

DOWNLOAD PDF PARLIAMENT AS MACHINERY FOR POLITICAL SYSTEM CONTROL [TANZANIA VIBEKE WANG

Chapter 1 : Committee to Protect Journalists

10 Parliament as Machinery for Political System Control: The Inner Workings of Bunge, Tanzania Vibeke Wang Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway.

Kong Youping, freelance Imprisoned: December 13, Kong, an essayist and poet, was arrested in Anshan, Liaoning province. Otherwise, a mainland democracy movement will accomplish nothing. In , he was tried on subversion charges along with co-defendant Ning Xianhua, who was accused of being the vice chairman of the CDP branch in Liaoning, according to the U. Kong suffered from hypertension and was imprisoned in the city of Lingyuan, far from his family. The group reported that his eyesight was deteriorating. Ning, who received a year sentence, was released ahead of schedule on December 15, , according to Radio Free Asia. Shi Tao, freelance Imprisoned: He was formally charged with "providing state secrets to foreigners" in connection with an email sent on his Yahoo account to the U. The directive prescribed coverage of the outlawed Falun Gong and the anniversary of the military crackdown on demonstrators at Tiananmen Square. The National Administration for the Protection of State Secrets retroactively certified the contents of the email as classified, the official Xinhua News Agency reported. Court documents in the case revealed that Yahoo had supplied information to Chinese authorities that helped them identify Shi as the sender of the email. In November , members of the U. Yahoo, Google, and Microsoft later joined with human rights organizations, academics, and investors to form the Global Network Initiative, which adopted a set of principles to protect online privacy and free expression in October Yang Tongyan Yang Tianshui , freelance Imprisoned: December 23, Yang, commonly known by his penname Yang Tianshui, was detained along with a friend in Nanjing, eastern China. He was a frequent contributor to U. He often wrote critically about the ruling Communist Party and advocated for the release of jailed Internet writers. He later wrote an article in Epoch Times in support of the model. Prosecutors also accused Yang of transferring money from overseas to Wang Wenjiang, a Chinese dissident who had been convicted of endangering state security and jailed. Believing that the proceedings were fundamentally unjust, Yang did not appeal. He had already spent 10 years in prison for his opposition to the military crackdown on demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in Relatives who visited Yang in prison in August said he was receiving poor treatment for a number of medical conditions including tuberculosis, arthritis, and diabetes, according to international news reports. Qi Chonghuai, freelance Imprisoned: June 25, Police in Tengzhou arrested Qi, a journalist of 13 years, in his home in Jinan, the provincial capital, and charged him with fraud and extortion. He was convicted and sentenced to four years in prison on May 13, Qi and Ma had criticized a local official in Shandong province in an article published June 8, , on the website of the U. Qi was accused of taking money from local officials while reporting several stories, a charge he denied. The people from whom he was accused of extorting money were local officials threatened by his reporting, Li said. Qi told his lawyer and his wife, Jiao Xia, that police beat him during questioning on August 13, , and again during a break in his trial. Qi was scheduled for release in In May, local authorities told him that the court had received new evidence against him. On June 9, less than three weeks before the end of his term, a Shandong provincial court sentenced him to another eight years in jail, according to the New York-based advocacy group Human Rights in China and Radio Free Asia. Ma was sentenced in late to one and a half years in prison. He was released in , according to Jiao. Human Rights in China, citing an online article by defense lawyer Li Xiaoyuan, said the court tried Qi on a new count of stealing advertising revenue from China Security Produce News, a former employer. Jiao told international journalists in that her husband had offered her a divorce, but that she declined. Dhondup Wangchen, Filming for Tibet Imprisoned: March 26, Police in Tongde, Qinghai province, arrested Wangchen, a Tibetan documentary filmmaker, shortly after he sent footage filmed in Tibet to his colleagues, according to the production company Filming for Tibet. A minute film titled "Jigdrel" Leaving Fear Behind was produced from the tapes. Filming for Tibet was founded in Switzerland by Gyaljong Tsetrin, a relative of Wangchen who left Tibet in but maintained contact with people there. He learned of the

