Citizens of a lesser gender: women participation in leadership positions in Tanzania

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Abstract: Women participation in leadership positions is generally low in Africa and Tanzania. This low participation is as old as politics. It is contributed by the way states and communities look upon citizenship roles of women in the society. The role relegated to the family as child bearers. In ancient democratic Greece, women could not participate in decision making/leadership roles because they were, as slaves, considered lesser citizens. Women participation in politics started after 1900s in the USA and unfurled all over the globe. Tanzania took measures to empower women since 1990s. Yet, before 2015, there has never been a woman elected in the top three positions in the government. And, it is about 26.2% women featured in ministerial positions between 2005 and 2016. By using post-structural feminism and interviews with six ministries; this paper concludes that societal attitude and practices contribute to women's continual inactive participation in leadership roles in Tanzania.

Keywords: women; attitude and practice; participation; leadership; Tanzania.

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1   Introduction

Citizenship and participation are very much correlated. Scholars like Dahl (1995) and Pateman (1970), opine that citizenship is a precondition to participate in public politics. Citizenship provides an enabling environment for the right to participate in public affairs. Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) codifies the right to participate in public affairs and includes the right of citizens to participate in democratic processes such as elections, joining unions and political parties and equal access to public service positions. National laws and constitutions around the world have

included the right of citizens to participate in public affairs. These laws and constitutions do not discriminate women per se from enjoying the right to participate in public affairs. Historically, women participation has been low globally, regionally and Tanzania in particular. According to Women's Political Participation Barometer (2021), global participation of women in top decision-making positions is 26% whereas in African region is 24%; Asia is 20%; Pacific (with exception of New Zealand) is 21%; Middle East is 16%; Europe (with exception of Nordic countries) is 30%; Americas (with exception of Caribbean) is 32%.

Every country defines a citizen of that country and assigns some roles or responsibilities to him/her. In ancient Greece, citizenship meant sharing in the duties and privileges of membership in the polis or city state. A citizen was expected to defend the polis and participate in the political life of the polis by voting. In addition, a citizen was allowed to own land and hold political office. Based on Greek's definition of a citizen, women did not have full citizenship rights and could not participate in most activities of the polis because they were not considered full citizens. Philosophers like Aristotle did not consider women as citizens because women lack the highest good which is reason. Women were restricted to the households and perform household activities including child bearing, caring for the family and entertaining husbands. Women's roles were basically of private concern. Men, on the other hand, held public positions and were allowed to own land. They enjoyed citizenship roles and privileges of membership in the polis. They were assigned roles of public concern. This view of roles between men and women culminated into public/private dichotomy debate where women are categorised in the private sphere unlike men who are in the public sphere. According to Waylen et al. (2013), the notion of public and private sphere persists today and continues to affect what counts as politics (and predominantly high politics) in the public sphere; and who is seen as a suitable person to be involved in politics.

This traditional view of thinking, to a greater extent, influenced the way states and communities look upon citizenship roles of women in the society. Women started to participate in politics after 72 years of women rights' movements in the USA after winning the right to vote nationally in 1920. The movements later unfurled all over the globe and resulted into the adoption of The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Convention was ratified in 1990 by many states including Tanzania. The objective was to empower women socially, economically and politically so that they will participate effectively in public affairs. Based on the fact that, constitutionally, women are citizens as long as they possess Tanzanian citizenship by acquisition (i.e., birth, descent, or naturalization)[1]. It is equally as saying the sex of a person is not a predetermining condition of a citizen like in ancient Greece. The role of a Tanzanian citizen is generally expressed (URT, 1977) in Article 8(1)(d) that "the people shall participate in the affairs of their government in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution." In connection to this, Article 21(2) states clearly that "every citizen has the right and freedom to participate fully in the process leading to the decision on matters affecting him, his well-being or the nation." Therefore, citizens' participation in decision making as well as leadership is primary.

However, women participation in politics in Tanzania has historically been low. From independence to 2015, no woman had ever held leadership in the top-executive positions (i.e., president/vice president, prime minister, Attorney General, etc). Even the speaker of National Parliament has been a man until 2010 where the first woman got elected. Representation in Parliament has also been low. It was very low before the affirmative

action[2]. According to Meena et al. (2017) women representation was 7.5% between 1961 and 1965; and dropped to 3.5% during 1970 and 1975 elections. It was even low during 2015 general elections. The overall women candidates were 8.7%[3] (UN Women, 2015). Generally, women perform their citizenship role to a very small extent. This is the essence of the figurative title *citizens of a lesser gender*.

The low participation across Africa is attributed by long-term structural and societal causes for women exclusion such as patriarchy, socio-cultural and religious influences that render women a second-class citizen (Women's Political Participation Barometer, 2021). For instance, the absence of a woman in the first cabinet after independence was a mere cause of discriminatory practice by the appointing authority. The response of the then president J.K Nyerere to Bibi Titi[4] (who questioned his appointments that discriminated the late Sophia Kawawa with demonstrated similar qualifications as male appointees) that "there were no women with relevant experience to fit the appointments" was purely discriminatory in nature (Kairuki, 2013). It can best be explained by societal attitudes and practices towards women as weak and unconfident to make public decisions. Illustratively, Mashavu Juma Ali (candidate for Mchumbuni Zanzibar) pointed out a pressing challenge during 2015 general elections that, "…men judge us women thinking that we cannot work" (UN Women, 2015). Similarly, Hora (2014) commented that women leaders lack confidence to lead. Its impact in the society is glaring. Political party's reluctance to nominate women candidates for fear of losing elections is evident. In coexistence with Articles 67(1)(b) and 39(1)(c)[5] women's participation as candidates is highly limited.

