



**Women's Funds: Building, Sustaining, and Supporting
Women's Movements**

The Study of the Women's Fund Tanzania

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|-------|--|
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| CBO | Community Based Organisation |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| GPA | Grant Portfolio Analysis |
| GBV | Gender Based Violence |
| GM | Grant making |
| ICT | Information and Communication Technology |
| INWF | International Network of Women's Funds |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| SAB | Strategic alliance building |
| SP | Strategic Plan |
| SRH | Sexual and reproductive health |
| TAMWA | Tanzania Media Womens Association |
| TGNP | Tanzania Gender Networking Programme |
| TAWLA | Tanzania Women Lawyers Association |
| VAW | Violence against women |
| WFT | Women's Fund Tanzania |

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INTRODUCTION

Tanzania's women's movements have a rich history of confronting patriarchy ranging from the four nation-shaping periods of colonialism, nationalism, Ujamaa¹ and neoliberalism era. Some of the socio-economic and political aspects that make Tanzania unique, include her pre-colonial heritage as a result of her contacts with the Arabs and Islam; the combination of German (1884-1914) and British (1914-1961) colonial experience; the unique TANU-led (Tanganyika African National Union) anti-colonial nationalist struggle which led to political independence in 1961 without firing a single shot; the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964; the adoption of *Ujamaa* in 1967; and the swift transition to neoliberal policies in the early 1980s.

The complex and transient character of patriarchy, and how it manifests through continuously evolving gendered power relations at all levels of society, has created an inescapable need for the women's movement to continuously assess, re-strategise and take strategic action.² From the pre-colonial period, through to the colonial period and even after independence (up to 1986), women were excluded from the political arena. During this period, women's organising in Tanzania was centered around supporting members of women's organisations' husbands in the execution of government assignments rather than to address the challenges faced by women. These organisations included Women's Service League, Mothers Union, Asian Women Association, African Welfare Association and Tanganyika Council for Women.³ The focus of these organisations were around reinforcing women's socialised gender roles in their families, as mothers and wives.

Following the formation of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954 as an independence movement, a women's section was established within TANU tasked with mobilising women (and men) to join the party. With the accession to a single party state in 1965 it was declared that all political activities in Tanzania would be organised under the (only political) party. The result was that the Umoja wa Wanawake Tanganyika (UWT) formed to unify all women's groups following independence was not an independent civil society organisation. The resulting impact was that it took away independence to challenge and take up issues within the national political space. Particularly because link between the party and

¹ Swahili for 'familyhood' and Tanzania's version of socialism

² Rehmatullah and Chigudu (2017). Situation Analysis Of Women's Movement In Tanzania. Report Commissioned by the Embassy of Ireland.

³ Mallya, E (2005). Women NGOS and the Policy Process in Tanzania: The Case of the Land Act of 1999. African Study Monographs, 26 (4): 183 – 200, December 2005.

organisation became blurred as expressed clearly in the objectives of the organisation which was 'to foster national development through coordination with other organisations'.

The landscape of women's organising (more formally) was hugely impacted by the economic decline that was witnessed in the late 1970s and the mid-1980s, where increasingly more organisations were established in spheres such as social, economic, as well as political spheres. This happened during a period where there was increased awareness among citizens that they needed to engage more actively with state processes to try to fill the gap made by the economically weak government. This led to an upsurge in registration of development-oriented NGOs (from 1986 onwards), including women's organisations. Among these were the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) and Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA). At this stage, the claims by UWT to represent the unifying voice of all Tanzanian women, was challenged with the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1992. Women within civil society driven by the impetus to give voice to the range of experiences of women and their challenges, decided to address the fragmented voice and representation of women through organising a conference in Dar es Salaam in July 1994. This conference gave birth to the NGO in the name of Women Council of Tanzania (in Swahili Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania, BAWATA)⁴, tasked with addressing all forms of gender exploitation, and to strengthen efforts in the struggle for protecting women's rights. BAWATA floundered after the 1995 elections following accusations from government of lack of transparency and accountability.

However, despite this, from independence to the present moment, women's movements have gone through a number of transformations informed by the country's domestic and external environments. Through their involvement and engagement in liberation struggles, more often than not fighting multiple expressions of exclusion, women put down the foundations of what has become the most political processes to challenge the state and other institutionalised cultural forms of patriarchy. In their efforts to advance the broader agenda for women's rights and equality, the women's movement in Tanzania has had to contend with continuous attempts by the State and conservative elements to co-opt or disrupt their agenda. Despite these obstacles, some key successes of the women's movement include increased numbers of women campaigning for political office; in communities, civil society and in the political arena; shifting norms, ideas and public discourse; and shifting engagement with decision-making structures to demand accountability for the protection of women's rights.⁵

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Rehmatullah S and Chigudu H (2017). Situation Analysis of Women's Movement in Tanzania. Final Report. Commissioned by the Embassy of Ireland.

However, persisting challenges has been the mismatch between the rhetoric of gender equality and ineffective policy, lack of resources and strategic action by those in power. Additionally, as is the case across the globe, womens's movements have had to contend with the effects of shrinking civic space to dissent, speak out and confront abuses of power. The shifts in regulations to restrict civil society organising, meant that particular groups (sex workers, transgender and other gender non-conforming identities), are either not recognised or are criminalised. The reality of resources contributes to a situation whereby those based in urban areas have greater access and opportunity to give visibility to their issues.

Women's rights organisations find themselves operating within a highly negotiated space where they have to align their interests with those of funding institutions, while remaining responsive to the communities/constituencies they serve. This often creates silos around how organisations position themselves based on thematic areas of work, such as a focus on one set of rights vis-à-vis another. The funding landscape, has meant that organisations may be more focused on survival, and may lose out on opportunities to foster connection and coordination with diverse and different actors linked to the broader agenda for gender equality.

Birth of the Women's Fund Tanzania

WFT was born during a time when resources for women's rights agendas had already been shrinking. A study carried out by AWID to analyse funding trends of women's rights work found out that all the resources for women's rights all over the world turned out to be less than what 'Greenpeace' received in a single year. Another study carried out by Professor Ruth Meena confirmed that 'the scenario for both fund receivers (women's organisations and women's movement) and fund providers (donors and sponsors) has been changing rapidly in Africa during recent years. In Tanzania, as elsewhere, this has resulted in less funding being accessed by women's organisations because of different ways of operating (New Aid Modalities).⁶

All these provided the soil from which the WFT sprouted. The thinking behind the initiative to create a women only funding modality in Tanzania started as early as 2003 as the founders realised that women's voice, visibility and contributions to achieve empowerment and social justice will remain unseen and undervalued unless adequate funding reaches them. Officially, WFT was established in 2006 by Mary Rusimbi (the current Executive Director) and Marije te

⁶ Embassy of Ireland (). Role of WFT.

Riele. WFT was registered in Tanzania (WFT-Tz) in September 2008 as a non-profit organisation and in The Netherlands (WFT-NI) as a supportive foundation in November 2009. Two active boards became functional on a voluntary basis since the end of 2009/ beginning of 2010.

At this time of establishment (2008), WFT worked on a 100 % voluntary base without any prior funding in place. During the period 2006-2010, the focus on the Fund was to develop a sound organisation base with functional governance and implementation structures to deliver on the vision and mission. Simultaneously, during this period, the Fund engaged strategic actors within the Tanzania women's movements to develop a roadmap for the Fund. The Fund started with modest resources, but has progressively built on its successes and positioned itself as a relevant and responsive institution supporting constituency and alliance building, agenda setting and organising for social justice. In 2011, the Fund had its first operational year starting with a pilot grant making program combined with a strong mentorship program. For example, in 2011, WFT supported 3 pilots, 6 in 2012 and 26 between January and September 2013.

Thus far, we have been supporting community based women's rights initiatives working on promoting issues of sex-workers' rights, women's disability rights, adolescent girls and sexuality rights, adolescent girls and leadership skills, young women's rights and decent employment (housemaids' rights), women's rights in the new constitution and coalition building. The Fund has catalysed and given birth to cross-sectoral alliances/coalitions within and outside of the women's movements and cutting-edge agendas driven from the bottom up and fuelled by the deep political visions of various constituents of women's movements. These alliances not only bridge geographies and issue siloes, they also cross the otherwise deep divides of class, rural-urban, ethnicity, race, religion, class, sexuality, age, etc. [1] [SEP]

WFT sees itself as a growing grant making mechanism aimed at accessing funds to women's initiatives for promoting voice/capacity of marginalised women and visibility of marginalized issues including denied rights in different settings.⁷ Embodying this identity, the Fund supports a variety of initiatives, including controversial and contested issues through a two-pronged approach; focusing on local level grant-making and on strategic national level

⁷ Rusimbi, M (2015). Civil Society Pillar – Case on Women's Rights Fund in Tanzania – Women Fund Tanzania (WFT), https://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/waterandsustainabledevelopment2015/pdf/Mary_Rusimbi_BM_Case.pdf

movement building. The funds sees this approach as complementary and mutually reinforcing as it aims to strengthen women's movements and their collective organising power.

Given where the Fund is on their growth trajectory, for purposes of this research project, the Fund wanted to surface the emerging narrative of their cumulative impact within the Tanzanian organising landscape. Specifically, the Fund was interested in learning more about their role in strengthening movement building within the local context. Based on the unique role played by WFT in enabling (through funding) and increasing organising capacities of a range of women's movements actors, the Fund wanted to gain more insight into the transformative potentials of a national women's Fund in advancing advancing broader social justice outcomes. .

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

The context analysis includes an overview of the political climate, economic situation as well as a social and cultural analysis of Tanzania with attention to women's rights. It then provides an overview of civil society and women's organising.

Political climate

Tanganyika secured independence in 1961 from the British. Zanzibar, an archipelago off the mainland consisting of two large islands and many small ones, was granted formal independence two years later. Following a revolution in 1964, Zanzibar, initially a constitutional monarchy, merged with Tanganyika mainland to become the United Republic of Tanzania.⁸

Tanzania's first political party, the Tanganyika African Association, was founded in 1929 and transformed by Nyerere into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954. In 1977 it was merged with Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to form the CCM. The CCM remained the country's sole legal political party up until 1992 when a multiparty democracy was introduced as part of Mwinyi's efforts to implement structural adjustments in return for continued international aid and cooperation. A new constitution was introduced to that end, stipulating that political parties must be active in both mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and not affiliated with any religious, racial or tribal groups.

Tanzania's first multiparty elections were held in 1995 and were represented by 13 political parties, including the CCM, the Zanzibar-based Civic United Front (CUF) and the Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Chadema) – or "Party for Democracy and Progress". However, the results of the elections, which returned Benjamin Mkapa of the ruling CCM as president, were highly scrutinised by observers in the international community.⁹ Tanzania's latest elections were held in October 2015 and saw CCM leader John Magufuli elected president of the united republic. The parliamentary elections that were held at the same time, however, saw the number of seats dedicated to the party's majority in the National Assembly decline from 265 to 252. The number of seats occupied by CUF members increased from 35 to 42,

⁸ Ahearn, R (2017). Why hostilities between Tanganyika and Zanzibar still challenge Tanzanian unity. *The Conversation*. Available online: <https://theconversation.com/why-hostilities-between-tanganyika-and-zanzibar-still-challenge-tanzanian-unity-76713>

⁹ Oxford Business Group (2018). Tanzania Country Report. <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/tanzania-2018>

while those of Chadema rose from 49 to 70. Elections in Tanzania are overseen by an electoral commission, in place since 1992.

In Zanzibar, serious questions about fraud and electioneering have marked all of the major polls in Zanzibar and elections have often been violent. The 1995, 2000 and 2005 elections were hotly contested. In the run up to the 2005 poll, the opposition's Civic United Front (CUF) staged a protest and subsequently boycotted parliament for four years. In 2010, an agreement for a government of national unity was reached between Tanzania's CCM and Zanzibar's CUF.¹⁰ In October 2015, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission nullified the Zanzibar presidential election results three days after the vote due to irregularities. The commission held a scheduled rerun of the elections in March 2016, with the vote returning CCM candidate Shein. Despite this, the opposition and some external observers expressed concern over the result.

The introduction of multi-party democracy, the disruptive capacity of the popular classes increased as the opposition began to offer a real alternatives to the ruling party. In a context of institutional fragmentation and factional competition, the ruling party leadership has struggled to cement its social foundation with the added pressures of implementing a long-term development vision.

As with many economies around the world, Tanzania has grappled with corruption, and recent years have seen the government take a number of steps to reduce incidents of illicit financing and capital flight. In 2008 Daudi Ballali, governor of the Bank of Tanzania, was fired following an international audit that revealed more than \$120m in improper payments by the central bank to local companies. That same year then-President Jakaya Kikwete dissolved his Cabinet following a corruption scandal that saw the country's prime minister and two other ministers resign. The administration of the current president, Magufuli, has sought to take a strict anti-corruption policy approach since being elected in 2015. Efforts in this regard have been directed towards tackling incompetence in the public sector through firings and cutbacks among public officials, as well as purging some 10,000 so-called ghost workers from the public sector payroll, and dismissing 9900 civil servants who were found to have forged either school or college certificates.

An analysis of the political context is primarily concerned with questions of power. In other words: Who controls resources in society? What are the determinants of public policy

¹⁰ Ahearne, R (2017)

decisions? What are the relations between the leadership and the citizenry? In these terms, to focus exclusively on parties and elections in Tanzania is to divert attention away from the crucial area of Government administration, particularly in relation to the control and allocation of resources, questions of 'aces' and the interaction of leadership and citizens at all levels of the state apparatus. The socio-political reality of institutions in Tanzania is the dominance of 'government' as opposed to 'party' at all levels. The 'top' leadership and the 'mass' of the citizenry do not enjoy the intimate relations suggested by current rhetoric. The principal channels are bureaucratic ones: a hierarchy of functionaries and government institutions at Divisional, District and Regional levels to which party and popular organs are subordinated. Elections, in parallel to these intervening bureaucratic structures, serve further to fragment and compartmentalise the political environment.

In terms of women's engagement in the political space, while there has been some increase of women's political participation at the party level, following the 2015 elections, women's political representation was at 34%.¹¹ One of the reasons for this is that parties have their own internal systems for allocating these special seats, and the process for selecting female representatives for special seats complicates women MPs' accountability to the female constituency, as their loyalty lies primarily with their party.¹² An overview of the political landscape in Tanzania shows that while women are often mentioned in party manifestos, women do not tend to occupy leadership positions within political parties in Tanzania.¹³ For the first time during the General Elections in October 2015, women have broken through a political glass ceiling at the highest level of leadership, which now includes a female Vice-President in the country..¹⁴

Economic climate

After political independence in 1961, Tanzania has experienced three major epochs of economic development and changes. The 1961 – 1967 epoch was concerned primarily with addressing the remnants of a colonial influence in building the economy, and was mostly concerned with building Tanzania as an independent nation. During this period, the economy continued to be dominated by a market-oriented and capitalist approach primarily in the hands of British colonial masters and Asian businessmen, mainly Arabs and Indians. Industries,

¹¹ Gender Links (2015). SADC Gender protocol: 2015 Barometer. Johannesburg: Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance. Retrieved from: <http://www.genderlinks.org.za/page/sadc-research>

¹² Strachan A L (2015). Women in politics and the public sector in Tanzania. GSRDC Applied Knowledge Series.

