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**Ethos Building in the Discourse
of Women Politicians in Tanzania**

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Abstract

This paper examines women politicians' discourse as they address the University of Dar es Salaam community on the topic 'the woman politician in struggles for gender equality in Africa.' The paper aims to determine whether or not women through their speeches managed to enhance their ethos as agentive enough for their audience to take them seriously as mentors in the fight for gender equality. The data were collected from the audio recording done by the press, and Systemic Functional Linguistics guided the analysis. The findings showed four of five women politicians making more efforts to enhance ethos through engagement in different process types, investing more in the actor role. The study notes, however, the underperformance of the material and behavioral processes, which could have aided in ethos' enhancement. The study suggests that politicians engage more with the material and behavioral process types, maximizing their participant role in the actor and minimizing their participant role as goal.

Keywords: Agency, ethos, feminist political theory, systemic functional linguistics, Tanzania

Introduction

In June 2017 the University of Dar es Salaam hosted the ninth Mwalimu Nyerere Intellectual Festival on "The Politician in the Rise and Fall of Africa" from 13th to 15th. On the second day of the festival, five women politicians (one Ugandan and four Tanzanians) were to engage the audience on the sub-theme 'The Woman Politician in Struggle for Gender Equality in Africa.' They were to engage the public on this topic, maybe, because "modern women inhabit terrain that has been defined as nonpolitical. Modern men, by contrast, have developed and pursued strategies of collective decision-making designed to protect, if not enhance, their autonomy as individuals" (Di Stefano, 1991:xii). The women politicians taking the audience through this topic, led by Ruth Meena's keynote, were Ugandan Miria Matembe, a long-serving Member of Parliament and Minister for 17 years; Anna Makinda, former speaker of the Tanzanian Parliament (also former Member of Parliament and Minister); Mary Nagu, former Minister and current Member of Parliament

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(for 22 years); and joining this group from the floor were Anna Abdalla, retired, former Minister and Member of Parliament; and Agnes Nyamora, practicing politician, twice an aspirant to a parliamentary seat.

Gender expert, Ruth Meena, set the scene for the women politicians to take it up. She traversed the legal context mentioning the domestic, regional, and international instruments ratified by Tanzania, which demand that women and men should have an equal share in decision-making. She mentioned the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Women's Rights Bill. She said that all international enactments such as the AU Solemn Declaration, the Maputo Protocol, and the SADC Declaration had been translated by African countries in their contexts for them to implement these domestically. She noted that the problem was with political parties which are not compelled to work in line with the laws binding their nations. Political parties are gatekeepers, deciding who should get in and who should be barred. For example, in 2015 CCM had 9% women candidates; Chadema had 6%; ACT Wazalendo had 15%, and CUF remained with 11%. In the same general election women nominated by parties were 1250, but those elected were only 238, which was 19%. At the councilor position, there were 1879 candidates from all political parties, women being 679 or 6.2%. Meena aggravated the situation by bringing in SEMOT results of electoral research. The results revealed that if things did not change, it would take Tanzanians 31 elections or a hundred and fifty-five years to achieve gender equality. This revelation stunned the audience. Out of 238 women, only 10.4% went through the electoral process. And for the councilors, only 2% were elected. "This is a shame for democracy and an embarrassment to the democratic agenda," she concluded. To understand women in politics better, let us look at the history of women in political leadership.

The History and Position of Women in Political Leadership

The first woman to enter a position of national leadership who was not a monarch was Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who became prime minister of Sri Lanka in 1960 (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010; Jensen, 2008; Ettang, 2014). Later in the same decade, two other prominent women, "Indira Gandhi of India and Golda Meir of Israel, also rose to power as prime ministers. However, it was not until 1974 that Isabel Perón of Argentina became the first female president" (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010:6). Twenty-six women first obtained positions of top executive leadership in the 1990s, followed by 29 additional women through August 2009. In other words, "the number of new female leaders nearly quadrupled between the 1980s and 1990s, and this pattern was repeated in the 2000s" (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010:6-7). Examples include "Hilary Rodham Clinton of the United States, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Angela Merkel of Germany, Michelle Bachelet of Chile, and President Dilma Rousseff of Brazil, among others" (Ettang, 2014:189). Such developments "have sparked widespread discussion as to the role of sex and gender in politics" (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010:5).