Women parliamentarians were 5% and 8.8% in 2004 and 2012 respectively (Kairuki, 2013)[6]. Societal attitudes and practices continue to make women unconfident during elections; and recreate further attitude on women to concentrate on special seats which seem easier to win (Abdallah, 2012). Women special seats have increased slightly the number of women in parliament. It has increased from 97 women (out of 324 MPs) in 2005 to 125 women (out of 339 MPs) in 2010 (Meena et al. 2009). By these statistics, Tanzania has achieved the constitutional target of 30% women participation but still below the 50% threshold targeted by SADC and African Union (AU). Interestingly, women representation in executive positions in the central government has continued to be very low. This study was designed to explain continued passive participation of women in leadership roles in Tanzania despite of measures and strategies to empower women socially, economically and politically.

2   Theoretical frameworks

Post-structural feminism theory is used to explain passive participation of women in leadership positions in Tanzania. It generally aims to understand the social mechanisms that convince people to adopt and act from particular attitudes. Attitudes and practices of people in the society that contribute to unequal relations between men and women. The theory emphasises the contingent and discursive nature of all identities and in particular the social construction of gendered subjectivities. In a way, it seeks to explore relationships between cultural subjectivities and power relations as they impact upon gender.

The theory emerged around the 1950s and became prominent until about 1980s (Hurst, 2019). It is often referred to as a third feminism that came after Liberal feminism

and Radical feminism (Davies and Gannon, 2005; El Mquirmi, 2020). The major proponents were Roland Barthes; Jacques Derrida; and Michel Foucault. Their primary emphasis was on subjectivity and identity with a focus on individual intentions as constructed within social reality. They are social explanations of individual practices and experiences. Specifically, it emphasises the relevance of specific processes in which individuals are made into gendered subjects (Davies and Gannon, 2005; El Mquirmi, 2020). These processes may be through linguistic practices; social organisation/process; institution and social subjectivities (stereotypes). According to Weedon (1996), post-structural feminists use those processes in an effort to understand why women tolerate social relations that sub-ordinate their interests to those of a masculine culture.

Linguistic practices construct social realities about men and women. Derrida and Foucault as quoted by El Mquirmi (2020), argued that language is ontologically significant. What people write, talk or communicate about what they know and believe reflects their social realities. Women's language has a foundation in the attitude that women are marginal to serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men. According to Foucault (1988), language is a constructive of reality in a particular way thereby constituting certain power relations. Women's speech avoidance of strong expression of feeling; favouring expression of uncertainty construct a woman as weak and unconfident in the real world. It thus limits women by framing and inscribing their lives. As a result, the personality of women is submerged (Lakoff, 1975). In addition, the dominance of masculinity has defined and constructed what we now call our reality (El Mquirmi, 2020).

Social organisation or social process also constructs gendered realities. Women consciousness groups and activities provide space for discussion about personal and public lives. For example, discussions on challenges facing women leaders (particularly those concerning the role of a woman to take care of the family) create attitudes of fear, lack of confidence, and prejudices on women's ability to lead and consequently restrict women to enter public sphere. Traditionally, women identity is still predominantly conceived as domestic in nature and continues to hinder women's entry into formal politics (Women's political participation barometer, 2021). Therefore, those subjectivities of fear, prejudices on women's identity construct social realities. According to Alcoff (1988), our experience of our very subjectivity is a construct mediated by and/or grounded on social discourse beyond (way beyond) individual control. And thus, subjective experiences are determined in some sense by macro forces (including social discourses and practices).

In connection to linguistic practices and social process are subjectivities and institutions. According to Weedon (1996), individual's subjectivity is constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak. For instance, subjectivities like *a woman belongs to the kitchen*; *a woman is complete only if she is married*; *it is a duty of a woman to entertain a man very well in bed or a man is the head of the family*; *a man is the decision maker*; *a man owns resources* create different attitudes towards a woman as someone who takes care of a family, works in the household, depends on a man, and thus they inform the role of a woman in the society; and a man as a leader, strong, powerful, confident and wise; and inform his leadership role in the society.

It is the individuals who live by these subjectivities as their own. Hoare and Gell (2009) opine that those discourses do not originate in the subject yet each subject takes them up as her own, defends them, desires their maintenance, and understands herself in terms of them. Women's Political Participation Barometer (2021) found out that social

norms make it more difficult for women to leave their traditional domestic roles for more public roles outside the home. The study conducted by Kanduci and Waiganjo (2015) revealed a strong correlation between cultural subjectivities and women participation among Maasai communities in Tanzania after the results indicate a belief (by both men and women) in male supremacy and dominance a cause for low or non-participation of women in leadership. Both men and women do not accept women as political leaders.