¹³ Meena R, Rusimbi M and Israel (2018). Women and political leadership: Facilitating Factors in Tanzania. Ungozi Institute Research Report 17/1

¹⁴ Strachan (2015).

plantations, banks, mines and relatively large commercial activities continued to be under the British and Asians. The country's first five year plan post-independence was to implement a programme that depended on foreign investment to support massive, capital-intensive industrialisation and agricultural development projects. In reality this meant that the relationship between political actors (TANU leadership) and economic policy was one in which the leaders followed more or less the policies inherited from colonial masters.¹⁵ . The political decision to embrace capitalism after independence led to a number of market failures due to the state's lack of intervention in the economy. Poverty continued to dominate and the expected fruits of independence were not realised. A new political decision to address the imbalances brought by capitalism was made, which led to the second epoch. The political and economic landscape of Tanzania changed dramatically in 1967 with the introduction of the Arusha Declaration (also referred to as Ujamaa). The policy implied that the country would be following socialist oriented economic and political policies. What this meant was that all the major means of production in the country (industries, plantations, commerce, mines etc) were nationalised and put into government hands. The state became the major owner, controller and manager of the state owned enterprises (SOEs). As well-intentioned as the Arusha Declaration was, the running of a centrally planned economy with public ownership and government intervention did not work well. The nationalisation of the productive sectors of the economy has been among the major reasons for poor economic development in Tanzania. Previously private enterprises, now controlled and managed by the state were characterised by inadequate managerial and technical skills; embezzlement; capacity under-utilisation; reliance on government subsidies; non-payment of taxes; over-employing; protected from imports; and monopolistic in nature.¹⁶ The two decades of nationalisation and villagisation neither helped to launch Tanzania into economic prosperity nor ensure its economic self reliance, which has been attributed to the failure of understanding the realities of Tanzania. This in many ways paved the way for the third economic epoch, from the mid-1980s epoch to date. This period is referred to as the reform period, in many ways influenced by developments across the globe, leading to Tanzania's embracing a capitalist economic approach which is market-oriented and private sector led.¹⁷ The relatively free interplay of the market forces of supply included reforms such as privatisation of the SOE that were nationalised in the aftermath of the 1967 Arusha Declaration; relaxation of entry restrictions in virtually all economic sectors; deregulation in various industries; and abolition of price

¹⁵ Ngowi H P (2009). Economic development and change in Tanzania since independence: The political leadership factor. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 3 (4), pp. 259-267, May, 2009

¹⁶ Ngowi H P (2009).

¹⁷ Keskin, İ., Abdalla, M. J., (2019), *The Sociological Analysis Of The Failure Of Ujamaa Policy*, ARHUSS, (2019), 2(3):297-313.

controls; independence of the central bank; public sector service reform; and political reforms in form of allowing multiparty democracy.

A more liberal economic dispensation has strengthened the opportunities for bi-lateral relationships between Tanzania and major economic players such as China. China established diplomatic relations with Tanganyika and Zanzibar respectively as each state gained independence (in 1961 and 1963 respectively). Bilateral relations have remained intact since 1964, and the two countries have undertaken extensive political, economic, military and cultural cooperation. It is often argued that Tanzania is a strategically important partner for China given its location as an Indian Ocean gateway to mineral-rich southern Africa. As one of the major recipients of China's aid to Africa,¹⁸ The bilateral trade volume in 2018 reached about 3.976 billion U.S. dollars, registering a year-on-year growth of 15 percent, making China the largest trading partner of Tanzania since 2015.¹⁹

In the past decade, Tanzania has sustained relatively high economic growth, averaging 6–7% a year. While the poverty rate in the country has declined, the absolute number of poor citizens has not because of the high population growth rate. The country has experienced high population growth (on average 3% per annum) – from 11 million people in 1963 to around 45 million in 2012, and an estimated 100 million in 2042.²⁰ As of 2018, the country's overall population is at about 63 million.²¹ In 2019, Tanzania continued to perform well economically against a background of political stability. Ongoing infrastructure projects generate greater financing needs and contribute to the upward trend in debt, but the debt remains low and the risk of debt distress is contained. The government has adopted an ambitious development plan (Tanzania Development Vision 2025) focused on supporting the private sector, industrialisation and creation jobs. It aims to improve the business climate by upgrading infrastructure, facilitating access to finance and advancing the level of education. Improving public resource management and administration is one of the priorities. Long-standing structural problems include mismanagement of public finances and an underdeveloped legal framework that undermines the effectiveness of regulation. Strengthening the economy is based on improving the business environment, increasing agricultural productivity and added value, improving the delivery of services to build a skilled workforce, good health and better

¹⁸ Jansson J, Burke C and Hon T (2009). Patterns of Chinese Investment and Trade in Tanzania. A briefing paper by the Centre for Chinese Studies

¹⁹ Xinhua (2019). Tanzania pledges continued support for Chinese Investments. Online: http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-04/17/c_137985265.htm

²⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark. Current and future challenges for Tanzania. <http://um.dk/en/danida-en/strategies%20and%20priorities/country-policies/tanzania/current-and-future-challenges-and-opportunities-in-tanzania/>

²¹ Tanzania Population Clock (2019). <https://countrymeters.info/en/Tanzania>

management of urbanisation. In addition, the country remains heavily dependent on foreign aid, with almost a third of its budget coming from international aid.

Though the poverty rate fell from 60% in 2007 to an estimated 26.4% in 2018, about 13 million Tanzanians remained below the poverty line.²² This decline has been accompanied by improvements in human development outcomes and living conditions. However, poverty and income inequality remain high despite high economic growth. The country also has a high HIV/AIDS rate and many people lack access to basic services (water, electricity and healthcare). The youth unemployment rate reached 7.3% in 2016 (AfDB). Additionally, the quality of primary health care has been negatively affected by a range of factors, including shortage and poor distribution of health workers, poor access to essential medicines and poor infrastructure.²³

Both government and civil society articulate the importance of gender equality in relation to economic reform, and numerous policies and strategies identify the need for continued progress. This means there is a need for policies that focus on increasing economic opportunities for women and reducing income poverty given women's positioning in the labour market. Secondly, policies are needed to directly raise household welfare, reduce the burden of household chores, improve productivity of household farms and firms and build human capital for the future. The resulting effects of such channels is that it can affect women's productivity in both household and market work, reduce the trade-offs between these two activities and improve the human capital and opportunities of children (both male and female) under women's care. With such reforms in place, the question remains as to whether economic progress would benefit women to the extent of ensuring their welfare, dignity and rights.

In Tanzania, women's economic positioning continue to be influenced by choices at the household level that do not always benefit them. There are significant gender lags in both economic participation and income: women are ending up with low-wage, low quality, insecure work. Subsistence farming is a source of livelihood for more than 80 percent women, although only 27 percent own land. The majority of women work in agriculture, but mostly as unpaid helpers; they earn less than men and few hold land rights.²⁴ The feminisation of poverty is a real challenge in Tanzania where more than half of the female population (60%)

²² Lofchie, M (2015). *The Political Economy of Tanzania: Decline and Recovery*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Iddris, I (2018). *Mapping women's economic exclusion in Tanzania*. GSDRC, University of Birmingham

live in extreme poverty. High levels of poverty among women can be attributed to shrinking productivity in the agriculture sector, where they are mainly concentrated and limited opportunities for participation in the mainstream economy.

In the productive activity sphere, research on the land and labour productivity gaps between males and females has not yet revealed why women's plots are smaller in Tanzania and why female plot managers do not hire labour.²⁵ Yet the fact remains that opportunities in agriculture are not the same for females as they are for males. Additionally, even in urban areas, where access to safe water is supposed to be better, the burden of household chores is high; women and girls start to carry the high time burden of household chores at a very young age. The lack of infrastructure, often referred to as the failing systems of governments have contributed to a fragmented society where few are scrabbling for power and wealth, whilst the majority are struggling to survive which affects women's empowerment and effective gender equality.

The pernicious nature of gender discrimination at a societal level plays out for women at the economic level in various ways. Reforming the law and working to strengthen the institutional machinery, evidenced by the *National Development Vision 2025 that* aims to attain "gender equality and the empowerment of women in all socio-economic and political relations and cultures", is laudible but it does not address cultural factors that still strongly influence the ability of Tanzanian women to realise their potential in all spheres of the economy.²⁶ Cultural norms govern prevailing attitudes and beliefs. Not only do they include the subordination of women to men, but they also have a pervasive impact on social and economic life, and on how laws and regulations operate in practice.

Social and Cultural Climate

The features of a culture derive from the components of the demographic and socioeconomic composition of the population. The most important demographic and socioeconomic features are age, sex, residence, education, marital status, and religion, family/social units, and ethnic identity. These features influence the spatial and sexual mobility of people, their interrelationships, and how they respond to the various forces that impact on their lives. Most dominantly, cultural issues impacting on the lives of women are prescribed gender roles, harmful cultural practices as well as polygamy. Like many other sub-Saharan African countries, Tanzania is a male-dominated society. Gender inequality is deeply ingrained within the culture resulting in women often occupying traditional gender roles such as homemakers

²⁵ Fox, L (2016). Gender, Economic Transformation and Women's Economic Empowerment in Tanzania. Commissioned by ODI.

²⁶ Ellis A, Blackden M, Cutura J, MacCulloch and Seebers H (2007). Gender and Economic Growth in Tanzania: Creating Opportunities for Women. World Bank Group.

and care givers. In most arenas of society men continue to dominate in terms of their access and wielding of power, from politics to the economy. The reality whereby many women had left former schooling at earlier ages than men—and therefore getting less educated—many do not have the wherewithal to participate in the lawmaking or change the cultural standards. At the same time, there is a reality whereby women being unaware of their rights and their lack of economic, educational, and political liberty fuels the patriarchal society.

Around issues of gender, Tanzania has made headlines when the president attacks birth control and endorses kicking pregnant girls out of school or when fake fingernails and eyelashes are banned from Parliament.²⁷ Tanzania boasts notable achievements in the area of advancing gender equality through measures such as the 2016 Constitution guaranteeing women's right to own and use land; a 2016 plan to make primary education free for all; the 2017 Legal Aid Act recognizing paralegals, who can play an important role in women's empowerment; and a promise in 2018 to institute a tax exemption on sanitary towels.²⁸ Despite these notable achievements, like many countries on the African continent, the reality of women's rights in Tanzania is far from ideal. In areas such as violence (40% of women aged 15-49 have suffered physical violence) to representation in Parliament (63% male) to unequal pay and land ownership.²⁹

Some key issues related to the situation of women in Tanzania include:

Violence against women (VAW)

This remains one of the main violations of human rights and the biggest barrier to gender equality in Africa and in Tanzania. Customs and traditional practices often condone violence and a culture of impunity prevails. Additionally, high rates of violence is attributed to the fact that in a patriarchal society like Tanzania, following rapid economic and social changes over the past two decades, many more women are seeking paid work, and men's ideals of manhood have reshaped with evidence of extra marital relations and alcohol use.³⁰ Existing laws do not provide sufficient protection, resulting in a situation where cases of violence are underreported and those that are reported are often settled out of court. Also, despite the adoption of the Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act (SOSPA) in 1998 which prohibits female genital mutilation (FGM) of girls under the age of 18 years, and the National Plan of

²⁷ Nonjinge, G (2018). Gender equality in Tanzania: Uproar and perceived progress. Afrobarometer Dispatch No 237.

²⁸ Nonjinge (2018)

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Vyas, S., Jansen, H.A.F.M. Unequal power relations and partner violence against women in Tanzania: a cross-sectional analysis. *BMC Women's Health* **18**, 185 (2018).

Action to Combat FGM (2001- 2015), FGM continues to be practised, in particular in the regions of Arusha, Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Kigoma, Manyara, Mara and Morogoro.³¹

Violence against women continues to be of great concern because the formal measures and policies to combat it generally do not address structural gender inequalities embedded in socio-economic, political, institutional and cultural/religious dynamics. Patriarchal power relations and their incorporated ideologies reproducing gender subordination create the conditions for these violations of women's human rights. The growing economic classes and the resulting higher levels of poverty has been linked to an increase of related to an increase in VAW in the country. VAW is being sustained, reproduced and exerted diversely in the intersection of imbalances and dynamics of power relations and access to and control of resources across structural dimensions of social life such as gender, class/socio-economic status, race, ethnic group and age. Patriarchal ideologies are embedded and reconstructed, as well as contested and resisted, in formal and informal institutions, laws, norms, values and social practices across the socio-economic divide. One of these fields of power relations is the interaction of specific forms of statutory law and customary law and the different ways people live, experience and interact within these fields, particularly in rural areas.

In Tanzania, a particular form of gender-based violence; sextortion or sexual corruption is on the increase. Sextortion is a global phenomenon in which corruption and sexual exploitation intersect. Although the problem inflicts physical and mental distress on victims, authorities have failed on multiple fronts to address it. In Tanzania, research has shown that up to 89 percent of women in the public sector have experienced some form of sexual harassment while looking for a job, promotion or seeking a service.³² This practice is prevalence in a variety of public spaces such as workplace, schools (from primary schools to tertiary education), hospitals, places of worship, etc. demand sexual acts and favours for informal or formal work opportunities, promotions, or other types of advancement outside of the professionalised system.

Violence leaves many groups vulnerable, including, women with disability, trafficked women especially young girls, cross border traders, farm worker communities including those at export processing zones, domestic workers, women in conflict and post-conflict areas, women in local markets, child mothers, elderly women, landless women, child heads of

³¹ Garcia-Moreno C, Jansen HA, Ellsberg M, Heise L, Watts CH. Prevalence of intimate partner violence: findings from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence. *Lancet*. 2006;368(9543):1260–9.

³² Makoye, K (2015). Tanzania cracks down on 'sextortion' by public officials. Online article. <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-tanzania-sextortion-idUKKBN0NF1LG20150424>

household, street girls and those who live in orphanages. According to reports, internal trafficking³³ is more prevalent than transnational trafficking in Tanzania facilitated by victims' family members, most often motivated by poverty related factors. Tanzania is also well-known as a country of origin, transit and destination of victims of trafficking.³⁴

From the public to the private, violence against women and girls is often associated with women's prior/additional experiences of abuse and with men's harmful expressions of masculinity. In addition to interventions that focus on transforming gender norms and attitudes (at the individual and community levels), addressing economic, legal and political structural barriers are also required.

Access to education and economic opportunities

As mentioned earlier, some progress has been made in increasing girls' access to education, including the recent achievement of gender parity in primary school enrolment, fewer girls enter secondary school and university as well as vocational and technical education. Traditional attitudes represent significant obstacles to girls' education and there are high drop-out rates due to early marriages, pregnancies and domestic responsibilities. Girls who become pregnant are often expelled from Tanzanian schools. While Tanzanian officials have often argued that there is no policy that expressly says pregnant or married girls cannot go to school, the expulsion of pregnant girls is permitted under Tanzania's education regulations under the guise that it is an offence against morality.³⁵

Education is an important enabler for girls and women to participate in their own, their community and their country's development. As a result of the status of education of women, the public sector remains male dominated and the majority of women are in lower or middle level jobs. Many women in the informal sector are in a precarious situation, in particular those working in the agricultural sector, as well as small business, food processing and handicrafts. They lack job security and access to social benefits.³⁶ There is a clear link between women's access to education, and economic opportunities to support the development of the economy. Service delivery should not simply focus on poverty reduction, but also supporting women

³³ Internal trafficking refers to where the majority of victims of trafficking in Tanzania had their destination in different parts of Tanzania.