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detention only later, after speaking by telephone with relatives. Filming for the documentary was completed shortly before peaceful protests against Chinese rule of Tibet deteriorated into riots in Lhasa and in Tibetan areas of China in March. The filmmakers had gone to Tibet to ask ordinary people about their lives under Chinese rule in the run-up to the Beijing Olympics. The arrest was first publicized when the documentary was screened before a small group of international reporters in a hotel room in Beijing on August 6. A second screening was interrupted by hotel management, according to Reuters. Wangchen was born in Qinghai but moved to Lhasa as a young man, according to his published biography. He had recently relocated with his wife, Lhamo Tso, and four children to Dharamsala, India, before returning to Tibet to begin filming, according to a report published in October by the South China Morning Post. Lhamo Tso told Radio Netherlands Worldwide in that her husband was working extremely long hours in prison and had contracted hepatitis B. Gyatso described having been brutally beaten by interrogators during his seven months in detention, according to *Filming for Tibet*. The film company reported in October that Gyatso had been missing since September 20 and that it feared he had been detained again. Liu Xiaobo, freelance Imprisoned: December 8, Liu, a longtime advocate for political reform and the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, was imprisoned for "inciting subversion" through his writing. Liu was an author of Charter 08, a document promoting universal values, human rights, and democratic reform in China, and was among its original signatories. He was detained in Beijing shortly before the charter was officially released, according to international news reports. Liu was formally charged with subversion in June, and he was tried in the Beijing Number 1 Intermediate Court in December of that year. In October, the Nobel Prize Committee awarded Liu its Peace Prize "for his long and nonviolent struggle for fundamental human rights in China. Authorities said she could request permission to visit Liu every two or three months, the BBC reported. February 26, Public security officials arrested Tsang, an online writer, in Gannan, a Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the south of Gansu province, according to Tibetan rights groups. The anniversary had provoked ethnic rioting in Tibetan areas, and international reporters were barred from the region. In November, a Gannan court sentenced Tsang to 15 years in prison for disclosing state secrets, according to The Associated Press. Kunga Tsayang Gang-Nyi, freelance Imprisoned: March 17, The Public Security Bureau arrested Tsayang during a late-night raid, according to the Dharamsala, India-based Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, which said it had received the information from several sources. An environmental activist and photographer who also wrote online articles under the penname Gang-Nyi Sun of Snowland, Tsayang maintained his own website, Zindris Jottings, and contributed to others. He wrote several essays on politics in Tibet, including "Who is the real instigator of protests? Tsayang was convicted of revealing state secrets and sentenced in November to five years in prison, according to the center. Sentencing was imposed during a closed-court proceeding in the Tibetan area of Gannan, Gansu province. Security measures were heightened in the region in the aftermath of ethnic rioting in March. Tan Zuoren, freelance Imprisoned: March 28, Tan, an environmentalist and activist, had been investigating the deaths of schoolchildren killed in the May earthquake in Sichuan province when he was detained in Chengdu. Tan, believing that shoddy school construction contributed to the high death toll, had intended to publish the results of his investigation ahead of the first anniversary of the earthquake, according to international news reports. Instead, he was charged with "inciting subversion" for writings posted on overseas websites that criticized the military crackdown on demonstrators at Tiananmen Square on June 4. In particular, authorities cited "A Witness to the Final Beauty," a firsthand account of the Tiananmen crackdown published on overseas websites in, according to court documents. On February 9, Tan was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison, according to international news reports. Visitors were subject to strict examination before being allowed to see him, the German public news organization Deutsche Welle reported in, citing Wang. Memetjan Abdulla, freelance Imprisoned: A court in the regional capital, Urumqi, sentenced him to life imprisonment on April 1, the reports said. The exact charges against Abdulla were not disclosed. Abdulla was targeted for talking to international journalists in Beijing about the riots, and translating articles on the Salkin website, RFA reported. Tursunjan Hezim, Orkhun Imprisoned: Police in Xinjiang detained