On the other hand, patriarchy has turned institutions into a machinery of social and cultural regulation through institutional gender bias. They include scepticism and mistrust of women's ability to lead; stereotypes and prejudices about their role in society; and their lack of suitability for leadership roles and decision making (Hoare and Gell, 2009). Therefore, institutions and practices sustain the gender hierarchy by generating conformity and compliance (Peterson and Runyan, 1993). For instance, structures of national gender machinery are always headed by a female minister and can make gender issues for women only; consequently, make efforts cosmetic and symbolic only (Chasukwa, 2016). It may be argued that gender machinery can be a risk factor for institutionalising and deepening gender gap. These attitudes and practices (in terms of subjectivities) are translated into policies and laws that limit women from participating. Ahmed et al. (2016), confirmed that in most of the developing countries management is considered as a career suitable for men and hence it is dominated by men. They further argued that such stereotypes encouraged women to question their abilities.

3   Approach and methods

The present study used Qualitative approach to explain why there is a continued passive participation of women in leadership roles in Tanzania inspite of the implementation of measures to empower women socially, economically, and politically. Six ministries were purposively selected to map women participation in leadership roles within the executive branch. This was based on the factors influencing women representation in civil service in Tanzania. Those factors are such as elections, political appointments and meritocracy. The mapping was done at the Central Government level between 2005 and 2016 for a rationale that there were already three general elections already conducted to allow a meaningful conclusion on the general trend.

3.1   Sample size

The study sampled six ministries:

a   Ministry of Water and Irrigation

b   The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment

c   Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation

d   Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries

e   Ministry of Energy and Minerals

f   Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly, and Children.

Based on the fact that within the executive; the presidency, the vice presidency and prime minister positions are constitutionally provided and their information can easily be gotten from the government website and other official publications; the study sampled 18 particular respondents from ministries (based on their leadership positions in ministries); 2 experts on gender issues; and 6 people from the general public. The 18 individuals from the ministries included; – 6 permanent secretaries, 6 directors/ diplomats, and 6 human resource managers.

3.2   Data collection techniques

Data collection covered the period between April and May 2017. It applied two dominant techniques to collect data from the Ministries, women leaders, gender experts and people from the General public. The review of documents such as articles, newspapers, policy documents, statistical documents from the ministries, website-related information, etc was conducted well. It was applied to enrich information data from interviews and also to provide theoretical foundation for the study. Interviews were conducted with all respondents in order to get in-depth information about women participation in leadership roles. The information that provided answers to why there are few women in leadership roles and the challenges that face women in leadership.

3.3   Data analysis and presentation

The study used Qualitative approach to analyse data from review of documents and interview transcripts in order to make sense of them. Some statistical data obtained from review of documents were mainly the number of women and men in leadership positions. They were presented in tabulation in form of whole numbers and their percentages. Those numbers were very useful in bringing sense of all data.

4   Results and discussion

The results of this study showed low representation of women in various positions in the executive branch of government. It was very low in 2005 but improved gradually towards 2015. And decreased tremendously from 2015 to-date. The main reason for the low representation of women is unequal relations between men and women in Tanzanian societies due to prevailing attitudes and practices. Based on Post-structural feminism theory, these attitudes and practices are constructed within a patriarchal social reality. The construction of subjectivity leads to understand the mechanism of sexist oppression and the construction of gender categories (Alcoff, 1988). The interviews with women leaders, gender experts, respondents from ministries and the general public clearly identified a bunch of attitudes and practices among Tanzanians as sources of limiting women participation in leadership roles. For example, the attitude towards educating a male child before a female child among Muslim community and low-income earners in Tanzania has had impact on female appointments to positions that are based on meritocracy (education qualification and/or experience). This is clearly expressed in the appointment of permanent secretaries (PS) and deputy permanent secretaries (DPS) where women are highly underrepresented because of education qualifications. Also, it was strongly expressed by gender experts that some communities have never had a

representative in the executive positions from their communities because of education qualifications.

The study found that women representation in leadership within the period under research (2005–2016) was based on three factors i.e., elections, political appointments, and meritocracy. Among the three factors, two are highly affected by the attitudes and practices of the society. Looking at the role of gender in decision-making, Shaw et al. (2016), argued that major decisions are taken independently by men. This kind of subjectivity would make women less suitable for appointments or election to decision-making bodies (executive positions). Similarly, Ahmed et al. (2016), argued that in developing nations top level managerial positions specifically were confined to men based on the assumption that managerial seats are popularly seen justifiable to be held by men more. These attitudes and practices have become a social reality. Interviewed women leaders commented that;

> "Women are viewed as weak, incompetent, and/or child bearers who are in most cases fully engaged with home keeping activities. Giving them top leadership positions could be a burden. We face several challenges in discharging our duties as deputies or directors or assistant directors. One of the challenges is, whenever we advise it is not taken by seniors seriously or sometimes disregarded. This is the most discouragement or disappointment we get from our seniors."

The constructed social reality that women are not supposed to lead (cannot make difficult decisions) and/or weak (and depend on favours) contribute so much in limiting women representation in top managerial positions. It makes men not to trust women as they perform managerial duties. Similarly, Ambreem (2015), conducted an analytical study of possible barriers for women participation in higher education management and found that one core barrier was women role at home and cultural constraints.