³⁴ Kamazima SR, Kazaura MR, Ezekiel MI, Kamazima C (2017). Internal Trafficking of Persons in Tanzania: Qualitative Evidence from the Tanzania-Uganda Borderlands – Kagera Region. BAOJ HIV 2017, 4: 01

³⁵ Human Rights Watch (2020). Tanzania: Q & A on Ban on Pregnant Girls and World Bank Education Loan, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/24/tanzania-q-ban-pregnant-girls-and-world-bank-education-loan>

³⁶ Fox (2016)

and girls equal access to education and training. In Tanzania, the fact that the time burden of household chores has not diminished despite increased incomes and urbanisation is somewhat discouraging.³⁷ Services such as electricity, water supply, sanitation, transport and health has the potential to reduce the time women spend on household chores (including taking dependent members to get health treatments), freeing up more time for productive activities (or school for children and adolescents). Reducing the time women have to wait at public service points such as health centres by providing better service and flexible hours not only lessens women's time poverty when they seek the service for themselves but also increases the probability they will help others in the household use the services when needed (e.g. get their children vaccinated).

Sexual and reproductive rights

Tanzania suffers high adverse sexual and reproductive health (SRH) indicators including high levels of: maternal mortality, adolescent births, mother to child transmission of HIV, intimate partner violence, persistence of child and teenage marriages, girls forced to drop out of school due to pregnancy, and low contraceptive prevalence. SRH programmes have limited orientation to key populations and there is little evidence of integration of SRH and HIV/AIDS interventions.³⁸ Tanzania implemented a large body of progressive legislation to address the national health challenges, including strong policy supporting SRHR and HIV and AIDS, but implementation is variable. There is evidence of ongoing planning and revision of interventions but, seemingly, a lack of prioritization and review of performance and outcomes.³⁹

Religious, cultural and political extremists are increasingly wielding social and political influence with women's bodies and sexuality as a key battleground. For example, the social media channels have been using extreme retrogressive ideologies to reducing women and girls' dignity through various means demonstrating applying degrading languages and images. Similarly, FGM is still an issue to address despite efforts from both government and CSOs' in combating this situation in the country. Within this context, sexuality and sexual and reproductive rights remain framed in terms of religion, nationalism, culture and tradition, morality and fear (related to HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies) rather than in terms of women's freedom and empowerment.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ HEARD (2015) Country Factsheet: Tanzania, Durban: Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division /University of KwaZulu-Natal

³⁹ Ibid

Women, Land and other Resources

The majority of the people in Tanzania today rely on land for their livelihood. While both men and women farm in Tanzania, the roles of men and women in the agricultural cycle consistently show that women are more active in agriculture than men. Since 1999, efforts have been made in transitioning to a more equitable legal framework that supports customary tenure of agricultural land and the rights of women. Despite its good intentions, the current legal framework fails to effectively provide the foundation for an effective land governance system.⁴⁰ While the legal framework generally upholds women's rights to land, in rural areas patriarchal practices predominate whereby men are *de facto* heads of households and have greater rights to land than women. The law is still weak in regard to women's inheritance rights to land, and inheritance practices discriminate severely against women. The willingness of the courts to honor and enforce the legal framework will have profound impact on the wellbeing of Tanzania's rural population, and a profound impact on women.⁴¹

Furthermore, women also find themselves in the midst of contestations over resources: resisting land grabbing by outside investors; and ongoing struggles by communities surrounding large scale mining for example in the Tanzanian context, against environmental degradation, privatisation of arable land arising from mining, horticulture, manufacturing and tourist industries. With mining companies acquiring land through governments, they do not often fulfill the obligations required by law to resettle and compensate land owners, especially if those land owners are women. In addition to the impact of losing their land, mining company interactions with the environment has impacted the livelihood of women and their ability to access fuel wood, fruits, herbs and materials, leaving them with few (to no alternatives) for survival.⁴² Women's rights groups have become increasingly engaged in this area of work by supporting communities to increase knowledge on their rights and demand for them using the appropriate channels when mining companies or individuals' actions adversely impact on their livelihoods.

Climate Change and Environmental Justice

⁴⁰ Ingunn Ikdahl et al., *Human Rights, Formalisation and Women's Land Rights in Southern and Eastern Africa*, 57 *Stud. in Women's L.* 1, 36–37 (2005).

⁴¹ Duncan, J (2014). *Women's Land Rights Guide for Tanzania*. Landesa. Center for Women's Land Rights. Nov 4, 2014

⁴² GAGGA (2018). *Impacts of extractives on land and women's rights in East Africa*.

Climate change and environmental disasters, both natural and man-made, create profound instability for women and girls. Women, especially, face the dual issues of reliance on natural resources for livelihoods and food security, and political, social, and economic obstacles to adaptation. Climate change piles on labor burdens for women as they often have to walk further to collect water and firewood. Women also face limited mobility due to their household and child rearing responsibilities, preventing them from migrating to areas that might provide more economic opportunities.⁴³

With the recognition of potential food insecurity, men have taken over food security protection issues from women, in more professionalised, and sometimes in militarised ways. This has resulted in women having reduced decision-making roles with regard to food security. Food shortages and inflation in Tanzania have resulted in severe instability for women, phenomena which is only likely to increase in the coming years.⁴⁴

⁴³ Freeman, K (2016). The state of gender responsiveness in Tanzania's climate change policies. Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security. Online: <https://ccafs.cgiar.org/es/blog/state-gender-responsiveness-tanzania's-climate-change-policies#.X42uai1h3sE>

⁴⁴ FAO (2011). The State of Food Insecurity in the World. How does international price volatility affect domestic economies and food security? <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i2330e.pdf>

MESHWORK ANALYSIS

“Meshworking is an increasingly practical and necessary form of engagement between various sectors of civil society; regional, national, and international institutions; activists; and discourses in an era where the hegemony of neoliberalism is increasingly shattering the illusion that social and political change can be achieved by local actors via traditional forms of political engagement with the state, such as formal electoral politics.”⁴⁵

Contemporary social movements do not operate as singular actors in their particular contexts, but rather as interlinked networks that often cross myriad borders. A meshwork analysis provides a framework through which to surface the various currents that may be operating simultaneously at any given moment around a particular issue, thus accounting for the various interlinked actors/networks whilst not losing sight of the total effect they produce.⁴⁶

This section offers an account of the women’s movements of Tanzania during the Constitutional Review Process of 2011/2012. Incorporating the notion of “meshworks,” the section seeks to demonstrate not only how the the women’s movements of Tanzania exhibits definitive characteristics of a meshwork, such as being self-organised and highly heterogeneous, but also how these very factors have been both the movement’s greatest strength and the source of some of its greatest internal tensions.

As mentioned earlier in the report, WFT is interested in learning more about their role in strengthening movement building within the local context. Based on the unique role played by WFT in enabling (through funding) and increasing organising capacities of a range of women’s movements actors, the Fund wanted to gain more insight into the transformative potentials of a national women’s Fund in advancing advancing broader social justice outcomes.

For the Fund, their involvement in the Constitutional Review Process of 2011/2012 provided the most recent and compelling narrative of movement building in the Tanzanian context. This focus is therefore suitable for a meshwork analysis because of the following reasons:

- it is an example of an objective that cannot and should not be achieved by one actor alone, but in cooperation and friction with others;

⁴⁵ Magana MR (2010). Analyzing the Meshwork as an Emerging Social Movement Formation: An Ethnographic Account of the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). Journal of Contemporary Anthropology. Research Article. Volume 1, 2010, Issue 1.

⁴⁶ Ibid

- it's impact is long-term and can be studied over time;
- It is closely connected to the political context of the country and the region, and it can be viewed in a global context as well;

The last point is important because while the Tanzanian context does have its own particularities, it also occurs within a global context where challenges to formal electoral democracies by broad-based social movements are creating political unity and developing new forms of leadership.⁴⁷ Particularly around different kinds of rights claims such as human and women's rights using different forms of political organising and governance. In the case of WFT, the meshwork illustrates the power of supporting the formation and functioning of the Wanawake na Katiba Coalition⁴⁸ which has been seen as a great role model especially on how women in their collective can achieve their goals. It has also influenced the Fund's work since in supporting the broad range of issues and groups to promote an inclusive agenda for gender equality such as: promotion rights for sex workers, women with disability, the elderly, etc. More on the WFT approaches and strategies will be covered in the latter part of the report.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ The Coalition originated from a national convening organised by Women Fund Tanzania on women's rights and constitutionalism in October with more than 65+ organisations from diverse sectors including national and local organisations. The main purpose of the Coalition was to engage collectively as women activists with the key steps of the constitutional review process.

Background to the Constitutional Review Process

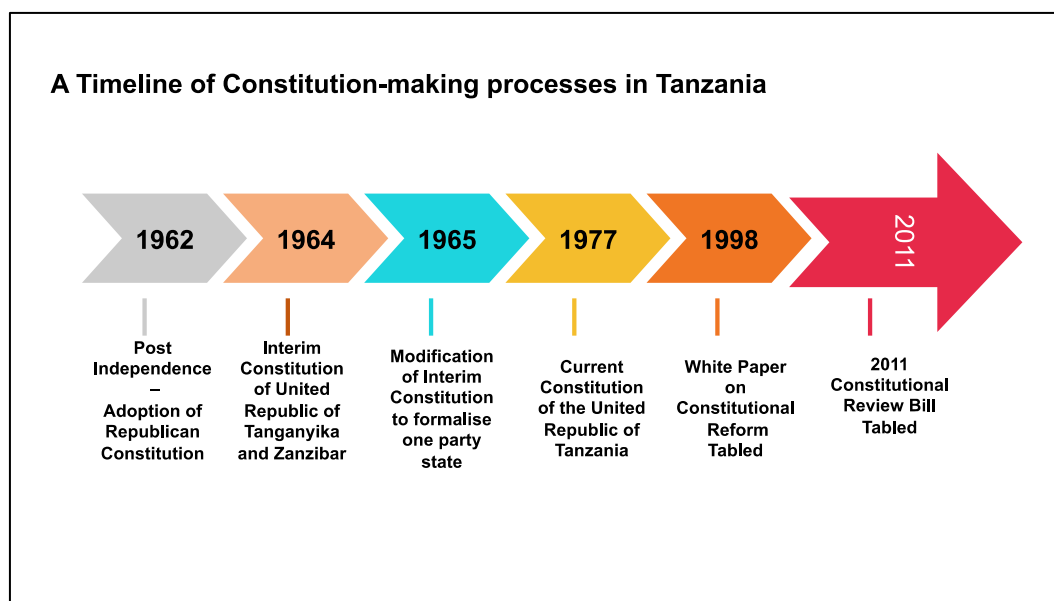


Diagram 1: A Timeline of Constitution-making processes in Tanzania

As noted in Diagram 1, the country's history of constitution-making starts from 1961 when the Independence Constitution was adopted. In 1962, the Republican Constitution which combined the powers of the Head of State and government, was adopted. The Republican Constitution was replaced by the Interim Constitution of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 which provided for the union of Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania) and Zanzibar. In 1965, the Interim Constitution was modified in order to formalise the one party state dominated by the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) for Zanzibar, and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) for Tanganyika.⁴⁹ In 1977, the Interim Constitution was replaced by the current Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977. The lack of consultation in the drafting of the 1977 constitution, led to an increased outcry following the introduction of multiparty politics in 1992. Various stakeholders such as opposition parties, civil society organisations and the general public pointed out that the constitution had several gaps.⁵⁰ that could not be sufficiently addressed through amendments. Owing to these demands, the government issued a White Paper on Constitutional Reform in 1998, and because of increased pressure during the 2010 elections, a Constitution Review Bill was tabled in 2011. A Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) was appointed, whose main task was to establish a mechanism for ensuring public participation in the review process, identify a mechanism for scrutinising a draft bill, summoning a constituent assembly, organising a public

⁴⁹ Kamanga K, James J and Babeiya (2018). Expert Analysis on the Constitutional Review Impasse in Tanzania. Published by Lawyers for Human Rights Tanzania.

⁵⁰ Ibid

referendum to adopt a draft bill.⁵¹ The constitutional review process raised hopes among many Tanzanians as it was expected to give space to a critical engagement with several core issues of the United Republic such as: the nature of the Union between *Tanzania bara* (mainland Tanzania or former Tanganyika) and Zanzibar; the protection of civil liberties and human rights; and the electoral system.⁵² For women’s rights groups in particular, there was great expectation that the constitution review process would open up a new era in gender relations and improve the status of women given that women’s rights was identified by the general populace as the fifth largest human rights category of concern.⁵³

Meshwork

An overview of the meshwork is presented in Diagram 2 below. The purple and pink arrows refer to the different actors involved in the meshwork and will be discussed below. The blue arrows refer to the different strategies used in the meshwork and the resulting outcomes of these strategies.

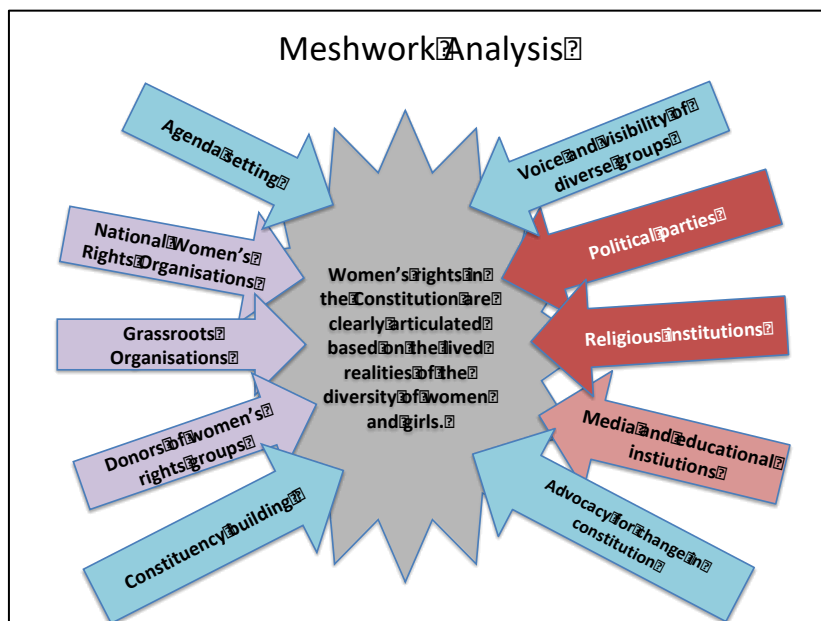


Diagram 2: Overview of the Tanzania Constitutional Review Process Meshwork

⁵¹ Ginsburg, T (2012). Tanzania’s Constitutional Review: A New Era for the Union?. Published online: <http://www.iconnectblog.com/2012/07/tanzanias-constitutional-review-a-new-era-for-the-union/>

⁵² Maingraud-Martinaud C (2019). Katiba Mpya? The Constitutional Reform Process, Tanzania. Mambo! IFRA’s Blog. Available online: <https://mambo.hypotheses.org/252>

⁵³ Maoulidi S (2014). Tanzania’s Draft Constitution: Opening spaces for a gender revolution? Published on “Constitution Net”, <http://constitutionnet.org/news/tanzanias-draft-constitution-opening-spaces-gender-revolution>

Different actors in constitutional review process

The process of making the new constitution involved various actors playing different roles. Apart from sharing a common vision of ensuring that Tanzania gets the aforesaid, the nature of actors' participation had a bearing on constitution-making processes. It is thus imperative that actors' roles be put in a perspective.