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international journalists and severely restricted Internet access for several months after rioting broke out on July 5, , in Urumqi, the regional capital, between groups of Han Chinese and the predominantly Muslim Uighur minority. Hezim edited the well-known Uighur website Orkhun. Hezim was sentenced to seven years in prison on unknown charges in a trial closed to observers, according to Sidick, who had learned the news by telephone from sources in his native Aksu. Chinese authorities frequently restrict information on sensitive trials, particularly those involving ethnic minorities, according to CPJ research. Gulmire Imin, freelance Imprisoned: July 14, Imin was one of several administrators of Uighur-language Web forums who were arrested after the July riots in Urumqi, in Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. In August , Imin was sentenced to life in prison on charges of separatism, leaking state secrets, and organizing an illegal demonstration, a witness to her trial told the U. Imin held a local government post in Urumqi. She also contributed poetry and short stories to the cultural website Salkin, and had been invited to moderate the site in late spring , her husband, Behtiyar Omer, told CPJ. Authorities accused Imin of being an organizer of major demonstrations on July 5, , and of using the Uighur-language website to distribute information about the event, RFA reported. Imin had been critical of the government in her online writings, readers of the website told RFA. The website was shut down after the July riots and its contents were deleted. Imin was also accused of leaking state secrets by phone to her husband, who lives in Norway. Her husband told CPJ that he had called her on July 5 only to be sure she was safe. The riots, which began as a protest of the death of Uighur migrant workers in Guangdong province, turned violent and resulted in the deaths of people, according to the official Chinese government count. Chinese authorities shut down the Internet in Xinjiang for months after the riots as hundreds of protesters were arrested, according to international human rights organizations and local and international media reports. July or August Authorities imprisoned Nureli, who goes by one name, and Azat in an apparent crackdown on managers of Uighur-language websites. Azat was sentenced to 10 years and Nureli to three years on charges of endangering state security, according to international news reports.

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Chapter 2 : One-party state - Wikipedia

Abstract. Based on the assumption that Africa's democratic consolidation is better served by an autonomous and influential parliament 1 capable of holding the executive accountable, this chapter contrasts the accountability function of Tanzania's posts parliament with that of the one-party Tanzanian legislature.

Improving primary health care to achieve population impact: This article has been cited by other articles in PMC. Abstract Background During the s, researchers at the Navrongo Health Research Centre in northern Ghana developed a highly successful community health program. The keystone of the Navrongo approach was the deployment of nurses termed community health officers to village locations. This paper describes the Ghana Essential Health Intervention Project GEHIP , a plausibility trial of strategies for strengthening CHPS, especially in the areas of maternal and newborn health, and generating the political will to scale up the program with strategies that are faithful to the original design. To elucidate results, hierarchical child survival hazard models will be estimated that incorporate measures of health system strength as survival determinants, adjusting for the potentially confounding effects of parental and household characteristics. Qualitative systems appraisal procedures will be used to monitor and explain GEHIP implementation innovations, constraints, and progress. Discussion By demonstrating practical means of strengthening a real-world health system while monitoring costs and assessing maternal and child survival impact, GEHIP is expected to contribute to national health policy, planning, and resource allocation that will be needed to accelerate progress with the Millennium Development Goals. Background Ghana has a long experience with evidence-based health systems development. By , preliminary results of the Navrongo experiment had begun to demonstrate that the project would have an impact. In the initial five years, fertility declined by about a birth from a total fertility rate of 5. First, it offered life-saving services delivered in a convenient, low-cost, and effective manner. Second, through community mobilization activities “ especially with men ” the program built a climate of trust between community health workers and extended families. Whereas clinical workers are required to extract fees from parents at the time of care, the community engagement system enabled community-based workers to trust clientele to eventually reimburse the system for pharmaceutical costs, even if families lacked cash at the time of care. When women and children become ill in profoundly gender-stratified societies like those of northern Ghana, they are often denied the timely provision of simple, life-saving interventions because their elder women or male relatives are reluctant to allow them to seek care immediately [2]. This problem is particularly constraining for family planning services. Despite the success of the Navrongo Experiment, the policy relevance of results was questioned by many district, regional, and national program managers. To address this skepticism, the district health management team DHMT from the Nkwanta District of the Volta Region launched a replication trial of the Navrongo experiment [3]. Implementation research showed that immunization coverage, service volume, and family planning acceptance replicated the Navrongo model [4 , 5]. In , in response to this demonstration, scaling up of the Navrongo model, now called the Community-based Health Planning and Services CHPS Initiative, was adopted as national policy [6]. CHOs are provided with essential equipment and assigned to health posts where they live and conduct doorstep services. This involves treatment of malaria, acute respiratory infections, and diarrheal diseases termed integrated management of childhood illness IMCI. CHOs also provide comprehensive childhood immunization and family planning care for oral, injectable, and barrier contraception. CHOs live and work in health posts built with donated materials and the labor of community volunteers, and they are provided with a motorcycle. As resources become available, health posts are often upgraded or reconstructed as permanent structures that replace makeshift community-provided facilities. Volunteers care for diarrheal diseases, but they are mainly health promoters and referral agents who balance nurse outreach to women with a focus on the information needs of men and organizational activities. To support their work, these volunteers receive a bicycle. Both CHOs and community volunteers provide services at the doorstep and at community health