The present study revealed three important scenarios associated with factors influencing women representation in leadership positions between 2005 and 2016. Firstly, leadership positions influenced by elections, for examples, presidency, vice presidency, and ministerial positions. Secondly, leadership positions influenced by a combination of elections and appointments, for examples, ministerial posts (ministers and deputy ministers). Thirdly, leadership positions influenced by a combination of political appointments and meritocracy (i.e., education qualification and/or experience). For examples, permanent secretaries, deputy permanent secretaries, diplomats/directors, assistant directors, commissioners, and assistant commissioners in all scenarios, societal attitudes and practices have influenced election and appointments of women in leadership positions as shown in the following sub-sections.

4.1   The presidency

A president is elected through a general election. Tanzania has undergone five general multiparty elections plus several single party elections. No woman was ever being elected president in all elections conducted although two women i.e., the fallen politician Dr. Anna Claudia Senkoro (PPT – Maendeleo) and Anna Elisha Mghwira (ACT Wazalendo) contested for the presidency in 2005 and 2015 general elections respectively. Women underrepresentation in politics is not a unique case happening in Tanzania, similar cases are all over the world. For example, there have been about eight female presidents (who served as presidents or acting presidents for short or long term). These women are: Sylvie

Kinigi (interim president 1993–1994 Burundi)[7]; Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri (interim president in 2005 and 2008 South Africa)[8]; Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (first elected president 2006 – present Liberia)[9]; Rose Francine Rogombe (interim president 2009 Gabon)[10]; Agnes Monique Ohsan Bellepeau (interim president in 2012 and 2015 Mauritius)[11]; Joyce Hilda Banda (interim president 2012 – 2014 Malawi)[12]; Catherine Samba-Panza (interim president in 2014 Central African Republic)[13]; and Ameenah Gurib-Fakim (nominated as president since 2015)[14].

All those women became first female presidents in their home countries. It is interesting to note that their ascendance into presidency was by coincidence of either a sudden death or resignation of a sitting president (a man) or outbreak of civil war. It was only Ellen Johnson Sirleaf who was democratically elected in 2006.

Various analysts associate women underrepresentation with patriarchy. Botlhale (2020) argues that patriarchy is a fact of life. It takes place across almost every sphere of life but is particularly noticeable in women's underrepresentation in key state institutions. Many barriers are restricting the growth of women into managerial roles. They include stereotyping, glass ceiling phenomena, the cost of motherhood, lack of self-proclamation, showing empathy, and being too 'masculine' (Ahmed et al. 2016). Waylen et al. (2013) argue that "male domination in ceremonial leadership positions had come to be noted as normal and unchangeable and male power that existed in the family was viewed as biological and mark of civilisation since colonial eras". The present situation of women representation in presidency is undesirable. Table 1 demonstrates clearly.

Table 1   Presidents and Vice Presidents in Tanzania from 1964 to 2017

Year	Sex	Name	Position
1964–1985	M	Mwl. Julius K. Nyerere	President
	M	Abeid Karume – 1964–1972	Vice-Presidents
	M	Aboud Jumbe Mwinyi 1972–1984	
	M	Ally Hassan Mwinyi 1984–1985	
1985–1995	M	Ally Hassan Mwinyi	President
	M	Joseph Warioba 1985–1990	Vice – Presidents
	M	John Malecela 1990–1995	
	M	Cleopa Msuya 1994–1995	
1995–2005	M	Benjamin William Mkapa	President
	M	Omari Ali Juma 1995–2001	Vice – Presidents
	M	Ali Mohamed Shein 2001–2005	
2005–2015	M	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	President
	M	Ali Mohamed Shein 2005–2010	Vice – Presidents
	M	Mohamed Gharib Bilal 2010–2015	
2015– Present	M	John Pombe Magufuli	President
	F	Samia Suluhu 2015–present	Vice – President

Source: URT (2016) Tanzania Information Services (Habari Maelezo).

Table 1 shows Tanzania has never had a female president since its independence. Tanzania norms are that men head the household while women take household responsibilities (Vyas, 2018). It leads to the reality that women are not suitable for

presidency or Vice Presidency positions. This reality is lived by both men and women. It is rather not surprising to find that only two females contested for presidency between 1964 to 2015. Other factors contributing to this reality include demands of family life; stereotyping leadership style; dominant masculine culture; lack of self-confidence; low level of education; negative attitudes; lack of networking, low support from prevailing or current political entities and kind of electoral process (Elmuti et al. 2009; Grabe, 2015; Waylen, 2012; Ngara and Ayabam, 2013; Mwando et al. 2014; Meena et al. 2017). However, a female vice-president was in 2015 acquired. While this happening is appraised, there has been a diminishing trend of women participation in various executive positions. For example, ministerial positions, directors, commissioners, and diplomatic positions.

4.2   *Ministerial posts*

Ministers are appointed from among members of parliament by the president who is the head of state and chief commander of all armed forces. it is important to note that ministerial appointments are determined by the president. Since its independence, Tanzania has had five male presidents who did appointments in different times. Women representation at this juncture has been determined by patriarchal mentalities as well as the will of the president in office on one hand and development of women's human rights including right to participate in politics on the other hand. For example, the establishment of electoral gender quota was meant to give women an opportunity to participate in politics. There has been a noticeable increase of women representatives in parliament. Eventually, more female ministers were expected in the executive. However, the number of female ministers has generally been low. Table 2 and Table 3 show the trend of women in ministerial positions.