Africa has not been left behind. According to Ettang, in 2014, there were three female heads of state on the continent, namely President Ellen-Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, President Joyce Banda of Malawi, and President Catherine Samba-Panza of the Central African Republic. Ngozi Iweala, Nigeria's then finance and past foreign minister, Namibian foreign minister, Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma the President of the African Union Commission in 2013 are examples of key political actors on the continent (Ettang, 2014; Ngunjiri, 2014).

Although many women have risen to positions of power, in most countries the political arena continues to be dominated by men. "Even with the inclusion of lower-level officials, women do not represent anything like their proportion of the population in political life" (Jensen, 2008:7). According to Ngunjiri (2014), a focus on women's engagement in leadership and management in Africa reveals marginalization, even though women are leading in all sectors of the society including at the pinnacle of government as heads of government. Further, women are leading in parliaments, with Rwanda leading the world at 56.3 %, followed by Seychelles, Senegal, and South Africa at

numbers 5, 6, and 8 with 43.8, 42.7, and 42.3 %, respectively (Ngunjiri, 2014:123-124). As seen above, beyond taking up the highest executive office as presidents and prime ministers, "women are also present in national parliaments, becoming cabinet ministers and deputy ministers and

holding top positions in the judicial, legislative, and executive arms of the government” (Ettang, 2014:189).

For some, the rise of several prominent female leaders reflects the important gains that women as a group have made in the political sphere. For others, however, the experiences and portrayals of female politicians, as well as the continued under-representation of women in politics more generally, draw attention to the many ways in which “access to political office is still very much stratified by gender” (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010:6). Women ministers have been concentrated in departments that deal with traditional concerns of women. “Fifty-six percent of the women cabinet ministers headed departments focusing on health, education, welfare, and consumer affairs, while only 15% held posts dealing with the economy” (Jensen, 2008:7). In the US, women make up “46% of all workers but statistics on major leadership roles consistently show that they constitute only 4% of the five highest earning officers in Fortune 500 companies and 0.4% of the CEOs” (Eagly & Karau, 2002:573).

Traditional gender roles and expectations prevalent in many societies limit the participation of women in politics. These cultural norms that emphasize women’s role in the domestic sphere act as barriers to their political involvement. Another explanation for the paucity of women in political leadership is related to the belief that women do not exhibit essential leadership qualities. They have been described as emotional, sensitive, and dependent as well as lacking in drive. Men, on the other hand, are seen as ambitious, competitive, and decisive, characteristics believed necessary for effective leadership. In women, “these traits may be viewed not only as absent but also as inappropriate” (Jensen, 2008:9). Women politicians are perceived to possess typically feminine traits, such as being warm and sensitive, and are believed to be experts on so-called women’s issues such as education and women’s affairs. Meanwhile, “men politicians are perceived to possess typically masculine traits, such as being assertive and tough, and are believed to be better able to handle so-called men issues such as crime and defense” (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009: 485).

To have more women in political leadership, major political parties have implemented quotas that require women to take up a particular percentage of the candidates they propose for elections. Because of quotas, according to Bingisai, Rwanda and South Africa have seen significant increases in female political leadership. Countries such as Qatar endorsed women’s participation in the national parliament for the first time in 2017; “in the 2021 elections, however, no women were elected in the office” (Bingisai, 2023:20).