- Women's rights organisations and actors

As noted earlier, women's rights groups and movements in Tanzania (in both urban and rural settings) have long been engaged in a range of processes aimed at improving the status of women, and to build solidarity and networks to achieve their outcomes. The rationale for engagement with the Constitutional Review Process was premised on the belief that the relationship between the women's movement and the state is cemented through the country's laws, policy frameworks, and various state institutions such as the national gender machinery.⁵⁴ As Tanzania has ratified key international and regional human rights covenants and agreements, this provided the basis for advocacy around ensuring that the legal and policy environment is conducive to gender justice. This is notwithstanding the challenges in implementation, since the legal framework provides the basis for accountability by state duty bearers.

At the time of the Constitutional Review Process, in Tanzania, women's rights organisations and networks were operating in a highly negotiated space, often fragmented due to a range of factors. National women rights NGOs are connected to women CBOs, however, the connection between national NGOs and CBOs is often limited by resource constraints as well as what some call the NGOization process which emphasises systems and structures, and professionalisation in order to qualify for donor support.⁵⁵ This results in silos (thematic, approaches or even ideological) around how women's rights actors, and often limits the potential for building strong movements.

Women's organisations recognised the opportunity to do some much needed movement building and the critical need to craft a collective agenda and speak with one voice through the Constitutional Review Process. Given the specificity of the local political context, there was an opportunity to ensure that the issues and concerns of women were all acknowledged and noted within the new constitution. Similarly, for the WFT, it created an opportune platform

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Rehmatullah S and Chigudu H (2017). Situational Analysis of the Women's Movement in Tanzania. Final Report. Commissioned by Embassy of Ireland.

to strengthen and build movements. It is worth noting that the Constitutional Review Process was introduced when the Fund was 'officially' only two years old.

With the aim of building a unified voice, women's rights actors came together to engage with the Constitutional Review Process. The recognition of fragmentation within women's movement extended to an understanding of sectoral organising, geographical distribution and also due to size and access to resources of different women's rights actors. This was an important acknowledgement as it in many ways framed the subsequent processes that were undertaken to ensure that there was space to voice out and craft a collective agenda for the movement at the time.

- Political parties (actors)

Political actors included all members of the constituent assembly (including the ruling as well as opposition parties). Within the constituent assembly, one key issue of contention was that the draft constitution was debated with only members and supporters of CCM. This dismissed the importance of bargaining and consensus building in the constitution making process. This raised the concern about the legitimacy of the proposed constitution that was passed without the inputs from the country's main opposition parties. One observation made was that opposition parties, throughout the constitution review process, never relaxed their stance on contentious issues, in other words, they were not willing to be convinced of an alternate view to their own.

In terms of political actors, their engagement with issues put forward by women's rights constituents, the first issues related to women's political participation and leadership. Whilst the proposal for 50/50 representation was put word and an abolishment of the Special Seats allocated by political parties, this did not receive much support. In fact, it was deemed as incompatible within a competitive political system as Special Seats have been dominated by a few well-connected individual women who are seen to champion partisan interests more than women's interests. This whilst there was an awareness that women who have benefitted from Special Seats fault the system for denying them a political base.⁵⁶

Secondly, there were divergent perspectives about approaches to women's struggles whereby certain female members of the Constituent Assembly (CA) were calling for customary and religious law to govern personal law issues.⁵⁷ These divergent perspectives

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid.

caused tensions between who are more aware of the root causes of women's subordination, while others were content to be gatekeepers of the status quo of women's subordination within a patriarchal society.

Under the guise of cultural or religious relativism, the contention around issue of reproductive health was another contentious issue, resulting in its omission in the CRC's initial draft. Despite evidence of high rates of maternal morbidity in the country, the removal of an explicit mention of women's reproductive rights can be viewed in relation to a hidden agendas to subdue women's rights.

While it is important to recognize that male perspectives dominate discussions in political spaces, the ideological divide between women in the political sphere also points to the reality that gender equality may remain elusive, and agendas will continue to be polarised if attention is not given to influence key spaces or to explore potential allies outside the familiar womens movements spaces.

- Civil society actors

Other active organisations during the Constitutional Review Process included the human rights groups such as Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), and the the Constitutional Forum (popularly known is Swahili language as Jukwaa la Katiba), just to mention some. On the other hand, some organisations were dormant at some point before they became vibrant. This was particularly the case with Tanganyika Law Society (TLS). This society of lawyers was for a long time silent and had not distinguished itself as an influential actor. Its inactive role was evident even in cases where there were serious quarrels regarding the interpretation of some laws. It only came to "resurrect" after the outbreak of a heated debate regarding the jurisdiction of the constituent assembly.

- Religious groups

Religious organisations (both Muslim and Christian) in the Tanzanian context have many influential actors on various socio-economic and political matters. In fact it is an open secret that the government strives to maintain close contact with these organisations and maintain cordial relations with them.⁵⁸ During the Constitutional Review Process, religious institutions issued statements and sometimes calling press conferences to discuss some matters, and tried to influence the process. However, the process of making the new constitution saw them being treated as misplaced actors. Being misplaced was explained by what appeared to be

⁵⁸ Babeiya, E (2016). New constitution-making in Tanzania: An examination of actors' roles and influence

the position of the government that religious bodies were to focus on spiritual matters while giving space for other actors to deal with politics; including the choice of a direction to which the process of making the new constitution had to take.⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, religious groups raised concerns related to reproductive rights and issues related to women's bodily integrity. In other words, issues related to abortion, early marriage and women's dress as a means to retain women's traditional roles.

- Media

On the one hand, the media accused of promoting the views of the ruling elite. In particular, the media was under scrutiny during the process for the role they played in exposing the real tensions and issues at play within the Constitutional Review Process. Similarly, the media had a stake in the process given their concern with freedom of speech. From the literature reviewed⁶⁰, there was no notable role played by the media in the Constitutional Review Process. Instead, on the part of the women's rights actors, they engaged the media through press releases and publicising their efforts in developing an inclusive women's rights constitution.

- Universities or Institutions of Higher Education

In modern societies, universities and other institutions of higher learning have a role to play in stimulating dialogue and knowledge production around socio-economic and political matters affecting societies. In Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam, has for the past five decades been outspoken over critical matters affecting the country. It thus used to issue press releases pointing out its position over a particular issue of concern and organized conferences and symposia for discussing pertinent issues affecting Tanzania.⁶¹ However, during the Constitutional Review Process, the University of Dar es Salaam was largely a passive actor in the process of making the new constitution. Even when it tried to organise conferences to discuss the trend of this process, there were accusations and claims that it was biased in favour of the status quo, particularly in promoting narratives of the ruling party.

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Babeiya (2016)

⁶¹ Ibid

- Funders/Donors

Donors were another actor that played a critical role in advancing a women's rights agenda during the Constitutional Review Process. Funding relied on regional as well as global networks of solidarity. The WFT played a critical role in mobilising resources as well as in ensuring that the multiple convenings were happening and that the process was moving forward. As noted by the Fund, raising the funds was not an easy task as this process was something different and donors had to be brought on board to understand its importance in terms of strengthening the voice and power of the women's movement in the country. The Fund premised their ask for resources on the key argument was that it was an opportunity to counter or disrupt sectoral approaches, and instead to support collective power such that it would get government to pay attention to the core demands from a 'unified' movement. Convincing funders took time, but with the support of friendly funders, such as UN Women and OSIEA, it provided the impetus for others to also take the risk.

The process started by a National Convening organised by key actors from the movement and funded by WFT was the trigger for the broader movement building process. One of the outcomes of this space was an agreement to build collective power and voice to win. This formed the basis for appeals to donors that included AWDF, Mama Cash, Urgent Action Fund-Africa and the Global Fund for Women. **In reflection WFT noted that the initial funding initially was mobilised through the sisterhood among funders, in other words funders that already had a commitment to women's voice and power such as women's funds.** This investment not only paved the way for the engagement of the women's movement on the constitutional review process, it also is demonstrative of the risk that such funders are willing to take due to their political commitment. The result of this investment was that it contributed to a defining moment in the national organising context for women in Tanzania in the last decade.

With initial funding secured, the set up was such that a national convening was held to discuss how to really move the process forward.

Strategies for building collective voice and power

There were multiple strategies that were used simultaneously as a means to ensure that the voice from women's rights actors would be discernable from others. These include:

- Constituency and Alliance Building

As a result of a scoping exercise conducted in 2010, the Fund had identified the need to support the mobilisation of alliances and coalitions that could put pressure on government and other institutions to respond to women's rights and ensure inclusivity. It is within this context that the Fund took up a strategic leadership role in supporting the constitution making process. It brought together a diversity of partners: activists, CBOs, analysts, lawyers, environmentalist, researchers, and media experts – each of them bringing their own particular expertise to serve the cause. In the words of a respondent, 'The role of the Fund as the coalition convenor, is not to seek universal agreement or even to minimise disagreement; the Fund seeks active commitment to bringing about specific changes', another commented, 'the Fund serves the cause, not the coalition, and not an institutional interest. Its role is to maximise the impact of collective action'.

Senior members in the movement volunteered to support the process, and facilitated, where possible, the political consciousness raising that comes from building the base for stronger movements. For instance, women were able to make links between the lack of public transport to economic injustice as well as understand the link between culture, violence and how it continues to impact on their dignity and wellbeing. The work on demystifying the constitution allowed women from diverse experiences to make the connection between the constitution and their realities was articulated by the only sex worker organisation in Tanzania:

“through the processes of consultation, and creating the awareness of our rights, we understood that our dignity and rights were as important as anyone else's. Before, we operated on the margins, but this process allowed us to engage with others and not only articulate our concerns, we are also able to understand other issues and see where opportunities exist for solidarity.” (Respondent 1, Focus Group 3)

- Agenda-setting

Through several convenings, momentum was building to develop an agenda that would encapsulate the diversity of concerns of women in Tanzania. The process itself allowed for a surfacing of key issues, and the development of a very coherent agenda to present as well as deep understanding and reflection of the state of the women's movement in the country.

The narrative arc of the constitutional review process acknowledges the complexities of bringing everyone together, of having to ensure that each voice is heard, and also having to ensure that no group has more voice and visibility than others.⁶² Engagements happened across the country, and as the issues started emerging, a set of sub-themes were developed that would form the basis of the submission to the Constitutional Review Committee. To get people together required extensive outreach and information sharing across the country, with the intention of making it as inclusive as possible. Throughout the process, different groups spoke out when they felt excluded. For example, a group in Mwanza (a region in Tanzania) raised their concern of being excluded due to their location. This was addressed through arranging space for those concerns to be raised and finding collective or alternatives to ensure that it does not reoccur. At the same time it created the awareness among all involved in the process to keep checking who is being left behind.

Mostly, the evolving agenda, allowed the women's movement allowed for the solidification of a national women's movement. Connecting to grassroots level groups, engaging them on their issues and building a strong sense of ownership of a movement wide agenda was different from a past whereby bigger and more resourced organisations would strive to fill the gap in representation or visibility of the issues of diverse groups. The process allowed for ongoing review, feedback and where the areas of the agenda was not clearly defined, specific convenings on particular themes were held to give greater weight and articulation of the relevant issues as they stood at any particular moment.

- Voice, visibility and leadership

The difficulty in building a collective and unified voice is due to the uneven experiences of movement actors in contributing and engaging meaningfully in different processes at the national, regional and even international level. Resources were made available by WFT to ensure that the voices of those organising at the grassroots levels were not drowned out by other louder voices, thus separate spaces was convened to support those groups in identifying the issues of different groups. This was followed by mixed convenings where the range of groups would come together to share their discussions and input. In terms of the mechanics, a sub-committee was established that comprised of people from the diversity of perspectives, experiences and issues (for example disability, lawyers, youth, etc).

In terms of the outcomes of this process, as noted by some members of the women's movement, some women's collectives, particularly at the grassroots level, indicated that they

⁶² Maoulidi, S (2014)

had not even realised that the constitution had any relation to their lived reality. For a period of 4 months, women came together and were given the task to talk to one another.

- Advocacy strategy

The initial convening of the *Wanawake na Katiba* (Women and the Constitution) Coalition in November 2012, and 120 women attended that represented the diversity of experiences in Tanzania. Following the convening, a concept note was produced and a position paper commissioned that would form the basis for the mobilisation to continue expanding the base of voices and perspectives in the final submission to be made to the Constitutional Review Committee. These documents highlighted the objectives of the constitutional review process, the importance of hearing different voices, and a listing of the key issues affecting women to be included in the new constitution.

Different actors took the lead under different sub-themes. For example, TAMWA took the lead on the media, TAWLA took the lead on the legal aspects, TGNP took the lead on the lobbying, policy engagement and outreach. This formed the basis for the substantive submission developed from the consultation process. Additionally, attention was also given to the documentation component. The resulting submission was called *Wa Na wake Na Katiba – Women and Constitutional Platform*. Additionally, under the leadership of TAMWA, the constitutional review process also engaged with media. Media engagement took the form of community, print, and other forms of coverage to rally awareness and to ensure that there was a sense of how the process was evolving and how it was engaging with the actual Constitutional Review process itself. The second version of the position paper emerged from the consultations, and these outline key asks and recommendations for inclusion in the constitution. This position paper was then presented and adopted at a three day meeting that outlined twelve critical issues for inclusion into the new constitution.

Perhaps most notable about this process, was the signalling of a moment whereby in its most recent history, the movement in its diversity was able to coalesce and define clearly what it would mean for men and women (in all their diversity) to have equal rights spelt out in the constitution. WFT played a key role in this due to an understanding and analysis of the diversity of women's rights actors and their strategies and challenges in relation to claiming rights and movement building. This has supported bridge-building between actors to support a much more inclusive women's rights agenda. In particular to have a framing of the challenges that women across all levels due to patriarchy were experiencing in their daily lives in accessing and enjoying those rights. It provided a basis for having a common articulation of those and to be able to challenge definitions, construction and responses to

the systemic injustices that often becomes accepted as 'normal'. Another tenet of the submission was around the issue of dignity, with particular reference to gender based violence, discrimination, disability, minority rights etc.

*Understanding power within the meshwork****

From the perspective of WFT, aside from mobilising resources and grantmaking, the Fund took on a convening role by infusing a feminist analysis into discussions, facilitation of resolution of emergent issues and consensus building. The Fund is uniquely positioned to support networking, partnership building and nurturing linkages and relationships, by bringing into spaces the insights, strategies, concerns and challenges of diverse women's rights actors as they strive to address and advance their agendas for change. The Fund also played a learning role by keeping track of the different reports and milestones in recognition of the importance of the process as part of the herstory of the movement.

From this process, key issues and approaches used included base building, ensuring outreach and mobilisation and agenda setting. Additionally, the coalition (represented by the women's movement), engaged with the Constitutional Review Commission. It helped that the Commission was led by a progressive individual that was willing to listen to the women's movement and ensured that the women's agenda was central. The other strategy was linked to the resourcing, in other words resource mobilisation and grantmaking to ensure that the Coalition was able to build collective ownership and agenda setting.