Table 2   The number of ministers in Tanzania between year 2005 and 2016

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of women
2005–2010	23	6	29	20.7
2010–2012	24	9	33	27.3
2012–2014	21	9	30	30
2014–2015	18	10	28	35.7
2016	19	4	23	17.4

Source: The Guardian (2006) and URT (2016, 2017)

Table 2 shows a clear gradual increase of female ministers from about 20% in year 2005–2010 to about 35% in year 2014–2015. This development was associated by women's rights movements and countries' commitment to improve women representation in leadership by 30% or 50% depending on specific convention ratified. Tanzania is a member of SADC and EAC regional groupings that are committed to improve women participation in politics and leadership. It is worth argued that the appointing authority adhered to some extent to formal commitment to improve women participation. However, the trend is reversed in 2016 whereby the number has fallen from about 35% to about 17%. The appointing authority ignored the formal commitment to improve women participation. Ahmed et al. (2016), comment that gender stereotyping of managerial position fosters bias against women in managerial selection, placement,

promotion, and training decisions. Things are not even better for the position of deputy minister. Table 3 shows clearly.

Table 3 The number of deputy ministers in Tanzania between year 2005 and 2016

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of women
2005–2010	20	10	30	33.3
2010–2012	18	2	20	10
2012–2015	20	5	25	20
2016	16	5	21	23.8

Source: The Guardian (2006) and URT (2016, 2017)

Table 3 shows two important aspects. Firstly, it is interesting to see the number of female deputy ministers being exactly half of the number of male deputy ministers in year 2005–2010. This was a commendable start since it corresponded to the principle of 30% women representation in decision making bodies. Secondly, the numbers of female deputy ministers dropped abruptly to 10% and 20% from year 2010–2015. But there was a thin increase of about 3% in year 2016 unlike what was seen to female ministers in the same year. Generally, the number of female ministers and deputy ministers all together was still low. It was even lower (i.e., 20.5%) in year 2016–present compared to 27.1% in year 2005–2010. In conclusion, ministerial posts were very much influenced by a male president who lived in a patriarchal society. According to Alcoff (1988), individuals in the society have little choice in the matter of who we are. Therefore, the appointments have been influenced by social subjectivities and cultural practices. The study by Ambreem (2015) found out one of the barriers to women participation was that male administrators were more biased.

4.3 Permanent secretary

Permanent secretaries are appointed by the president based on their educational and professional experiences. Again, women representation in this aspect is limited due to factors explained in previous sections plus the existence of a relatively small pool of properly qualified women. This is supported by several interviews conducted to women leaders in various ministries from April to May 2017. Many of those interviewed women said, "women are few in leadership positions because of the education system whereby only a few excel to higher levels of education." Some went as far as identifying the impact gained out of change of presidents. This means that there were influences of attitudes and practices of the appointing authority on top of meritocracy. Both influences were detrimental to women participation.

Permanent secretaries are executors of policies and their tenure is not very much determined by presidential change of leadership. However, the president in office can make changes. For example, in 2013 and 2015 president Kikwete reshuffled permanent secretaries by transferring and retiring some and appointing new ones. After elections in 2015 the president elect did an overhaul change. Most of those who got appointed held university degrees (like university lecturers and professors). For example, amongst 28 total permanent secretaries 17 hold doctoral degrees (11 PhDs and 6 professors). This suggests that the main criterion for appointment was possession of university degrees.

This criterion alone limits women representation in leadership. Table 4 demonstrates clearly.

Table 4   Permanent secretaries with PhD against those without PhD in 2015

Education level	Gender		Total	Female PS (%)
	F	M		
Professors	0	6	6	0
PhD (Doctors)	1	10	11	9
No PhD	2	9	11	18
Total	3	25	28	10.1

        Source: Domasa (2015)

Table 4 reveals that more women were limited to unimaginable extent following a complete change of permanent secretaries in 2015. 60.7% of all permanent secretaries hold PhD. It is only 1 female permanent secretary with PhD out of a total 17 permanent secretaries with PhD. Interestingly, women appointments were low even without applying PhD criterion. There were only 2 females appointed Permanent Secretaries even when PhD is not in consideration. Generally, women representation is only10% of all permanent secretaries. Ahmed et al. (2016) would conclude that despite the fact that women are always trying hard for a managerial position; due to political, economic and societal barriers, they are less successful in climbing to the apex of management.

4.4   Deputy permanent secretary

Deputy permanent secretaries assist permanent secretaries. The terms of service do not significantly differ from those of permanent secretaries. The change made in 2015 also affected deputy permanent secretaries as well. The education criterion seemed less applied in this position than in the previous one. For example, there were only 5 deputy permanent secretaries with PhD out of a total of 21 deputy permanent secretaries. However, they were all 5 males. Intriguingly, the number of women without PhD seemed exactly equal to that of men without PhD. The following Table 5 shows the numbers clearly.