Though there has been a gradual increase in the participation of women in politics throughout the world, the numbers are still relatively small. Data collected by the Interparliamentary Union put the number of women in the world’s national legislatures in December 2007 at 17.2%. Regional averages for the Americas, Sub-Sahara Africa, and Asia were slightly higher than those of the United States, scoring 19.5, 17.0, and 16.5%, respectively. Arab and Pacific states each averaged slightly less than 10% of women (Jensen, 2008:7). But Sanbonmatsu notes something that should help us think more critically about women’s underrepresentation. American women vote more than men vote, but they are still underrepresented. Women’s access to office has been shaped by “changes in law, policy, and social roles, as well as the activities and strategies of social movement actors, political parties, and organizations” (Sanbonmatsu, 2020:40).

In Tanzania, women constitute most of the population and the most voters countrywide. They also provide “80% of labour force in rural areas and 60% of food production, but they are victims of discrimination” (Makulilo, 2009:609). The history of Tanzanian women in political leadership began in 1955 when TANU created a women’s section through its constitution. Bibi Titi Mohamed headed this section. In 1962 TANU formed the Union of Women in Tanganyika (UWT) to be chaired by Bibi Titi Mohamed. This effort was meant to mobilize and integrate women in a single organization nationwide, “but it had nothing to do with gender equality issues” (Makulilo, 2009:617). To get more women into political leadership, special seats were adopted in 1985 “to increase the number of women in parliament” (Yoon, 2011:84). But during the one-party system, the women preferred were

“those who demonstrated loyalty to the party top officials, and general popularity or educational attainments were seen as secondary to being ‘one-of-us-insiders’” (Killian, 1996:25-26). Save for political affirmative action for women, in 1985 only one woman won a constituency in parliament, and in 1990 only two female parliamentarians had won constituents (Killian, 1996; Makulilo, 2009). The numbers were growing slowly.

In 1995 and 2000 special seats “were allocated according to the seats won by a political party, but that requirement was changed to 5% of the total valid votes won in the parliamentary election. This change came in 2005” (Makulilo, 2009:624). Putting together female politicians who won constituencies and those who went through special seats, Makulilo notes from different NEC election years, that

in 1995 women obtained 8 seats (3.4%) out of 232 seats; in 2000, they obtained 12 seats (5.1%) out of 231 seats; in 2005, only 17 women equivalent to 7.3% out of 232 seats; in 2010 just 21 seats 8.8% out of 239 seats; in 2015 only 25 women equivalent to 9.4% out of 264 seats (NEC, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016) as noted in Makulilo (2019:350).

The United Nations has called for greater support for “women’s participation in all aspects of the electoral process at International Conferences on Women as highlighted in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), Beijing (1995), and the 23rd Special Session of the General Assembly in Beijing (2000)” (Bingisai, 2023:19). These normative frameworks serve to address issues of diversity to ensure inclusiveness. They set the international and regional standards which need the countries to morally and legally adhere to equity and non-discriminatory policies in the development process. The right to elect and be elected is provided for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948: 21:1) that every person has a right to participate in all decision-making organs either through electing or being elected. Article 13 sub-article 5 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania makes unlawful any form of discrimination based on sex, among others, in all spheres of life, politics included, and that no categories should be regarded as weak or inferior before others. What is going on in Tanzania, as noted in the electoral trend, is the masculinizing of politics.

As a result of special seats that started in 1985, “Tanzania met the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action’s target of 30 percent women’s parliamentary representation” (Yoon, 2011:84). Additionally, Tanzania was “planning on strengthening its constitutional quota for women’s parliamentary representation from 30 percent to 50 percent” (Strachan, 2015:2). Despite the efforts, Tanzanian women in political leadership still face challenges. The internal practices and democratic processes in political parties are not in favour of women. Sanbonmatsu and Dolan (2009:490) note that “the gender stereotypes against women politicians transcend party”. Strachan cites an empirical study saying that in Tanzania special seats are assigned based on the number of votes a party wins in the parliamentary elections, and “the selection methods used by parties lack transparency and introduce the potential for corruption, including sexual corruption” (Strachan, 2015:2). This is closer to what Killian said in 1996, that “general popularity or educational attainments were seen as secondary to being ‘one-of-us-insiders’” (Killian, 1996:25-26), and that loyalty shown to party top officials counted more. This undermines the integrity of female candidates.