The Coalition recommended 12 issues to the Constitutional Review Commission. All these issues were included in the new draft. Although the new constitution was not passed, the Coalition counts the inclusion of 11 of the issues as an achievement. The only omission was the recommendation to set up a Gender Commission, and this recommendation was rejected.

The constitutional review process in total took two and a half years. During this period, the Coalition experienced some opposition from other actors. As noted by some members of the women's movement, there was considerable awareness of the strategy and amount of outreach and this included even women politicians. There were attempts by politicians to co-opt the agenda (and dilute some of the issues). However, because the movement itself was so widely supported with the necessary structures of accountability, this did not succeed. The Coalition had regular information and feedback sessions and this is where they collectively decided on how to proceed within the advocacy space so as to ensure that whoever

represents them is accountable to the collective. Political parties and the political opposition argued that the agenda proposed by the Coalition was a marginal agenda. There was also resistance from male-led civil society who saw the mobilisation as divisive. Furthermore, the Coalition also experienced resistance to the agenda from religious groups, particularly in relation to issues abortion. It was noted that even women in the coalition struggled with this agenda issue.

Although there was engagement, there was also fear to take on issues such as abortion within the broader Tanzania society. Issues of abortion and sexual diversity also surfaced some of the inner tensions and divisions within the movement. However, despite this, the Coalition was very conscious that the country itself is divided, and that if these divisions were allowed to fester, it would halt the process. In this moment, the approach used was that it was not necessary always to reach consensus, and instead to ensure that the diverse views and voices were heard and acknowledged. As noted by WFT, this was an important strategic principle of engagement.

At the end of the day though, despite resistance, there was recognition that the Coalition was fairly well organised. As a result, due to the amount of outreach undertaken, the issues have been mainstreamed in other processes. For example, there was a Special Parliament for the Constitutional Review Process, and members from the Coalition were invited. Additionally, within Parliament, the Women Parliamentarians set up a Caucus of Women's Constitutional Rights. Once again, this drew on the inputs from the Coalition.

The work on the constitutional review process allowed for a gender review of the broader issues and challenges experienced by women in their diversity. It was significant in terms of the analysis of the context, as it contested the political status quo that placed too much power with the President. In terms of the voice, visibility and organising power of women, it also challenged the notion that those in power can speak and make decisions on behalf of women.

The story of the Coalition during the constitutional review process talks about women's agency and power, and also speaks to the importance of movement building to ensure that the multitude of experiences and voices are heard and acknowledged. It speaks to the importance of political consciousness raising as a pre-condition for movement-building. Specifically, for WFT, this experience shaped the way they work and how they are perceived by other movement actors, as will be discussed in the latter part of this report.

This particular process for WFT has meant that the Fund has played a pivotal role in ensuring that feminist and women's rights issues are well articulated and advocated in Tanzanian development structures and processes. The Constitutional Coalition supported by the Fund, to date, continues to hold fast to their 11 agenda items that were adopted even if the constitution making processes seem to have stalled. Between March and November 2016, the Coalition organised different forums to reflect on the situation and inform each other on what is happening, reflect on the current events, review their activities, approach and draw up new plans and strategize for the future. They also used forums to contemplate over what needs to be done as preparation for the next election, especially how to increase the number of women candidates. Hopefully the momentum can be kept.

While the Constitutional Review Process itself resulted in an impasse, what can be celebrated is the active involvement of opposition parties, religious and civil society organisations in influencing the process. Despite the fact that their voice was overshadowed by the influence of the governing elites, these organisations proved to be essential in pushing for the new constitution.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research methodology and tools were developed collaboratively among the four country researchers, as well as the Prospera team and Advisors.

The research questions were workshopped in November 2018 and May 2019. Following this, the research team evolved the instruments and fine-tuned the tools after initial testing. Finally, a research protocol was developed that outlined the parameters for data collection, to be adapted by each of the country researchers.

For the WFT, from the review of their strategic phases, it was decided to concentrate the data analysis in the years 2015 to 2019 as a way to assess how the outcomes of the meshwork analysis has influenced the approaches and strategies of the Fund. This period represents the period immediately after the Constitutional Review Process and given that it is part of the most recent history of WFT, it would provide significant insights into the ways that the Fund has supported movement building in the local context.

In the case of WFT, the data collection went on between September to December 2019.

Below are the main steps that were undertaken during data collection:

- *Desk review* – collection of printed and online documents from and about the fund (August to October 2019). The documents were mostly concentrated on plans, call reports, grant applications, reports to funders, annual reports, notes from meetings (including board meetings, team meetings, Dialogues - grantees meetings), financial reports.
- *Grant Portfolio Analysis (GPA)*: following the choice of analysing the strategy cycle, the context and the Meshwork Analysis, the GPA looked at grant applications between 2015 and 2018, focusing on Movement Building, Leadership Development and Women and Constitutionalism. The total number of applications analysed were about 32. The process of making the Grand Portfolio Analysis was extremely important to the process of developing some of the conclusions that we can draw from this research. Then an Excel spreadsheet was filled with information previously defined to be collected by each selected proposal. Each researcher had to look at the projects

submitted to and approved by the national fund and extract what the answers for the research questions were in the form of codes.

- *Focus groups discussions (FGD):* As part of the data collection, five focus groups were conducted in November 2019. The FGDs were as follows:
 - ✓ 2 FGD with WFT team (12 participants) [FGD #1 and #2]
 - ✓ 1 FGD with women's movement stakeholders (6 participants); [FGD #3]
 - ✓ 2 FGDs with grantees (One with 5 participants and the other with 10 participants) [FGD #4 and #5]
- *Key Informant Interviews (KII):* Key informant interviews were conducted with key people related to the WFT. Key informants were identified from the meshwork analysis, GPA as well as from the desk review.

Team:

- Mary Rusimbi (Executive Director, WFT) – KII# 1
- Brian Mshana (Grants Manager, WFT), KII# 2
- Carol Mango (Programmes Manager, WFT), KII# 3
- Bernadeta Kafuko (Movement Building Programme Coordinator, WFT), KII# 4

Other:

- Shamsad Rehmatullah (Researcher and Member of Technical Grants Committee), KII# 5
- Martha Olotu, Foundation for Civil Society (Stakeholder), KII# 6
- Scholastica Jullu, LSF (Peer Fund), KII# 7

Grantees:

- Magdalene Hiza, Foundation for Human Rights, KII# 8
- Sophia J Lughaha, Tanzania Women's Initiative for Development, KII# 9

Board Members:

- Ruth Meena, Chairperson, KII# 10
- Zuki Mihyo, Founding Member, KII# 11

Limitations of the research methods

Due to time constraints, the respondents that participated in the research process were

accessible due to their proximity to Dar es Salaam. Other actors that were available during the time of the data collection also joined the focus groups, and where possible, other key actors were consulted via telephone. However, another limitation was that the process was conducted predominantly in English, and this might also have influenced the responses of respondents in this research process. Further limitations in terms of the analysis are that the research process was not able to view the collection of data and information that exist in Swahili. All of the documents and materials that were reviewed were translated into English. In the FGD's as well, translation was provided and only groups that were easily accessible participated in the process.

This in many ways does not allow for a full view of the richness and depth of the work by WFT. Part of the reason for this is the availability of time and resource constraints of a collective project. These limitations were addressed by reviewing some of the grant portfolio documentation in Swahili and having those translated, also allowing for participation of non-English speaking research respondents with the support of local researchers to help understand the context better.

Another limitation was that the GPA does not provide insight into applications that were not approved. Whilst the research process sought to fill this gap through key informant interviews and focus group discussions, it is worth noting this limitation. Given the volume of applications received by the Fund, it is not possible for the Fund to provide commentary that respond to this limitation.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

What does the women's fund think they should be doing?

As Tanzania's first and only women's rights fund, WFT has analysed that the most significant challenge women's movements, organisations, and groups face is in accessing funding and thus in making their voice and work visible, especially for those smaller unknown groups situated in local communities.⁶³

"We started WFT having realised the major challenges women's movements, organisations, and groups face in accessing funding and thus in making their voice and work visible, especially women in local communities. As women who were centrally located within the women's movement, we knew this from our work with women's rights organisations across the country, who were struggling to make ends meet for their important work, including strengthening movement-building strategies."⁶⁴

Implementing a functional and empowering funding mechanism

Emanating from their context analysis, the Fund sees their contribution in advancing a women's rights agenda through implementing a functional and empowering funding mechanism that prioritises movement building. The Fund's overarching vision in doing such work is the realisation of the potential of all women in their diversity who are able to engage fully in the transformation of their communities to achieve empowerment and social justice. As such, the Fund articulated the following theory of change in their strategic plan.⁶⁵

WFT's contributes to the building of a strong women's movement in Tanzania through mobilising the necessary resources and making grants, strengthening women's capacity, and building strategic alliances. Through this, the Fund contributes to a society that is more just and equal for all members of society.⁶⁶

The Fund in particular foregrounds resource mobilisation as the engine that propels the other strategies of WFT. The strategies that the Fund is then able to advance include grantmaking (as part of building a strong and diverse women's movement in the country), and building strategic alliances. As evidenced by the meshwork analysis, resources are important as it

⁶³ WFT (2010). Scoping Study.

⁶⁴ KII #1

⁶⁵ Earlier research includes a Scoping Study (2010), a Study on the Women's Movement (2017) and a Study on the Women's Fund commissioned by the Irish Embassy (2017)

⁶⁶ Women's Fund Tanzania (2016). Strategic Plan, 2016 to 2020.

provides a mechanism toward redistributing power, so movement agendas are set and controlled by activists, organisations, and communities.

This has meant that the an important area of focus of the Fund's work has been to build a solid foundation of diverse sources of funding as well as strengthening the institutional base of the Fund. Explicitly listing resource mobilisation as a core strategy of the Fund is premised on the commitment of the Fund in word and deed to act as an 'intermediary'. On the one hand, the Fund notes the first part of this role is to give out funds it mobilises as smaller grants to women's rights initiatives at grassroots level, on the other hand the Fund is able to strengthen capacity of smaller organisations and promote movement building and strategic alliance building by linking grassroots women to national level women's rights struggles for larger impacts. WFT recognises that this is a diverse and complex role,⁶⁷ Acting as a bridge for women's movements is expressed by the Fund in various documents as well as by staff and board members in discussions around expectations of the Fund's work. As noted in these discussions, the Fund is perceived by women's rights actors as an arm of the women's movement, with a capacity to listen to the organisations, identify their demands and translate them into mechanisms to raise resources from different sources.⁶⁸

Infusing a feminist consciousness into women's rights strategies

In the different documents reviewed and in the discussions with WFT staff and the Board, what the Fund is keen to emphasise is the infusion of a feminist consciousness into responses to social injustices. The emphasis on feminist consciousness is done for two reasons by the Fund.

- (i) the Fund wants to make the distinction that their grantmaking and movement building work is grounded in an analysis of power.
- (ii) The Fund's recognition of the importance of collective action to amplify the work done by groups.

This is most likely influenced by movement building theory that firstly notes that the distinguishing features of successful and sustainable movements for social change is that

⁶⁷ Rusimbi, M (2015). Civil Society Pillar – Case on Women's Rights Fund in Tanzania – Women Fund Tanzania (WFT). Presented at the Un Conference on Water in 2015. https://www.womenforwater.org/uploads/7/7/5/1/77516286/case_women_fund_tanzania._mary_rusimbi_bmcase-1.pdf

⁶⁸ FGD #2.

they have a clear and consistent agenda focused on transforming power relations.⁶⁹ Secondly, it challenges short-term or even singular actors in achieving sustained social change, but sees the importance of engaging a range of actors to come together to work towards women's rights. Examples of singular interventions could include organising workshops, or convenings or trainings delinked from a broader strategy for social change. Hence the Fund, while they may fund smaller groups or even singular interventions that would chip away at patriarchal power, clearly notes that they will do so, but would combine it with capacity strengthening in order to ensure that the singular interventions become seeds for more sustained change.⁷⁰ This is all an extension from the Fund's analysis the systemic and structural it is nature of gender discrimination within the Tanzania context.⁷¹

Catalyst for movement building

As noted previously, the identifies movement building and strengthening a central focus on their work. For the Fund, this happens through supporting and fostering strategic alliances among various groups. As articulated by the Fund,

“although we do support small groups, and we resource what they identify as their priorities, we do use the opportunity to expand their analysis and thinking such that they realise that the single initiative would not achieve deep change. Instead, we support them to find ways to connect and act with other actors whether at their local level, or even at the national level, so that we see a more sustained outcome from our investment.” (KII #3)

As expressed by the Fund, the first pillar of movement building is through capacity building of diverse actors, in particular smaller and more marginal groups to be able to play a meaningful role in exercise their voice and visibility. The second pillar includes providing the necessary resources that allow groups to act and exercise power and agency in their local contexts. The final pillar is the support and facilitation of strategic to set their agenda and take collective action, in this instance the Fund sees both the resourcing support for collective action and at times if the Fund feels there is an opportune moment for collective action, the Fund would initiate it.⁷² This is in many ways a reflection of a power framework conceptual approach as articulated by 'Just Associates (Jass)⁷³. The first pillar refers to *power within* which in the case

⁶⁹ Batliwala S (2009) Changing their Worlds, Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements. Association for Women's Rights in Development.

⁷⁰ FGD #2

⁷¹ This is present in the annual trends analysis compiled by the Fund through their grantmaking

⁷² KII #3.

⁷³ Veneklasen L, Miller V, Clark C and Budlender D (2002). A new weave of power, people, and politics: the action guide for advocacy and citizen participation. Just Associates.

of WFT refers to diverse women's rights actors able to tap into their own power, and articulate their own experiences and connect to their agency or possibilities for bringing about change. The second pillar as articulated through the WFT movement building approach activates *power to* which refers to the unique potential of women's rights actors to shape their world. Finally, the third pillar would refer to *power with, which is the activation of* mutual support and solidarity which opens up the possibilities of joint action as a means to address issues of power and control in the collective reality faced by women in the context, despite their diversities. As articulated by WFT, this movement building framework places power within reach of actors that may have been considered powerless, in ways that allow them to find unique and appropriate solutions to the complexities of women's and men's, girls' and boys' lived experience.

To propel the movement building work, WFT acknowledges the importance of visibilising, supporting networking and coalition building strategies and also documenting the work that is happening (past and present) within the women's movement and playing a thought leadership role.⁷⁴ This means the Fund plays a strategic role of thought leadership because of their unique positioning as a bridge between diverse women's rights actors (including donors and state actors). In terms of thought leadership, the Fund sees it as not only learning from its grantmaking, but through actively scoping the environment to identify emerging issues and take the lead in convening and advancing these agendas. The thought leadership would also include amplifying the work of WFT partners (grantees) nationally, regionally and internationally as well as to use the positional power of WFT to expand awareness among donors, regional and global actors of the range of strategies used and the resource needs for sustaining or building on this work.