   Table 5 clearly confirms what interviewed women leaders from various ministries said about education criterion and underrepresentation of women in leadership positions. They said that "there is no woman with a PhD appointed as deputy permanent secretary out of 5 appointed deputy permanent secretaries". On the other side, the appointment of deputy permanent secretaries without PhD is praiseworthy as far as women representation is concerned. It is 50/50 between male and female appointments. This is the only unique situation which ever occurred in most changes made in the executive in 2015. One would ask, *why there were more women appointed deputy permanent secretaries than permanent secretaries*? Could it be that women are subordinates in patriarchal sense and their job is to assist men? The responses to such questions can be drawn from previous explanations. There were 25 (or 89%) male permanent secretaries and only 3 (or 11%) female permanent secretaries; plus 13 (or 62%) male deputy permanent secretaries and 8 (or 38%) female deputy permanent secretaries. Conclusively, women representation is not only low but also below the 30% threshold such that it is 78% male against 22% female.

Table 5 Deputy permanent secretaries with PhD against those without PhD in 2015

Education level	Gender		Total	Female DPS (%)
	F	*M*		
Professors	0	2	2	0
PhD (doctors)	0	3	3	0
No PhD	8	8	16	50
Total	8	13	21	38

Source: Domasa (2015)

4.5 Diplomats/directors

These are part of the management in various ministries under research. While both ambassadorial (diplomat) and directorial posts were found in the ministry of Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, directorial post was found in all other ministries. In order to have a good analysis of the trend on women representation in management level the researcher identified three key leadership positions in management in all ministries. These include: – directors, assistant directors and head of units. However, three more leadership positions such as commissioners, assistant commissioners, and program managers were added based on the nature of operation of two ministries (ministry of health, community development, gender, elderly and children; and ministry of minerals and energy). The trend suggested that there was improvement in representation of women in these positions than those of ministers, deputy ministers, permanent secretaries and deputy permanent secretaries. The following data in relation to ministries verified the improved trend.

Table 6a Women representation in management positions – Ministry of Water and Irrigation 2005–2015

Position	*2005–2009*	*2010–2014*	*2015*
Directors	3	4	3
Assistant directors	3	8	8
Head of units	0	1	2
Total	6	13	13

Source: Interview with Assistant Director Ministry of Water and Irrigation on 28th April 2017

Table 6 shows an increasing and impressive trend of women representation in leadership position under this ministry. The total number of women has increased from 6 in 2005 to 13 in 2015. This trend looked similar to that of the ministry of industry, trade and investment. Despite the increase, the researcher could not access the number of men in same positions to have a comparable analysis. Interestingly, there were more female assistant directors than female directors. It may suggest influence of attitudes and practices that consider women as sub-ordinates. Table 6b the trend clearly.

Table 6b shows a general impressive trend of women representation to ever happen. It is for the first-time women representation in assistant directorship has surpassed that of men. In 2015/2016, women representation in assistant directorship as well as Head of Units has been above 50%. Notwithstanding, the number of male directors has been

higher than that of female directors. The trend of male representation in top most positions in the executive has been very consistent. Post-structural feminists argue that subjectivities toward women and leadership regulate realities, practices, and experiences. Individuals are made into gendered subjects through various processes (Malson, 1998).

Table 6b   Women representation in management positions – Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment – 2010–2016

Position	2010/2011		Female (%)	2015/2016		Female (%)
	Female	*Male*		*Female*	*Male*	
Directors	1	6	14.3	2	4	33.3
Assistant directors	6	5	54.5	6	3	66.7
Head of units	3	3	50	4	2	66.7
Total	10	14	41.7	12	9	57.1

Source: Interview with Directors Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children on 11th May 2017

Table 6c   Women representation in management positions – Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children – 2010 – 2016

Position	2009		2011		2013		2016	
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*
Directors	3	1	3	5	2	5	3	4
Assistant directors	n.d	n.d	6	19	4	16	3	13
Commissioners	0	1	0	1	0	1	n.d	n.d
Assistant commissioners	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	n.d
Program managers	1	3	1	n.d	3	1	n.d	n.d
Head of units	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	2
Total	9	6	12	27	11	26	8	19
Percentage (%)	60	40	30.8	69.2	29.7	70.3	29.6	70.4

Source: Interview with Assistant Directors Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment on 28th April 2017

Table 6c shows a relatively good trend of women representation in the ministry of health, community development, gender, elderly and children. Women representation was almost 30% between 2009 and 2016. More importantly, it was way above 30% in 2009. Women were consistently appointed to directorship position. However, appointments to assistant directorship were very low all through. ever happened in all ministries in many years. The appointment of women in directorship position is perhaps due to the fact that this is a ministry dealing with gender issues. It has been a norm for the appointing authority to appoint women to lead activities of gender. These efforts are cosmetic as they make gender issues for women only (Chasukwa, 2016).

Table 6d also shows an encouraging trend of women representation in various institutions which are under the ministry of health, community development, gender, elderly and children. The percentage of women in director general position is generally 30% (recommended threshold). Since data are still representing the previous ministry then arguments for Table 6c suffice here.

