/Skits

In our trainings we use role plays to portray many things in the community, from household relationships to access to certain services, helping the facilitators and participants to visualize the situation and create discussion. We have found role plays enjoyable and humorous but they also enhance participation especially of the participants who rarely spoke sometimes because they were shy or looked down upon by their peers.

Power Walk.

This is a role play that involves all participants acting out real life experiences. This methodology aims at helping participants to see and understand power relations within their community as well as feel what it means to be marginalized, left behind and voiceless. In this method, participants are to take on the role of the character assigned to them on the piece of paper given and move according to the abilities of that character, social statuses or responsibilities. This method has proved a good tool in energizing the participants as well as facilitating analysis for showing how power relations interlink and equally construct each other for the benefit of a few and the stagnation and marginalisation of the majority.

Other methods include case studies and field visits which in a way allow participants to reflect on real life experiences presented and then discuss and react.

Ice Breakers and Energizers

We use these activities to help set the tone of the training and to keep energy and fun levels high for example, after lunch or when the pace has begun to slow down. As our participants come from a diverse group we try as much as possible to make energizers appropriate and have an objective related to the learning session. TGNP has brewed its own energizer by the name “Pasha” or motivational clap. The “pasha energizers are as old as the history of TGNP. Animation philosophy believes in motivating and keeping the audience happy during the sessions/functions. Pasha has been institutionalized in all TGNP sessions/ activities and has taken many forms. We are amazed as an organization to find out that the “Pasha” energizer has been adopted in other institutions inside and outside the country.

The use of animation methodologies in our training courses and in other forums has always been applauded by the participants. They normally indicate this in their evaluation. The daily mood metre is always full of happy faces. Some of the comments captured from their evaluations include: “the training was interactive and engaging; we were able to understand the content of the course and relate it to our situation; the training environment was friendly and had no hierarchical relations between the facilitators and the participants.”

RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

Research

I quote here two sayings: “No Research no Right to speak” (Mao Zedong) and “information is power” that explain why our organization had to establish a research and analysis programme to increase our effectiveness in the struggle against gender inequality by generating data and information for empowerment and evidence-based policy advocacy. The organization has focused on feminist research that centres on women’s lived experiences and voices while challenging and critiquing scientific research which gives more power to the researcher than to the researched. The feminist research approach we have adopted recognizes that everyone in the community, especially women and other marginalized groups have knowledge to share and that their perspective is key to bringing about social transformation.

The researches we conduct are highly participatory as they employ animation methodologies that give power to the researched to share their perspectives, knowledge and opinions about the subject matter. The methodology also creates spaces and opportunities to reveal lived realities of power inequalities and empower the community in terms of knowledge and awareness that ignite and encourage collective voice and actions to improve their situation. The participatory approach further provides an opportunity for both the researchers and researched to learn from each other; all becoming learners in the process.

Our researches have been very successful in generating information packages and disseminating and sharing knowledge/information for empowerment and transformation among different activists and actors at all levels. This success has immensely added to the organization’s reputation as a renowned knowledge hub on transformative feminist theory and practice.

Some of the research conducted include:

- i) **Situation Analysis of Women and Girls in Tanzania: Gender Profiles-** These involved studies that were conducted periodically to provide situation analyses of women and girls in Tanzania from a gender perspective. TGNP introduced her first Gender Profile of Tanzania in 1993. This was after recognizing the persistence of gender inequality and women’s oppression in spite of many positive initiatives taken by the government and many other development agencies to change the situation. This collective document was a product of input by participants in three workshops organized by TGNP in 1992 and 1993. They shared experiences and ideas about women and gender in Tanzania. This Gender profile was referred to as ‘living’ because it reflects on the dynamic process of critical assessment, analysis and action concerning women and gender issues in Tanzania. The profile was composed of animation

methodologies, social gender conceptualization, a situation analysis of women in Tanzania, a critical review of post-85 strategies in all sectors and concrete suggestions for actions and implementation to facilitate gender equality and empowerment of women and gender transformation of the society.

In 1997, due to rapid change of the context, TGNP published a second gender profile of Tanzania that was followed by the third Gender Profile, entitled Towards Gender Profile of Tanzania in 1999. The first three profiles, 1993, 1997 and 1999 were developed when the country was implementing the World Bank & IMF Structural Adjustment and Stabilization Policies (SAP), which were being implemented as a condition to be given a loan facility from these institutions. Several authors including gender/feminist scholars have shown how the SAPs had negatively impacted poor people generally, and poor women in particular. The 1997 and 1999 profiles were also developed just after the launching of the Beijing Platform of Action in 1995, when world governments identified 12 Critical Areas of Concern which were considered as a prerequisite for realizing Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE). The three profiles hence sought to examine the impact of policies on women and girls, as well as provide baseline data for future assessments. These profiles were also meant to be used by TGNP advocacy activities for GEWE.

The fourth Gender Profile was written in 2006/7 entitled "Enhancing Gender Equality" during which time there had been a series of policy changes which impacted on gender equality. By 2006, the country had implemented the First Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper launched in 2000. It was also 10 years after the launching of the Beijing Platform of Action. In addition, there had been several legal reforms to redress the gender gap, for instance in the 1999 National Employment Service Act, which spelled out equal access to employment opportunities.

The fifth Gender Profile was developed in 2017/18 with the title, "Transformation of Oppressive Systems for Gender Equality and Sustainable Development". It links gender equality and women empowerment with politics/governance and economic sectors and sub-sectors, including trade and industry, agriculture and forestry, energy and water as well as climate change. All this underlies the fact that there have been changes, new developments, challenges as well as opportunities which have either positively or negatively, promoted and/or hindered initiatives to enhance gender equality and women's empowerment.

All these profiles were research-based documents, purposely developed to explore major changes in policies, programmes and laws regarding equality between women, men and other marginalized groups in the sectors.

- ii) **Women and political leadership:** In relation to the agenda of increasing women representation in leadership, particularly political leadership, some of the studies we conducted in this area include: **Women Election Manifestos:** these documented, assessed and presented key women demands as voters to contestants for public office in the National General Elections. Five Women Election Manifestos have been developed since 2000. Related to the above study was the assessment of **Women representation in leadership** – Government, Judiciary, Parliament, Political Leadership and Local Government - that was published in 2022. The research provides the status of women representation in political leadership from 2005- 2020.
- iii) **Documentation: Activist Voices: Feminist struggles for an Alternative World** - 2003. The book focused on documentation for the ten year anniversary of TGNP – sharing lessons learnt, best practice, experiences as well as challenges faced by TGNP and its key partners in movement building in the country. Topics included: Against Neo-liberalism; Gender; Democracy and Development. These documented the reflections, debates and struggles against neo-liberal policies through the work undertaken under the auspices of TGNP between 1999 and 2003. **Towards Gender Equality: Women in Tanzania** (2001) – documented the status of women in Tanzania and on-going efforts in ensuring that gender equality is given priority in the nation’s day-by-day development process.
- iv) **Surveys** are another form of feminist research such as the survey of the burden of care suffered by people in households containing a PLHIV in two districts in 2000. The research was done to strengthen advocacy for better government provision of care so as to reduce the burden of care pushed back to unpaid carers in the households and communities, who are mostly women and girls. Another survey was carried out on the care economy in Tanzania in 2011. This is a summary of research carried out in 2007 and 2008 as part of a six country study on the political and social economy of care whereby TGNP coordinated the Tanzanian Case Study. As a result of this study, the NBS in 2006 included a time-use module in the integrated labour force survey and the official government report included a separate chapter on the unpaid care economy.
- v) **Research on Gender Budget:** Gender budget analysis in Tanzania (1997-2000) —a case study which documented and analysed the budgetary requirements of each sector and set development goals based on the needs and perspective of people with particular reference to gender. This analysis has been used for advocacy to increase in the budget allocation for gender perspectives in sectors.

vii) Participatory Action Research (PAR): TGNP has been undertaking PAR since 2010, building on the Transformative Feminist Movement Building [TFMB] study conducted in 2008 in three Districts of Dar es Salaam (Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke) and Mbeya Rural District, which focused on broadening understanding about what were the most common issues around which grassroots women activists were organizing themselves, and which issues they prioritized; as well as to identifying gaps and challenges faced by feminist activists.

The PAR process starts with field work in selected communities to assess and analyze their situation focusing on the major achievements and challenges affecting their lives and developing an action plan/follow up actions for addressing the challenges. The PAR employs animation methodologies to provoke communities, especially women, to speak out on pertinent issues in their localities. The PAR findings are discussed in the community and priorities and demands of the local grassroots activist groups are recorded. The local government authorities and local CBOs and activists respond to the priorities and demands of local women and men by planning appropriate strategies to change the situation. The PAR process has helped to strengthen dialogue and communications between the local government leaders and the community.

Dissemination and Sharing of Information

TGNP's research and analysis reports and documents are disseminated to various actors such as policy makers including MPs- Ministry officials, LGAs, Community members through KCs, students through School Gender clubs, higher learning institutions, CSOs, WROs, Development Partners and Media. Dissemination is also done through platforms such as the Gender and Development Seminar Series (GDSS), the National budget Dialogue, known as Kijiwe cha Kahawa, and Gender Festival) as well as during training and capacity building sessions.

With the evolution of science and technology, the organization has adapted to the technological changes to her advantage. We are now using a multimedia approach to document and disseminate knowledge generated from research and analysis, these include the use of mainstream media including TV, radio and newspapers, social/ online media i.e., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, YouTube, blogs, established online TV known as TAPOTV, to be able to reach many people within the country and beyond.

Formation of Knowledge Centres through Intensive Feminist Movement Building (IFMB) Cycle

In its early years TGNP formed Intermediary Gender Networks (IGNs) in Dodoma, Kisarawe, Mbeya, Mtwara. Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. During the time they operated, the networks strengthened collective action by grassroot women and

opened channels for the grassroots to receive information from TGNP and connect with national events such as GF. Due to weaknesses in the structural formation of the IGNs, the networks could not sustain themselves nor forge the transformative movement at the grassroots. Therefore, in 2011 TGNP initiated a process towards reviving TFMB at the grassroots through the Intensive Movement Building Cycle (IMBC). The TFMB Study noted the connection gap between the national movement and the grassroots and recommended that TGNP should revive its efforts toward facilitating the building of a transformative movement at the grassroots. Implementing this recommendation would mean a strategic shift to direct more effort towards strengthening grassroot-based transformative feminist movement building in Tanzania. The TGNP secretariat and members therefore held a deep reflection on how to promote the transformative movement at the grassroots now that the Intermediary Gender Networks (IGNs) had ceased to operate.

In 2011, there was a ‘Big Bang’ to initiate the Intensive Movement Building Cycle through participatory action research in Kisarawe District. Based on the lessons learnt from the Zonal Big Bang, in 2012, TGNP initiated IMBC through application of participatory action research in the following wards: Ijombe-Mbeya rural district; Mkarambani- Morogoro district; Songwa-Kishapu district. From this study an idea emerged that after PAR, the main group (“Kikundi Mama”) should connect /link with other groups to form Knowledge and Information Centres (KC). Once initiated, the KC would then be able to follow up the implementation of the Plan of Action developed during the IMBC process. By 2022, TGNP KCs were operating in Ubungo, Kinondoni, Ilala, Kisarawe, Morogoro, Kishapu, Tarime. Mbeya and Kasulu Town Councils, Kasulu Rural, Kigoma, Nsalala and Same.

Formation of Knowledge Centres

The IMBC/PAR process is what leads to the formation of a Knowledge Centre (KC). These knowledge centres are a result of a very intensive and transformative process, hence the name of the process” Intensive Movement Building Cycle” The IMBCT key steps are summarised below:

- i) Mapping:** Once in the district, the facilitators firstly carry out a ward mapping and establish an enabling environment for IMBC. The mapping exercise involves the identification of existing women groups who are expected to be the main actors in building the grassroots-based TFMB. Next is the identification of community animators from the existing women groups identified. Another important activity in the mapping exercise is the introduction of the IMBC exercise to the local authorities - at district and ward levels. In the IMBC exercise the Ward Executive Officer is the coordinator.

ii) Animation Training: This is a five-day training which involves 25 to 35 animators identified during the mapping exercise. They are proportionally spread across the targeted wards. The purpose of the training is to build the capacity of the animators to be able to carry out the IMBC process in their wards together with the TGNP facilitators. The training of ward animators is also an opportunity to expand the pool of resource persons who will facilitate grassroots movement building. The training gives a grounding in a) key gender concepts as they relate to development of the area and project focus; b) contextual understanding of gender in relation to the project focus in a given district e.g., land rights; c) Capacity building on methodology and animation approaches to be used in the study such as the use of triple A – assess, analyse and action; and d) collective development of research tools for the PAR.

The animation methods used in the training include: group work, case studies, picture codes, poems, songs, role plays, power walk and village mapping to identify safe and risky areas in relation to gender-based violence.

The animation training integrates practical sessions in the field in order to test the extent to which participants have gained skills and how well they can apply them in the IMBC process. The participants are divided into two groups and sent for field practice in nearby villages to practise how to conduct participatory action research. While in the village, participants replicate what they learnt in the animation training using selected animation methods that are appropriate to the village situation and context. At the end of the field work they prepare feedback presentations as per guidelines given to them

Report back to the training session: Each group presents the key issues that emerged during the field trip process and explain the methods they used to bring out the issues. They also share challenges which were faced during IMBC and in applying the animation methods. During the report back session, facilitators and participants comment on the feedback reports and chart out areas to improve to better the process.

iii) Conduct Participatory Action Research at Ward Level

This exercise is jointly done by TGNP facilitators and the ward animators who are representative of different women groups within the ward where research will be conducted. The IMBC/PAR process takes five days. The total number of ward animators' ranges between 25 -35 (women 70% and men 30%), showing that women form the majority of the community animators. All villages in a given ward have representatives in the overall team of animators, the main group, which become the resource base for building the transformative movement on the ground. The ward team of animators goes the ward to conduct PAR

already aware of contextual issues (gathered during the mapping exercise) to focus on, such as women deprived of land rights, lack of clean and safe water, maternal health, and others.

The PAR process replicates the methods used during the facilitators' training, with Triple A as the main approach - based on the contextual issues, assess the situation and extent to which the situation impacts on women and girls' rights; analyse the root causes of the problems and identify the key issues. The team goes through a democratic process of discussing the issues and agreeing on three key ones to address. Then the team makes an action plan to address the priority issues. The PAR process is also open to members of the community in a very creative way. Young people and members of the community are encouraged to go around the community, interact and note their main concern and issues related to the contextual focus of PAR. These have been termed as evening community visits and their concerns are used to validate the ones raised by the main group.

During the PAR process, media people come in to conduct investigative journalism (IJ)- reaching every ward where PAR is being conducted to investigate challenges in the communities. Through this exercise, the media manages to strengthen relations with community media. Through Investigative Journalism, more data and evidence are collected and published, reaching a wider group of stakeholders for awareness raising and for relevant authorities to respond or take action. Through this process, a collective voice and collective actions are developed towards improved social services. For instance, through this process, where there were inadequate or lack pit latrines, classes, lack changing rooms for girls during menstruation, hostels, girls' boarding schools, maternity wards, delivery kits, incinerators, water in public schools, dispensaries, and health centres the services have been provided

The PAR process develops capacity and skills for movement building including:

- a) 25-35 community animators, mainly women, become aware/conscious of gender equality issues and conversant with PAR, participatory facilitation and transformative movement building thereby creating a community team capable of conducting participatory learning sessions as well as participatory action research.
- b) Priority issues (contextual) are raised and analysed;
- c) Action plans are prepared – addressing each of the issues raised;

iv) Feedback to the Ward and District Level

After the PAR exercise the national facilitators and community animators provide feedback to the local authorities at the ward and district levels. This feedback is more for accountability purposes. Both the district and the ward levels have resources, the authority and the responsibility for issues that lie within their power. They can also give directives address challenges raised during PAR for example issuing a directive to remove oppressive punishment given to women for failing to deliver at a health centre. The district also makes action plans to address those issues which lie within their power.

v) Establishing a Knowledge Centre

The IMBC/PAR processes above are done in in order to lay a foundation for the transformative feminist movement which is grounded locally. After the PAR exercise a two-day training is conducted to orient the community animators on how to establish a knowledge centre: their main tasks and how to select the leaders. According to KC rules, women make up 70% of the leaders. The positions of Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer are held by women. The training involves the 35 community animators and the PAR participants and is meant to strengthen the KC's community animators as well as the movers of the transformative feminist movement. TGNP leaves the community animators with flyers, posters and the IMBC guidelines that they can refer to when executing their duties.

The KCs take ownership of the action plans that have been developed and follow-up their implementation as well as the commitments made during the feedback session. The action plan remains the working tool of KC including reminding the leaders of their promises. KC raises voices, seeks accountability and engages with the ward and district budget process to ensure gender and pro-poor perspectives.

The KC process has attracted greater community participation, going beyond women's groups as youth groups and other grassroots groups seek to work with KC. They expand their linkages by inviting other networks, and building connection with other NGOs. They continue with animation at community level and expand beyond the main group. Giving witness on how KC can expand its networks, a participant from Kasulu district, Kigoma had this to say: "initially the KC had 48 community animators but, after two years, the number of community animator has grown to 167 (122 females and 45 males)". It is evident that the KCs, if adequately facilitated, can act as a catalyst for the transformative movement on the ground.