Supporting diverse women's rights actors (in particular grassroots level groups)

The Fund is also cognisant of the landscape of women's rights organising, and have a deep commitment in supporting access to resources to a more diverse group of actors as articulated by the Fund,

“widening and deepening the women's rights movement locally, including developing a more explicit focus on engaging and including marginalised organisations and minority groups such as sex workers, women with disabilities, domestic workers, elderly women, and young women.” (KII #10)

⁷⁴ WFT (2016). Strategic Plan 2017-2021

This is also expressed in the Fund's strategic plan as a deep commitment to focus on grant provision and capacity strengthening by reaching further across Tanzania to remote and rural areas in order to reach women's rights groups and organisations that have had little or no access to funds. The Fund has indicated that through doing so, they would be able to initiate and also build on existing bold activities that ensure women's and girls' rights are being vocalised and enacted at the local level.

“We will deliberately support and strengthen women's rights and girls' rights groups that are marginalised due to social, cultural and historical stigma including women with disabilities, sex workers, and rural communities. We also plan to ensure that we serve as a role model for inclusion in our other programs, in our research and communication work (and indeed within our own structures and human resources).”⁷⁵

From the above, the Fund believes in widening the reach of resources to groups that ordinarily may not have access to funding for different reasons. The Fund has been steadfast in this political commitment to Fund despite misgivings expressed by Fund donors about potential risks of investing in grassroots or informal groups. As noted by one Fund staff member, a challenge in supporting such groups is often the varying capacities of grassroots and unknown groups, as well as the fact that smaller actions taken by such group may not be considered as appealing because it does not reflect big shifts or changes in the landscape.⁷⁶ Such groups would also require sustained investment over time to become vocal and visible actors in the broader context of women's rights organising. Notwithstanding these challenges, the Fund has remained steadfast in their commitment to make grants accessible to diverse women's rights actors and through that contribute to enhanced capacity and better equipped stakeholders that could promote and protect women's rights. As noted by the Fund, they seek to play this 'role in strengthening potentials for women's capacities and organising at local levels to demand for their basic rights, and also work towards contributing as active actors in broader women's movements through funding and capacity enhancement.'⁷⁷

⁷⁵ WFT (2016). Strategic Plan 2017-2021.

⁷⁶ KII #2

⁷⁷ Rusimbi (2015).

How is the women's fund doing what they do?

Funding mechanism

WFT wants their grantmaking to lead to can be summarised in three categories; (i) increased capacities and potentials of women's movement(s), women's organisations, women's groups and individual women especially at the local level to contribute to change; (ii) contributing to enhanced capacity, and better-equipped stakeholders in order to protect and promote women's rights and (iii) supporting collective action of a widened circle of actors.⁷⁸ As such, their Funding falls broadly under the following themes:

- Violence against women (including sexual harassment)
- Sexual harassment.
- Women leadership.
- Women rights.
- Women Empowerment.
- Economic Justice.
- Political participation of women (Constitutionalism)
- Movement building

WFT through consultation and engagement with the different actors and stakeholders, and through an annual scoping exercise is able to understand which areas and strategies require resourcing that would propel the agenda for gender quality and social justice forward within the local context.⁷⁹

As the Fund, we do a context analysis of what is happening around us. This is in terms of the political context, the funding environment and also the issues the different groups we support are working on. We look at the structures in place as well as where there is the most demand for funding and we put all these together into our initial context analysis report. From there, where possible, we engage with stakeholders to have an accurate reflection of what we need to respond to. This helps us to identify our priorities and also sometimes key focus areas for funding. KII # 2

From these different sources of trends analysis, the Secretariat of WFT defines and selects specific program areas for grant making for approval by the Board on an annual basis and a

⁷⁸ WFT (2016). Strategic Plan 2017-2021

⁷⁹ FGD #3, FGD #4, FGD#5, FGD#2

list of the program areas is developed, which may be enlarged or modified by WFT as and when needed. A Call for Proposals is issued and grant proposals are accepted only during scheduled application periods. In addition to the annual call for proposals, the Fund also has a flexible window whereby grantees are able to apply for funding for emergent areas or issues as well as windows to support activities related to International Women's Day and the 16 Days of Activism. Requests for proposals are usually posted on the WFT website, as well as circulated through the wide range of networks that WFT is part of.⁸⁰

According to WFT, their model of grantmaking is responsive and proactive. Responsive in the sense that priorities are developed based on the Fund's analysis of existing grantmaking, as well as the Fund's willingness to be open and flexible should any unplanned issues or requests be submitted. The proactive aspect of grantmaking is whereby the Fund is able to use its positioning at the local, regional and global level to identify potential opportunities to advance the broader women's rights agenda and catalyse potential engagement with such opportunities. WFT's view of their responsiveness is affirmed by grantees as well as partners who have responsiveness and proactive role of WFT is confirmed by grantees.

The Fund has supported us with attending training on feminism and to make links between feminism and our work. This has enabled us to participate in other national level processes such as the Gender Festival and other coalitions and to be able to express our issues and create awareness on the different challenges for women related to the environment and climate change. (Respondent, FGD #5)

Other than the direct funding support received from WFT, they helped us to do a mapping of the different issues faced by sex workers in the country. They helped us to develop a manual on how to train sex workers and communities on their human rights, injustices faced by sex workers. (Respondent, FGD #4)

The Fund's support for and role in the Constitutional Review Process is an important example of how the Fund is able to see ahead. The Fund's concern with strengthening the movement and building a collective voice has extended way beyond that process and allowed us to see possibilities of working together despite our differences. (Respondent, FGD #3)

While other funders may emphasise participative grantmaking, the Fund does view the engagement of a cross-section of other movement actors as a means to be more transparent and accountable in how they make decisions about resources. This is facilitated in the review of grantee applications, whereby eligible activities for WFT funded projects will be prepared

⁸⁰ WFT Website and other materials related to grantmaking

by the Secretariat, and reviewed and approved by the Selection Committee, while the Board of Directors is informed on the emerging trends and results. The eligible activity may vary from time to time. The procedure on how to prepare the eligible activities is narrated in a step-by-step competitive grant making procedure.

WFT has a Technical Committee that reviews proposals to see if they fit the criteria of the groups that WFT funds. The criteria includes whether the group has leadership by women (and the percentage of such leadership), and whether it addresses a key issue related to advancing women's rights and dignity. Within this, the Technical Committee recommends groups that may have a good idea or initiative, but whose proposal does not meet the required standard. The groups are then supported over a period to evolve the proposal. (KII #5)

The Fund also has expressed a clear commitment to the expression of resourcing that goes beyond financial, and includes additional support such as capacity strengthening and opportunities to participate in different processes that WFT may initiate or initiated by WFT partners. For the Fund, this is an inherent political principle that recognises that the capacity and strength of the groups they support is an important political strategy for ensuring sustainability of movement. The capacity strengthening work was affirmed by all the grantees that participated in the focus groups.⁸¹ Some received support to expand their analysis of power, whilst others received support in the form of institutional strengthening (systems, processes, monitoring/documentation, constituency building or leadership development).

WFT has initiated leadership processes and also initiated processes for us to learn about the herstories of women's organising in the countries. This helps us to learn from other organisations and it increase our connections to each other. (Repondent, FGD #5)

Supporting and facilitating collective action

As noted earlier in the report, WFT's unique approach to support movement building, similar to other women's funds, is a model that supports movement building, such that it sees resourcing as just one critical precondition to the success and sustainability of the women's movement in the country.

In supporting this commitment, WFT actively fosters and supports linkages and alliances by playing an active role in convening and resourcing strategic alliances. Within WFT, a staff person is allocated to the movement building portfolio to provide support and coordination to the different coalitions. For example the Wanawake na Katiba Coalition as mentioned in the

⁸¹ FGD #4 and #5.

meshwork, is still active following the Constitutional Review Process.⁸² Additionally, the Sextortion Coalition are all supported and convened by WFT as part of their movement building work. In particular, WFT through strategic coalitions bring together actors across all levels of the society, to ensure there is greater voice and visibility of potentially marginal voices.

At the same time, for the groups that WFT supports in terms of capacity strengthening, supporting their participation in these coalitions is a way to advance WFT's belief that it is important for grassroots organisations' growth to be able to engage and join the actions of other actors at the national level.

WFT convened a national workshop on gender and environmental justice as a way to mobilise support from those working on a range of issues for the environmental justice agenda. It allowed us to come together to look at forestry, land, agriculture and extractive industries, water, shared experiences and to plan a way forward as a movement. (Respondent, FGD #5)

WFT has been convening coalitions among organisations that advocate for Tanzania human rights defenders. As a result of our participation in these spaces, we have connected to other groups and learnt what others are doing, and have had to think about how to connect our struggles. It has also given us a space to think together and to give profile to our own work in a broader space where we consider the broader issues for the whole country. (Respondent, FGD #5)

Supporting marginalised communities

WFT's recognises that building diverse alliances across the Tanzanian society such that the emerging agenda for women's rights takes into account the diverse experiences of women based on intersections of power related to economic status, location, religion, sexuality, ability, and other factors. This is expressed in a principle expressed by WFT that gives life to the work of the Fund, the belief that: .

"women, across all levels of society, have the potential to effect change in their own lives and that of their communities."⁸³

In many ways, this forms the basis for the ways in which WFT nurtures and supports strategic action by women to transform their own realities, particularly at the local level to increase their

⁸² Women's Fund Tanzania Website wft.or.tz

⁸³ Women's Fund Tanzania (2016). Strategic Plan 2016 - 2020

voice, visibility and impact. As part of their analysis and understanding of differential power, access and capacity of different groups, the Fund prioritises support in the form of financial resources, as well as capacity strengthening and mentoring processes for underserved and marginalised, and rural and remote women's groups and organisations.

It is within this framework that WFT is able to push for increased resources for the different groups, but also to learn about the different ways groups (particularly at the grassroots level) are using those resources to realise rights. This is important in building the narrative of how feminist organising is evolving, what the challenges are and the role of resources in ensuring vibrancy of movements. The fact that more than 40% of funding goes to such actors is a demonstration of this commitment.⁸⁴

Our main focus is to support and enhance the visibility of the most marginalised groups – such as those at grassroots level – and to amplify their voices and enhance their visibility. In doing so – we include minority groups such as young activists, sex workers, transgender and women with disability. When we receive proposals from such groups, we normally would look at how to enhance their proposal in terms of analysis, but also their strategies. These groups are often earmarked for capacity strengthening even at the proposal stage as we strive to ensure that they are able to access funding from us, but would also be able to use their increased capacity to access other support in the context. This is part of how we are contributing to vibrancy and sustainability in women's movements nationally. (,KII #4)

Thought leadership

This area of work for the Fund includes proactive documentation of what is happening within the different contexts in the country, and this in turn allows WFT to understand better where to invest more, and to keep track of the impact of the investment made by the Fund. WFT's work in knowledge building harvests, refines and shares practical conceptual learning about building movements, gender justice and social change, and particularly the different roles, strategies and visions of different actors engaging in work to advance women's rights in Tanzania. Thought leadership is particularly important in countering the erasure of the work of women's movements in the national context, as well as contributing to keeping the role of women's movements vibrant, visible and relevant.

In supporting the Fund in its thought leadership role, WFT documents case studies, and also herstories to ensure that the work that is happening currently remains part of the movement's

⁸⁴ WFT Grant Portfolio Analysis.

institutional knowledge.⁸⁵ The audiences for these knowledge products are varied and include other donors, regional and global women's rights actors as well as within the national context. The Fund disseminates their knowledge products through their website and mostly electronically.⁸⁶ Small amounts of these are translated into Swahili, printed and disseminated at different events and to grantees.

A second area of thought leadership for the Fund is the Fund's proactive intervention in critical emergent areas that may not yet be on the radar of women's movements in the national context. Through the unique positioning of the Fund, their analysis as well as their engagement in a range of spaces (civil society formations, state processes, donor processes etc), the Fund is able to have their finger on the pulse and potentially spark strategic collective action to ensure that women's movements voice and agendas are present in those spaces. An example of such thought leadership was shared by in one of the focus groups was the introduction of the Political Parties Act in 2019, that would have an impact on women's participation in politics. Due to the fact that this issue was not on the radar of the women's movement at the time, the Fund called a convening that unpacked the potential ramifications of women's political participation should this Act come into effect. This formed the basis of different groups keeping a watchful eye on the process, and also creating awareness among other groups to sign onto a submission and join future strategic action initiatives to challenge it promulgation.⁸⁷ This recent example of the Fund is a demonstration of both thought leadership and the Fund not being constrained in terms of its programme of action. It is an illustration of the Fund exercising thought and positional leadership in ways that leverage the power of the constituencies that WFT supports.

As noted earlier in this report, the Fund conducts annual context analysis that includes consultation with the different actors and stakeholders⁸⁸ and an analysis of funding trends from the Fund's grantmaking work. However, and through an annual trends exercise is able to understand which areas and strategies require resourcing that would propel the agenda for gender quality and social justice forward within the local context.⁸⁹ However, this analysis does not include an extensive review of other philanthropic or civil society actors such as other women's funds, their donors, or partners in Tanzania. The Fund has acknowledged that there is a need for more broadened active scoping that will support the Fund's resource

⁸⁵ Selected case studies of grantees work as well as the grant-making initiative around documenting herstories

⁸⁶ Review of WFT Website and electronic knowledge products

⁸⁷ FGD #3

⁸⁸ This takes place with different grantees, the Board and within the different coalition spaces.

⁸⁹ FGD #2, #3, #4, #5,

mobilisation work as well as support the leadership role played by WFT.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ KII #1

Is the women's fund doing what they think they are doing?

The Grant Portfolio Analysis (GPA) reviewed the about 32 grant applications between the period 2015 to 2018. The analysis looked at the profile of groups supported by WFT, their main issues addressed, composition and location. Extending from the meshwork analysis, the GPA reviewed applications that fell into 3 thematic areas: women and constitutionalism, leadership development and movement building. The time period and thematic areas were chosen as it followed the period related to the meshwork analysis and could provide insights into how the the movement building work of the Fund continued following from the meshwork. For the period reviewed, more than 900 applications were received under these categories, and only the 27 were awarded.

Capacity strengthening to infuse a feminist consciousness into the work of the grantees

From the review of grantee applications, grantee applicants were able to provide a clear justification for why a particular intervention was needed. Their explanations demonstrated an understanding of power which demonstrated a clear causal link to the systemic nature of inequality. This is illustrative of the fact that groups are able to analyse their realities and to articulate their own solutions to address those very experiences of power in own homes, community and organisations.

Women exclude themselves from participating in politics because of the oppressive culture, patriarchal system but also, presence of legal framework which is not supportive enough of their real needs and situations. These makes them to be convinced that politics and leadership is for men. Moreover, lack of resources to facilitate their participation or to manage direct and indirect expenses for contesting. All of these affect their political participation. (Justification, Grantee Application 1)

Many girls in our targeted regions are unaware of their rights and how they can amplify their voices to collectively fight for their rights especially in currently shrinking democratic pillars and principals. (Justification, Grantee Application 7)

Currently, WFT grantmaking process has two process streams. The first stream is the processing of those applications where grantees are able to clearly express in written format their analysis and their proposed intervention. These are put forward for consideration to the Technical Committee for approval. The second stream include those applicants that have a good idea, or is addressing a critical and relevant issue in their locality. However, in reviewing their written application, they have not been able to express clearly their understanding of

why the intervention is needed, and what the greater impact of such an intervention would be. In the process of grant approvals, the Grant Department is able to sort through and identify smaller or marginalised groups that might need greater support in strengthening their applications.⁹¹ Thus in this stream, such applications are put forward for support whereby grantees are supported in putting forward a proposal that meets the criteria for selection.