posts. As in the rest of the Ghana Health Service GHS , trained paramedics provide care at sub-district health centers, serving roughly six to 10 villages or 20,, people, and clinicians provide surgical and other specialty care at district hospitals. Financial management and policy guidance is provided by a district health management team comprised of a District Director of Health Services and officers responsible for disease control, nursing, clinical operations, and nutrition. In one of the three study areas, briefly trained, unpaid volunteers were deployed to refer cases and provide antipyretics, vitamins, and other non-prescription drugs. Over the short-term, child mortality actually rose in this area compared to a control area where no interventions were offered, other than those routinely offered by the GHS. Research subsequently showed that syndromic intervention by credible but poorly trained volunteer workers delayed parental health seeking for effective curative care [2]. Only when comprehensively trained and fully paid nurses were posted to these areas did child mortality begin to fall substantially [5]. This crucial lesson still has yet to be internalized by many international donors, many of whom continue to favor interventions based on the distribution of simple commodities or health promotion by untrained volunteers alone, eschewing more substantial health system interventions because they seem complicated and expensive [7]. Properly trained and equipped community health workers can have health equity effects. In the Navrongo experiment, nurse care offset the detrimental effects that low parental-educational attainment and relative household poverty had on immunization, health-seeking behavior, and child survival. Volunteer services had no comparable equity effects [8]. However, if nurse-provided community-based care was combined with health promotion activities of volunteers, family planning gained credibility and both fertility and maternal and child mortality declined. Thus, the combined approach was adopted as the organizational model for CHPS. Ghana aims to expand CHPS to all communities by with finances provided largely through government resources, although there is no health-sector budget provision for the cost of launching CHPS. Additional support is provided by NGOs, district assemblies, and the global community. Facility costs, equipment costs, and special start-up investments are not routinely available. But, flexibility for financing these costs exists in the development sector. In particular, development revenues of the World Bank, the European Union, and some bilateral donors are committed to flexible revenue accounts managed by decision makers with the District Chief Executive and District Assembly development. However, district officials must decide to make and sustain this investment, despite competing demands on the development budget from other sectors. Exchanges between districts have been critical to demonstrating effective means of developing this commitment. Where Regional Health Administration RHA support involved the financing of exchanges between districts, there was active engagement with political and development authorities. These demonstration communities, in turn, were instrumental in establishing a process of CHPS implementation within a given district that was rapid and straightforward. The Nkwanta experience showed that proper introduction within a given district, with strategies for community engagement, could catalyze political and NGO investment in scale-up. Donor support for some aspects of CHPS expansion has been generous but has tended to support technical assistance and workshops rather than the political mobilization that seems necessary to transfer implementation capacity from one district to another. The fundamental problem was that CHPS was originally conceived as a community-based trial focused on identifying the best way of delivering services and sustaining community engagement for primary health care, rather than a systems initiative that involved interventions for developing district and regional leadership. Research on CHPS was focused on identifying the best way of delivering services and sustaining community engagement for primary health care. However, scaling up CHPS is a district systems issue and requires improved capabilities in regional and district management, planning, budgeting, and resource development. This, in turn, requires political mobilization beyond the community level. In addition, fidelity to the original CHPS model developed at Navrongo has dissipated with passing time â€” a scaling-up phenomenon noted elsewhere [11 - 13]. For example, the Navrongo model encouraged communities to construct health posts for CHOs from donated materials with volunteer labor. Construction of permanent facilities was meant to be a reward for this community activity. However, some district managers