Expansion of KC as a grassroots movement is evidenced in the work of the centres in Kishapu in Shinyanga Region, Tarime in Mara Region, Mbeya District in Mbeya Region and Kipunguni in Dar es Salaam Region. The following milestones show their development:

- Community members, especially women and other marginalized people have been leading changes in their localities together with their local government leaders and community members,. Some were able to contest for leadership positions and were invited to different leadership organs at local level such as WDC committees;
- KC participate in Village/Mtaa meetings to advocate for and push for the implementation of gender issues that were raised and prioritized during the PAR study;
- KCs participate fully in the participatory planning process (O&OD) and make sure that women/ gender issues are mainstreamed in the village plans. KC members are also invited to participate in the Ward Development Committee (WDCs)
- KCs maintain a system of information dissemination and animation capacity building for community groups and networks
- KC have built communication networks among themselves; currently zonal and district networks have grown in strength and are registered as CBOs. They are also invited to participate and give their opinion on government plans at district level.
- In Mbeya and Kishapu, at district level, KCs, in cooperation with the councillors, carried out a gender analysis of the budget before it was approved to make sure that the issue of girl's hygiene health and management was provided for in the budget
- KC form part of the TGNP team to engage with Parliamentary Committees, and request them to take up their district issues and challenges to the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania. During these meetings they also inform the Committee members how they have promoted development in their wards by cooperating with their leaders
- Due to their good performance, some KC members have been selected to sit on different Committees and Boards

Thus, KCs are networks of community activists' groups which act as hubs for grassroots information- sharing. They are an important mechanism for vertical and horizontal linkages and the transformative feminist movement at grassroots level. They have proved vital in the process of engaging with policy and budget processes; the creation of a new Constitution; and demanding greater accountability of elected and appointed leaders in both local and central governments.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Gender/feminist training: The gender/feminist training conducted by TGNP/GTI has played a critical role in the building of the transformative movement in Tanzania and beyond. TGNP members and like-minded partners have to reflect on challenges that have held the growth GTI back; and strategize how to revamp the Feminist Training Institute. These include strategies such as defining the social service part of GTI training and the commercial side which would accredit the GTI as an academic training institute, making gender training their “core-business.” Another strategy may require TGNP reviving the on-line feminist training to reach out to more women, especially young women who are the future movement builders. As we ponder on different strategies of revamping GTI, we have to think deeply about the issues of institutional and movement sustainability.

The number of young feminists who are attending TGNP forums—GDSS, GF and other learning sessions is rapidly increasing. Most of these are young female graduates fresh from higher learning institutions. TGNP and its partners need to reflect on and strategize on opening the CRC space for feminist functional evening training classes. The process of initiating such a programme should draw in young women/feminists to integrate their perspective and needs.

Learning Culture

TGNP has demonstrated a remarkable herstory of creating a learning culture, developing capacity and skills systems and processes into permanent programmes. These programmes testify to TGNP’s characteristics of learning culture including a mindset of lifelong learning for individually, members and networks;

The TGNP learning culture necessitated the development of values, organizational systems, programmes, fora and resources to be aligned with continual learning. Much as we all uphold to this culture, we need to make it a living culture.

Through GDSS, young potential writers were encouraged to write on gender/feminist and development issues. This was facilitated by seasoned writers who took up the role of mentoring the group of interested youth in development of gender transformative materials. This activity has been phased out due to inadequate resources but it is quite strategic in the transformative feminist movement building. Given the potential of the writes’ circle in developing the skills of the young in the field, it is necessary to mainstream the initiative in IGD programmes as this is a very creative way instilling gender interest in the youth.

It has been a good practice for TGNP to develop action points by participants for follow-up in their own organisations /communities. There has been limited follow-up on the implementation of the action points and the impact they have had on

the ground. This issue needs to be an integral part of programme monitoring for impact assessment.

Knowledge Centres

KCs demonstrate a model of building a grassroots-based transformative feminist movement. TGNP needs to take KCs as a learning area on how to build a sustainable grassroots movement. Further, the organization should strengthen its support to the growth of the KCs all over the country including helping them to form KC networks. The KC network would then meet annually to reflect on their operations and how they can better their work for greater movement building.

5

DISRUPTING EXCLUSIONARY GLOBAL MACROECONOMIC POLICIES: A FEMINIST APPROACH TO ECONOMIC JUSTICE

by Mary Rusimbi

Introduction

Framing the Exclusionary Nature of Global Macroeconomic Policies

This chapter challenges the exclusionary nature of global macro-economic policies by interrogating them through a feminist lens. Macro-economic frameworks, particularly those advanced by International Financial Institutions (IFs) such as the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organization (WTO), have historically justified neo-liberal frameworks grounded in a free market economy as the solution to the development challenges which poor and developing nations have been experiencing. These frameworks redefine the role of the state as a facilitator of a legal and regulatory environment to foster free-market economy meant to support the private sector, and promotion of supply and demand of goods and services including public goods such as education, health, water, and housing, as the state is required to play a minimal role for its people.

This chapter engages in the feminist discourses on the economics of exclusion by disrupting the notion that neo-liberal approaches can effectively address the growing global, regional and national gender inequalities, particularly gender inequalities in economic well-being (Fraser, 2016), thus leading to increased feminization of poverty. Feminist economists like Nancy Fraser argue that neo-liberalism exploits unpaid care work—predominantly performed by women—while capital

accumulation is prioritized.. Kagumire emphasizes the intersectional impact of these policies, noting that “neo-liberal frameworks do not account for the multiple forms of oppression that African women face, including colonial legacies that have shaped our current economic realities” (Kagumire 2019).

Several Feminists, including African and Tanzanian feminist scholars such as Marjorie Mbilinyi (2002) and Ruth Meena (2010) argue that these neo-liberal policies, adopted across the continent, exacerbate existing social and gender inequalities. According to Ruth Meena, the reliance on neo-liberal solutions to address development challenges ignores the structural factors of poverty and inequality, leaving women and marginalized communities further behind. This chapter draws on their work and contributions from other global and regional feminists to highlight how these policies reinforce the feminization of poverty and gender inequality.

The first part of this chapter provides a snapshot of the growing inequalities that feminist economists have been disrupting. The second part engages in the feminist discourse on disrupting macro-economic frameworks grounded in neo-liberal ideologies.

The Global Context

Currently, neo-liberalism seems to have become the dominant global paradigm, supplanting all alternative ideological frameworks with regard to development approaches. The neo-liberal ideology which overlaps with other belief systems, including patriarchy, racism, and religious fundamentalism is premised on the assumption that it allows freedom of choice, competitiveness, democracy, and the rule of law. It redefines the role of the state as strictly confined to regulatory functions to allow the free market to determine the supply and demand of goods and services including those goods that are directed at meeting the public goods, such as education, health care, water, electricity, and housing.

Ruth Meena (2007) critiques these policy frameworks for perpetuating a global economic system that disproportionately benefits a small elite while marginalizing the majority, especially women in the Global South. She further argues that “the state’s retreat from social service provision has resulted in a transfer of public burdens onto the shoulders of women, whose unpaid labour fills the gaps left by austerity measures.” Within this context, our main thesis is that the implementation of these neo liberal frameworks has had an impact globally, regionally, and nationally with women and girls carrying a disproportionate burden of the negative impacts. In the following section, a summary of these inequalities is provided.

Income and Wealth Gap on the Increase

While GDP growth rates have been largely stable, with a decline in 2020, global inequalities have hardly changed. Between 2019 and 2022 for instance, GDP growth increased slightly from 2.595 percent to 3.08 percent. In 2022, while it declined by 3.072 percent, it escalated to 6.034 percent after that (IFM 2024, available at <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO>). These figures, however, do not tell the whole truth, particularly in terms of existing inequalities and gender gaps among and within nations.

The 2022 Global Inequality Report documents that:

- The richest 10 percent of the global population currently takes 52 percent of global income, whereas the poorest half of the population earns only 8.5 percent of it.
- On average, an individual from the top 10 percent of the global population earns €87,200 (USD 122,100) per year, whereas an individual from the poorest half of the global income distribution makes €2,800 (USD 3,920) per year.
- The same report further observes that the wealth inequality gap is even worse than the income gap. The poorest half of the global population barely owns any wealth at all, possessing just 2 percent of the total. In contrast, the richest 10% of the global population owns 76 percent of all wealth. On average, the poorest half of the population owns €2,900 per adult, i.e. USD 4,100 and the top 10 percent own € 550,900 (or USD 771,300).
- This report further affirmed that income and wealth inequalities have been on the rise nearly everywhere since the 1980s, following a series of deregulation and liberalization programs that took different forms in different countries.
- The rise has not been uniform: certain countries have experienced spectacular increases in inequality (including the US, Russia, and India) while others (Scandinavian countries have not experienced such a rise).
- The Covid-19 pandemic contributed to a rise in the unequal distribution of wealth. Low-income countries face a much harder recovery from the multiple shocks of the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, conflicts, and the rising cost of living as they have lower financial capacities to fund economic recovery.
- Low-income countries, which did the least to cause climate change, will face the biggest costs. Between-country inequalities are likely to grow as the devastating and costly impacts of climate change are felt more acutely in LICs.
- Economic inequalities intersect with horizontal disparities. Personal characteristics, such as gender, age, disability status, ethnicity, religion, migrant status, and/or geography, can also intersect to exacerbate inequalities experienced by particular individuals and groups.

- Inequalities within countries are influenced by many factors. The level of inequality within any given country or community depends upon numerous structural and contextual factors. Policy responses can also have a significant impact on inequality. (World Inequality Report (2022) available at <https://wir2022.wid.world/executive-summary/>)

As the above data and analyses depict, the Global Inequality Report (2022) reveals a significant gap between the richest 10 percent and the poorest 50 percent of the global population, which is widening at an alarming rate. Despite GDP growth in many countries, benefits have not been equitably distributed. African feminist scholars, including Mbilinyi (2002), have argued that GDP as a measure of growth fails to capture the real lived experiences of poverty, particularly among women. Mbilinyi (2002) points out that “GDP does not reflect the invisible contributions of women’s unpaid care work or the impact of global inequalities on their livelihoods.”

Global Gender Gaps

Labour Force Participation and Gender Income Gap

The World Economic Report (2023) notes that, in terms of labour force participation rate, women have entered the labour force at higher rates than men (63%–64%). However, women continue to face higher unemployment rates than men with a global unemployment rate at around 4.5 percent for women and 4.3 percent for men. An increase in labour force participation has not translated into an increased share of labor income.

The World Inequality Report observed that the female labour income share has remained “strikingly low over the past 30 years.” The Report further observed that, despite some progress at regional and country levels, the global female labour income share has not significantly grown since the 1990s. In the early 2020s, working-aged women continue to earn about half as much as men. Between 2015 and 2020, women made up 35 percent of global labour incomes. The population-weighted country average female share of labour income is even lower at 29 percent. In sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand, the female employment rate is high, but their income has stagnated since the 1990s. Similarly, women’s share in senior and managerial positions accounts for 41.9 percent of the workforce (World Inequality Report 2023)

While wealth and income gaps widen, poverty seems to be widely distributed among the toiling masses of the world, as cheap labourers, small-scale farmers, the majority of whom are women, domestic workers, and all those who have contributed to the production of global wealth. In this category, women constitute the majority of the world’s poor. A UN Women study which sampled 186 countries,

established that 62.8 percent of extremely poor women live in sub-Saharan Africa, 20.9 percent in Central and Southern Asia, 5.3 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean, 5.1 percent in Northern Africa and Western Asia, 4.8 percent in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, 0.8 percent in Europe and Northern America, 0.3 percent in Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand) and 0.01 percent in Australia and New Zealand.

All in all, studies have shown that women are more likely than men to live in poverty because across the globe, they earn 24 percent less than men, and it is believed that if measures are not taken to address the wage gap, it will take another 170 years to close the wage gap. Additionally, more than 75 percent of women from developing nations are in the informal sector, which ILO categorizes as indecent work. It is also estimated that 700 million fewer women than men are in paid jobs. Most of the unpaid care work is conducted by women in the majority of countries, which is estimated at more than USD 10.8 trillion, more than three times the size of the global technology industry. <https://data.unwomen.org/features/poverty-deepens-women-and-girls-according-latest-projections>

The World Inequality Report (2022) confirms that inequality is not inevitable, it is a political choice. This is the position that many feminist economists subscribe to, their main thesis being that the transformation of the existing inequalities, particularly gender gaps, as already stated is inevitable, because gender gaps result from policy and political choices (TGNP GF Report, 2014).

Poverty and Hunger and Gendered Implications

The World Hunger Facts sheet (2023) confirms that “There is more food produced in the world to feed everyone. Yet as many as 783 million people still go hungry. The world’s farmers produce enough food to feed 1.5x global population. That’s enough to feed 10 billion people (the world has 7.6 billion currently). Despite this excess, hunger still exists.” (World Hunger Facts Sheet. Available at (<https://www.actionagainsthunger.org/the-hunger>) Women carry the disproportionate burden of hunger due to their socially constructed roles at the household level.

Over the years, feminist economists have been demanding the disruption of current trends of inequalities that result from global political decisions on macro-economic policies and the creation of more inclusive and equitable macro-economic frameworks for reducing and removing discriminatory national economic policies. We posit that the current dominant global economic policies continue to promote deepened perpetuation of existing gaps, including encouragement towards global capital-oriented lending frameworks and loans with high-interest repayments. If not disrupted, this disempowering macro-economic policy environment will continue to exclude poor women and other marginalized groups from participating in and benefiting from their economies.

This chapter seeks to reclaim the narrative on economic justice by providing a feminist critique of the macro-economic frameworks that seem to perpetuate inequalities and marginalization with women carrying a disproportional burden of the negative impacts.

Several feminist economists critique neo liberal macroeconomic policies for undermining social production while prioritizing capital accumulation (Fraser 2016). The author further argues that the neo-liberal frameworks result in the exploitation of unpaid care work, which is devalued, but largely performed by women and in contrast to the production of goods and services which are given a monetary value. The separation of production from reproduction has, according to this author, precipitated a crisis of care, where the demands of capital accumulation supersede the essential labour required for social and economic well-being” (Fraser 2016) This “crisis of care,” is manifested in the erosion of public services and increased economic burdens on women, who are often the primary providers of unpaid care work. Moreover, this ‘crisis’ leads to making social reproduction invisible and unaccounted for in national accounting systems.

During the 1980s and 1990s, many African countries, including Tanzania, adopted Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as a condition for receiving loans from international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These programmes mandated austerity measures, including cuts in public expenditure, and the privatization of essential services, to stabilize economies and promote growth. These SAP measures, when adopted, led to increased negative gendered impacts on women and girls. For example, the privatization of public services made healthcare and education unaffordable for many poor women and girls in the country. This shift also resulted in increased unpaid care work for women, as they had to fill the gaps left by the state’s withdrawal from the provision of public goods. The undervaluation of this unpaid labour perpetuated women’s economic disempowerment. According to a feminist scholar, Diane Elson, SAPs created a “gendered chain of disadvantage,” where women’s economic opportunities were curtailed while their care responsibilities increased, deepening the cycle of poverty and exclusion. She emphasizes that “When governments cut back on health and education expenditures under SAPs, the burden is often shifted to women’s unpaid work, thereby exacerbating gender disparities and limiting their economic empowerment” (Elson 2002).

In this context, SAPs disproportionately affected women, as the burden of economic adjustments was largely shifted onto households. With cuts in public spending, women had to absorb additional caregiving responsibilities, leading to an increase in unpaid care work. Feminist economists such as Diane Elson (2002) and Sylvia Chant (2007) have critiqued SAPs for their failure to consider the gendered impacts

of austerity measures. They argue that women were forced to compensate for the loss of public services by providing more unpaid labor, which ultimately deepened existing gender inequalities. Such SAP austerity measures thus exacerbated poverty and disproportionately harmed women, who are often the primary caregivers and informal sector workers.

Sylvia Chant underscores that “Despite women’s increasing participation in the workforce, their over-representation in informal and unpaid labor sectors perpetuates their poverty and limits their economic mobility” (Chant, 2007). Chant further highlights that women’s increased unpaid care responsibilities limited their ability to engage in income-generating activities, reducing their economic empowerment and perpetuating poverty cycles. Similarly, Elson’s research shows that SAPs reduced women’s participation in formal employment and led to a feminization of poverty (Elson, 2002).

On a more general level, poverty and hunger disproportionately affect women and girls due to their socially constructed roles as primary caregivers. Feminist scholars argue that patriarchal structures, exacerbated by neo-liberal economic policies, contribute to women’s higher poverty rates. As Diane Elson asserts, “neo-liberal adjustments often lead to a reduction in public spending on social services, pushing the costs onto women, who must compensate with their unpaid labour.” The resulting “gendered chain of disadvantage” traps women in cycles of poverty and economic exclusion.

In Tanzania, Mbilinyi has critiqued neo-liberal economic policies for their impact on rural women, whose agricultural livelihoods have been undermined by trade liberalization and market deregulation. She notes that “the prioritization of cash crops for export has led to the marginalization of subsistence farmers, many of whom are women, pushing them further into poverty and food insecurity” (Mbilinyi 2003).

Trade Liberalization and Food Insecurity: A Gendered Perspective

Trade liberalization policies in Africa have been lauded for promoting economic growth by increasing exports and foreign exchange earnings. However, in Tanzania, these policies have often come at a cost to local economies and small-scale producers, many of whom are women.

Agarwal documents how trade agreements favour cash crops over food crops, thereby displacing women farmers who are typically engaged in subsistence agriculture. This displacement has increased food insecurity and reduced women’s economic independence. As she points out, “Trade liberalization, by prioritizing export-led growth, has marginalized women farmers and eroded food security, leaving them economically disempowered and vulnerable”. Within this setting, “women farmers, who constitute a significant portion of the agricultural workforce,

are systematically marginalized by trade policies that prioritize export-led growth over food security” (Agarwal 2014). Agarwal continues to critique the push for trade liberalization, noting that it exacerbates inequalities by depriving women of access to productive resources such as land, credit, and technology. Women are often relegated to low-value, labour-intensive agricultural activities, making it difficult for them to achieve economic empowerment. In this scenario, women who were active economic actors were pushed out of the market, thus further deepening their financial vulnerability.

Patriarchal Biases in Economic Policy Design

The exclusionary nature of global macro-economic policies is deeply rooted in patriarchal biases that devalue women’s contributions to the economy. Thus, these economic policies are formulated without consideration of gender-specific impacts. Agarwal in particular, critiques these policies for marginalizing women’s contributions in sectors such as agriculture and trade. She argues that trade liberalization policies have pushed women farmers out of agricultural production, making them vulnerable to food insecurity and economic disempowerment. Agarwal further informs that “Economic policies that fail to account for the gendered division of labour and the distinct needs of women contribute to widening gender gaps and economic vulnerability” (Agarwal 2014).