The criteria for selection as mentioned earlier is:

- that the proposal has to address women's rights,
- it has to be a women's group, (small, large, rural, urban)
- it has to be able to articulate clearly what the intervention is and why it is needed
- lastly it has to also be able to express what the likely impact of the intervention would be.

In terms of the second stream of grant processing, WFT state that this is part of their commitment in infusing a feminist consciousness into the work of grantees. For them, this is articulated in their strategic plan as 'providing grants for strategic women's rights initiatives through set models for enhanced feminist discourse, voice and visibility and for collective action for transformation.'⁹² Although this could be misconstrued as WFT using their position of power to define the direction and approaches of grantees, this is not so. As noted by grantees that have received such support, WFT works with what they have and help them to articulate it clearly. WFT does not decide what grantees should do, and how they should do it.⁹³ Instead, it is viewed by grantees as supporting their institutional strengthening. At least 4 grantees in two different focus groups indicated how this support has helped them to write better funding proposals that has given them access to funding outside of WFT.⁹⁴

In addition to support in developing grant applications for groups with less experience, WFT has also introduced existing grantee partners to other spaces whereby they were able to expand their understanding of power and how it relates to the the work they are doing. In two of the grantee focus group discussions, grantees referred to this capacity building as important in their own analysis, but also as it relates to making connections to other struggles.

WFT recommended us to attend a training on environmental justice. Even though we are focused on issues of widows and their loss of land through inheritance rights, we were able to

⁹¹ KII #2

⁹² WFT (2016). Strategic Plan 2017-2021

⁹³ FGD #4 and #5

⁹⁴ FGD #4 and #5

see how those issues are related to what we are doing as an organisation. (Respondent, FGD #4)

We were invited to attend different meetings by WFT. This has built up our capacity as a grassroots organisation. Not only has it strengthened our leadership, but we are able to understand better how our issues are connected to other women's rights issues. (Respondent, FGD #5)

The above are some examples of how WFT has deepened partnerships with women's rights organisations and allied organisations across Tanzania with a clear focus on capacity strengthening.

Support to groups that are marginalised

The applications reviewed were diverse in terms of geographic coverage, with almost 40% being outside of the urban areas, and being grassroots groups. This affirms WFT's assertion that they prioritise groups that are marginalised, and may not have access to funding from mainstream donors.

The Fund's political commitment, expressed through its grantmaking work and the accompanied supporting strategies of capacity building and strategic alliance building, enables WFT to bring into the fold marginalised groups, those that are often operating under the radar, often small, unregistered groups, and collectives whose voice might be drowned out in mainstream civil society spaces.

For example, groups focusing on environmental rights, sex workers, disability, widows and children are all prioritised for funding. In the focus groups with grantees, respondents affirmed the importance of this political principle, particularly those groups that indicated the importance of technical support they received from WFT that supported them in their own work, and assisted them in having a more powerful voice in coalition spaces spearheaded by the Fund. In terms of organising capacity, grantees from the FGD's also shared that there were ongoing opportunities for them to participate in processes of learning, of understanding key issues, as well as exposure to learning forums from other WFT partners.⁹⁵ The Fund has made concrete investments in supporting such groups with mapping activities, and also with base-building resources such as creating awareness about their rights, as well as to provide support for alliance building.

⁹⁵ FGD #4 and #5.

WFT supported us to engage in dialogues with community authorities and local government to reduce gender based violence against sex workers. We have also been able to raise the issues of sex workers in national movement spaces and have been able to ensure that our issues are also voiced out and visible. (KII #8)

Our group works with market women in different districts outside of Dar es Salaam. We have been able to conduct research on the types of issues we face and the role patriarchy place in the economic isolation faced by women. We have engaged in spaces organised by WFT and also WFT allies, we have been able to also share our issues on radio. As a result of this visibility, other organisations sent mental health champions who come and visit our support groups and assist us with these issues. Very often mental health is ignored, and this support is necessary (KII #9)

A responsive approach to supporting broad thematic areas of work

From the meshwork, there were 12 issue areas that were developed collaboratively by the Coalition in the Constitutional Review Process. In the Draft Constitution of 2013, these 12 issues were included under Article 47 as provisions to champion women's rights. Article 47 has two sub-articles. Sub article one guarantees women respect of their dignity; freedom from oppression; equal pay for equal work; protection from discriminatory laws and harmful traditions; labour protection for reproductive function; and access to health. The second sub article commits to creating the environment necessary to realise the rights outlined in the article.⁹⁶

As can be noted above, the 12 issues could fall in multiple thematic areas. Currently, the Fund's call for proposals allows for grant applications that fall into any of the following themes:

- Violence against women (including sexual harassment)
- Sexual harassment.
- Women leadership.
- Women rights.
- Women Empowerment.
- Economic Justice.
- Political participation of women (Constitutionalism)
- Movement building

⁹⁶ Maoulidi, S (2015).

However, in linking analysis of the meshwork and the emphasis of the Fund of movement building, the GPA focused on 3 thematic areas: women and constitutionalism, leadership development and movement building. One might expect that choosing 3 themes would be quite limiting however, even in these thematic containers, there was broad view of the issues and strategies needed by the movement to advance a women's rights agenda. Given the political context in Tanzania, and the potential threat to the autonomy of women's mobilisation or organising, the Fund received applications from groups to develop leadership capacity, to develop an understanding of the broader political agenda and also to build the capacity of particular groups such as widows, sex workers, media and young women.

For example under political participation and constitutionalism, one grantee wrote:

What: We want to create awareness among women about getting involved in local government.

Why: As women face repression because dominant image of political actors in today's world is men. Inaccessibility to education, food, shelter and self determination by women due to poverty, culture and other reasons, is a source of violation of their democratic rights to equally participate in election.

Proposed outcome: Our aim is to increase the number of women who are willing to stand for local elections.

Another example under leadership development:

What: We want to create a safe space for leadership development among young women to explore, to learn and to become empowered about their rights.

Why: Many young girls and women are unaware of their rights and often when they experience any forms of violence, or discrimination, they do not know how to address it or what to do. This means that their development and potential in the society is impacted.

Proposed outcome: Young girls and young women are able to speak out different issues that prohibit girls and women to unleash their social and economic potentials in the societies.

From the GPA, and viewing the above applications the link between women's dignity and their freedoms is clear, even though grantees have not used that language explicitly. However, their work overall, builds on the outcomes from the Constitutional Review Process

and the 12 issue areas. This linking of issues to the 12 issues outlined in the Draft Constitution was also expressed during the Grantee FGD. For example, one group focusing on environmental rights received funding support to do initial research on extractivism in Tanzania, and how it impacts livelihoods and rights of women. This is a current issue within the continent, given the relationship between mining, climate change and livelihood.⁹⁷ Under each of the different themes, the GPA is able to trace clear linkages between why the resources were needed, as well as how this would contribute to change. Furthermore, for the groups supported with leadership development, resources were aimed at strengthening those institutions, but also to support groups with strategic capacity so that they are able to develop their own strategies, and advance change in their various contexts.⁹⁸

It is worth pointing out that these definitions of the themes and resulting strategies are proposed by grantees, based on their own situations, and their understanding of what is needed. In other words, WFT does not influence their articulation at all, perhaps except to have them choose a thematic area under which they would like their work to fall into. In this sense, there is relevance of grantmaking, but also given the thematic focus areas of WFT, it demonstrates responsiveness, garnered from the work they have been doing, their own analysis and also the work of the women's movement itself. The findings above point to the fact that the work of the Fund's strategies are grounded in an analysis of context, but also builds on the previous work of the Fund as per the meshwork analysis.

This is an affirmation of WFT's grantmaking approach that recognises that there is no single issue or strategy that should be used to disrupt or transform the status quo. Even if this is not explicitly stated by WFT, the resulting effect is a Fund that contributes to diverse groups, organising and mobilising on multiple levels in many ways reflection of the heterogeneity of women's rights organising in the country.⁹⁹

One of the significant outcomes of the meshwork was the development of a women's rights agenda that was inclusive of the issues, voices and concerns of the diversity of women's rights actors in Tanzania. Building on the processes of agenda-setting, alliance building and advocacy, the GPA and engagement with grantees and women's movement actors were

⁹⁷ KII #8

⁹⁸ Grant Portfolio Analysis

⁹⁹ Grant Portfolio Analysis, and Overview of WFT Grantees in Funding Database

interested to gain some understanding of how the Fund supported movement building beyond the Constitutional Review Process. There are several insights that can be gleaned from the research process in relation to this inquiry.

- A common agenda

As noted earlier in the report, one of the distinguishing features of successful and sustainable movements for social change is that they have a clear and consistent agenda focused on transforming power relations.¹⁰⁰ It is difficult to discern from the GPA whether as a collective, the different applications could be considered as a common agenda. However, that being said, in assessing the following key statements extracted from some of the grant applications:

Our goal is to enhance gender equity and equality in the community by empowering families and institutions.

We aim for youth and women are free from all forms of abuse, gender, sexual violence and exploitation and have a platform to make their voice heard.

We want a society where young girls and women are strengthened through capacity building to collectively and individually stand up and advocate for change of social, political and economic systems, which impede them from enjoying their rights.

We wish to promote collective learning and sharing processes that would nurture women CSO leaders in Tanzania so as to improve and revitalize the women movement.

Building on from the meshwork, the above statements from grant applications do come together in a common agenda that is:

- Free from discrimination and the possible attainment of gender equality (dignity and freedom);
- Where all members of communities (particularly girls and women) are free from violence;
- A society where ocused on gender equality, where people can speak out and claim their rights;

¹⁰⁰ Batliwala S (2009) Changing their Worlds, Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements. Association for Women's Rights in Development.

- Where women are able to lead and sustain strong organisations and engage as part of women's movements .

When unpacked in this way, it does speak to a common agenda that is linked to the broader visions of women across Tanzania as articulated through meshwork. The agenda is thus grounded in reducing all forms of gendered oppressions and discriminations and based on a real understanding of the roots of these as articulated through women's lived experiences.

Movement building support

From the GPA, there were a range of activities that were funded under the movement building theme. Activities included: needs analysis, supporting convenings to enable alliance building and networking, while other strategies funded included training and even media coverage. The GPA reveals that requests were received and approved for the following strategies:

- Awareness of rights, capacity building and development of an analysis of power of a range of constituents (young women, women, families, community actors)
- Developing a platform of action for change around particular issues (violence, sex workers, inheritance rights, environmental justice)
- Spaces for alliance building with other groups that are not linked to issue (CBOs, NGOs, religious leaders, local community leaders, young women)
- Collective action campaigns

Thus, the strategies covered in the applications reviewed as part of the GPA when added up could in fact be considered activities that contribute to movement building. However, in reviewing the data of the grant applications, only one application per group is considered and this might not necessarily tell the story of how the group is building a sustained change agenda over time. Given that a characteristic of a movement is the sustained engagement towards a common goal over time¹⁰¹, it is difficult to assess this feature of the Fund's support to movement building as the GPA only covers a particular period of work. It is also still early stages of the Fund's investment in such groups and would need to form part of an intentional exploration in future.

While the GPA by its very nature does not allow for such an assessment, the coalition work that is supported and coordinated by WFT does provide a window into a more sustained and intentional approach to movement building by the Fund that meets the criteria of engaging in

¹⁰¹ Batliwala (2009)

a sustained change agenda over time. At the time of writing this report, the only reflections from this assessment yielded that the coalition work is seen as critical within the broader space of womens movements in Tanzania. It is seen as spaces for different groups to come together, and align their different areas of work around a common issue (sextortion or constitution-building), to build their capacity and strengthen the voice around these agendas, it strives to build on what is achieved, and has an overview on how various activities will slowly come together to change the social climate.¹⁰²

The role of the Fund

Another exploration was around the relationship of the Fund's work in terms of movement building, in discussion with stakeholders and grantees.

The Fund explicitly states that one of the roles of the Fund is to infuse a feminist consciousness into the analysis and strategies of women's movements in Tanzania.¹⁰³ The Fund's rationale for this is premised on the realisation that single strategies or interventions of individual groups and organisations does not constitute a political movement for change. The Fund's way of doing this is to ensure that clear links are made between the actual interventions, power and a broader movement for change. As such, the Fund is quite intentional in supporting and facilitating spaces that bring together a range of actors that could spark collective action (with a range of actors), which is deemed by the Fund as more sustainable.¹⁰⁴ The Fund strives to act on this intention, whilst recognising the autonomy of groups and movements themselves to continue doing the work, to build their agenda over time and to change.

As affirmed by focus groups of grantees and women's movement actors, WFT plays a critical role in resourcing in strengthening movements. However, this role as necessary for the sustainability of the movements is necessary, but it could also puts WFT in a strange relationship with womens movements in that it is considered part of the movement, and at the same time being in this precarious power position related to resources.¹⁰⁵ As expressed by one FGD participant:

The Fund plays a bridging role in bringing groups together and taking the lead on particular issues (thought leadership). Through these processes, we are able to connect our struggles,

¹⁰² KII WFT Movement Building Coordinator, Grantee FGD 1, 2 and 3, Women's Movement FGD

¹⁰³ WFT Staff and Board Focus Group

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ FGD #3 and #4

and efforts and also build solidarity so that we are not lone voices for single issues, rather that we are continuously reflecting on how to amplify our voice, and our power as we push for accountability from those in decision-making at all levels of society. (Respondent, FGD #4)

This issue is discussed later in the report in relation to the role of the Fund vis-à-vis the women's movements. It is worth noting that more than 70% of the applications reviewed in the GPA and the FGD have prior or long-standing relationships with WFT. These relationships are not always related to funding, as noted by several of grantees in the focus groups.¹⁰⁶ Due to the role of WFT in the national context, women's rights actors often encounter WFT in other spaces, or in the alliances that are convened by WFT. Furthermore, WFT engagement with grantees often go beyond funding cycles. This is an expression of WFT principles of engaging and building alliances with the diversity of women's rights actors to ensure that when needed they are able to create powerful collective action strategies for sustainable change.

This observation by no means asserts that the work of the Fund is invalidated as a result, however, it is worth interrogating and thinking through in terms of the broader meaning of the work; and understand the role of intentionality in explicitly advancing a set of strategies that come together as movement building strategies. Furthermore, from the FGDs and even key informant interviews there appeared to be very little critical thinking about the role of the Fund, particularly as it relates to movement building. This is not to say that the research process sought to challenge the role of the Fund, it is rather an observation of the overtly positive engagement from those that participated in the discussions of this research project

¹⁰⁶ FGD #4 and #5

What is the role of the women's fund in supporting movement building nationally?

WFT's unique positioning as a Fund

WFT has a very unique positioning in the space of feminist organising in Tanzania. As a donor that was birthed by the movement,¹⁰⁷ the Fund is seen as both an catalyst for women's rights activism in the national context, as well as a participant. The fact that leaders of WFT¹⁰⁸ come from the space of women's organising with their own activist profiles, has enabled the Fund to establish itself with credibility in a space that is able to bring together more seasoned actors (individual as well as institutional) as well as create space for newcomers to feminist organising and movement building to join the broader agenda for change.

WFT's niche role goes beyond resourcing to also facilitating leadership opportunities and capacities of a diverse set of women's rights actors to support their mobilising in order to achieve progressive and political change, radical shifts to movements' landscapes and social change trajectories. Throughout this report, several examples of how WFT does this was shared.