delayed nurse deployment until revenue became available for financing outside contractors to construct health posts. Consequently, construction has become a constraint to implementation rather than an incentive for community action. Using funds to hire outside contractors also substantially raised the potential cost of scaling up, creating a further disincentive for donors and others to support the project. The package of services was also often incomplete and proven life-saving components were needlessly excluded from the regimen. For example, supervision of nurses and volunteers was inadequate in many districts and information systems were so cumbersome that they were useless to CHOs. Another problem was that district leadership often prioritized ambulatory clinical care of adults rather than building community and political engagement to encourage community-based preventive health services and early treatment of the leading causes of childhood morbidity. In addition, owing to official National Nurse Midwife Council objections, CHO training excluded emergency obstetric care – life-saving skills, such as the management of asphyxiation and haemorrhaging, and proven approaches to saving newborn lives. Volunteers might have been able to provide some of these services, but since they were often poorly trained and supervised, the GHS did not allow them to provide antibiotic therapy. Thus, despite evidence that community-based primary health care was scalable and affordable, health conditions remained needlessly poor. According to national statistics at GEHIP baseline, infant mortality was 50 per live births and under-5 mortality was 80 per person-years [12]. However, roughly comparable rates applied in the Upper East Region UER , 46 per live births and 78 per person-years, respectively even though this is the poorest part of the country. Research in progress suggests that the wider implementation of CHPS in a way that was faithful to the original Navrongo experiment largely explains this apparent paradox. Its interventions are informed by a prior initiative in Tanzania, known as the Tanzania Essential Health Interventions Project TEHIP , which developed and tested tools for evidence-based planning, resource mobilization, and district health system leadership. During the s, TEHIP was shown to have significant effects on child health and survival in that country, but its main potential for contributing to Ghana was its success in scaling up. Within a brief period, TEHIP transformed national management training, planning, and resource mobilization in all districts of the country [13]. In the case of GEHIP, the Tanzania district systems strengthening approach is augmented with frontline worker training, emergency referral systems development, and other health systems strengthening initiatives that, when implemented together, are posited to have synergistic effects on CHPS implementation. Contrasting baseline conditions will require statistical adjustment at the close of the project[14]. Four contiguous UER districts have been purposefully selected as comparison districts. Owing to the potentially confounding effects of successful NHRC trials of health service interventions, these special research districts are excluded from GEHIP [15]. The project was positioned in this challenging environment because policy deliberations about the relevance of success could be compromised if the context for solving problems was favorable to achieving positive results. Indeed, the dire circumstances and geographic isolation render the study areas to be challenging contexts for success of any kind. To ensure that GEHIP is focused on a challenging environment, the two research districts where the NHRC operates are excluded from GEHIP owing to unusually favorable health and survival conditions that have been induced by research initiatives in that locality.

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Chapter 3 : African Parliaments : M. a. Mohamed Salih :

Vibeke Wang's research concerns questions of politics and gender with a focus on political representation, political recruitment, rights mobilization, law reform and policy outcomes in the Global South.