Makulilo (2019) notes that in Tanzania men dominate all decision-making positions and structures because attendance in parties’ key meetings is by one’s position. Parties elect their leaders without putting in place gender balance considerations, and in case leaders from women’s wings have space in parties’ key meetings, their participation is minimal. Jensen adds that

in political parties, more often than not, women have dealt with menial tasks rather than those associated with policymaking. Because of their gender, they have found it difficult to participate in informal sessions where contacts are developed and information important for pursuing a political career is gathered (Jensen, 2008:8).

Tanzania's political parties, ACT Wazalendo, CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, and NCCR Mageuzi, express in their constitutions their commitment to achieve an equal society and create equal opportunities between women and men. They also commit to fighting against discrimination including that of sex and ensuring women's representation in party leadership structures, and meetings. The parties emphasized the importance of women's wings to extend women's participation in the parties' activities (Wildaf, 2020). Despite these commitments, Tanzania's electoral and political systems still marginalize women in intra-party and inter-party competitions. Money tends to be used in garnering support during elections, and "women tend to have a weaker financial base than their male counterparts, so they find it harder to mobilize the resources required to win elections" (Babeiya, 2011:94).

We are talking here about a portion of society whom Tanzanian televisions portray as "predominantly homemakers before men who are celebrities and workers in offices outside the home environment" (Kahamba & Sife, 2017:69). This is partly why Latu *et al* may be right in saying that "women are less likely than men to be associated with leadership, and the awareness of this stereotype may undermine women's performance in leadership tasks" (Latu *et al*, 2013:444). This is despite the introduction of special seats in 1985. One way to circumvent this stereotype threat, they suggest, is to expose women to highly successful female role models. That is partly why the University of Dar es Salaam invited women politicians to this event as mentors.

The women politicians in this study need to enhance ethos as agentive through their speeches for them to be believed and emulated by their audience. The analysis is done on their talk because, first, talk tends to reflect how speakers relate to their community or audience. Secondly, some scholars find that "female (African) political figures tend to be 'misrepresented' when language constructs them as 'trespassers' whenever they venture into the traditionally 'masculine' world of politics" (Anderson *et al*, 2011:2516). Thirdly, from such disparate sources as the Mahabharata, sacred Hindu writings; the Talmud, a collection of Jewish law; the teachings of Confucius, an ancient Chinese philosopher; and the writings of John Knox, a sixteenth-century Scottish religious reformer, there were warnings of the dangers of female rule. Since women "were viewed as weak, inferior, unreliable, and even cruel, they were seen as unfit to exercise power" (Jensen, 2008:1). Latu *et al* say that "one way to circumvent stereotype threat among women is to expose women to highly successful female role models" (Latu *et al*, 2013:444). It is therefore important to find out if women politicians, in their political careers, can be emulated as agentive and strong, contrary to widespread concerns against them as women. If, for example, for the mixed audience that these women politicians address, of University students, professors, different calibers of politicians, the laity, etc. they end up with expressions that present them as accusative or passive receivers of mistreating action, the idea behind inviting them to mentor Tanzanian female academics on "the woman politician in struggles for gender equality in Africa" might have been counterproductive. That is why this paper examines the women politicians' speeches to determine whether or not they make efforts to enhance ethos for their audience to take them seriously as mentors in the fight for gender equality. This paper being a linguistic analysis of political discourse, therefore, will not present a political analysis.