In addition, as pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, Nancy Fraser (2016) argues that economic models that do not account for gendered roles perpetuate inequalities. Thus, conventional economic models create a dichotomy between production and reproduction, rendering reproductive labour—largely performed by women—invisible in economic analyses. This invisibility perpetuates the marginalization of women in financial decision-making and limits the effectiveness of policy interventions aimed at reducing gender inequalities and poverty. Fraser’s critique highlights that mainstream economic policies prioritize market-based activities while ignoring the social and economic value of care work. This invisibility perpetuates the marginalization of women in financial decision-making and limits the effectiveness of policy interventions aimed at reducing gender inequalities.

Mbilinyi and Meena have also been vocal critics of these biases in the Tanzanian context. For example, Meena notes that “the patriarchal underpinnings of economic policy design in Tanzania have resulted in women’s labour being systematically undervalued and excluded from mainstream economic planning.” (Meena 2010) These biases have had long-term implications for women’s economic empowerment and have perpetuated cycles of poverty and inequality.

Trade Liberalization and Food Insecurity: A Gendered Perspective

Trade liberalization policies have been promoted as a means to boost economic growth and increase foreign exchange earnings. However, as Bina Agarwal argues above, these policies disproportionately harm women by prioritizing cash crops over food crops, thereby undermining food security. In countries such as Tanzania, the shift towards export-oriented agriculture has displaced women from their traditional roles in subsistence farming, leading to increased food insecurity and economic vulnerability (Agarwal 2014).

Rosebell Kagumire has similarly critiqued trade liberalization for exacerbating gender inequalities, noting that “the emphasis on export-led growth benefits large-scale, male-dominated agri-businesses while excluding women smallholder farmers from the economic gains of agricultural trade” (Kagumire 2019).

Conclusion

This chapter emphasizes the exclusionary nature of global macro-economic policies, particularly those promoted by international financial institutions like the World Bank, IMF and WTO. These frameworks, grounded in neo-liberalism and the free-market economy, often marginalize developing nations by promoting minimal state involvement in providing public goods and services.

By adopting a feminist lens, the chapter challenges the notion that neo-liberal approaches can effectively address inequalities, especially those based on gender. Feminist scholars like Nancy Fraser and African feminists such as Kagumire and Tanzanian scholars like Mbilinyi and Meena argue that these policies reinforce the feminization of poverty. The chapter highlights how unpaid care work, predominantly performed by women, is exploited under these frameworks, leading to a “crisis of care” and exacerbating existing social and gender inequalities. The intersectional impacts of these exclusionary policies are also considered, taking into account how they racialize and genderize economic disparities, making it crucial to rethink these frameworks for a more inclusive and equitable approach to development.

In conclusion, the chapter advocates for disrupting the existing global macro-economic policies by incorporating feminist perspectives that recognize the role of social reproduction, unpaid care work, and the structural factors that perpetuate poverty and inequality in African contexts. Through this approach, it aims to provide a more comprehensive framework for economic justice that addresses both gender and social inequalities.

6

DISRUPTING EXCLUSIONARY MACROECONOMIC POLICIES: A FEMINIST FRAMEWORK FOR CHANGE THE CASE OF TGNP

by Mary Rusimbi

Introduction

The chapter builds on Chapter Five as it moves to explore actionable strategies for disrupting exclusionary global macro-economic policies, with specific reference to Tanzania.

The Tanzanian Context : Gender Equality in Macro-economic Policy Frameworks

When Tanganyika attained independence in 1961, the then President Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere announced three enemies which his government was going to fight against in its development agenda that is: ignorance, disease and poverty. From our point of view, the country had a ‘people’ centered development agenda, as the three constituted a broad spectrum of constraints to human development. In his independence message to TANU, Nyerere declared:

“This day has dawned because the people of Tanganyika have worked together in unity...All the time that TANU has been campaigning for Uhuru [Swahili word meaning freedom] we have based our struggle on our belief in the equality and dignity of all mankind and on the Declaration of Human Rights... Yet we know that

on 9th December we shall not have achieved these objects. Poverty, ignorance, and disease must be overcome before we can really establish in this country the sort of society we have been dreaming of. These obstacles are no small ones, they are more difficult to overcome than any alien government.” (Nyerere 1966; 138f).

The newly independent state embarked on a ‘modernization’ strategy guided by a macro-economic paradigm which claimed that “free market economy embodies the idea of free individual choice and maximizes economic efficiency and hence promotes growth, technological progress, and distributive justice”(https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-globalization). The modernization paradigm entailed a capital-intensive strategy using modern technology and machinery. Unfortunately, the development paradigm did not result in what Nyerere had aspired for this nation, the dream of equality and dignity for all. It had led to what Nyerere called “development of things not people” According to him, *“development means the development of people. Construction of roads, buildings, the increase of crop output and other things of this nature are not development; they are only tools of development.* (Nyerere 1966).

Already by then, a few women rights activists had started interrogating the exclusion of women in the modernization agenda and called for strategies to also ‘add’ women. In this context, a Department of Women and Development (*Wanawake na Maendeleo*) was established to address the economics of exclusion by ‘adding’ women to the development agenda. In our opinion, the Women and Development agenda was the very early beginnings of interrogating and disrupting the economics of exclusion. It marked the beginning of consciousness building on the dangers of excluding the majority of citizens from the development agenda which on the surface was expected to fight the three enemies” poverty, disease and ignorance”.

“The modernization approach did not unchain or liberate most Tanzanians from abject poverty. According to Nyerere, freedom meant “ the ability of the citizens of Tanzania to determine their own future and govern themselves without interference from non-Tanzanians. Secondly, there is freedom from hunger, disease and poverty. The third is dignity, and equality with all others , his (her) right to freedom of speech, freedom to participation in the making of all decisions, which affect his/her life, and freedom from arbitrary arrest because he happens to annoy someone in authority (Nyerere, 2009 available at https://www.juliusnyerere.org/resources/view/freedom_and_development)

The Ujamaa Philosophy and Gender Equality

The Ujamaa philosophy (*Ujamaa* is Swahili for familyhood, but often used as socialism) was a “U” turn from the neo-liberal approach which continued after colonialization into in the first years the of post-independence period of the 1960s, as it

was premised on the principles of equality, inclusion and human rights for all. Most women rights activists supported the Ujamaa philosophy as it provided a vision of building a society guided by principles of social justice, economic and political equality. The aim was shared growth that does not allow a few individuals to accumulate resources while the majority suffered exclusion from the benefit of development outcomes. Although short lived, Tanzania experienced what we consider to be ‘broad based shared growth’. For example, the introduction of the functional adult education programme which earned the country a UNESCO being one of the poor countries to have been able to provide functional literacy to the majority of its population with women outnumbering men; a universal education which opened doors for kids from poverty-stricken backgrounds to access basic education, with girls also benefiting from the educational outcomes, universal access to water which reduced the care burden of women in terms of fetching water, and universal primary health care with provided basic health services to the majority of Tanzanians. Briefly, the Ujamaa philosophy had set out the principles of a non-discriminatory economic development model, its implementation challenges notwithstanding. Unfortunately, this philosophy was short-lived due to pressure from the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and supported by the majority of western capitalist states to abandon the approach to allow market forces to become the engine of growth. As raised in Chapter Five of this book, the government’s role was reduced to that of creating a legal and regulatory environment for the private sector to operate smoothly without restrictive legal frameworks.

Challenging Austerity Measures (Structural Adjustment Programmes) and Feminist Critique

From mid 1970s to 1980s the Tanzanian economy went through a serious economic crisis caused by several factors. First, the rapidly rising cost of oil prices, the declining terms of trade and increased debt burden together caused inflation, and increased cost of living, and made government unable to meet its debt obligations. The condition was worsened by the imposed austerity measures by the WB and IMF, supported by few western states. The austerity measures entailed cutting down government expenditure by downsizing its work force, privatization of major means of production to allow market forces to play its role in demand and supply of goods, The austerity measures also had a rollback impact to the gender equality gains from the Ujamaa period.

The retrenchment of government officers from public institutions and parastatals had a negative impact on household income, particularly for poor families which relied upon formal wages of male employees to sustain household livelihoods. The cost-sharing introduced in health care and water services also negatively impacted household economies by increasing women’s care burden. Furthermore, the access

rates to education of girls and children as a whole decreased from poor households in the country. In general, the austerity measures led to feminization of poverty. As Sylvia Chant affirmed “structural adjustment policies shifted the burden of social service provision onto households, women’s roles as unpaid caregivers expanded, deepening their economic vulnerability. This dynamic was further exacerbated by labour market segmentation and limited access to land and financial resources” (Chant 2007).

It is against this background that TGNP, a policy advocacy gender organization in collaboration with other feminist and women’s rights organizations in Tanzania, launched a series of campaigns and actions to disrupt the neo-liberal theories which were being propagated through by the World Bank and IMF .

TGNP was one of the few organizations in the country that provided a feminist critique of the neo-liberal frameworks from the early 1990s to the present time. This was done through generating pro-poor and women’s rights national policy debates and engagements, conducting relevant research that demonstrated the negative impacts of the neo-liberal economic models on the poor generally and women specifically, with the aim of proposing alternative (macro-) economic models, that were aimed at addressing both broader pro-poor development challenges and women’s empowerment objectives, particular through the Gender Budget Initiative-GBI or Gender Responsive Budget-GRB Initiatives in the country and beyond.

Research to Generate an Evidence Base for Policy Advocacy

As discussed in the other chapters, TGNP sought to generate information to inform its policy engagement intended to disrupt economics of exclusion in the country and beyond. Some of the research conducted by TGNP included the effects of the government decision to transfer terminally sick HIV and AIDs patients to the household level as part of austerity policy measures, including a cut in health sector budgets. This move had a huge impact on the government’s capacity to handle patients who were suffering from terminal diseases. The argument for this policy change initiative was that the household would provide emotional support to such sick persons regardless of their economic status. TGNP decided to strategically partner with government officials from the Ministry of Health to study the effect of this decision on poor households. Building strategic alliances with government without sacrificing the ideological position of the organization did yield positive results. Taking care of a terminally sick patient in a resource starved household was impacting time use for women in other ‘productive’ activities, quality of work on unpaid care work needed to produce and reproduce the labour force, as well as impact on women’s wellbeing.

Although the research data did not immediately reverse the government policy decision, it nevertheless resulted in mainstreaming a time-use module into the National Household Budget Survey (HBS), a process that made visible the burden of care that women and girls carry, including caring for the sick. This survey, also conducted by TGNP in collaboration with the Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance, contributed to government policy measures addressing time-use, such as the introduction of preschools in all public primary schools. Though the quality of these pre-schools still leaves much to be desired, it nonetheless introduced a principle of public responsibility with regard to the care of pre-school children, especially those from poor families.

Another study was conducted on budget tracking. Again, TGNP made alliances with a few strategic ministries to track the budget—normally allocated from the central Ministry of Finance to each sector, which in turn allocates them to local governing institutions. The research revealed that most of what is centrally allocated does not reach local level institutions. There are loopholes in the system that result in abuse of public funds by duty bearers¹. There is also a lack of accountability for public resources, all of which negatively impacted poor citizens with women carrying a disproportionate burden of care. Sharing these research findings contributed to raising awareness among Tanzanians, who started demanding transparency in the funds allocated to their local institutions.

Finally, research was carried out in taxation policy, focusing on how women are doubly taxed because the taxation system is not gender responsive. The data generated has been used to advocate for free sanitary pads as an essential item in schools as well as free pads for women in labour rooms. This is yet to result in concrete activities.

Organizing Convening and Learning Hubs to Disrupt Economics of Exclusion

As discussed in the previous chapters, TGNP has created safe spaces to engage in various debates particularly on macro-economic policy frameworks. Reference is made to the Wednesday Gender and Development Seminars (GDSS) and Gender Festivals. In Gender Festivals spaces which have already been discussed in the previous chapters, have had their thematic focus areas which, among other things, are directed at disrupting the economics of exclusion. For example, the 2019 Gender Festival theme, “Activists on the Move to Transform the World” is drawn from the 2015 theme which was “Transformation of Oppressive Social Systems is Inevitable”. Building on this theme, the 14th Gender Festival affirms that such transformation needs to be taken up by women activists.

¹ For example, exposing a public officer who had abused his position to embezzle public funds which he claimed to be spent on his wife’s treatment abroad. The information led to his being held accountable. He was summarily dismissed and forced to repay the money.

Other campaign initiatives undertaken by TGNP and like-minded NGOs included “The 50 years of World Bank in Africa/Tanzania is Enough”. This campaign targeted World Bank and IMF, challenging the austerity packages which had resulted in rolling back the gains from the Ujamaa philosophy. In a historical event, while the World Bank was celebrating its 50th anniversary in the Sheraton, one of the luxury hotels in Dar es Salaam, TGNP, along with NGO partner organizations organized a protest demonstration carrying two coffins, one big one symbolizing the World Bank and a smaller one symbolizing the IMF. The demonstrators surrounded the Sheraton hotel, but police disbursed them and arrested its leaders, including Demere Kitenge, the then chairperson of TGNP. Interestingly, President William Benjamin Mkapa, the host of the World Bank meeting then instructed the police to release the leaders of the protestors because, as he said, “This time they are defending us”. This implies that the president supported the protest as he clearly understood and resented the pressure which the Bank had been putting on his government, but somehow, he and his government was unable to protest.

The Water Campaign: “*Mtue Mtoto wa Kike Ndo*”² This campaign was directed at protesting against the commoditization of water, through the introduction of user fee charges as per conditionality imposed by the World Bank and its allies. This initiative, which solicited a huge amount of public support, enabled the government to increase policy attention and budget allocation to the water sector, in both urban and rural areas.

Publishing and Documenting

As a result of these various processes, several academic papers and books were published which engaged in the economics of disruption. Some of the individual members of TGNP and Women’s Rights Organizations who have produced feminist works to disrupt the economy of exclusion include Majorie Mbilinyi who is considered in feminist circles to be a mentor, a role model and selfless academician who has not only inspired movement actors to write but also made her contributions in critiquing the macro-economic frameworks. Some of her outstanding publications address aggressive plunder of resources by national and foreign companies and other processes of primitive accumulation shaped by the global crisis of capital, by bringing together gender, class and race in shaping transformative feminist analysis. “Against Neoliberalism: Gender, Democracy and Development (Chachage, Mbilinyi, Rusimbi (2003)

2 Mtoto wa Kike means the Girl Child, while Ndo means a bucket,

The Gender Budget Model: An Alternative Financing Model

The Gender Budget Initiative Journey

This table captures the background and story of the Gender Budget Initiative in Tanzania and shows the link to the broader feminist debates and discourses on macroeconomic frameworks.

Year	Development Paradigm	Impact On Development	Impact On Women	Discourses On Women
1960-67	Modernization (Trickledown theory).	Growth of things, translated in terms of GDP, but not of people.	Excluded from development outcomes and benefits.	Women and development.
1964-85	Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (Pro-poor approach).	Provision of common goods to all, universal primary health and education, rural water schemes, rural roads.	Shared benefits: greater access to education, improved health and reduction of care burden.	WID & GAD
1970-1980s	Liberalization, Economic crisis, Structural Adjustment Programmes.	Retrenchments, lay downs, cost-sharing, heavy debt, government withdrawal from social services.	Feminization of poverty.	GAD and feminist approach: feminist critique of liberalization.
1990s-2000s	Liberalization (con)		Feminization of poverty.	Feminist discourses, movement building, gender budget initiatives.
2020s+	Full liberalization	Wealth gaps widens.	Gender gap widens	Feminist discourses, movement building, unity in diversities.

Background and Context

TGNP has been at the forefront of promoting gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) in Tanzania since its inception in 1993. Established in response to the increasing need to interrogate Structural Adjustment Programmes because of its poverty and gendered impacts of the then newly introduced liberal economic policy frameworks in the country. TGNP has championed GRB as a strategic tool for disrupting exclusionary macro-economic planning and promoting gender equality in national and local governance structures.

GRB thus emerged in Tanzania during the mid-1990s, aligning with global advocacy for gender equality and social justice. The initiative sought to address the systemic gender imbalances and assumptions entrenched in economic planning and public expenditure policies. By questioning who benefits and who bears the costs of public policies and budgets, GRB aims to promote equitable resource allocation and accountability in government spending. The entry point for GRB in Tanzania was primarily through TGNP's efforts, which led the charge in mainstreaming gender perspectives in fiscal policies, budgetary planning, and monitoring of public expenditures.

Why It Started

The drive to institutionalize gender budgeting in Tanzania arose from the recognition that macro-economic policies, including national planning, budgeting and expenditure, were often gender-blind and not based on empowering in their design. This meant that budgets did not account for the different needs and contributions of women and men, leading to skewed resource distribution that perpetuated gender inequalities, as well as economic inequalities. TGNP and its partners realized that addressing these gaps required an evidence-based and policy-oriented approach that would advocate for the needs and priorities of women and marginalized groups to be considered at all stages of the budget cycle.

Furthermore, gender budgeting was seen as a powerful policy advocacy tool to highlight and quantify the economic contributions of women's unpaid labour, often invisible in mainstream economic planning, and push for more equitable investments in social sectors such as health, education, and social protection. As part of the broader engagement in disrupting the economics of exclusion, TGNP, in partnership with other feminist activists, united under the umbrella of FemAct (Feminist Activists), pioneered the Gender Budget Initiative in 1997.