Amanda Clayton Vibeke Wang This article was downloaded by: To cite this article: The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content. This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. We measure this recognition in relation to the number of times an individual member of parliament MP is referred to by name in plenary debates. We use a unique dataset from the Ugandan parliament to Downloaded by [Controlling for other possible determinants of MP recognition, we find that women elected to reserved seats are significantly less recognised in plenary debates over time as compared to their male and female colleagues in open seats. Introduction Countries in East Africa have been at the forefront of increasing the number of women in legislatures through the use of gender quotas. As we expand further below, we interpret name recognition to signal both the respect as opposed to discrimination an MP receives by her colleagues in parliament as well as her potential power or authority in the domain of policymaking. Contributing further to the quota literature, we further analyse whether different patterns of recognition exist among women elected via quotas versus those elected in open counties. Further, this trend only becomes pronounced after Uganda transitioned to multi-party rule in Highly recognised quota-mandated Representation, Vol. This article was originally published with errors. This version has been corrected. Please see Erratum <http://> The following section introduces our dataset and methodological approach. In a case study of Tanzania, Yoon refers to limitations due to lack of skills among female MPs. Reserved seats in particular have been criticised for reinforcing patronage politics, being used to bolster the incumbent party Bauer b; Matland ; Muriaas and Wang and thus promote women who are overly loyal to the ruling party Goetz ; Tamale ; Tripp Longman ; Yoon Work has also addressed the status and possibilities for quota recipients to act for women in the parliament. Since , the number of reserved seats for women has increased in every electoral cycle as new districts have been created. Uganda provides an interesting case for examining dynamics of recognition within parliamentary debates. First, the existence of reserved seats, as well as women elected to open seats, provides an opportunity to separate the effect of gender from that of gender quotas on patterns of legislative recognition. Plenary Recognition in the Ugandan Parliament In this study, we measure recognition in terms of the number of times an individual MP is recognised by name in plenary debates. In the Ugandan parliament, individual legislators are generally free to speak in the plenary whenever they want to by indicating to the Speaker that they would like to be called upon. As an illustration, consider the following examples from a debate. Lukyamuzi for giving way. Ken Lukyamuzi has been stressing a point concerning negotiations and talking peace and he is saying negotiations must take place outside Uganda. Ms Ruth Nankabirwa, woman representative of Kiboga district In conclusion, and this is in answer to hon. Oulanyah, my endeavour to cause dialogue does not mean that I support Kony. Mr John Ken Lukya- Downloaded by [Consequently, we interpret name recognition as showing some degree of respect to the named MP. This indicator also captures the authority and ability the named MP has to spur subsequent debate. First, it is possible that all women will be equally recognised in plenary debates as compared to their male colleagues. Second, given that we could expect women to come in with new and sometimes contentious legislative agendas, including progressive gender-related laws Wang , it is possible that women quota-mandated or not will make noteworthy impacts in plenary debates causing a greater degree of recognition. Together with support from civil society to train

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female legislators in debate techniques, this may imply that female MPs will have higher scores on plenary recognition compared to their male colleagues. Third, however, there are also reasons to expect that women elected to reserved seats will be less recognised than their male colleagues. A general critique against quotas is that they risk creating negative stereotypes Franceschet and Piscopo In such a scenario, quota women will be marginalised or made invisible in parliamentary work, and thus simply not listened to and acknowledged in plenary debates. Finally, given that the Ugandan parliament is a deeply gendered institution character- ized by patriarchal norms, all female legislators may struggle to receive recognition for their contributions. We expect incumbents and frontbenchers to be referred to more often, even when controlling for their total debate contributions. Measures and Methods Data Our quantitative data is coded from the Ugandan Hansard records from to The data covers records from the complete 7th Parliament 2006 and the beginning of the 8th Parliament 2011 , with over observations in the unit of MP-years. Our measure of MP recognition is coded simply as the number of times that an MP is referred Downloaded by [Table 1 displays the summary statistics pooled across years of our measure of MP recognition by our three MP seat types of interest: The differ- ences between the other two groupings male vs. More revealing than pooled statistics, Figure 1 plots the trend of MP recognition by seat type over time. Several trends immediately stand out. First, the number of MP refer- ences appears to be cyclical, peaking in the middle of the parliamentary term, likely as a function of the total debate activity that also peaks in this way. As previously noted, this year is important in the history of Ugandan parliamentary politics as the country rather unexpect- edly turned from one-party National Resistance Movement, or NRM rule to a multi-party system. Here we exclude other special seats army, youth, people with disabilities, and ex-officio officers. Our dependent variable, count data that is over-dispersed such that its variance is greater than its mean, follows a negative binomial distribution see Cameron and Trivedi We model MP recognition over time as a function of various MP-level attributes and external- level variables. This association, however, does not hold when comparing women in open seats to their male colleagues. Unsurprisingly, incumbents are associated with a greater number of references and MPs that speak more in general are referred to by name more often. Intuitively this makes sense. Because there are fewer opposition MPs, they tend to stand out in parliamentary debates and tend to make more controversial statements. This pattern provides suggestive evidence in line with the notion that NRM women became more disciplined and less outspoken after the move to the multi-party system. The three groups are not statistically differentiable during the 7th Parliament. Women in constituency seats have name recognition between the other two groups during the 8th Parliament, although they are not statistically differentiable from either group, in part stemming from the limited number of observations. Why do women lose recognition so dramatically in the 8th Parliament? Three possibili- ties emerge: Table 3 displays these descriptive statistics. We see that four women in the 7th Parliament were referred to by name over two standard deviations above the mean over 63 times for at least one of the years of their term: None of these women except for Alice Alaso an opposition member were reelected to the 8th Parliament. Two additional women were referred to by name only one standard deviation above the mean over 38 times for at least one year in the parliamentary term: Betty Amongi and Beatrice Kiraso. Kiraso NRM was not reelected to the 8th Parliament. In sum, none of the most recognised NRM women in reserved seats in the 7th Parliament were reelected to the 8th Parliament. Interestingly, although much fewer in number, this pattern extends to women elected to open seats as well. In this group, there were two women who were referred to more than two standard deviations above the mean over 41 times per year for at least one year during this term: Cecilia Atim Ogwal and Dora Byamukama. Ogwal, an opposition member, was reelected to the 8th Parliament, where she continued to be recognised at similar levels. The political future of virtually all ruling-party MPs, irrespective of gender, is dependent on funding from the NRM machine. MPs that do not toe the party line can be threatened with a loss of campaign funds, making their reelection chances slim. This was, for instance, the case in the lead-up to the elections, where vocal critics of Museveni were targets of such abuse Tripp Female MPs Changed Their Behaviour A second explanation is that female MPs might have altered their behaviour due to enhanced party discipline imposed in