Theoretical Considerations

This study is guided by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and feminist political theory forms the bedrock of this discourse. For women politicians to convince their audience, they have to elevate themselves high enough (ethos) for their audience to trust and emulate them. For us to see whether or not these women politicians make efforts to enhance ethos, the study uses Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics to see which participant roles these women politicians occupy and the process types they engage in the most.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a meaning-based theory that regards language as a meaning system (Halliday, 1985). According to Eggins, one of the functions of this theory is "trying to answer the question: how do people use language?" (Eggins, 2004:3). Clause is the basic grammatical unit that represents a process in terms of Systemic Function Grammar (Halliday, 2007) and the semantic configuration of a process is experientially constructed from the process itself,

the participants of the process, and the circumstances associated with the process.

There are six types of processes, namely material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential (Halliday, 2007; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). With the material processes, “we construe doings and happenings with Actor as an inherent participant of it, bringing about the unfolding of the process through time that may extend to another participant, Goal, which is directly affected by the performance of process” (Halliday, 2004:180). We can probe material processes by asking: “What does the Actor do to the Goal?” or “What happens to the Goal?” (Halliday, 2004:192). The material processes are characterized by particular structural configurations, such as Process + Actor + Goal (+ Recipient), and Process + Range (ibid). There is always an Actor in this clause, which can be realized by a nominal group representing anything, and if directed, it has a Goal as well. So, we can say that the material process must have an Actor, Process, and Goal as compulsory elements. The mental process type construes sensing - perception, cognition, intention, and emotion. It is characterized by Process + Senser + Phenomenon (ibid). Language functions “as a semiotic system, involving two dimensions: content or meaning and its expression or realization” (Egins, 2004:17), and through SFL we are going to see how language has been used by these women politicians.

The women politicians produced a discourse formed around feminist political grounds, and therefore feminist political theory forms the bedrock of this discourse. Feminist political theory focuses on understanding and analyzing how gender intersects with political power, institutions, and structures. It examines how political systems and ideologies impact and are impacted by gender, seeking to address issues of inequality, discrimination, and oppression. This theory sees women and their situation as central to analysis; it asks why it is that in virtually all known societies men appear to have power over women, and how this can be changed. This theory, therefore, “seeks to understand society to challenge and change it; its goal is not abstract knowledge, but knowledge that can be used to guide and inform political practice” (Bryson, 1992:1). The women politicians’ aims and those of feminism “are concerned with eradicating inequality, and causes of existing inequalities” (Christie, 2000:20).

These women politicians address the historical and contemporary inequalities between men and women in political, social, and economic spheres. These women and feminist political theorists critique a social system where men hold primary power and dominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, and social privilege. They dwell on political representation, questioning the lack of women in political decision-making bodies. Bryson sees the relationship between the sexes as one of inequality, subordination or oppression, and sees this as a problem of political power rather than a fact of nature. She also sees this problem as important for political theory and practice (Bryson, 1992:1). The politicians discuss ways of changing patriarchal structures and norms. The topic of the conference from which this paper draws data, addresses itself to political representation, questioning the lack of women and other marginalized groups in political decision-making bodies.

Let us summarize processes, which are part of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) in which Halliday identifies major process types that represent the basic types of activities or processes in which participants engage (Halliday, 2004:192). A material process is that which involves actions, physical activities or events, such as ‘Bello *cooked* ugali.’ Here ‘cooked’ is a material process. A relational process is concerned with expressing a state of being, existence, or identification. For example, ‘She *has been* a member of parliament for fifteen years.’ In this sentence, ‘has been’ is a relational process indicating a state of being. A mental process involves cognitive or psychological activities such as thinking, perceiving, or wanting. For example, ‘Men *believe* that women are trespassers in the political arena.’ Here ‘believing’ is a mental process. A verbal process involves communication through language. For example, ‘She *told* him the news’. In this sentence ‘told’ represents a verbal process. A behavioral process is related to the organization of discourse, such as writing and reading. It is concerned with how language is used to construct and organize texts. Example: Miria Matembe *wrote* ‘The Woman in the Eyes of God’. In this sentence ‘writing’ is a behavioral process.