Key Actors Involved

The implementation of GRB in Tanzania involved multiple actors from different sectors. TGNP played a pivotal role as the lead organization in advocating for GRB, and collaborated these stakeholders:

- 1. Government Ministries and Agencies:** The Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Education were among the critical collaborators, with the Ministry of Finance being instrumental in integrating gender perspectives into national budget frameworks.
- 2. Local Government Authorities:** Through TGNP's advocacy, several local government authorities adopted gender budgeting in their planning and financial management processes.
- 3. Civil Society Organizations:** TGNP built coalitions with other CSOs, women's rights organizations, and grassroots movements, strengthening the collective voice calling for gender-responsive fiscal policies.
- 4. International Partners and Donors:** TGNP's work on GRB was supported by various international partners including several bilateral and multilateral institutions as well as some Foundations, who provided technical and financial assistance to build capacity for GRB advocacy.

The Gender Budget Initiative demanded a more people-oriented and participatory development approach, and equitable allocation of resources in order to realize the following goals:

- To promote examination of policy, decision-making processes and resource allocation and utilization from a gender perspective
- To promote design and adoption of tools for gender mainstreaming and resource allocation and utilization.
- To strengthen lobbying and advocacy skills of civil society actors to campaign for participation in resource allocation processes.
- To organize and carry out a lobbying campaign to influence policymakers and other key actors such as donor partners.
- To provide popular information to educate and solicit support from the public.

The initiative was thus multi-functional, combining advocacy, lobbying, and information activities with capacity building and training activities.

Approach to the Gender Budget Initiative

The main strategy of the Gender Budget Initiative was to work through a broad coalition of NGOs. These included actors from different countries, who had prior experience in gender budgeting, such as members of a similar initiative in South

Africa. The coalition identified strategic entry points for influencing key policies, structures and actors within government, parliament and civil society.

Key Focus areas:

- i. The National Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance as the key sectors in planning and budgeting.
- ii. Health and Education, as vital sectors in service delivery;
- iii. Agriculture as essential to the livelihoods of most men and women, as well as
- iv. Industry and Commerce.

A team of researchers was formed that included gender activists, academics and government planners or budget officers from the sectors involved. Each selected sector was then assigned a research team consisting of an NGO member, an academic and civil servants. The integration of government officials enabled the teams to access data, which would otherwise have been unavailable. It enabled the building of good working relationships between TGNP and the technical people in the ministries. A participatory approach was used, which involved stakeholders at ground level. The approach worked in such a way as to initiate a gender budgeting exercise that was effectively a joint government-NGO exercise

The activities of the initiative started off with the collection and analysis of data in the selected ministries by the appointed research teams. The analysis concentrated on the main direction of policy development, planning and budgeting, the decision-making processes, sources of income and the actual allocation of resources both to sectors and to planned and actual outputs. The findings of this exercise were then disseminated to activists, government and development partners. Later, they were shared in meetings and public forums with a broad range of stakeholders in civil society, government, development partners and MPs and backed up by lobbying activities which tried to get support for regular gender budgeting.

The findings were also published in a popular version which was shared widely. Thus, the GBI opened a dialogue with government actors, political parties and parliamentarian with the aim of showcasing the need to embark on legal and policy reforms as a strategy to address the gender gaps in accessing and utilizing of resources.

The activities also went hand in hand with capacity building initiatives among women rights actors, CBO and key government actors. This was in addition to developing capacity building tools which were country specific. These included:

- i. Gender Budget/Gender Responsive Budgets guidelines,
- ii. Checklist for the Ministry of Finance to facilitate gender mainstreaming of budgetary processes .

- iii. Guidelines for the routine collection of gender disaggregated data for budgeting purposes.
- iv. Popular version of the gender budgeting research for broader dissemination.

The initial Gender Budgeting initiatives had resulted in building and strengthening CSO/government partnership particularly in those ministries we worked with. In the light of this, the Ministry of Community Development, Gender, Children and Elderly commissioned a study to conduct a Gender Analysis of the National Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP): A Gender Analysis

The Ministry of Community Development, Children, Gender and Elderly, by appreciating the role of TGNP as an advocacy for women's rights, and particularly its work on the Gender Budget initiative commissioned a study to conduct a gender analysis of the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction. Two experts from TGNP, Ruth Meena as leader of the assignment, and Mary Rusimbi, joined with a few officers from the Ministry including: Ushiwa Senge, Fortunata Temu, Judith Kizenga, Abdala Kisuju, Ernest Zayumba and Timothy Mgonja. A strategic alliance between Civil Society actor and Government officials has been used by TGNP in areas which require interventions from the government agency/sector or Ministry. Interestingly, in this specific case the initiative was from the government ministry.

A Gender Critique of the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction.

Key Emerging Issues from the Analysis

The analysis stimulated a discussion about the key available opportunities for enhanced gender-related outcomes of poverty reduction strategies with focus on financing, expenditure patterns and financial accountability. The identified opportunities included existence of some key financing policy frameworks, and ongoing processes including financial reforms. Several achievements were also identified including having a base of ongoing initiatives in this area, albeit limited in nature, which includes those related to National Budget Guidelines containing directions for all sectors and LGAs to budget with gender sensitivity showing government commitment to promoting gender-sensitive budgets and having gender budgeting as a tool for budgeting introduced in some government sectors. In this way gender budgeting increasingly became a budgeting requirement.

Many government sectors had also started to provide increased budgeting allocations to gender mainstreaming activities (mainly as “gender mainstreaming” budget lines), while growing demand for financial accountability and transparency by CSOs/general public provided an opportunity for gender budgeting work in the country (advocacy on gender budgeting, budget analysis and monitoring budget tracking etc.).

Some of the implementation processes in this area of focus provides some key lessons which could be useful for MKUKUTA II, under preparations. These include CSOs/Government partnership working in promoting gender budgeting providing a model, increasing capacity/skills base in gender budgeting at different levels of policy makers-PSS, technical people- DPPs, Planners and Budget Officers, Gender Focal Points, Parliamentarians providing a base of actors with an understanding of gender budgeting as a tool for enhancing gender-sensitive public expenditure, and MCDGC playing a more active role in facilitating other sectors to adopt gender budgeting skills, approaches in capacity development, tools development etc, brings a more institutionalized approach to capacity enhancement in this area.

However, several gaps and challenges were observed in financing MKUKUTA. Key challenges identified included a general lack of an accountability mechanism at the central (MOFEA) and sector level for increased outcomes from gender budgeting. This meant that MOFEA was yet to provide strong gender-sensitive leadership in ongoing financial reforms including the ongoing gender budgeting work. It also included the lack of an major focus of gender budgeting as an agenda in the mainstream accountability and financial management systems (PER, GBS, ongoing financial reforms). This has resulted in limited gender financing and lack of a mechanism to track resources on gender equality at different levels. Gender budgeting work was also too focused at the (central) government level, while increased funding is currently flowing to the private sector and LGAs.

In addition, there was also a growing awareness of the central importance of good governance in promoting growth as well as poverty reduction. There was also a slow but growing understanding on the link between gender equality, good governance and poverty. Such understanding is yet to impact governance interventions in a manner that holistically addresses gender inequality as governance issues demanding accountability and its link to growth and poverty reduction.

Attempts to improve the legal framework have been made, but there continues to exist legal clauses which are discriminatory against women. Some of the laws which address gender-related issues in governance cover a wide range of issues such as labour, employment and elections. Others include human trafficking, child marriage, as well as laws protecting children against the worst forms of exploitation.

However, legal measures on their own are insufficient. They need to be accompanied by efforts to change values through education, training and media. Affirmative action to promote women's representation not only in politics but also the legal system should also be employed.

The legal capacity of justice personnel in translating gender equality laws in the administration of justice is also a problem which will require attention during the next generation of MKUKUTA. Additionally, inadequate resources for the justice system to support the majority of citizens particularly poor women and men, to access legal help and bring court cases, targeted legal aid provision is a challenge.

Furthermore, the social distance between poor women and legal systems, related to education, language and male dominance in the judicial system poses serious challenges to their accessing justice. In cases involving domestic violence or sexual assault, unsympathetic or even abusive police responses, and fear of social ostracism, are added deterrents

Adopting a Gender-Sensitive and Human Rights-Based Approach

A human rights-based approach identifies rights holders and their entitlements and corresponding duty-bearers and their obligations, and works towards strengthening the capacities of rights-holders to make their claims and of duty-bearers to meet their obligations. Among the operational principles to be observed in the programming process are: universality and inalienability; indivisibility; interdependence and interrelatedness; equality and non-discrimination; participation and inclusion; and accountability and the rule that they should inform planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of MKUKUTA, and all other national priorities, annual plans and expenditure frameworks. This means analysing inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development progress.

Women Rights Activists

Advocates for women's gender interests need to utilise governance and poverty agendas more effectively, at the levels of both discourse and intervention. This might include broadening the debate on governance to include discussions of gender equity related to family governance, which currently receives little attention. At the same time, more needs to be done to ensure that gender issues are not confined to spheres of governance (political governance). Crucially, the tendency within governance agendas to reinforce public-private divides must be critically re-examined.

Women are organizing themselves nationally and locally, around explicit agendas, to challenge not just the inequities of resource allocation outcomes, but also the

underlying institutional frameworks and organizational processes through which resources are distributed. Poor women are engaging in a variety of forms of community action and creating alternative organizations and movements in response to the processes of economic, social and political exclusion.

Women rights activists should be aware that greater participation of women will not automatically engender institutional change given the deep-seated male bias of governance institutions and the structural barriers to the addressing of gender interests. It is at the institutional level where entitlements are decided, resources allocated, and markets regulated. However, exclusion of individuals and their interests operating in the political arena commonly transfers to exclusion in institutions. Legal and institutional reforms and passing laws and policies alone do not bring about substantial gender equality and equity or respect for women's human rights. The biggest challenge lies in the implementation which is still lagging behind policies and rhetoric.

Using Gender Budgeting As A Key Tool For Increasing Gender Financing

Analysis of MKUKUTA interventions reflected in Table I indicate government's intentions of undertaking financial strategies, public expenditure and financial management processes based on equity, equality and pro-poor principles. It also shows the government's expectations in relation to MKUKUTA implementation outcomes in this area where issues of gender equality, vulnerability, inclusiveness and financial governance are well articulated. All these are key opportunities for advancing gender equality financing for MKUKUTA implementation, if they would be utilized effectively.

Gender Implications of the MKUKUTA Financing

The MKUKUTA financing strategy adopted a broad-based outcome approach with a timeframe of 5 years. With this approach, the financing framework aimed to finance all relevant poverty reduction elements in all clusters/sectors rather than a few priority sectors (as in PRS I), thus placing an emphasis on broad based outcomes of MKUKUTA implementation

Reviewed from a gender perspective, the implemented approach of financing of all MKUKUTA cluster strategies provided key points of entry for ensuring gender inequities and pro-poor issues are adequately addressed in public expenditure and management processes for poverty reduction. This approach provided potentials for implemented gender-related strategies and activities in all MKUKUTA Clusters to be properly budgeted for and hence promoted increased financing to different sectors/clusters for gender mainstreaming approaches and impacts. This was despite

some of the implementation weaknesses noted in various documentation-especially in coherence of MKUKUTA cluster strategies for achieving broad-based outcomes

Yet, as the documentation review reveals, the provided potentials from the outcome-based financing approach is yet to be utilized effectively for promotion of gender equality (and pro-poor impacts) at different levels. For, although gender-related strategies and activities are adequately addressed in all MKUKUTA clusters, the visibility of gender equality issues in Cluster strategies/interventions seemed to get de-prioritized and even disappear, especially at the budgeting and outcomes-monitoring level.

For example, while Cluster II: Improvement of Quality of Life and Social Well-being had two outcomes which stipulated very clearly the goals, targets and strategies for promotion of gender-oriented outcomes, implemented financing strategies and targets set did not seem to allocate funds that match the existing needs for women and poor men mainly because inherent gender issues were often not effectively articulated. Similarly, as it shall be elaborated further in this chapter, under cluster III: Good Governance and Accountability, where key underlying gender issues such as gender-based violence were made explicit and visible for effective financing response, the level of budget allocated to sectors/cluster working on GBV issues would have needed to receive more public financing attention.

Costing of MKUKUTA cluster interventions under implementation also, to some extent, contributed to limiting increased gender financing to different sectors. For, while estimation of MKUKUTA interventions recognized that some of targets/outcomes were multi-sectoral or interdependent, thus requiring clear identification of cross-sectoral interventions for financing, the costing process itself, in sectors where it was done, did not adopt effective gender interpretations to allow for increased flows of funding to cross- sectoral interventions with high gender impacts.

Lack of such gender interpretations in the MKUKUTA costing exercises has been linked to "Information available not being sufficient to determine the unit cost, especially in social sectors". While lack of gender-disaggregated data was a serious gap in many sectors, this situation may as well have emanated from lack of gender capacities and approaches of key actors for engendering implemented costing methodologies. A documentation review identified the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Youth Development (MLEYD) as the only government sector that at least attempted- under ILO support, to estimate the financing implications of its planned interventions with gender-responsive approaches. However, even with this effort, there was a limited shift towards increased financing for gender-related interventions in the cluster/sector due to several factors, including existence of weak links between national/sector policies, resource allocations and MKUKUTA outcomes monitoring.

The MKUKUTA financing strategy also provided for a longer implementation frame of five years (i.e. 2005-2010). Potentially, the long term financing approach for cluster/sector interventions provided for more sustained processes for increased public resource mobilization, expenditures, financial management and monitoring of gender-related aspects of implemented strategies and targets. This is because long-term financing approaches for poverty reduction strategies had major potential, for not only increasing budgetary allocations to gender-related interventions, but also for enabling such interventions to be implemented with more effective impacts. For example, implementation of MKUKUTA interventions on reduction of gender-based violence, would potentially benefit from long-term financial commitments with increased annual budgetary allocations over the five year period. In this way, as a government policy strategy, the MKUKUTA Framework document provided significant windows of opportunities for increased gender financing and promotion of gender-sensitive public financial management reforms for accountability.

Yet, as various discussions in this chapter point out, at the operational level, the financing opportunities elaborated in the MKUKUTA Framework, lacked priority in the adopted Clusters/Sector expenditure processes and outcomes monitoring. For example, an overall assessment of budgetary expenditures to sectors/clusters contributing towards reduction of gender-based violence interventions demonstrated a sporadic approach to budgeting, which provided funding to such interventions on a one time off activity basis (e.g. conducting a training workshop on GBV). This approach seriously jeopardized government's efforts in addressing the gendered impact of GBV on poverty reduction measures.

External Resources and Domestic Revenue Mobilization Measures

The main financing focus for pro-poor growth strategies under MKUKUTA took a two-pronged approach with implemented measures towards: increased domestic revenues and management of donor funding. Within this framework, the Private Sector through Private-Public Partnership and CSOs also contributed towards MKUKUTA strategies, though external aid (ODA) continued to be one of the key sources of budgeting expenditures for the government. For example, the share of donor funding to the national budget rose from about 6 percent of GDP in FY 2000/1 to 11 percent in FY 2007/8. In terms of absolute figures, ODA funding accounted for to around 34 percent of the government budget, 80 percent going to the development budget and 20 percent to the recurrent budget

The challenge, though, was on ensuring sufficient level of domestic revenues in a context of rapid expansion of government expenditure (e.g., increase of wage bill, etc.), the gap between domestic revenues and expenditure, and, even more, the

impact of the global economic financial crisis. Such a setting had huge potential for negative impacts on government efforts on revenue collection as well on the predictability of donor financing. As confirmed in the National Budget Guidelines document of 2009/10, the country's revenue collection was expected to fall continuously from this period until the end of 2012 due to the global financial crisis. Other sources of information on this subject informed that Tanzania's domestic revenue collection in the 2008/09 fiscal year had already had a 10% shortfall of its 4.73 trillion-shilling (\$ 3.53 billion) target and that this was to drop further in 2009/10 due to the world economic slump (URT, Ministry of Finance documentation, 2007/8 and 2008/09). Based on this reality, it was evident thus that the government's intention of increased financing on national budgets from domestic revenues will be affected. This trend, when analyzed from a gender perspective, had threats which could further lead to a further decrease in financing the on-going MKUKUTA implementation strategies. It also could limit implementation of new interventions or those with high impacts on gender equality and poverty reduction in the country (e.g. gender-based violence and increased workload on women).

Generation of Gender-disaggregated Data for Macro-planning and Budgeting Measures

Implemented interventions for gender mainstreaming in this area were based on earlier activities undertaken by the Ministry of Planning and TGNP (2007) on engendering MACMOD as a modeling instrument for planning, forecasting and assisting in policy analysis. The then undertaken activities included capacity building for macro-economists, policy dialogues and mainstreaming gender-sensitive perspectives in the SAM study with the aim of improving gender interpretations of MACMOD as one of key technical instruments informing macro-economic projections processes, including the Budget Guidelines. MACMOD processes were also targeted for gender approaches because it is as one of the key instruments in capturing different developmental contributions to the National Accounts of Gross National Product (GNP). Thus they were very instrumental in making women's and poor men's contributions visible in the GNP. This kind of effort was/is thus helpful in enabling the budgeting processes to prioritize financing areas in which women's contribution is unaccounted for (providing child care services, nursing of the sick and elderly, fetching water and fuel, food production and preparation, transport, etc.).

The Time-Use Study, an activity conducted under government leadership, as part of the Integrated Labour Force Survey of 2006/7, was a major follow-up to the above-mentioned efforts on engendering MACMOD. Implemented by NBS in collaboration with TGNP, this Study reflected a high-level government commitment to build its own conceptual understanding on the underlying issues of gender equality

and time poverty. According to the conducted time-use analysis of this Study, patterns of gender differences in workload distribution in communities and beyond were made visible for policy making and budgeting actors to engage with. For example, through this data, policy makers and MKUKUTA implementers were made aware of the inherent gender differences in time-use, which impacts women more. They were also made aware that this situation is caused not only by institutionalized gender division of labour in communities, but also by failure of government's public policy and budgeting priorities in paying attention to infrastructural and social services needed to reduce unpaid female labour - including water and energy in every home, quality child care services, and a strong public health system accessible to all.