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the 8th Parliament, or in other ways that generated less name recognition. The multi-party system has put greater pressure on MPs to toe the party line, especially within the NRM, and we have argued that this is especially salient among quota-elected women in the 8th Parliament. Today, they rather keep quiet. Some women are afraid that they speak against the party line. We interpret this to mean that our results are being driven both by the most recognised NRM women not returning to the 8th Parliament, as well as a more general trend among quota women to curtail their speech in the plenary. The change in behaviour we witness in the 8th Parliament may also be related to a further puzzle. As Wang extensively details, despite less acknowledged presence, female MPs were successful in passing several pieces progressive gender-related pieces of legislation in the 8th Parliament. This involved breaking large pieces of progressive legislation into smaller piecemeal parts that were often less controversial, as well as active recruitment by female MPs of male MPs under the auspices of UWOPA to publicly support and even table pro-women bills. For instance, during the 8th Parliament a male UWOPA associate with a background in medicine successfully put forth a private member bill on the prohibition of female genital mutilation. Thus, the conscious strategy on the part of women in the 8th Parliament to focus on issues that are relatively non-divisive, as well as recruiting male sponsors, could possibly explain some of the change in recognition of female MPs. Yet is unlikely to account for the entire decline observed. These trends may have led to a general devaluation and less recognition of female parliamentarians. However, our interview data suggests otherwise. Our contribution extends the line of inquiry in the growing body of work that systematically examines MP dynamics within parliaments in at least two ways. Second, our study slightly shifts the focus of analysis from what women do in parliament to how others receive them. We also want to gratefully acknowledge Gunnar Grendstad, Ragnhild Muriaas, Peter May and Margaret Levi who assisted or supported our cross-national collaboration. Alexander and Season Hoard. Even though there are fewer women than men in the Ugandan parliament, this does not affect the individual-level mean of each of these three subgroups. Ogwal moved from an open seat to a reserved seat between the 7th and 8th Parliaments. Sylvia Tamale, interviewed by Vibeke Wang, Rebecca Kadaga interviewed by Cecilia Josefsson, January

Chapter 4 : Project MUSE - "The Quota Encouraged Me to Run": Evaluating Jordan's Municipal

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Chapter 7 : Xi Jinping - Wikipedia

2 legislature's impact on its respective political system is in this paper primarily assessed by the degree of accountability between the executive and the legislature.

Chapter 8 : African Parliaments: Between governance and government " The Human Sciences Research

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