Table 6d Women representation in director general position – institutions in the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children 2009 and 2013

Years	Gender		Female (%)
	F	M	
2009	4	10	28.6
2013	5	9	35.7
Total	9	19	32.1

Source: Interview with Directors Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children on 11th May 2017

Table 6e Women representation in management positions – Ministry of Minerals and Energy 2013–present

Position	2013–present		Female (%)
	F	M	
Directors	0	4	0
Assistant directors	4	2	66.7
Commissioners	0	2	0
Assistant commissioners	1	20	4.8
Head of Units	1	6	14.2
Total	6	34	15

Source: Interview with Directors Ministry of Minerals and Energy on 10th May 2017

Table 6e shows a very discouraging trend of women representation in various positions. There were no women directors and commissioners throughout. There was only 1 woman among 21 appointed assistant commissioners. Women representation in this ministry is generally 15%. This is one of the male dominated ministries. This is a very important ministry for economic growth of the country. women are not suitable to lead an important ministry in a patriarchy society where women are perceived to be weak. According to Yoon (2011), Tanzanian society is patriarchy in nature whereby women are considered inferior and weak to hold leadership positions.

Table 6f reveals that women representation in the ministry of agriculture was increasing towards year 2010 and started decreasing towards year 2015. Surprisingly, head of units have been men throughout the years. This is not an encouraging trend as it suggests that different appointments are influenced by subjectivity and cultural practices. According to Shaw et al. (2016), societal subjectivities on women and men roles generate obstructions to women's access to education and work. And those women are conditioned about their duties besides household work from childhood.

Table 6g shows a doomed like trend of women representation between 2000 and 2016. Women representation was very low between 2000/2005 and 2006/2010 but very high in 2011/2015 and fell down in 2016. Interestingly, more women were appointed in 2011/2015. It is explained by commitments to improve women participation. However, consistency in appointing women on subordinate positions has been maintained. This is in post-structuralist thinking an influence of subjectivities.

Table 6f   Women representation in management positions – Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries 2005–2015

Position	2005		Female (%)	2010		Female (%)	2015		Female (%)
	F	M		F	M		F	M	
Directors	2	2	50	3	1	75	1	3	25
Assistant directors	3	3	50	2	4	33.3	3	4	42.9
Head of units	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Total	5	10	33.3	5	10	33.3	4	12	25

Source: Interview with Directors Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries on 3rd May 2017

Table 6g   Women representation in management positions – Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation 2000–2016

Position	2000/2005		2006/2010		2011/2015		2016	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Ambassadors/directors	1	5	2	8	9	9	5	14
Assistant directors	N/A	N/A	1	5	9	2	N/A	N/A
Head of units	n.d	n.d	n.d	5	2	n.d	n.d	n.d
Total	1	5	3	18	20	11	5	14

Source: Interview with Directors Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation on 11th May 2017

4.6   Boards/commissions

The analysis of women representation was also done in various boards and commissions in three ministries due to two main reasons. One, some ministries do not have either boards and/or commissions. Two, some data were not available in some ministries since the boards and/or commissions were semi-autonomous. Therefore, data were available in three ministries such as Ministry of Water and Irrigation (i.e., the Irrigation Commission); Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and fisheries; and ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment. Generally, women representation in these boards and commissions were sporadic. The following hereunder is the trend analysis of women representation in the three ministries.

Table 7a generally shows low representation of women in various boards. It was 25.8% representation of women between the years 2005 and 2015. However, there was one board (pyrethrum) which showed 50/50 representation between men and women.

Table 7b shows that four boards have above 30% threshold of women representation and six boards have below 30% threshold. Generally, the number of men represented in various boards is greater than those of women. A partially male dominated trend was observed. Women representation in some Boards was very low. The causes are the same as in previous sub-sections.

Table 7c shows an increasing trend of women representation in basin water board. It increases from 19.7% in 2011 to 36% in 2015. It is the only trend that seemed to have a constant increase of women representation. Together with Table 7d, the researcher had a combined discussion.

Table 7a   Women representation in various boards – Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries 2005–2015

Boards	Gender		Total	Female (%)
	Female	*Male*		
Tobacco	8	47	55	14.5
Cereals and other produce	9	17	26	34.6
Sugar	11	40	51	21.6
TSHTDA	12	22	34	35.3
Pyrethrum	6	6	12	50
Total	46	132	178	25.8

Source: Interview with Directors Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries on 18th May 2017

Table 7b   Women representation in various boards – Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment 2008

Boards	Gender		Total	Female (%)
	Female	*Male*		
SIDO	1	7	8	12.5
NDC	2	7	9	22.2
TIRDO	3	6	9	33.3
TEMDO	3	6	9	33.3
CAMARTEC	0	7	7	0
BET	2	8	10	20
CBE	3	11	14	21.4
TBS	3	7	10	30
BRELA	3	7	10	30
WMA	1	8	9	11.1
Total	21	74	95	22.1

Source: Interview with Director Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment on 27th April 2017

Table 7c   Women representation in basin water board – Ministry of Water and Irrigation 2005–2015

Year/Sex	1st board before 2011		2nd Board August 2011 to April 2015		3rd Board April 2015 to date	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Female	15	19.7%	26	34.7%	31	36%
Male	61	80.3%	49	65.3%	55	64%
Total	76	100.0%	75	100.0%	86	100.0%

Source: Interview with Assistant Directors Ministry of Water and Irrigation on 10th May 2017

Table 7d   Women representation in national water board – Ministry of Water and Irrigation
2005–2015