Analyzing utterances in this way helps reveal the functional aspects of language use, emphasizing the role of language in communication and expressing various meanings through different types of processes. Since the Actor shows the participant that acts, we expect these mentors to place themselves in the actor position more than the goal or receiver position for their ethos to be high. They have to enhance their ethos through their goodwill by performing acts brilliantly. And since the Goal is the participant that undergoes a change of state or is affected by the action, we expect less of the mentors in this position, if they dwell in it we expect that it is only used to showcase victory later on the side of our mentors. These participant roles help to structure the representation of events and states in language. The participant roles occupied and process types performed have a bearing on ethos. What is ethos?

Ethos refers to the sort of social identity that participants implicitly signal through their verbal and non-verbal comportment. It includes “character and credibility, classically demonstrated through good sense, good moral character, and good will” (Doan, 2004:5). Here character is “the controlling factor in persuasion” (ibid), the most persuasive ethos being the one winning the approval and good will of the audience. It is important to examine ethos in terms of how these women politicians construct themselves and construct others involved in similar positions or events. So, for women politicians to persuade their audience as mentors, it is necessary that their ethos be enhanced.

Since they need to gain and maintain acceptability, politicians normally enhance their ethos while discrediting or denouncing other persons as ones opposed to the legitimate order. In doing this women politicians endeavour to make male politicians seem as ones acting against the legitimate order on purpose. The denounced persons are made to be in uniformity with illicit conduct, i.e., such conduct is the norm to them (Garfinkel, 1956:23). When a participant works to discredit another, according to Goffman (1963:3), their focus is always on the audience, who are meant to be convinced that the identity they had in mind about the said person was only virtual reality, and that what the denouncer reveals is the true identity of that person. As these women politicians attempt to position themselves in the right with their audience, they are expected to use more of the material and behavioral processes, and endeavour to present the other person (or the other person’s side) as culpable.

Methods and Materials / Data

The women politicians involved in this study, i.e., Abdala, Makinda, Matembe, Meena, Nagu, and Nyamora, can safely be grouped as feminists because they are “involved in a social movement lobbying and struggling for social and legal changes beneficial to women and of challenging cultural preoccupations and routines concerning femininity and gender” (van Zoonen, 1994:152). These women politicians address female students, some of whom by aspiring to a political career “have gone against the traditional view of their role, and they have been confronted with questions about their suitability for office because of their gender” (Jensen, 2008:8). In the 1890s in America and England such women, the ‘new women’ were usually presented as ‘pathetic creatures, losing their femininity in a ridiculous attempt to ape the achievements of men’ (Bryson, 1992:85). Of these women politicians, Abdalla and Nyamora participate from the floor as part of the audience, but they are part and parcel of political elites responsive to social movements, giving the university audience access to political elites. This gathering, though a festival on Mwalimu Nyerere, was partly a response to political scientist Michael Lipsky who once asked: ‘Under what conditions will relatively powerless groups receive official recognition and responsiveness?’ (Jeydel, 2004:1).

The data were extracted from the voice recording of the session ‘The Woman Politician in Struggles for Gender Equality in Africa’ done by the media. The researcher also attended the sessions. Having gathered the recorded session, the data were transcribed and then translated from Kiswahili to English. The part done by Miria Matembe was originally in English, so it didn’t need translation. Each speech was subjected to Systemic Functional Linguistics to examine the participant roles of these women politicians and the process types they performed.