At this juncture, it needs to be mentioned, however, that the rich information and generated sex/gender disaggregated data on time-burdens for men and women (i.e., through the Time-Use Study) in the country, was yet to be systematized and applied effectively for policy analysis, planning and budgeting for MKUKUTA interventions. In this way, the achieved milestone in this area, called for further interventions geared towards raising awareness on this activity, capacitating key implementers and holding them accountable for utilizing the data at the sector/cluster level during planning, budgeting and monitoring of MKUKUTA implementation outcomes.

Also, while several other efforts were made in this area, they were at times uncoordinated and scattered. For example, REPOA as the Secretariat of the Macro Policy Group, in collaboration with MLEYD and NBS had been conducting a series of awareness-raising and capacity development trainings for different government stakeholders, regarding gender data requirements in planning and budgeting. This initiative was instrumental in implementing gender-sensitive MKUKUTA financing and financial management. However, this and other initiatives needed more coordinated efforts to move forward with wider impact.

Engendering of Budget Guidelines Measures

The Budget Guidelines (BGs) which elaborate government policy intentions and strategic outcomes for each coming year while setting budget ceilings is informed by many processes and technical instruments. As a key government policy tool, the BGs provide strategic direction for expenditures at the national, sector/cluster and institutional level (MDAs). It is from this perspective, that the BGs document becomes key point of entry for effecting gender mainstreaming efforts in the national as well as sector/cluster budgeting processes.

As part of this, several initiatives geared towards engendering the BGs processes had been on-going since 1999, through efforts of the government (then Ministry of Planning with support from CSOs such as TGNP (Kytola 2009). Such efforts have since then led to some significant results, one of which has been the 'integration'

of key directions regarding budgeting for issues of gender equality and women's empowerment. For example, although at that time, the BGs document was yet to systematize effective gender interpretations in all its Chapters, there was in the document a whole Section discussing gender equality issues, under the Medium-Term Objectives and Focus Discussions. Under this section, all MDAs and LGAs are directed to identify key gender issues within their sectors/clusters and Councils and to mainstream them in their planning processes during setting of budgeting priorities. For example, in the 2009/10 BGs document, in this Section, major gender equality challenges noted for attention included "... addressing GBV issues, mainstreaming gender issues in planning and budgeting at all levels and addressing gender imbalances in accessing higher education and nature of discipline of specialization." (URT National Budget Guidelines 2009/10). The 'Gender section' in the BGs document also emphasised that the main strategies for the future (of MKUKUTA) should centre around gender mainstreaming and gender disaggregation of data, but also increased resources for the fight against gender violence, and the reduction of women's workload - all of which are key budgeting issues.

In this way, the Budget Guidelines elaborated government's intentions of budgeting for gender-related MKUKUTA outcomes while providing a critical opportunity for budgeting with gender-sensitive approaches in all sectors/clusters and LGAs. The challenge has, however, concerned the implementation of BG directives regarding gender mainstreaming at the MDAs/LGAs level. Due to lack of gender capacities coupled with limited effective instructions or details on how MDAs can provide resources needed to support the well stipulated interventions/objectives (for example providing more specific guidelines for gender mainstreaming in budgets), has led to weak implementation of the instructions. The central level Ministry (MOFEA) needed to prepare and attach, as part of the BGs document, some generic tools for guiding planners and budget officers at sector/LGA level on how to mainstream gender issues in planning and budgeting at sector level. (See an example of prepared 'Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender into National Budget Guidelines, TGNP/UNFP, 2007). In addition, MOFEA lacked institutionalized mechanisms for holding sectors/LGAs accountable for gender-responsive budget submissions. Because of such weaknesses and other related factors discussed below, the adoption of BGs gender budgeting directions are yet to be implemented effectively, as government budgeting requirements by all sectors/clusters, LGAs and institutions/agencies.

Using Gender Budgeting as A Key Tool for Increasing Gender Financing

The overall aim of processes such as the Mid Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), Public Expenditure (PE) or Annual General Budgeting Support (GBS) reviews is to ensure that government expenditure results in outcomes that reduce

poverty and enhance development. In this way, these are processes for allocating and monitoring if results of annual/three-year budgeting have been achieved and with what outcomes (indicators). Thus, within this framework, the main objective of ‘mainstreaming’ gender equality approaches in these important reforms/initiatives should also be to track if budgetary allocations are on the increase for enhanced gender equality outcomes and impacts.

One of the key tools for ensuring the gender agenda ‘does not fall off the table’ when it comes to allocating budget and implementation is gender budgeting or gender-responsive budgeting. This process which has increasingly been engaged with the budget reforms such as MTEF budgeting has a lot of potential to facilitate mainstreamed allocations for gender-related developments at different levels. This is because, gender budgeting asks planners and budget officers not to be satisfied with allocating budget allocations to gender-specific activities only, because they are usually a small fraction of national or sector budgets. This tool also asks that gender issues be explicitly discussed and reported on in allocation of budgets and their implementation. In this way, if systems of reporting are reliable and honest, and if they include gender-sensitive elements and provide for disaggregation, then budgeting processes will give a good record of what is being done and achieved and thus indicate potential gaps.

Overall, MTEF processes involve casting of the budget in a medium-term context, typically three years, on a rolling basis instead of the traditional one-year presentation. This relatively new framework is highly advantageous in terms of predictability, transparency and accountability and improved sectoral management. The programme-based approach to budgeting is a method of budgeting that tries to link resources to proposed and achieved results rather than presenting simply a book-keeping account of the budget. The basic difference between the traditional budgeting system and this new method is that the former highlights inputs whereas the latter concentrates on results achieved or outputs.

Gender Equality Should No Longer Be Seen Only As Women’s Agenda

Men’s full commitment, accountability and partnership with women are crucial. Government decision-making and institutional and organizational cultures must be transformed to embrace gender equality and women’s rights in behaviours, attitudes and norms.

Key Recommendations from MKUKUTA

Within this scenario of opportunities, achievements, and challenges, the Review recommended the following shifts and interventions for the second generation of MKUKUTA:

- Gender Budgeting work that had started to take root in some government sectors in the country, need to be strengthened so that the public expenditure and “aid financing reforms’ have a better outcome in respect of gender equality and poverty reduction.
- Develop a well-articulated National Strategy for Implementing Gender Budgeting for more coordinated efforts and impacts.
- Develop effective strategies for MOFEA to take leadership roles in increased financing for gender equality through locating gender budgeting work within MOFEA, instituting accountability mechanisms for gender-sensitive results in planning and budgeting for all sectors, and introducing a Budgeting Code for increased gender equality financing.
- Build on on-going reforms in financing and public financial management such as PFMRP II etc., to facilitate more effective gender mainstreaming approaches
- The Ministry of Finance, in collaboration with other key government agencies and gender advocates, to undertake a national PER Study on gender financing for gaps.
- Develop more effective mechanisms to disseminate financial information and opportunities to women, especially in the rural areas.
- At sector level, key strategic areas/indicators need to be further defined with increased financing e.g., maternal health, energy etc.
- Roll-out gender budgeting to local governments as part of on-going reforms.
- Adopt more sustained strategies on capacity/skills development on gender mainstreaming through development of a long-term national strategy for capacity enhancement.
- Provide higher priority in governance debates to issues of family governance not as a separate ‘women’s’ domain, but in recognition of the ways that gender biases in this domain permeate wider social institutions
- Develop programmes that address families to integrate the culture of equality and human rights processes in all aspects of the socialisation process, including the sharing of domestic work and childcare.

- Harmful and/or discriminatory practices that sustain gender inequality and inequity must be eliminated, and social, cultural, traditional and religious norms and values that sustain equality, equity and justice must be promoted.
- Continue with research to generate data to provide evidence-based information to guide advocacy and implementation of gender equality agenda.
- Dissemination of research findings among actors in the design and implementation of social policies and the evaluation of institutional and organizational cultures.
- Conduct mass education on governance issues including legal rights to the public.
- The role of MCDGC to be well articulated vs gender budgeting (with MCDGC becoming a key Resource, while MOFEA takes over the custodianship of gender budgeting)
- Increase resources to MCDGC as key process for facilitating/supporting government sectors in increased gender financing
- Develop (as a matter of justice) a strategy for skills-development and capacity of staff on gender/gender budgeting for key Ministries including Finance, MPEE, MCDGC, GBS Secretariat, Sector/Cluster-WGs and others
- Strategies for generating sex disaggregated data, including the utilization of Time-Use Study results for policy changes and advocacy should be strengthened.

Conclusions and Recommendations

As has been well discussed in this Chapter, TGNP has been at the forefront in promoting the gender budgeting Initiative (GBI) or gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) in Tanzania since its inception in 1993. Established in response to the increasing need for gender mainstreaming in the country's policy frameworks, TGNP has championed GRB as a strategic tool for disrupting exclusionary macro-economic planning and promoting gender equality in national and local governance structures and contributing to broader debates and discourses on macro-economic policy planning and budgeting frameworks beyond Tanzania. Emerging in the mid-1990s, it is a campaign that aligned with global advocacy for gender equality and social justice.

Within this framework, the initiative sought to address the systemic gender imbalances entrenched in economic planning and public expenditure policies. By questioning who benefits and who bears the costs of public policies and budgets, GRB aimed to promote equitable resource allocation and accountability in government

spending. The entry point for GRB in Tanzania was primarily through TGNP's efforts, which led the charge in mainstreaming gender and pro-poor perspectives in fiscal policies, budgetary planning, and monitoring of public expenditures.

The chapter makes the important observation that the GRB model in Tanzania uniquely integrates work across macro-, meso-, and micro-levels, creating a holistic and feminist approach that has served as a model for other African countries. In this model, TGNP efforts were directed towards influencing the macro-level, where TGNP's collaboration with the Tanzanian government in conducting the Time-Use Survey was crucial for quantifying women's contributions to the economy, both productive and reproductive. This data was instrumental in raising progressive debates around the need for redefining GDP measurements to include unpaid care work, thereby challenging conventional economic frameworks. Furthermore, influencing national Budget Guidelines at the macro level to incorporate gender (and pro-poor) considerations enabled TGNP to set the stage for integrating gender in budgeting processes at all levels of governance. The guidelines became a foundational tool for ensuring gender was considered in resource allocation.

The GRB focus in the country was also directed at influencing the meso level for more progressive and gender-sensitive impacts, including increased budget allocations to key sectors such as Health, Education, Water, Agriculture and a few others. This happened through TGNP's engagement in the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) processes, where effective gender analysis was mainstreamed into mid-level planning and budgeting processes, ensuring gender priorities were systematically included in sectoral and ministerial budgets. At the meso level, GRB also worked towards increased participation of TGNP, in key processes such as the General Budget Support (GBS) mechanism, which further provided TGNP with an opportunity to hold national and international actors accountable for their commitments to gender equality and pro-poor policies.

TGNPs' engagement at the micro-level was also key, especially in tracking and promoting citizen engagement. Through this strategy, the GRB model extended to the grassroots through partnerships with local government authorities. This work also facilitated capacity-building and budget analysis at the local government level to track how national macro- and meso-level budgeting priorities impacted communities. This approach included working closely with local governments and engaging ordinary citizens in budgeting processes, thereby popularizing budgets and demystifying budget documents. As a result, citizens were empowered to participate in local planning and hold decision-makers accountable.

More significantly, at the local government level, some districts increased allocations to sectors that directly impacted women, such as maternal health and education for girls, following the implementation of gender budgeting principles.

Emerging outcomes of the GRB work have also been well articulated in the Chapter and are summarized below.

Tanzania has been one of the few African pioneers around gender budgeting work, and its initial initiatives have provided powerful role models for other countries. Several other countries in SADC/Africa region are also forging ahead on gender budgeting -with significant results towards their poverty reduction efforts. These include Mozambique and South Africa both of which have made use of the available human resource in Tanzania from TGNP.

Other countries which have benefited from the resources in GB include Nigeria and Egypt, and others. In this way, Tanzania has been a trailblazer in the field of gender budgeting, serving as a valuable role model for other African nations. For example, its early adoption of gender-responsive budgeting strategies has significantly contributed to shaping inclusive budgeting policies across the region. In this way, Tanzania's pioneering work has laid the foundation for other countries in the SADC region to implement GRB and use it as a tool for poverty reduction and economic justice.

Within the country, TGNP's efforts in promoting GRB in Tanzania has led to several significant outcomes. These include: Increased awareness and capacity in understanding the gender budgeting principles among government officials, civil society actors, and communities. Many government officials, particularly in the Ministry of Finance, became champions of GRB. TGNP's advocacy contributed to policy reforms that institutionalized gender budgeting in national and local planning processes. For example, gender budgeting guidelines were integrated into the budget process of key ministries, and gender disaggregation became a requirement in certain budgetary allocations. The country's experience demonstrates that aligning national budgeting with gender equality principles can influence broader policy changes and contribute to more inclusive economic frameworks.

Furthermore, GRB work in the country has increased the visibility of women's economic contributions in public policy discussions. For example, through the above-mentioned Time-Use Survey and subsequent advocacy, TGNP highlighted the value of women's unpaid labour, leading to increased recognition of the economic contributions of women in public policy discussions.

Challenges and Sustainability

Despite these notable successes and outcomes in advocating for GRB in the country, several challenges remain in sustaining these initiatives, including limited political will in promoting full institutionalization of GRB within the Government, inadequate funding and technical constraints within the sectors, and the need for continuous capacity building to ensure the integration of gender budgeting principles in mainstream policy processes, while also facing socio-cultural challenges in changing long-standing beliefs and practices around gender roles within a patriarchal society.

At this juncture, it is also important to note the fact that the challenges faced in advancing gender-responsive budgeting in Tanzania are not only domestic but are also shaped by the global macro-economic policy framework dominated by international financial institutions (IFIs) like the World Bank, IMF and WTO. As emphasized in the chapter these institutions often promote economic models that prioritize austerity, privatization, and deregulation, limiting fiscal space for social expenditure and gender-responsive policies. Such policies often exclude pro-poor and effective gender considerations, thus undermining national efforts to integrate gender equality in planning, budgeting, and expenditure. This global policy environment, unfortunately, leads to constraining the ability of national governments to adopt inclusive and transformative economic policies that prioritize gender equality and social justice. As a result, even with progressive domestic initiatives like those spearheaded by TGNP, broader systemic challenges remain due to the alignment of national fiscal and monetary policies with these global frameworks.

These challenges underscore the need for continued advocacy, capacity building, and improved data systems to fully integrate GRB and enhance its impact on gender equality in Tanzania. It also requires a paradigm shift in global macro-economic policies to recognize and support gender equality as a core economic objective, allowing for the creation of more equitable and feminist-oriented economies in Tanzania and beyond.

Lessons from Tanzania's Journey in Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB)

Considering that **Policy and Legislative Frameworks Matter**, where strong political commitment, institutional frameworks, and supportive policies like the incorporation of GRB guidelines have been crucial in pushing forward gender equality in budgeting.

The Importance of Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration: TGNP's case study has demonstrated that effective GRB requires collaboration between civil society

organizations (e.g. TGNP and its allies among civic actors), government bodies, and international partners. This collaboration helps amplify advocacy efforts and enhance policy outcomes.

Data as a Catalyst for Change is Key: The Time-Use Survey and other gender-disaggregated data from TGNP in collaboration with the government have been instrumental in making visible the economic contributions of women and informing more equitable policy and budget decisions. This data-driven advocacy has been crucial in influencing national policies.

Continuous Building of Technical Capacity and Knowledge of government officials and civil society on GRB concepts and principles has proven necessary for effective implementation and sustainability of these initiatives.

Long-Term Advocacy and Adaptation: Sustained advocacy over the years, along with flexibility and adaptation to changing political and economic landscapes, has been a key factor in Tanzania's progress and resilience in advancing GRB.

Navigating Global Economic Pressures. Despite national gains, global economic pressures and policy conditions set by international financial institutions pose a challenge. Ensuring that global economic policies are gender-sensitive is critical to achieving broader success in GRB at the national level.

Integration across All Levels. This approach calls for GRB work to address inter-sectorial gender disparities thereby promoting a simultaneous focus on influencing macro-level policies, mainstreaming gender at the meso level (sectoral and ministerial budgets), and tracking impacts at the micro level to ensure national policies benefit ordinary citizens.

Citizen Empowerment and Ownership: Including citizens in budget processes enhances accountability, promotes transparency, and builds public trust in government spending. This participatory approach has led to more equitable and inclusive budgeting outcomes at different levels.

Inter-Regional Collaboration and Knowledge Sharing: Tanzania's GRB experiences have been successfully adopted and adapted in countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, Nigeria, and Egypt, underscoring the value of regional collaboration and peer learning.

Investing in local expertise. The impact of Tanzanian experts in GRB across the region showcases the importance of developing local expertise that can provide technical assistance and advocacy support (within Africa and beyond).

Sustaining Momentum Amidst Challenges is also instrumental for adoption as a key GRB strategy. Tanzania's GRB journey highlights the fact that ongoing advocacy, capacity building, and political engagement are crucial to maintaining

the momentum and overcoming barriers in the pursuit of inclusive and feminist-oriented economic policies.

Connecting Local Realities with Global Policy Advocacy is vital in GRB advocacy work. The GRB journey showed that local and national efforts must be supported by global advocacy to reform international financial and economic policies. This connection is crucial for disrupting exclusionary macroeconomic frameworks that influence national budgeting priorities and fiscal policies.

Promotion of International Solidarity and Movement Building can thus potentially play a strategic role in sustaining GRB work at country and global level. Tanzania's involvement in campaigns like "50 Years is Enough" highlights the power of cross-border solidarity and coalition-building in advocating for more inclusive and feminist global economic policies. Engaging with global coalitions helped amplify Tanzania's voice in international debates and strengthened the push for reforms that consider the needs and rights of marginalized populations.

These lessons highlight the multifaceted approach required to disrupt exclusionary economic policies and foster inclusive feminist economies that promote gender equality in Tanzania and beyond.