	1st board January 2011–April 2015		2nd board April 2015 to–date	
	Number of board member	*Percent*	*Number of board member*	*Percent*
Female	5	45.5%	5	41.7%
Male	6	54.5%	7	58.3%
Total	11	100.0%	12	100.0%

Source: Interview with Assistant Directors Ministry of Water and Irrigation
on 10th May 2017

Table 7d shows a constant number of women in national water board. This representation adheres to commitments to improve women participation of women. One would argue as to why adherence is more effective in National Water Boards than other positions within the executive? The post-structural feminists would argue that women take a subordinate position due to subjectivities that make realities. National Water Boards like any other Board are within the Ministry responsible and thus under the Minister, PS and the like. By the way, members of those Boards are appointed by the Minister. Since ministerial posts are occupied by men, then there is no harm engaging women in lower positions. Therefore, more women are expected to be represented in lower positions.

Table 7e   Women representation in the irrigation commission – Ministry of Water and Irrigation
2015

Position	Gender		Total	Female (%)
	Female	Male		
Director general	0	1	1	0
Director	1	0	1	100
Acting directors	2	9	11	18.1
Assistant directors	1	3	4	25
Head of units	0	6	6	0
Total	4	19	23	17.4

Source: Source: Interview with Director Ministry of Water and Irrigation on
18th May 2017

Table 7e shows a low representation of women in almost all positions except one (the position of director) which is occupied by a woman. With such exception representation of women is very low. It is not known why irrigation commission under the Ministry of Water and Irrigation would have low representation of women considering the fact that women representation in various boards as well as other positions in the ministry seemed to have a more impressive representation.

One general observation was noted. It concerned women taking more subordinate positions than most top positions. For example, there were more women as deputy ministers, assistant director, and assistant commissioners than being directors, commissioners, ministers, etc. It was clear during the interviews with particularly two ministries that one ministry has never been a female minister since independence and another ministry had since independence both minister and deputy minister of male gender. It only happened in 2015 whereby some female directors were appointed.

5 Conclusions

The study found that Tanzania executive branch expresses different trends of women leadership since independence; and specifically, during the period between 2005 and 2016. It was observed that most substantive posts in the executive branch of government were held by men in majority. No single woman has ever held the presidency position in the period under this study. Suffices to mention, 2005 and 2015 general elections presented positive developments. 2005 was the time a woman contested for Presidency and 2015 another woman was appointed running-mate and subsequently became the first Vice President of the United, Republic of Tanzania. Based on prevailing policies and laws, appointment positions depend largely on the wills and wishes of the appointing authority (President in office). If the appointing authority is a man with attitude of looking at women as weak, incompetent, child bearers, and subordinates then low representation of women in various leadership positions is unavoidable. Study results showed more women have been appointed to subordinate positions in almost all positions. Also, representation of women in very important ministries (such as minerals and foreign affairs) was very low. There is need to have decision making authorities which adhere to the principles of fairness, gender equity and equality and consider women when exercising their mandate. And, enhance mutual practices and trust between men and women.

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Notes

1   Tanzania Citizenship Act, Chapter 357 (Revised Edition of 2002) and its Regulations of 1997.

2   empowering women through quota system – from 10% to 30% and now 50%.

3   i.e., 1,039 women out of over 12,000 candidates (Union Parliament - 238), House of Representatives Zanzibar - 29, Local District Councils - 770, and Presidency/Vice Presidency- 2).

4   one of the fore-women in the struggle for independence.

5   state clearly that any person is qualified for election or appointment as Member of Parliament (MP) or President if he is a member and candidate sponsored by a political party.

6   i.e., elected male MPs in 2004 were 218 while female MPs were only 12. The numbers changed slightly in 2012 where male elected MPs were 217 and female MPs were 21.

7   Janeth (2015) explains that she became the first interim female president in Burundi following the outbreak of civil war between 1993 and 1994 where the then president Ndadaye and other six ministers got murdered. She therefore was elected into office on 27th October 1993 and her tenure ended on 5th February 1994.

8   According to Janeth (2015) she became the interim president in 2005 when both Thabo Mbeki and the Deputy President were outside the country. Again, she took office in accordance to the constitution for 14 hours in 2008 between the resignation of Thabo Mbeki and accession of Kgalema Montlanthe.

9   According to Cooper (2017) and Peligri (2017) she became the first democratically elected president in the African history.

10   According to World Pulse (2009) she became acting president on 10th June 2009 in accordance to the constitution following the death of long time president Omar Bongo (www.worldpulse.com/en/community/users/nelly20/posts/7279).

11 According to Janeth (2015) she became interim president from 31st March 2012 to 21st July 2012 following Sir Anerood Jugnauth's resignation to the inauguration of Kailish Purryag to the office. She again took office from 29th May 2015 to 5th June 2015 when Kailish Purryag resigned up to the inauguration of Ameenah Gurib-Fakim to the office.

12 According to Tenthani (2012) she took power following the sudden death of president Bingu wa Mutharika.

13 According to BBC News (2014) she was elected the president by Parliament in 2014 after resignation of Michel Djotodia due to external pressure from regional leaders and former colonial power, France, over his failure to curb the conflict.

14 According to Janeth (2015) she said her Excellency became the president on 5th June 2015 through nomination.