Findings and Discussion

This paper examined the women politicians' speeches to determine whether or not these politicians could enhance ethos as agentive enough for their audience to take them seriously as mentors in the fight for gender equality. It used Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) with a feminine lens to engage women's discourse in terms of participant roles taken and process types performed. In their discourse as participants, women politicians are either actors or goals/ receivers of action. These are the two roles this paper concentrated on. Participating as an actor presupposes power and being a goal presupposes lack or less power. One pities the receiver for mistreating actions, not emulating them. We would say that this person's ethos is too low to be emulated. If one becomes more of a receiver of action, we would also want to see whether she receives action passively or responds with equaled action. Let us look at Table 4.1 below:

Table 4. 1: Participant Roles Occupied by Women Politicians

Comparing the Roles of Actor and Goal

	Actor	Goal
Matembe	11	2
Makinda	4	0
Nagu	28	1
Nyamora	13	5
Abdala	17	1
Total = 82	73	9
Percent	87.9%	12.1%

Source: Fieldwork

Generally, 88% of the discourse the women politicians participated in as actors, and they became receivers of actions by 12%. Nyamora is a goal in 5 instances. All these are verbal processes, asking her and discouraging her about the post she was contesting. What is interesting, she responds boldly in ways that make some men fail to maintain eye contact. Matembe is a goal in 2 instances. She is thrown out of office by the President Museveni for opposing him, and the second is her use of an inclusive 'we' of her as a woman being "perceived as intruders in the political space". Nagu has one instance only. Upon asking for names to fill vacancies, she is given only male names to choose from. She responds with a sustainable plan of sending women for postgraduate training. Abdala is asked to ensure that the women she was supporting would win. She responds in the affirmative and the end 17 of 18 women win elections. In this discourse, Makinda doesn't place herself in the receiver role. One can say, therefore, that the instances which women politicians place themselves in the receiver role do not weaken their ethos, but in very crafty

ways build their ethos as agentive and emulative. Their appropriation of the actor role builds their ethos more as agentive and emulative.

In their investment of the actor role, they perform *material, relational, mental, verbal, and behavioral*

processes at varying levels. Let us take a look at Table 4.2 with these process types, then attempt a unified view of the findings.

Table 4.2: Process Types Performed by Women Politicians

	Material	Relational	Mental	Verbal	Behaviour
Matembe	4	8	2	2	2
Makinda	1	2	2	4	1
Nagu	3	4	17	13	7
Nyamora	4	4	6	12	1
Abdalla	1	1	4	17	5
Total (127)	13	19	31	48	16
Percent	10.2%	14.9%	24.4%	37.7%	12.5%

Source: Fieldwork

Moving to process types, we see further differences among these politicians, and the study becomes more revealing at this stage. For example, **Mary Nagu** leads in playing the actor role, with 28 instances, and she is again leading with 44 instances of process types. She lives the Bengali proverb, that *when you live in the water, you don't argue with the crocodiles*. Instead of arguing against the male-dominated system in her ministry, she starts a scholarship for 50 women annually, which makes women more eligible for high office vacancies. She invests more in mental processes i.e., in cognitive or psychological activities such as thinking and perceiving; in verbal processes involving communication through language, and in behavioral activities of writing and moving motions. Following Systemic Functional Linguistics, her performance of all process types reveals her experience in politics, her eloquence, and her engineering of the plan to make more women eligible for high office, which makes her agentive and emulative.

Anna Abdalla is the second, playing the actor role 17 times. She is again the second with 28 instances of process types. She invests more in verbal communication and cognitive or psychological activities such as thinking, perceiving, or wanting. In line with Systemic Functional Linguistics, her performance of verbal and behavioral process types reveals her experience in higher levels of Tanzanian politics and her defense of other women elevates her ethos.

Agnes Nyamora is the third, playing 13 times in the actor role. She is also third with 25 instances of process types. She invests more in verbal and mental processes. Her performance of the verbal, mental, and relational process types reveals her political ability to stand against the anti-women and anti-elite in Tanzanian politics.

Miria Matembe is the fourth, playing the actor role 11 times. She is again fourth with 18 instances of process types. She invests more in relational processes, which shows that she is very experienced. Comparatively, she invests more in material processes. She says she cannot sit down while the struggle for gender equality and women's empowerment is still staggering. She involves herself in acts that can be easily seen. Following Systemic Functional Linguistics, her performance with the relational, mental and behavioral process types reveals Matembe as highly experienced, and highly responsive, and she can put her strong ideas into writing.