Recommendations

- 1. Sustained Capacity Building.** Enhance capacity at national, local, and grassroots levels to ensure continuous integration of gender in budgeting processes.
- 2. Strengthen Data Systems:** Improve the collection and utilization of gender-disaggregated data to inform policy and budgeting decisions.
- 3. Reform of Global Macroeconomic Policies.** Advocate for global economic policy reforms that provide the fiscal space necessary for countries like Tanzania to implement transformative GRB practices that support gender equality and social inclusion.
- 4. Expand Regional and Global Influence.** Leverage Tanzania's experience by promoting regional exchange programs and partnerships to further spread GRB principles to other African countries.
- 5. Strengthen Institutional Frameworks.** Establish stronger institutional mechanisms within government structures to ensure sustainable integration of GRB across all levels of budgeting.
- 6. Enhance Capacity Building.** Continue investing in capacity-building initiatives, especially through local institutions like the TGNP Gender Training Institute (GTI), to sustain national and regional GRB expertise.

- 7. Engage in Proactive Global Policy Dialogue to address Global Economic Policy Influences.** Tanzania, along with other African countries, should be actively involved in shaping international economic policies, advocating for frameworks that provide the fiscal space needed for gender-responsive and inclusive development. Tanzania's leadership and lessons in gender-budgeting have set a precedent for addressing gender inequalities through fiscal policies, and continued investment in GRB will be critical for achieving gender-responsive economic outcomes across the region and beyond.
- 8. Broaden the Advocacy Scope.** Future GRB efforts should continue to build alliances with global movements and coalitions advocating for reforms in international financial institutions, ensuring that domestic gender equality goals are not undermined by global economic pressures.
- 9. Promote Comprehensive Economic Policy Reform.** Push for a rethinking of macro-economic policies to prioritize social investments and gender equality over narrow fiscal targets that perpetuate exclusion and inequality.

By integrating these reflections and recommendations, Tanzania's GRB model can continue to serve as a catalyst for both national and global policy changes, advancing a feminist economic agenda that addresses the structural inequalities perpetuated by current global macro-economic policies and systems.

7

DISRUPTING POLITICS OF EXCLUSION

by Ruth Meena and Victoria M. Lihiru

Introduction

Exclusion of women from political spaces is deeply rooted in patriarchal systems and ideologies which are based on an ideology of “male supremacy” from household level, community, religious belief systems, and institutions both private and public in national, regional and international levels. While women throughout human civilization have struggled against their exclusion and discrimination, these struggles are not systematically documented. This is well articulated by Minna Salami, who maintained that

*“History is a text on desire. When we learn history, we learn about what generations have fought for, resisted, and dreamed of... But under patriarchal rule, history is largely a text on male desire. Only 0.5 per cent of the last 3,500 years of recorded history is women’s history. It is men’s drives that are reflected in the shared human story. For women, history is instead **a chronicle of absence**. And yet, “Through the ages, in every part of the world, women have struggled against their exclusion. They have developed ways to share knowledge, fought to control their bodies, battled for positions of power, and struggled against male dominant traditions and laws” (Minna Salami,2022:Harper Collins:2022 Msafropolitan August 24, 2022 <https://msafropolitan.com/2022/08/a-historical-overview-of-african-feminist-strands.html> (emphasis added)*

This chapter is divided into two parts, the introduction walks us through theories and practices of exclusion and corresponding struggles by women to disrupt such exclusions from various parts of the world. The second part presents a few case studies with a specific focus on Tanzania.

Key Concepts

Politics of Exclusion, Disruption, Feminism and Patriarchy

This first section will walk the reader through various strategies which women/feminists have used to question, disrupt and reject the patriarchy systems, and corresponding theories and practices that have justified and at time legitimated oppressive social systems including the patriarchy ideologies. The main thesis in this section is that, women, throughout the human story have resisted, protested and challenged oppressive social systems including patriarchy belief systems and corresponding practices. In our African contexts the story of women resistances against oppressive patriarchal systems are not adequately documented. Such resistances are often dismissed by labelling as western with roots in African system. The current initiative to document 'her' story has proved this position wrong.

The second section will focus on Tanzanian's context over the past twenty-five years with special emphasis on strategies which feminists and women rights activists and organizations have used in challenging and disrupting dominant ideologies and practices that have perpetuated discriminative practices against women generally and particularly discrimination in political spaces. A few case studies will be chosen for more in-depth analysis. Opportunities and challenges will be highlighted. The final section will give general observations and lessons drawn and recommend a way forward.

Disrupting Politics of Exclusion

Disruptive politics is defined as a “business strategy principles’ application to political movements, enabled by grassroots communities organizing, for involving politically disengaged people in the political decisions of their country” (<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/disruptive-politics-how-does-work-mihai-ionescu>)

With reference to racial discrimination, Clarissa Hayward C.R (2017) considers politics of disruption as actions that generate conscious awareness of structural injustices by interrupting ‘epistemology of ignorance of the (white?)’ and “that the combination of this awareness and a desire to see oneself ethical might combine to produce“ a disposition of people who have never before taken actions against structural injustices ” According to this author ‘disruptive politics make it all but impossible for the privileged to not hear the voice of, to not know the claims of the oppressed’ The author further argues that disruptive politics help dismantle systemic inequality by creating conscious awareness of the need for action. The author further asserts that “For some, this sudden consciousness awareness and desire to see oneself ethical, even while benefiting from the privilege-produces “a shift in disposition” that compels individuals to take actions against systematic injustices.

The author considers this shift of sudden awareness of structural inequality as a “tipping’ point”. This is a terminology borrowed from physics which describes the point at which an object becomes so unbalanced that even a slight force causes it to topple over. From a feminist perspective, however, the gender injustices and discriminatory practices do not result from “male’ ignorance, as per Hayward’s analysis of racial injustices. Gender injustices including racial and other forms of injustices are deeply rooted in patriarchal and other structures processes and systems anchored in historical processes which overlap with other social, economic and political systems over a long period of time. By implication, the feminist tipping point is when, cumulatively, feminist and women rights movements force or cause dramatic transformation that dismantles or shakes the patriarchal systems and other forms of oppressive systems and processes leading to substantive equality between the sexes and within social classes.

Many scholarly works on women’s political struggles to disrupt patriarchal systems known as feminism trace them back to USA and Europe. In Africa however, the very concept of feminism is considered foreign or “an import” According to Mamphela Ramphele,

Although the word feminism is foreign (as all English words are) the concept of opposing patriarchy, the *raison d’être* of feminism if you like, is not foreign. Africa has some of the oldest civilizations in the world so while they didn’t always call it feminism (the noun) as far back as we can trace, we know that there were women who were feminist (the adjective) and who found ways of opposing patriarchy. Feminism is an important part of African women’s “herstory” (<https://msafropolitan.com/2013/07/a-brief-history-of-african-feminism.html>)

On a similar note, Dietz M (2003) argues that feminism is a “historically constituted, local and global, social and political movement with emancipatory purpose and a normative content”. This is despite the many divergences within the theories. The author further asserts that, “the focus of all feminist is women (the subject) identify common problem (the subjection and objectification of women through gendered relations (which are power relations). This is in addition to having common goals which include “overturning relations of domination, ending sexual discrimination, securing female sexual liberation, fighting for women’s rights and interests, raising consciousness, transforming institutional and legal structures, liberty, autonomy, dignity, self-realization, recognition, respects , justice and freedom” (https://is.mu-ni.cz/el/1423/podzim2012/GEN148/um/Dietz_CurrentControversies_2003)

Harper Collins (2003)

On the other hand, while admitting the divergence of viewpoints of what scholars consider to be “African feminism”, the author identifies a common thread in most

African feminist literature. Invariably, the author argues, most of them are preoccupied with intersectional analysis, which is not limited to an analysis of patriarchy, but includes: colonization, imperialism, hetero-normativity, ethnicity, race, class as well as human rights, poverty and reproductive rights. Central to this analysis is a growing understanding among feminists particularly in ex-colonial contexts, of how patriarchy intersects with capitalism, imperialism, race, ethnicity, caste as well as religious beliefs.

Making reference to feminism in the Tanzanian context, Marjorie Mbilinyi affirms that “... feminism is not lifted from Europe or USA, but one generated in response to Tanzanian and African realities” Marjorie further affirms “I call myself a transformative feminist because I am passionate about changing the present structures of power which oppress and exploit girls and women.” She traces the legitimization of feminism as a means to understand and a way to organize for and with women. She further observe that resistances against feminist and women women’s struggles do not originate from those in power only, but from the men who position themselves as progressive (<http://www.africanfeministforum.com/marjorie-mbilinyi/> and <http://roape.net/2017/08/24/gender-politics-change-africa-interview-marjorie-mbilinyi>)

Sindi Medar. Gould from Nigeria affirms “I call myself a feminist because I passionately believe and work for the liberation of women from patriarchy and patriarchal inequalities. To me, feminism is about equal rights between the sexes and equal opportunities for all.” (<http://www.africanfeministforum.com/sindi-medar-gould>)

Patriarchy is a social and economic system that privileges men and boys in terms of ownership of property, voice and agency. In other words, patriarchy creates hierarchy and power relations between men and women. As an oppressive system it overlaps with other oppressive systems which have had more profound negative effects on women and girls than men and boys. In brief, patriarchy is a form of power relationship between men/boys and women/girls. It however intersects with other oppressive systems.

Little is documented on how African women resisted patriarchal and other discriminatory practices within their societies. The colonial state constructed political space and their occupants from their own perspectives. In most of the ex-British colonies, for example, the indirect rule system introduced by colonial administration, deliberately excluded women from the political spaces which were granted to male chiefs or their substitutes. And yet in most of the pre-colonial states, there existed queens and female chiefs who inherited the throne from their fathers, or by their own military actions or expansion.

The pre-colonial African state did not discriminate against women from occupying political spaces which were inherited by women from their fathers, or acquired

through military actions. The current initiative of re-claiming ‘our’ story has unveiled some of the powerful women who governed kingdoms, established cities, launched military conquests and founded states (UNESCO: Women in African History) (<https://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/taytu-betul/biography>),

For example, the Hausa Queen Amina, also known as Queen Aminatu described as the “warrior queen” of the city state Zazzau, in the North-West region of Nigeria, whose leadership skills were discovered by her grandfather, ruled over a vast stretch of land in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Born into the royal family of the city-state of Zazzau, presently known as Zaria, she was trained in political and military matters since her childhood. Although she was declared the heir apparent when she was 16, she had to wait for several years to become the queen. Meanwhile, she served under her brother as the head of cavalry for ten years, gaining wealth and fame, finally ascending the throne at the age 43. For the next 34 years, she reigned ambitiously: winning wars, enlarging her territory, and making sure her traders had safe passage throughout the Sahara region. Today, she is remembered not only for her bravery, but also for building fortification walls called “ganuwar Amina” around her cities. She is known for introducing kola nuts cultivation and metal armour as well. (<https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/hausa-queen-amina-51267.php>)

Queen Taytu Betul of Ethiopia is portrayed as a “formidable queen and empress, a powerful woman who used what is considered to have been “exceptional intelligence” to strengthen her power using strategies which included “ an adroit blend of patronage, political marriages and leadership craft” (UNESCO: Women in African History) (<https://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/taytu-betul/biography>) She is believed to have discouraged her husband King Menelik (King of Shoa) from signing a legal document with the colonialists which would have been going to trick the country into submission to colonial rule. When diplomatic negotiations failed, she did not hesitate to engage in a war of resistance. She is believed to have master planned the war at Makalle and at Adwa in 1896, leading to a victory considered as the most significant by an African army during the climax of European colonialism (Bortolot, Alexandra 2003)

Mwami Theresa Ntare of the Heru People (from Tanzania) inherited the throne of her father after his death in 1946, as she was the eldest child of Chief Ntare. As a chief, she had to marry, and not get “married” from a royal family, hence her family had to pay dowry to her husband’s family and the husband was obliged by tradition to give up his name and adopt his wife’ name. This protected the Mwami Theresa’s lineage from being transferred to her husband’s family. In 1956, she was elected by a male dominated chief’s council to head-to-head the council taking it over from Chief Marealle. During the struggle for independence, she was actively involved in

nationalist activities. She is said to have been instrumental in providing legal advice to the nationalist party. And later was appointed to the pre-independence legislative council. Thereafter became a member of Parliament until 1980. (<https://theafricanroyalfamilies.com/2022/07/06/mwami-theresa-ntare-iv-of-heru/>)

The participation of women in political spaces in pre-colonial states in Africa does not however rule out the existence of systems of oppression against women and girls which were resisted by women. In the following section, we briefly discuss some of the strategies which women have employed in resisting oppressive socio-economic and political systems.

Strategies to Disrupt Politics of Exclusion: Stripping Naked: Undress for Redress

One of the oldest forms of protesting against forms of abuse or violence or unjust treatment within the confines of culture was stripping naked. In her article, “Undress for redress: The rise of naked protests in Africa”, Ailli Trip argues that naked protests have been symbolic forms of collective protest generally but particularly by most marginalized women in African societies.

Commenting on Nude protest, Nangayi Guyson (2012) “Women give life and so to put the most private symbols of motherhood into the public arena is to negate that life and to say those in power are dead to society. It is very difficult to undo such a curse.” The author further argues that, this method was particularly a strategy to shame abusive men into behaving”. And during the colonial period it became a part of colonial struggles. During the post-colonial era, it was used to target governments which abused their power and authority. (<https://panafricanvisions.com/2016/06/undress-redress-rise-naked-protests-africa/>)

Using the case of Wangari Maathai in the 1990s, Nanjala Nyabola, In her book *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era is Transforming Politics in Kenya*, demonstrated how women like Wangari Maathai used the shame culture against itself, operationalizing public nudity and the hang-up with decency as a form of protest. When threatened with arrest for protesting the detention of political prisoners in Nyayo House in Kenya, Maathai and the mothers of the political prisoners stripped, shaming the young men who were sent to arrest them into capitulation.

Alexis Okeowo on the other hand, described how women in Abidjan, Ivory Coast marched in protest against the incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo who had refused to hand over power through democratic processes. Some of the women stripped naked while others were dressed all black both of which were feared taboos in the country. And yet others were carrying leaves which symbolized peace. Aya Virginie Toure, the main organizer of the protest, explained that this practice was traditionally used to send a curse –the target, in that case, being Gbagbo’s rule. The march was however dispersed by military forces. (<https://africanarguments.org/2016/06/anything-to-get-justice-the-rise-of-naked-protests-africa/>) /)

In her book, *Naked Agency: Genital Cursing and Biopolitics in Africa*, Naminata Diabate claims that the practice (stripping naked) is particularly strong tradition across Africa where “mature women have for decades mobilized the power of their nakedness in political protest to shame and punish male adversaries.” The author provides several cases in which women, particularly elderly women across Africa, have mobilized the power of their nakedness in political protest to shame and punish male adversaries. These methods she calls “insurrectionary nakedness”, often called

“genital cursing”, owe their cultural potency to the religious belief that spirits residing in women’s bodies can be unleashed to cause misfortune to their targets, including impotence, disease, and death”. Making reference to diverse cultural texts from social media and film to journalism and fiction, this author uncovers how women create spaces of resistance during socio–political duress, including such events as the 2011 protests by Ivoirian women in Côte d’Ivoire and Paris as well as women’s protests in Soweto to prevent the destruction of their homes. Through the concept of naked agency, the author explores fluctuating narratives of power and victimhood to challenge simplistic accounts of African women’s helplessness and to show how they exercise political power in various cases. (Naminata Diabate 2020 Duke University Press available at <https://www.amazon.com/Naked-Agency-Genital-Cursing-Biopolitics>)

In describing the women protest marches led by Leymah Gbowee against the warring factions in Liberia, Namata Diabate (2020) identified multiple strategies employed by women which forced the warlord to the ‘peace table’, finally ending the 14 years civil war. According to this author some of the strategies included: protest letters to various stakeholders, organized vigils, fasting, meetings, deliberations, sit-ins, dancing and chanting, a sex strike and finally a threat to strip naked” These strategies largely contributed to the ending of the war through peaceful discussions.

A Reporter with Sunday Observer 5th of March 2014, Justus Lyatuu, covered the story of a group of 50 women in eastern Uganda who stripped naked just a month after the passing of the Anti-Pornography law. The author claimed that the initial thrust of the law was to prevent the spread of pornography materials in the media, but it was hijacked by moralists against those they see as ‘provocative’

In yet another incident in Uganda 13th June 2015, Solumo Among covered another story of women in Soroti who took naked in protest against the attempts by the government to appropriate their land and give it to the University of Soroti. According to this report some of the women were stripped naked while others were half naked exposing their breasts.

According to the protestor’s story, their parents had donated a 980 piece of land to Teso College Aloit, but the college later carved out a further four hundred and sixty acres of land and donated it to Soroti University. The residents confirmed that the protest was not against the initial 980 acres, but the additional land which Soroti University had appropriated. The protestors further claimed that the University Authority came with a new map which appropriates an additional of one hundred and forty acres. One of the women protesters informed the Uganda Radio Network that she was ready to die in order to claim the land under dispute. (<https://ugandaradionet.net/story/soroti-women-undress-over-university-land-dispute>).

Florence Ebila Akona Akona (2016) narrated how an 83-year-old woman in Bukedea District in Eastern Uganda took off her clothes in retaliation at a land takeover by Chinese investors. And also in that year, dozens of women in Apaa village, northern Uganda, stripped naked in front of two visiting government ministers in protest at their possible eviction. According to Florence Ebila Akona, the protest was the “culmination of mistrust, frustrations, anger and anxiety over an uncertain future”, but she also explains that naked protests – in this instance and all others – are much more than just outpourings of desperation. They also convey deep symbolic messages. “The undressing was most importantly meant to curse the person who had brought all these sufferings to them”, says Akona. “But it was also meant to communicate to the men in their community that the men had failed to do their job of protecting the women and their land from being grabbed by foreigners.” (<https://africanarguments.org/2016/06/anything-to-get-justice-the-rise-of-naked-protests-africa/>)

Demonstrations and Protest

Women have challenged politics of exclusion through organized demonstrations with posters carrying powerful protest messages. One of the most celebrated women protest marches is the South African Women marches against apartheid rule generally and against pass laws in particular. There are three recorded marches organized by women in protest to the pass laws.