While WFT is focused on responding timeously as well as strategically to the issues of the diversity of groups, as the Fund evolves, the Fund has to consciously grapple with the intricate relationship between resources and the work of challenging and shifting power, and what it means to be 'a feminist funder', to be 'supportive (friend)', to be 'committed to marginal voices and actors' and to be 'consistently principled and political' in surfacing and challenging power.

As the agenda shifts and evolves, the role of WFT too might evolve, particularly as the organisation works with more resources. The issues of what it means to be 'national feminist fund', 'to be an actor of the movement', and to be a 'funder' is one to forefront and think about moving forward.

Empowering funding mechanism that supports diverse strategies for change

As articulated earlier in the report, the Fund's intention is to provide a funding mechanism that is empowering. For the Fund, it means that resourcing is done in a manner that goes beyond the financial support, to include capacity building, bridge-building and ultimately the brokering of relationships between diverse actors so that they limit the working in silos. More than half of WFT grants are accompanied by capacity building, including ways of

¹⁰⁷ Rehmatullah and Chigudu (2017)

¹⁰⁸ Founders, Board Members, Advisory Members and also Technical Committee Members

organising or the strengthening women's leadership and confidence as citizens and political actors.¹⁰⁹

The resulting impact of this approach to resourcing has meant that a range of actors that may not have had the opportunities or possibilities (such as grassroots groups, rural-based groups, young women's initiatives, sex worker led groups, trans groups) were strengthened in their activism and leadership such that they were able to connect their own struggles to other struggles and strengthened their organising power.

As noted previously in this report, the Fund does this work being cognisant of the relations of power that often are intrinsic to donor/grantee relations. The Fund counters this challenge through ensuring that groups they work with are able to address the challenges they encounter in their lived realities, as defined by them, in the ways that they chose to address it. This is one of the reasons that in the review of the Fund's funding database, a cursory glance shows the fund investing in diverse strategies. As noted from the GPA, despite there being a multitude of strategies, what the strategies have in common when woven together in a common narrative is that there are many ways in which groups may view and understand their realities, as well as how they choose to address them. The other common feature is that when put together, these different strategies are a demonstration of the multiple forms of agency that is being activated through WFT grantmaking in transform patriarchal norms and structures.

Supporting and propelling movement building

The Fund in their own understanding of movement building and based on their work thus far in the context, have noted the need to break down silos. To ensure that this happens, WFT and WFT allies seek to ensure that women's rights actors are able to engage with one another in a range of spaces; in particular those that are located within systems and those challenging systems to be able to know when to build bridges in order to serve the broader change agenda.

From the data reviewed, the Fund is able to do this multiple ways. One is through consultative engagements, whereby the Fund creates spaces for different actors to come together to share *priorities*, and enabling grantees and other allies to come together to develop shared agendas. This has contributed to an appreciation existing and emerging challenges and the different ways in which diverse women's rights actors chip away at structures of power that attempt to subordinate them and deny them access to dignity and rights. As such, these and

¹⁰⁹ WFT Grantmaking Reports, FGD #4 and #5

other processes, increase political consciousness which seed collective change agendas and strategies.

As a result of this work, it can be said that the WFT has enhanced collective power of women's right actors. This is evident from the examples shared of the different alliances that has resulted from WFT support that has led to sparking timely and effective political impact and connections between women's rights actors with one another. One notable example, is a huge challenge for women parliamentarians to remain supportive of the agenda of women's rights and gender equality and remain connected to women's groups, including women in the rural areas. The Fund's engagement with women parliamentarian to ensure that links between women in politics and women in social movements are not broken, and bring the two groupings together is an example of WFT engaging with actors located within systems that may oppress or discriminate against women. Additionally, as shown in the meshwork analysis, the coalition building work around the constitution making process brought together a diversity of partners: activists, CBOs, analysts, researchers, and media experts – each of them bringing their own particular expertise to serve the cause. In the words of a respondent:

‘The role of the Fund as the coalition convenor, is not to seek universal agreement or even to minimise disagreement; the Fund seeks active commitment to bringing about specific changes’, another commented, ‘the Fund serves the cause, not the coalition, and not an institutional interest. Its role is to maximise the impact of collective action’. (Respondent, FGD #3)

This affirms the Fund's promotion of collective action (power with), and provides evidence of this form of action being more effective than individualised or fragmented strategies or actions. This is an important contribution in the era of NGOisation, that has resulted often in fragmented, issue based responses by particular actors, as well as where actors compete for attribution of strategies to make the case to donors for funding.

Contributing towards learning and analysis of the diversity of women's organising

As a result of the Fund's work, WFT not only has contributed to a deeper understanding and analysis of the diversity of actors and their strategies and challenges in relation to claiming rights and movement building.

Through their documentation, and the sharing of stories of change, WFT has raised awareness and amplified the diverse strategies, challenges and issues of women's rights actors in the Tanzanian context. The Fund prioritises knowledge production as a strategy for strengthening women's movements. For example, apart from its workshop and funding reports, field visits and monitoring reports, the Fund is beginning to document stories of individual women key actors in the movement. Documentation serves as a mechanism for validating women's experiences and giving them the confidence and encouragement to speak out using their own voices. This is the beginning but as the Fund gets more resources, it hopes to analyse the history ("her stories") of the women's movement and changes over time with some projections for the future.

Other knowledge generation outputs include training and fundraising tools, reports, case studies, a grant-making manual and think pieces that the Fund shares with its own funders and other key stakeholders. Knowledge production is an important undertaking because without it, it's not easy for the next generation to appreciate the achievements made and strategies used by ancestors. The knowledge harvested is also used to influence politics and policy and shape the field of women's rights. More important, every movement should have a knowledge bank 'lest we forget where we come from' as put by one activist in the focus group with members of the women's movement. The Fund also has several papers produced by commissioned individual or written by WFT staff/Board members on various supported advocacy processes of Coalition members and others, as well as on various WFT's activities. However, these are yet to be published. The intended audiences for these are the WFT partners, grantees, stakeholders and well as the broader women's rights community.

Philanthropic advocacy to increase support for women's rights activism nationally

From the data reviewed, WFT has made specific inputs in philanthropic and other spaces, through writing and profiling the work and activism of grantee partners and also through a range of multi-media communications such as blogs, interviews, videos and podcasts.¹¹⁰ On the one hand, this particular impact of WFT has meant that it has spurred and multiplied the

¹¹⁰ See <http://www.wft.org.tz>

individual and collective capacities of activists to challenge the multiple forms of social injustices they encounter. As a result, more groups (community based) and national organisations, institutions and individuals are engaged in focused advocacy and strategic actions for sustained change in the current context. On the other hand, it has also increased resources for this area of work by donors.

For unknown or less formal women's group formations, WFT support in helping them tell their stories of change has meant that in the broader context it has increased the diversity of actors engaging with issues of women's rights, particularly groups that may have been unable to access funding before. The sharing of their narratives are either shared through publications or through presentations by the Fund or grantees themselves.¹¹¹ Engaging with WFT as a partner has meant that these actors have been able to build a case for their work. Although there is no real tracking of how many of these groups accessed additional funding, some anecdotal accounts do attest to this unintended outcome.

We have benefited from WFT who have connected us to Oxfam and they have in turn funded our organisation on issues of sexual and reproductive rights. We were also connected to UN Women (who supported us in 2015). We also received further support from UNFPA. This is because WFT have supported us, shared our stories, and also ensured that we are able to access increased networks that have helped us to grow from an unknown group, to an organisation that is considered worth investing in by other donors. (,KII #8)

¹¹¹ WFT Staff and Board FGD and Grantee FGD 3

How can the women's fund move beyond what they are currently doing?

The unique role of WFT

WFT has a niche role that goes beyond resourcing to also facilitating leadership opportunities and capacities to women's rights actors and collectives to support their mobilising in order to achieve progressive and political change, radical shifts to movements' landscapes and social change trajectories. Additionally, WFT has played a role in fostering, supporting and maintaining strategic alliances based on the Fund's own understanding of what needs to happen to advance sustained change.

While the Fund has focused on responding efficiently and strategically to the issues of actors and groups, mobilising and providing the necessary resources, the question to ask is whether this is a strategy that would endure as the movement strengthens. This is an important question as groups become more visible and are able to take up the spaces that exist to advance the broader women's rights agenda. It also raises the questions as to the whether WFT sees itself raising or investing in resources moving forward. Secondly, given the current context of organising, how would a movement become self-sustaining and is it realistic to expect that of movements given the context. These are all questions for consideration of WFT as it starts imagining itself 10 to 20 years down the line, and in that imagining to consider an evolving role for the strategies and capacities of the Fund.

Convening alliance-building vs resourcing it?

Another issue is related to the convening role played by the Fund. Whilst it is important to resource agenda-setting and alliance building, the question about the power of the Fund in leading has to be surfaced. While the Fund and women's movement actors assert that the Fund is a member of the women's movement, in reality, there is a tension in that there is inherent power in initiating convening, and also agenda-setting bias that may creep in over time. Although currently there is a strong argument for the Fund to play such a role, it is worth for the Fund and women's movement actors to interrogate whether they see the role shifting over time. In other words, how does the Fund see ownership and leadership of agenda-setting across the movement shifting, and what does that mean for the role of the Fund in such a future? The Fund acknowledges this, but in the current moment feels that the different alliances supported and coordinated by WFT are still too young to be fully autonomous and independent.

This points to the need for WFT to continue at periodic moments to engage in conversations about the evolving role of Fund as women's rights actors become more visible and are increasingly able to take up the spaces that WFT, currently inhabits. It is also an important reflection to assess how the needs and priorities for the diverse group of actors shifting over time, and how this influences WFT's evolution over time. In other words, in what area WFT has to step back, and as the context changes where WFT may need to step up and take leadership, particularly in this current context. A question to ask in this instance is as the agenda shifts and evolves, the role of WFT may evolve as well, particularly as the organisation works with more resources. The issues of what it means to be 'feminist centered', 'movement building' and to be a 'funder' is one to forefront and link to the work and the communities of actors that WFT works with. Currently, although this is an issue that is in the space with the different WFT stakeholders, it seems to be an ongoing conversation.

Change is complex

The WFT agenda is about resourcing, supporting and strengthening responses to often very complex problems. WFT's work with grassroots and marginalised groups stands out as an important contribution of the Fund. Despite pressures on the Fund to reconsider this approach due to inherent risks in investing in smaller, unknown or even less formal groups, the Fund has stood their ground based on their own belief that if change is driven from the ground up, it is likely to be more sustainable as it is where most women experience their realities. From the research process, and even the GPA, it is an important and impressive area of work. However, there is an opportunity for WFT to think more cogently about this area of work. At the moment, when viewing this grant-making area, it may appear as short-term strategies related to inputs and outputs. This is partly due to the investment that has to accompany this strategic principle, including capacity building and often accompaniment.

However, for WFT to really leverage this important area and its strengths, it is important to unpack how these cumulatively adds to structural and systemic change. It is important to understand also how it is shifting now as WFT is moving into a strategic phase, as well as what the Fund is learning from this work. In other words, for the Fund to interrogate how WFT's support to such diverse groups and strategies add up and bring this analysis to the fore as it can be compelling as a basis for advocacy for increased resourcing in this area.

Whilst from a feminist perspective it is important not to fall into the trap of viewing the work through a lens of what has been achieved and not achieved, it is as important for an organisation to be able to look at the collective of the work and understand what is being learnt, what is shifting and what that means for the broader WFT strategy.

As such, WFT's monitoring and evaluation work has to take into account on the one hand this complexity and being able to weave these narratives and share it with the world. Currently, the Fund's monitoring work is not as rigorous as it could be, and only selected pieces of work are documented. Across the organisation, there is a need for collecting information, as well as creating spaces to make sense of what the organisation is learning. For the new strategic plan (2021 – 2025), this has been identified as a priority with the intention to bring onboard appropriate capacity to manage the process. The sense-making should not be done by WFT alone, but should include a range of stakeholders to allow for nuanced interpretation. Monitoring and evaluation has to be everyone's work in the organisation, and this has to be systematised so that it becomes easier to track inputs and outputs at the end of a strategy cycle

Leadership, ownership and power

The Fund proudly proclaims that is borne out of the women's movement as well as being part of the women's movement. They have made efforts to create spaces for engagement and consultation at various intervals and have developed a strong ecosystem with a board, staff, advisors, grantee Partners, donors and other partners. For the Fund, it is important to interrogate how power works, within and between the different levels of actors that form part of the Fund's ecosystem. There is room to grapple transparently with what power and leadership mean within their own context. Currently, there is a tendency to romanticise leadership, ownership and power, which surfaces an opportunity to engage in some radical honesty about what has worked, what has not in order to put feminist leadership politics into practice. Following from the research study, some respondents (both within the Fund and partners) did highlight that there is a need for space for feminist actors (institutions) to grapple with not only what they do, but how they do what they do. This is an important area of reflection and learning for the Fund, particularly as it pertains to movement building. As this issue refers to a key strategy for the Fund (movement building), it is also a nudge for the Fund to engage in internal introspection and self-reflection related to how the Fund occupies leadership within the Fund and within the broader space of women's organising in Tanzania.

Through that, the Fund can support internal work and also movement level work on the relationship between advancing efficiency and sustainability, and the practice of leadership and power in every aspect.

Philanthropic Advocacy

Many of the women's funds identify resource mobilisation as a critical success factor. However, resource mobilisation requires incredible investment, and also advocacy with donors to support agendas that they may not have prioritised. WFT's strategic plan does refer to influencing donors and ensuring that it increases the availability of funds to support the women's rights agenda in Tanzania. However, within Tanzania and beyond, there is very little reflection from the Fund about how this is being done, the strategies used, and what is being learnt. The only person in the organisation that had any knowledge about this area of work was the Executive Director. This is not surprising as the Fund does not have a huge staff complement. However, there as the work grows and demands for support grows, this is an important growth area for the Fund. It would be important to learn more about how the Fund sees itself doing this and beyond the ad hoc opportunities for advocacy, as part of its broader strategy. As noted by one donor partner, the Fund has to actively appraise opportunities for a diversity of instruments and operational modalities to realize WFT's potential for broader engagement and mobilisation of the funding sector including in non-traditional sectors.

Managing change and accounting for the costs of the work

The context that WFT works in, has also shifted and continues to do so. Furthermore, due to increasing visibility and effectiveness of WFT, there have been greater demands and higher expectations from donors, partners and women's rights actors. This places enormous pressure on the already limited human resource capacities and institutional arrangements of WFT. While resources (both financial and human) are at the core of what WFT does, to leverage work done thus far, it is imperative for WFT to continue learning, refining and adapting to what is needed to manage the increasing workload, and deliver on its visions of professionalism and excellence. WFT is not unique in that there is often very little attention paid to costs in terms of the energies and capacities to keep pace with the work. Although WFT is aware of heavy workloads, burnout and the financial costs, often the demands of the work and the context overtake the deeper aspirations of working more consciously in ways that are balanced. For example, although the Fund desires to do greater work on social media and communications as well as monitoring and evaluation, there is currently limited capacity to deliver on this. The Fund often relies on interns, and often outsourcing of certain functions related to documentation and communications. As the Fund manages growth, there is a need to learn from other women's funds as to what they are doing to manage operational capacity and resourcing in the light of updated strategic directions.

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