Anna Makinda is the fifth, playing the actor role 4 times. She is again the last in the group with 10 instances of process types. She invests more in verbal processes, and she does not participate as a receiver of action. Of all these women politicians, she performs too low on both participant roles and process types. This poor score goes against the fact that she was then the most famous female politician in the country. Her clout might have affected the way she engaged in process types.

Putting together the performance of women politicians raises eyebrows. Why, one wonders, is the material process, a process involving actions, physical activities, or events that people can see and appreciate, the least performed in this political discourse with only 10.2%? Why, again, is the behavioral process, one related to the organization of discourse, such as writing and reading, which involves intellect, the second least performed in the discourse of women politicians with only 12.5%? Do these questions not reflect what Sanbonmatsu and Dolan report, that “women politicians are perceived to possess typically feminine traits, such as being warm and sensitive, and are believed to be experts on so-called women’s issues such as education and women’s affairs? Why does their discourse not show them to be “assertive and tough, and ...be better able to handle so-called men issues such as crime and defense”? (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009:485). Why does the analysis of their discourse find these women so close to the perceptions? These women politicians, however, have made efforts to enhance ethos more with their experience in political spaces and ability to communicate issues benefiting women. None of the five women politicians has taken any mistreating act lying down, which makes them agentive. If we keep our eyes on the low scores, however, Systemic Functional Linguistics may have to tell us that these women politicians should spice their discourse with material and behavioral process types to be more highly emulated.

Despite the linguistic analysis showing these politicians as agentive, the question of affirmative action remains wanting in this discourse. The idea of affirmative action soars the number of women in parliament towards 50/50. We need to remember that affirmative action is “effected through political parties...and it is not for the interest of women’s issues” (Makulilo, 2009:610). Affirmative action does not inform women through collective dialogue, to challenge generally accepted values, practices, and norms, and to advocate for those things they believe women should have. Makinda, Nagu, and Abdalla allude to these growing numbers without saying how these numbers could be used for political transformation. Some scholars argue that “an increase in the number of women in parliament may come about with little impact on gender-related policies and legislation” (Killian, 1996:23). We need to remember that “recruitment mechanisms for women’s special seats in Tanzania limit the extent to which women can make a distinctive impact on gender-related public policy” (Killian, 1996:22) and that the special seat system has “eroded the competitive power of women in the basic democratic system” (Seppänen & Virtanen, 2008:121). I think we need a handful of John Stuart Mills in Tanzania who “see the need to give women equal rights” (Bryson, 1992:49), but meanwhile, women politicians should think beyond affirmative action. They should be good, do good, and talk about these good things to encourage other women. To do this, politicians engage more with the material and behavioral process types, maximizing their participant role in the actor and minimizing their participant role as goal. But we should all remember that ideas matter, but doing “plenty of work” may matter even more in convincing people of our worth.

Conclusion

This paper examined women politicians’ discourse as they addressed the university community on the topic ‘the woman politician in struggles for gender equality in Africa.’ Of concern was to determine whether through their speeches we could see efforts to elevate their ethos to be agentive and thus worth of emulation. The findings showed that four women politicians did efforts to build ethos through different process types in their speeches. Only one, the most famous in the group, does not adhere to Systemic Functional Linguistics. It is noted, however, that the material and behavioral processes have been underperformed throughout. Ethos would have gone higher with more performance of the material and behavioral processes. For women politicians to gain more credence in situations such as this, they should have invested more in what they have done for the people in their political space to change the historical reality facing women in politics. This should

include showing their experience in political activities and how agentic they were. In other words, they should have enhanced ethos more as a matter of necessity. To do this, politicians should engage more with the material and behavioral process types, maximizing their participant role in the actor and minimizing their participant role as goal.

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