The first one was in 1913, the second was in 1930 in Potchefstroom, and the third was in 1956 when nearly 20,000 women marched to Pretoria. What stands out in these three protest marches is the fearlessness of the women who were ready to face the police brutality; the unity and intersectionality of the women as well as their organizational skills which resulted in collective voice against the repressive apartheid laws. While the apartheid regime used its oppressive force to suppress the women, the regime could not totally ignore the collective power of the women. Indeed, the South African women’s movement became a powerful force in the total struggle against the apartheid regime. One of the posters depicting common images read: *“Now that you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed.”*

The poster shows that even after 25 years, the march was still being called upon. The poster shows a black woman with a strong, stout face raising her right arm, which has a broken chain on her wrist. It symbolized “the strength, tenacity, and frustration that the South African woman faced, clearly seen by the expressions on her face.” (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/1956-womens-march-pretoria>)

One of the leaders in the 1956 march is quoted to have said “We women will never carry these passes. This is something that touches my heart. I appeal to you young Africans to come forward and fight. These passes make the road even narrower

for us. We have seen unemployment, lack of accommodation and families broken because of passes. We have seen it with our men. Who will look after our children when we go to jail for a small technical offence?” (Akpan 2015 available at <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/1956-womens-march-pretoria>)

Movement Building

Srilatha Batliwala (undated) defines social movements as “an organized set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change through collective action”. She posits that “movements matter because the people most affected by injustice join hands, organize themselves and act together for the change they seek—and through their collective power and passionate vision of a better world, they create deep and sustainable change”. The author further argues that “the best way to eradicate inequality and injustice is when oppressed people build strong movements that shift the structure of power.” (<https://commonslibrary.org/all-about-movements-why-building-movements-creates-deeper-change>)

Nida Karim (2022) on the other hand, considers Women’s Rights/Feminist Movements as a sub-set of progressive social movements. According to Karim, “Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression, and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands. Karim further notes that that “There is some evidence that strong, autonomous feminist and/or women’s movements are key to ending violence against women and girls. She observes that “Countries with the strongest feminist movements tend to have more comprehensive policies on violence against women than those with weaker or non-existent movements. Civil society, women’s rights organizations and feminist activists are key to movement building and initiatives to end violence against women and girls. Yet women’s rights organizations and movements are critically under-resourced (Available at https://untf.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-04/2022_EN_Feminist%20and%20Women%27s%20Movements_FINAL.pdf)

Shamillah Wilson (2018) defines a women’s movement as a social movement constituting women who collectively decide to further interests specific to women, using perspectives that draw from and highlight their lived experiences. In their “Scoping Study on Women’s Movement and the Role of Funders”, Elanor Jackson and Kanwal Ahluwalia (2018), reflect that women’s movements tend to have a “reformist agenda, focused on women’s equal rights with men, and social and political rights on par with men.” In the first place these movements strengthen women’s organizing and build collective power. In this process they link community level actions to address needs and rights with systemic change strategies at all levels. This is made possible because they forge a common vision, a broad agenda from the ground upward. This is in addition to recognizing differences of power, privilege, and perspective. Creating flexible alliances, linkages and honouring a division of labour and responding with

agility to political opportunities and threats. Ensuring voice and leadership by those most affected by injustice. Such movements have a feminist vision encompassing a range of issues with a power analysis and intersectional analysis at its core, working on power and agency more broadly instead of specific project goals. – which is often side-lined in other movements, organizations etc. Additionally, they draw from their lived experiences; have a mobilizing force around them so are more sustainable than individual NGOs. Finally, but not least, they rupture (disrupt) tradition, taking risks and creating counter cultures, narratives, ideologies, views etc.

Digital Activism

Nigeria's *Bring Back Our Girls* Movement

E.G Murphy (2017) reflects on Nigeria's "Bring Back our Girls" social media movement, which on the surface brought about global solidarity, engages with the power dynamics within seemingly global solidarity in this social movement. Murphy is of the view that while social media seem to have stirred global activism against forces of oppression, there seems to be power dynamics, which in this specific case, has 'shifted humanitarian communication from its groundings in the politics of pity towards 'ironic solidarity''". Murphy is of the view that ironic solidarity makes participants act not to alleviate the suffering of others, but "to perform their own identities; thus, perpetuating the very problems they aim to eliminate."

Through a rigorous literature review of the Bring Back Our Girls movement, the Murphy makes the following observations. First, the movement was driven by discourses of power dynamics which served to reinforce the hegemonic relationship between North and South. In the light of this, the author further argued that, the western feminists had "usurped the movement, hence disenfranchising third world feminists. (<https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/14517/Murphy%2C%20Emma%20MA%20Thesis>).

Although Murphy's power dynamics analysis is relevant in analyzing this specific context, we would argue that power dynamics exist in all social movements including the feminist movement in developing countries. The diversities within the movement tend to suffocate some voices, the rural women vs urban feminists, those with formal schooling vs those who do not have formal schooling, ethnic minority groups, social class and other forms of divides. Purposeful interventions are needed to bring about genuine solidarity which provides for collective voice on given issues. Engaging with these diversities will enable movement actors to address any of the hegemonic power relations.

Iranian Women Protests: #WomanLifeFreedom

In tracing the origin of the women's mass protest, Janet Afary and Kevin Anderson (2022) argue that these protests are rooted in century of struggles. On September 16, 2022, 22-year-old Mahsa Amini, a Kurdish woman, died three days after being arrested in Tehran by morality police on the allegation of improper wearing of her hijab. The Iran's morality police are part of the country's law enforcement and are tasked with enforcing the strict social rules of the Islamic Republic, including its dress code that mandates women wear a hijab in public. Her death enraged many women and some men throughout the country who have taken to the street to protest against the regime. Indeed, as expressed by UN Women, the Iranian protests have continued despite massive use of force by state organs to silence, torture, and kill demonstrators. The movement has attracted young women from schools and colleges who fearlessly burn their hijabs in public, who are no longer afraid of death and police brutalities.

The demonstrators have been drawn from various diverse backgrounds particularly the younger generation from colleges and schools using different strategies carrying out the following messages: #WomanLifeFreedom *"death to the dictator"* *"We are the children of war. Come on and fight and we'll fight back."* *"we don't want a corrupt establishment"* *"Our disgrace is our incompetent leader,"* (<https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/irans-protests-are-the-first-counterrevolution-led-by-women>).

From this general overview, we observe women from different parts of the world in their varied positions using innovative strategies to protest against repressive regimes and processes. In the following section we shall focus on the Tanzanian case limiting ourselves to the past 25 years.

Women Protests Against Oppressive Socio-economic Systems in Tanzania

The Herstory of disrupting politics of exclusion in Tanzania is deeply rooted in the social, cultural and political systems. Women in Tanzania have employed several strategies in protesting and disrupting politics of exclusion. These includes: singing and dancing to name and shame men who abused their power. For example, Bibi Titi the political veteran in Tanzania's politics was a leader of a Matumbi Dancing Troup, which was used to protest against colonial rule and mobilize party membership.

Another strategy was to protest by sitting in for days to force actions to rectify an issue, for example the Pare women who gathered before the colonial District Officer in Same in protest at the colonial taxation systems which they claimed was unfair. This method was also used by the Iraqw women who protested against the arrest of their sons and did not leave the office until action was taken.

Women protested by abdicating their care role when negotiations with male counterparts failed. The case of the Iraqw women who marched to the forest leaving behind their children hence forcing men to negotiate as will be discussed in the following section.

There were also cases of women who protested against oppressive cultural practices like the case of a young woman from the Iraqw tribe who protested against a cultural practice of killing a woman who had a child out of wedlock. After escaping death, she started advocating for changing this cultural habit and succeeded to make an impact. Some of these strategies were carried through to date as will be reviewed in the following section.

Boycotting Care Roles

In 2000, the Iraqw Women of Tanzania boycotted their traditional care roles by marching to the forests in protest to the failure of the male council to hold men accountable for abdicating their traditionally assigned duties due to excessive drinking.

Within the Iraqw society, men and women share leadership by having a women's wing and a men's wing, but the highest decision-making body was the male only council. But when women made certain decisions regarding the society, the men were obliged to listen and take measures. When the women council complained to the male council about the excessive drinking habits of men who ended up either abusing women or abdicating their traditionally assigned roles, the male council ignored their complaints. In response, women organized a protest by marching to the forest leaving behind their children regardless of their ages.

This forced the men to not only listen, but to send young men to surround the forest to protect the women against wild animals while organized negotiations with the women took place which lasted for some time. The women agreed to resume their domestic roles only after the council committed to hold men accountable for abdicating their responsibilities at household level (WFT_T 2018).

Protests & Demonstration: World Bank Go Home! 50 years is Enough!

When the World Bank was celebrating its 50th anniversary in a luxury hotel in Dar es Salaam, TGNP organized a protest march to the venue carrying two coffins one small one representing IMF and the bigger one the World Bank. This protest march was part of a larger campaign on “Return Resources to the People”

The protest march included a cross-section of members of FemAct, carrying banners “World Bank Go Home!! 50 years of exploitation is enough. The Police intercepted and arrested some of the demonstrators including the TGNP leader, Demere Kitunga who was then Board Chairperson of TGNP. When the President of the URT His Excellency Hon Benjamin Mkapa heard of the saga, he ordered the immediate release of the activists on the ground that “this time around they are supporting us!!!” By implication, if they were demonstrating against the state, he would have probably ordered them to stay in custody

Converting Custody into a learning space for activism

While in custody, Demere Kitunga started sharing the story with some of the police officers about why they were protesting against the World Bank and IMF, showing them how resources were not reaching them by making reference to the working environment they were subjected to. Some of the police officers admitted “If it was not for this outfit (meaning police uniform), I would have joined the demonstrators and become a member of the organization.”

Although the demonstrations did not have an impact in terms of policy change, they did register a collective protest against the World Bank’s role in undermining the rights of the citizens.

Influencing Legal Frameworks

The term “legal frameworks” is defined broadly to encompass laws, mechanisms and policies/plans to ‘promote, enforce and monitor’ gender equality. Legal frameworks that “promote” are those that establish women’s equal rights with men and enshrine non-discrimination on the basis of sex. The laws of the land are important in the protection and promotion of people’s rights generally but women’s rights in particular.

The Tanzanian Legal Framework

The United Republic of Tanzania is a party to various International, regional and sub-regional instruments which task the state to take legal measures to protect the rights of women. For example, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) re-affirmed women's political rights through the Convention on the Political Rights of women adopted in 1952. This was prior to independence of most African states.

These rights were reaffirmed in 1966, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which spelt out the principle of the right to participate in public and political life without discrimination. This Convention was followed by the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979). At regional level, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights of Women in Africa adopted by the African Union in 2003, further affirmed the principle of equality in political participation by women in the African context.

In the Beijing Declaration 1995, world governments, including the Tanzanian government, committed to set a target of increasing women's representation by 30%. By then women representation in worldwide parliaments was not more than 10% (UNDP: 1995).

Regionally, the main instruments that protect socio-economic and political rights are, among others the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1981. The instrument specific to women is the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 2003, as well as the South African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development, 2008. The African Charter enshrines the following economic and social rights. The right to property, the right to work, the right to health, the right to education, the right to housing, the right to social security, the right to food, the right to water, and the right to protection of the family.

The Protocol to the Charter is more specific on protection of the economic and social rights of women. Apart from re-emphasizing the rights in the Charter, it provides for such other specific women's rights as: the right to dignity, the right to security of the person, elimination of harmful practices, right to marriage (recognizing 18 years as a minimum marriage age), right to education and training.

National Level Commitments

The Constitution of the URT (1977) Article 12 (1&2) establishes an equality principle which is supposed to guide all other legal and policy instruments promoting human rights. Chapter 1 Para 5 of the same constitution guarantees each citizen of voting age (18+) the right to vote. Para 8 (1) affirms that the people (men and

women) of the URT have final authority and that the government of the URT is essentially accountable to them. Article 21 (1) provides that every citizen of the United Republic is entitled to take part in matters pertaining to the governance of the country, either directly or through representatives freely elected by the people, in conformity with the procedures laid down by, or in accordance with the law. Subsection (2) states that every citizen has the right and the freedom to participate fully in the process leading to decisions on matters affecting him, his well-being or the nation (*Italics added*). These provisions are in line with most international and regional instruments mentioned earlier. In 2005, the URT amended its constitution to provide for affirmative action in fast tracking women representation in key decision-making organs.

Article 66 is specific to women's representation as a separate category of citizens. Subsection (1) requires women to constitute not less than thirty (30) percent of all the members in the national assembly. The amendment allowed women MPs to use three channels to enter parliament: through a competitive constituency seat; through special seats arrangements which are given to political parties in proportion to their seats in parliament and through the presidential mandate nominate up to 10 MPs, 5 of which have to be women. These constitutional provisions provide an enabling environment for promoting gender equality in politics generally, and parliamentary politics in particular if other factors were to be addressed. Affirmative actions in electoral politics can lead to positive changes in both representation and in changing unwritten rules which initially excluded women from competitive politics.

Commitments made in the constitution and other legislations are reflected in the National Vision 2025 which envisages that by 2025, "racial, and gender imbalances will have been addressed such that economic activities will not be identifiable by gender or race... All social relations and processes which manifest and breed inequality in all aspects of society- i.e., law, politics, employment, education and culture) will have been reformed" (National Vision 2026:3). The National Vision provides a framework for formulation of legal and policy instruments to inform plans, programmes and budgets. Despite these commitments, women are yet to enjoy equal status in political spaces.

A gender-responsive legal framework provides a foundation which women rights activists use in demanding accountability from duty bearers for non-compliance to legal provisions. Despite provisions on paper, women in Tanzania continue to experience discriminative and oppressive practices some of which are either legalized in books of law or which are embedded in the cultural practices. In Tanzania a multitude of practices in cultural, traditional, and religious beliefs have relegated women low socio-economic status. While it can take a long time to eradicate cultures, particularly male defined cultures, women in Tanzania have challenged and

continue to challenge legal provisions and cultural practices that endorse discriminatory practices. Several laws have been passed by the National Assembly as a result of the strong influencing role by women. Such laws include but are not limited to the 1998 Sexual Offences (Special Provision) Act, (SOSPA), The 1999 Land Act, the 1999 Village Land Act, The Education Act CAP 353, The Labour and Employment Relations Act of 2007, The 2009 Law of the Child Act, The proposed Constitution of 2014, The Political Parties Amendment Act of 2019. In this section we shall focus on two legal frameworks which women have engaged with and managed to influence the content of the laws.

Women's Engagement in Influencing for a Gender-responsive Constitution Review Process (2011-2014).

Tanzania obtained its independence in 1961 as a result of the great role played by both men and women seeking freedom. The 1961 Independence Constitution that was imposed by the British underwent various changes in 1962, 1965, 1977, and beyond. The processes of making such constitutions and the amendments thereof were never participatory but centred around a few government and party leaders. As women were hardly represented in positions of power, both at the government and party levels, they faced automatic exclusion and were not part of the deliberations for constitutional amendments that the country underwent. The long-standing existence of the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania coupled with several ad hoc amendments, brought about consistent demands for a new constitution, including demands from women rights organisations.

The turnaround happened between 2011 and 2014, when the country attempted to write a new constitution. The 2011-2014 constitution-making process allowed citizens to participate through the provisions of the Constitutional Review Act. (CAP 83R:E2012) With great enthusiasm to disrupt the politics of exclusion applied during the writing of the 1977 Constitution and the subsequent amendments, and with the intention of obtaining a constitution that protects women's rights in all spheres, Tanzanian women used ten distinct strategies to ensure their effective and meaningful participation in the 2011-2014 constitution-making process.

a) Convening to coordinate women's voice in the Constitution review process

After President Jakaya Kikwete announced the launch of the new constitution-making process in December 2011, women's rights organizations came together to ensure women's voices are coordinated and that the women speak as one voice. Through Women Fund Tanzania, women mobilized, coordinated, and organized themselves into what was dubbed as Wanawake na Katiba Coalition (Women's Coalition on the Constitution). This coalition contained more than sixty-five organizations from all regions of Tanzania, working specifically on

women, children, and human rights. The organizations brought representatives with vast experiences and capacities with a view to complement each other in streamlining priorities, influence, and ensuring that the new constitution is inclusive of women's political, social, and economic rights.

b) Understanding the 1977 Constitution, its strengths and weaknesses with regard to women's rights

After coming together as a Coalition, the members undertook a gender analysis of the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania with a view to understanding how it came into being, its strengths and weaknesses in providing and protecting women's and children's rights. Under the leadership of Prof. Ruth Meena, the Women's Political Participation Expert, the Coalition members oriented themselves on the strengths and gaps of the 1977 constitution, how the gaps had affected the realizations of women's and children's rights in the country since the independence period, and further reflected on how such gaps can be filled by the new constitution.

c) Learning best practices from other countries

The gender analysis and orientation of the depth and breadth of the 1977 Constitution in protecting women and children's rights were carried out by comparing it with other progressive constitutions from countries with similar rights contexts to Tanzania/ The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), The Constitution of the Republic of Kenya (2010), and the Constitution of Rwanda (2003) were closely studied. These constitutions from neighbouring countries provided key lessons on approaches the Women Coalition could take to ensure effective engagement in the constitution review process, and the kinds of women and children's rights and obligations they should prioritize for the new constitution.

d) Consensus building on the 'Key Women's Issues' to be advocated for to be included in the new constitution

The gender analysis of the 1977 constitution and lessons from other progressive constitutions, enabled women to identify, articulate, and deliberate on key women's priorities/demands in the new constitution. Several rounds of consultative processes among the members of the Women Coalition birthed twelve key priority areas to be advocated for to be included in the new constitution. The women's priority areas demanded that the new constitution spell out women's rights; prohibit discriminatory laws against women; protect women's rights to dignity and respect international instruments and standards and translate them into national laws. The priority areas also included the need for the new constitution to guarantee equal rights for women in decision-making organs; spell out the age

of a child and protect women's rights to access, control and benefit from national resources. Furthermore, the women demanded that the new constitution spell out women's rights to maternal health services, women's rights to access and benefit from basic services, and the rights of women with disabilities. Finally, the women's priority areas also encompassed the need to put in place a family court, and a commission to monitor and oversee implementation of women's rights.

e) Popularising the Women's 12 Priority Areas for the New Constitution

The 12 women's priority areas were widely circulated and discussed in meetings and workshops to ensure all members of the coalition were on board and able to engage with the constitution review process with a similar set of harmonized demands. Amid the need of diverse groups to influence the constitution review process, the ability of women to coordinate, document and popularise their priority areas placed the Women's Coalition ahead of many actors owing to the consistency of their messaging and influencing.

f) Proactive and planned engagement with Constitutional Review Commission

During the opinion collection exercise by the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC), the Women Coalition proactively consulted with the CRC. They attended CRC-organised consultative meetings, articulated their demands, made written submissions, and leveraged the media to amplify the 12 priority areas. Due to the strategic positioning of the Women's Coalition, the CRC invited the coalition several times to share women's views, priorities, and issues with regard to the new constitution. Members of the CRC were impressed by the clear articulation of the women's issues and further requested the women's coalition to engage on issues beyond those affecting women only (Meena 2014).

g) Popularising and improving the first draft

After the collection and analysis of public opinion, the CRC produced the First Draft Constitution,³ and allowed the Public to react on it through district constitutional fora, direct meetings, letters, petitions, and memoranda.⁴ The aim was to improve the First Draft before it went to the Constituent Assembly.⁵ The Women's Coalition made a great effort to influence the first draft by translating, reading, and analyzing how it responded to the women's 12 priorities. The women's coalition members such as the Women Fund Tanzania and the Legal and Human Rights Centre, launched a countrywide campaign through constitutional

³ The Draft Constitution ("titled in Kiswahili—Rasimu ya Katiba ya Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2013").

⁴ As per section 18 (6), it says for the purpose of this section, the Commission may allow organizations, associations or groups of persons to convene meetings in order to afford opportunity to its members to air their views on the Draft Constitution and forward such views to the Commission.

⁵ James, Jesse Report on the Constitution-Making Process in Tanzania (2013) Legal and Human Rights Centre Publication

fora to educate women in remote areas, on the content of the draft constitution and the extent to which women's rights had been catered for. After consulting with other women through constitutional fora, the Women Coalition compiled the identified gaps, provided suggestions on how such gaps could be filled, and submitted its recommendations to the CRC for further consideration in the Second Draft (Lihiru 2023).

h) Influencing for equal representation of men and women in the Constituency Assembly

After compilation and analysis of public opinion on the first draft constitution from the constitution fora, the commission prepared and released the Second Draft Constitution (Lihiru 2023). After the issuance of the Second Draft Constitution, the CRA provided for a Constituent Assembly as the third step of the constitution-making process in Tanzania (James 2013). As per the CRA, the President appointed 201 different governmental and non-governmental organisations to join members of parliament to form together the Special Constituent Assembly (SCA) (James 2013). Before the President appointed members of the SCA, the Women's Coalition took the initiative to consult and influence the then President (Hon, Dr Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete) to observe equal representation between men and women when appointing the SCA's members.⁶ This move by the Women's Coalition was a major success - the President appointed 101 men and 100 women. Due to the great role played by the Women Coalition in the constitution review process, six of its members were appointed to be part of the SCA.

j) Orienting, empowering, and lobbying members of the Constituent Assembly on the 12 priority areas

As the CSA began its work, the Women's Coalition also started to empower all members of the SCA on the twelve women's priorities for the new constitution (Lihiru 2019). Through the coalition's experts and consultants, the Women's Coalition produced a deeper analysis of the second draft constitution from a gender perspective by comparing it with best practices from other jurisdictions with progressive constitutions such as Rwanda, Kenya, and South Africa. The Women's Coalition provided the female members of the CSA with well-researched, factual and evidence-based recommendations on what should be discarded, retained, or added to the second draft constitution. This was in addition to enhancing the coalition's capacity to identify male champions who were willing to support the women's agenda during the whole process (Meena 2014). The Women Coalition also used the media in various TV and radio programmes and through the issuance of press releases whenever anything occurred that was likely

⁶ Nancy Mrikalia a member to women coalition, was one of the Political Parties' delegation visiting the President- she successful convinced the President to appoint equal numbers of men and women members of the SCA.

to be detrimental to obtaining a gender-sensitive constitution.⁷ Furthermore, the Women's Coalition conducted a national convention in the capital city, Dodoma, as a parallel or shadow SCA with rural women to enhance their understanding of the constitution-making processes. They were reminded of women's priorities versus the content of the Second Draft Constitution, and jointly, strategies to influence the remainder of the constitution-making process were devised.

k) Reflecting on the gains for women from the 2014 proposed Constitution

After the Special Constituency Assembly finished its work and produced the Tanzanian 2014 Proposed Constitution, the women's coalition quickly came together and analysed it to determine key gender progressive gains and losses (Meena 2014). The Proposed Constitutions contained all of the 12 women's demands, save for the gender equality commission. As a final stage, the proposed constitution was supposed to be put to a referendum. The CRA provided for a referendum to be conducted by the Electoral Commissions of the Union, and that of Zanzibar. The Constitution was to have been approved by a 'Yes' or 'No' vote (Meena 2014). The Women Coalition started preparation for the referendum by strengthening the Coalition and analysing other existing related laws in light of the new constitution. The Coalition informed women of the gains obtained from the Proposed Constitution, and on why they should vote 'Yes' during the referendum. The referendum was initially announced to take place on 30 April 2015 but was later postponed until further notice (Meena 2014). In 2016 and on a number of occasions, the fifth President of the United Republic of Tanzania, John Pombe Magufuli, stated that the completion of a new constitution was in the least of his priorities.⁸ The sixth President of Tanzania, and the first female President, Samia Suluhu Hassan also wants those in need of the new constitution to give her time to build the economy (Lihiru 2021). The President has however set up the Presidential Taskforce on Multiparty Democracy in December 2021. The Taskforce has released its report which recommends a six-step approach to the revival of the 2011-2014 constitutional review process.⁹

Final Observations on Case Study One

Although the 2011-2014 constitution-making process was not completed (Mwakyusa 2022), ways through which women took part in the process still disrupted the exclusion tendencies that characterized previous constitution-making processes. The level of women's engagement in the process and the gender progressive gains in the 2014 Proposed Constitution laid strong foundations for how women should take

7 The women coalition lobbied for about 10 different TV spaces to utilise whenever a need arise, they issues various new papers articles and social media press releases.

8 'Tanzania postpones referendum on constitution' available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tanzania-politics/tanzania-postpones-referendum-on-constitution-idUSKBN0MT21U20150402> accessed 3 October 2022.

9 A Report of the Presidential Taskforce on Multiparty Democracy, October 2022.

part in future constitutional-making processes, and has provided bedrock for improving the gender-related provisions. Women's effective engagement in the constitution-making process was recognised by the CRC. Due to the strategic positioning of the Women's Coalition, the CRC invited it several times to share women's views, priorities, and issues with regard to the new constitution. Members of the CRC were impressed by the clear articulation of the women's issues and requested the women's coalition to engage on issues beyond those affecting women only. Women's engagement was felt to the extent that six members of the Women Coalition were nominated to the constitutional assembly. Most importantly, although some gaps are still witnessed, the 2014 Proposed Constitution contained all 12 women's priorities, except one - the Gender Equality Commission is missing in the Proposed Constitution. The legacy of the Wanawake na Katiba Coalition lives on until now. Even after the stalling of the 2011-2014 constitution review process, the Women Coalition rebranded itself as the Mtandao wa Wanawake, Katiba, Uchaguzi na Uongozi (Women, Constitution, Elections and Leadership) Coalition. The Coalition has carried on with its work of influencing better election laws and those pertaining to the management of political parties. The Engagement of the Women Coalition in the enactment of the Political Parties Amendment Act, 2019 is covered in the case study below.

Advocating for the Gender-Responsive Provisions in the Political Parties Amendment Act, 2019.

Since Tanzania got its independence in 1961, women have been, to a large extent, excluded from holding positions of power (Killian 1996). For example, the first multiparty elections in 1995 witnessed the election of eight women from constituencies (3.4%). The number increased to twelve (5.3%) in 2000 and afterward to seventeen (7.3%) in 2005. In 2010, twenty-one (8.7%) women won constituencies, with the number increasing to 25 women (9.4 percent) in 2015 (Lihuru 2021). The 2020 general elections witnessed 26 women (9.8 percent) winning in the constituencies. While women's representation in parliament comes to 36.9 percent, only 9.8 percent are elected from constituencies; the rest hail from the special seat system. Similarly, most of the political parties' leaders from lower to national levels are men. Gender-insensitive electoral laws and those governing the management of political parties contribute to the problem of low women representation in positions of power (Lihuru 2019). When Tanzania was transitioning to multiparty democracy in 1992, the Political Parties Act was passed to allow other political parties to engage in political activities as of 1st July 1992. An amendment was also made to the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania¹⁰ to facilitate the transition to political plurality. As women were only a token in positions of power and most of them had little interest in politics, the Political Parties Act barely included any

¹⁰ Eighth Amendment to Constitution.

directives on how men and women could take part in building multiparty democracy. In 1990, women made up 8.6 percent of the parliament (Lihiru 2021) Owing to the gender insensitivity of the Political Parties Act, since the first multiparty election of 1995, women have mainly played the role of loyal followers, mobilizers, and voters, with only a few standing for elections. Although, since its enactment, the Political Parties Act underwent seven amendments, concerns remained. Such concerns led to the start of the process for amending the PPA in 2013. The process, however, got postponed to allow for the constitutional review process and the 2015 elections and was revived in 2018. On 16th October 2018 the Political Parties Bill was gazetted and read for the first time in Parliament on 6th November 2018. With the aim of disrupting politics of exclusion which have for so long affected women's meaningful participation in political processes, the revival of the Political Parties Act amendment, posed a great opportunity for the women to engage and influence for gender-responsive provisions in the Political Parties Act. Activists and women engaged in six important strategies to achieve their goals.

a) Analysis of the political parties bill on women participation in political processes

The Coalition analysed the Political Parties Bill based on how it is aligned with the principles of gender equality, democracy, human rights principles and good governance as enshrined in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977 and other international obligations from international conventions and agreements that Tanzania is a party to. Through the support of Institutions for Inclusive Development (I4ID) two consultants, namely Prof Ruth Meena and Ms. Fransisca Silayo were engaged to deliver this work. A provision-by-provision analysis was conducted, and case studies from Kenya and Rwanda Political Parties Acts were used to identify gaps in the Proposed Political Parties Bill. Before the analysis was revealed, it was presented to all members of the committee for review and input. The coalition ensured that the voices of the youth, women and women with disabilities were captured in the analysis. Representatives from the Federation of the Disabled People Association and other young women were in attendance to also provide their views and inputs

After the report was finalised, the comprehensive report was translated into simple advocacy tools, namely a matrix of key gender gaps in the proposed Bill, and an addendum of key recommendations. Both the matrix and the addendum were translated into a popular Swahili version to improve its accessibility by all people.

b) Submission of recommendations to the ‘Parliamentary Committee on Legal and Constitution Affairs’

The women coalition responded to the invitation by the Legal and Constitutional Parliamentary Committee, by sending a team of 10 members (9 women and 1 man) to attend the public hearing debate in Dodoma on 17th and 18th January 2017. The report and the matrix were presented to the Legal and Constitutional Parliamentary Committee who appreciated the level of detail provided in an angle that other CSOs did not cover in detail. On top of handling key documents to the parliamentary committee team, the coalition submitted the addendum and the matrix to the Parliament Secretary to ensure that their recommendations are incorporated in the committees’ records. The addendum and the matrix were also handled to other members of parliament including those from the opposition parties, members of the women parliamentary caucus, and leaders of political parties etc.

c) Strategic engagements

The Women Coalition conducted consultative meetings with key strategic and influential people to advocate for the incorporation of gender-sensitive provisions in the Political Parties Bill. These key strategic people included Hon. Andrew Chenge (CCM MP, Bariadi), Hon. Jenister Mhagama (CCM MP, Songea), the Minister in the Prime Minister’s Office; Policy, Parliament, Labour, Youth, Employment and People with Disabled, Hon. Sophia Mwakagenda from the opposition wing and Hon. Amina Mollel from PwD’s Special seat. These leaders agreed with the coalition views and promised to sensitize others on them. They were also provided with the Coalition’s handouts for more awareness.

d) Media engagement

After the engagement with the Legal and Constitutional Parliamentary committee, the members agreed to engage in a social media campaign on the implications of the bill on women participation in electoral politics, to bring women and their issues into a conversation that had largely missed the women agenda. The women coalition through funding from I4ID engaged Kwanza TV and Change Tanzania conducted a series social media campaigns and engagement on the implication of the PPA Bill in promoting women participation in electoral politics. This was the only social media content on the topic which created a good dialogue on social media thereby enabling greater public awareness on the need for gender issues to be included in the Bill and in the process.

e) Reflection, feedback sessions and continuous monitoring

After participating in the Public hearing, the coalition brought together its members (those who did and did not attend the public hearing in Dodoma) to review

and reflect on their involvement in the review processes. These sessions enabled the sharing of experiences and lessons learnt from the coalition's engagement in ensuring gender and women's issues are incorporated in the proposed Political Parties Bill.

Even after the parliamentary session, the coalition followed up and monitored parliament discussions on the new Bill through mainstream, social media and physical observations by members who attended the Parliamentary sessions. The UNWOMEN-facilitated research unit was earmarked and given a role to collect proceedings of all sessions that would be discussing the Political Parties Bill in the parliament and pass them to the coalition for processing, analysis and further advocacy. It was agreed that particular attention should be paid when the government, legal and constitutional parliamentary committee, and opposition camp reads their report on the Bill and their stance.

f) Gains for women in the political parties 2019 Amendment Act

The Political Parties (Amendment) Bill was passed by parliament on 29th January 2019, assented by the President on 13th February 2019, and gazetted on 22nd February 2019. The gazetted PPA contained provisions which require political parties to mainstream issues of gender and social inclusion at the formation stage, recruitment of members, election of party leaders, in the party constitutions and manifestos, and in selection of candidates. This signifies some level of success as a result of the Women Coalition engagement. Although there are still gaps in the Political Parties (Amendment) Act 2019, such as lack of enforcement mechanisms on the gender and social inclusion provisions due to absence of thresholds, the Political Parties (Amendment) Act 2019 covers more progressive provisions compared to the 1992 Political Parties Act. The Women Coalition still works to ensure the gender and social inclusion principles contain specific thresholds to ensure effective monitoring and implementation.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The exclusion of women from political and other spaces is deeply rooted in the patriarchal system and ideologies that permeate all institutions in our society, formal and informal. Although women have continuously struggled against this exclusion, these struggles have not been systematically documented. This chapter has sought to contribute to filling that gap by documenting the various strategies that women have employed in disrupting the politics of exclusion. The few cases discussed in this chapter calls for deeper analysis of 'her' story in disrupting politics of exclusion.

CONCLUDING THE JOURNEY

by Ruth Meena and Hellen Bulugu

The Beijing Journey is yet to be concluded. We have just ended part one of our “story”, the post-Beijing is waiting for our next story, an inspiring story which will remain in our memories, but which we have generously shared with the younger generation who have joined the boat, with assurance from us, though the ocean was never smooth and most likely will still not be smooth, but together we will conquer the waves, you will cross rivers, as you climb mountains.

TOGETHER WE CAN

Before we close this page, let’s get some inspiration from our poet, Hellen Bulugu so you can close the book with a smile.

The End of Our Journey?

A poem by Hellen Bulugu

Hello

Hello

Oh Hello you Daughter of the lands,

It’s me.

*Here I am again with my khanga around my waist
to dance my way out of your page.*

Leaving nothing but scents of a “YES IT CAN BE”

I will dance away as I trace the steps of our founding mothers.

The queens we are lucky enough to have in our midst.

I will dance as a proud daughter of the east.

It’s a pride knowing the capabilities women possess.

*It's contagious.
It's beautiful.
Oh what a story!
What a collective story!
Now that stories have been told,
In stories we have learned.
In stories we have secured our treasures.
Our strong women like pillars,,,,
Ooh come join my spark.
Let's go and spark our communities,
Our neighbours,
The elders,
The youth, young girls and new borns and men.
Let's go and tell them it's possible,
It has been done,
It will be done again.
I mean, what's the fun dreaming if you can't live it?
What's the fun of a story if you can't learn from it?
What's the use of mentors if you can't reflect lessons from them?
This energy in the room is too mighty.
.....Breath it in.....
.....Breath it out.....
So here I am to close the chapters.
Questions:
Did the journey end with the conference??? Please Noooooo
Did our narration end here??? Please Nooooo!
We closed the book journey, Yes.
But the book has inspired a desire to continue narrating our stories.
Knowing we have just started the second leg of our struggles,
Organize don't agonize said Dada Gertrude Mongella,*

That's what we have learned from the Beijing process.

*We learnt the power of collective actions,
just like water if we follow this stream together mountains
will fall and a thousand more.*

*One agenda one voice,
we learnt to move on regardless of mountains we have to climb!
Rivers we have to cross and valleys we need to navigate.
Above all we learnt of our power.*

Being a Woman.

Oh what a beautiful day to be a woman.

Happy birthday to the new ideas.

New passions and new POWERS.

*Happy birthday to young girls who are transitioning to young leaders.
Struggling to find a seat at those big tables.
Fighting to shout your voice out..*

Soon baby girl.

Soon and very soon.

Your story will be in books

*Just Like Dada Professor Marjorie Mbilinyi, Dada Gertrude Mongella,
Dada Mary Rusimbi. Dada Professor Ruth Meena, Dada Lillian Liundi,
Dada Anneth Meena, Dada Victoria Lihiru, Dada Asseny Muro
and Dada You,*

Yes,

You too Girl child.

You too.....

Happy birthday to you.

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