



REPORT
ON THE
**FEMICIDE
STUDY**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study stems from the recognition that no single life should be lost for any reason, femicide inclusive. As an extreme form of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) targeting women, this study is meant to bring to the fore front the agenda. Hence, a long overdue need to have a comprehensive and specific legislation that focuses on gender-based violence, femicide being part of it.

Legal and Human Right Centre (LHRC) would like to thank its various donors whose generous support made this study a reality. We would like to express our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to all those who contributed to the completion of this Femicide Study Report. This research would not have been possible without the unwavering support, guidance, and contributions from various individuals and organizations.

First and foremost, we extend our deepest appreciation to the survivors of femicide and their families who bravely shared their stories and experiences with us. Your courage and willingness to engage in this study are integral to raising awareness about this critical issue.

We are indebted to our research participants, including law enforcement officials, social workers, legal experts, and activists who dedicated their time and knowledge to provide insights into the multifaceted aspects of femicide. Your invaluable perspectives have enriched this report and contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the challenges at hand.

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Furthermore, we acknowledge the financial support provided by our partners and donors. This support enabled us to conduct interviews, gather data, and analyze information, ultimately strengthening the depth and breadth of our findings. Our gratitude also extends to the editorial and design team, who worked diligently to format and present this report in a clear and accessible manner. Your attention to detail and dedication to quality have greatly enhanced the final product.

In conclusion, this report stands as a testament to the collaborative efforts of numerous individuals and entities. Each contribution, whether big or small, has played an integral role in shedding light on the pressing issue of femicide and advocating for change.

Dr. Anna Henga (Advocate)

Executive Director

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CPA	Criminal Procedure Act
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CCCJ	Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice
CWHRDs	Coalition for Women Human Right Defenders
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DCI	Director of Criminal Investigation
DV	Domestic Violence
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HRC	Human Rights Council
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KII	Key Informant Interview
LHRC	Legal and Human Rights Centre
LMA	Law of Marriage Act
MoH	Ministry of Health
NPA/VAWC	National Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women & Children
PGCD	Police Gender and Children Desks
SoP	Standard operating Procedures.
SOSPA	Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
TDHS	Tanzania Demographic Health Survey & Malaria Indicator Survey
THRR	Tanzania Human Right Report
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WISE	Women in Social Entrepreneurship



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

Violence against women (VAW) can manifest in different forms, broadly as physical violence, sexual violence, economic violence, and emotional or psychological violence. Widespread forms of VAW include domestic and intimate partner violence, especially wife or partner beating; acts of sexual violence such as rape and sodomy; sexual harassment; femicide; economic abuse; FGM; and forced marriage.

Globally, femicide has been recognized as a key obstacle for enjoyment of women's rights, and the international community has responded by taking various measures, including adoption of the Vienna Declaration on Femicide/Gender-Related Killings of Women and Girls by the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPJ) in 2013. While welcoming the report of the Special Rapporteur on gender-related killings and inviting Member States to submit relevant information and remedies, the declaration recalled the Human Rights Council's Resolution on Accelerating Efforts to eliminate all Forms of Violence against Women: Remedies for Women who have been subjected to Violence (A/HRC/20/L.10).

OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the study was to assess the current context of femicide in the regions of Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Dar Es Salaam and Kilimanjaro. Specific Objectives of the study were (i) to determine the causes of femicide in Tanzania by assessing affected communities and victims' families and offenders; (ii) to assess the current policy and legal framework on femicide in Tanzania and beyond; (iii) to assess the situation of femicide in selected regions; and (iv) to provide recommendations on the key findings and lessons which inform the future interventions.

METHODOLOGY

The study used participatory qualitative tools to establish the existing causes and power dynamics that play along the incidences of femicide. In order to obtain primary and secondary data, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used. Sought data were obtained using In-Depth Interviews; Key Informant Interviews (KIIs); Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); and Documents reviews. As part of quality control, the study findings were validated by various government and non-government stakeholders during a workshop organized by LHRC.

FINDINGS

Among the key findings is the fact that the study has revealed that in those selected regions, the prominent form femicide practiced in the area is intimate femicide. Furthermore, a pattern of dowry and witchcraft femicides were equally observed in the Lake Zone and in Mwanza in Kilimanjaro respectively. It also revealed that attitudes, norms, and behaviors deep-rooted in the families, homes



and communities and institutionalized at all levels and consequently producing a culture of social acceptance of gender violence, especially violence against women. Driven by various risk and causal factors highlighted above such as patriarchal system, economic dependency, low education, economic freedom, traditions, and taboos to mention just a few, the study shows that victims died in the hands of people too close to them, the intimate partners. The study has revealed that **there is no a specific legislation on Femicide or GBV in Tanzania**. As a result, femicide is continuously being taken as normal deaths and killings with which the crime is explained from section 195 – 205 of the Tanzanian Penal Code CAP 16, R.E 2022.

The study revealed that while there is lack of a national definition of femicide in a context where standardized data on gender-related killings of women and girls remain patchy and of insufficient quality to monitor trends and understand the scale of the problem, DCI report shows that for the **past five years (2018 – September 2022), 2,438** of women were killed, with an **average of 492** women killed every year and **43 women** killed **every month**. As of September 2022, already **472 killings of women** had occurred which was equivalent to an average of **53 women killed per month from 43 women killed per months earlier**. This denotes an average increase of **10 more women killing per month** from those of the past five years.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Among the key policy recommendations made is the fact that as a Country, Tanzania should consider having a National definition of Femicide. LHRC can work with its strategic alias such as Coalition for Women Human Right Defenders (CWHRDs) etc. to advocate for a need to have standardized data on gender-related killings of women and girls to monitor trends and understand the scale of the problem. Moreover, LHRC should consider working with the Government and other strategic alias to establish Femicide Watch/observatory as a way of strengthening surveillance and screening of femicide and intimate partner violence.

Lastly, there is a need to have a comprehensive specific law on GBV which will also address, among other issues, Femicide, domestic violence and protection of the survivors or/and victims including having appropriate punishment for perpetrators of gender-related killings of women and girls. Two types of programmatic recommendations, i.e., individual and community level interventions have been proposed. A checklist that can serve as an early warning system should be developed to help victims have risk assessment and risk reduction plan to prevent themselves from femicide. In addition of continuing using support services, a need for relationship building skills and women empowerment has been underscored. Lastly, using strengthened NPV/VAWC structures and processes is highly encouraged.



1.1. Background of the Study

In 2021, around 45,000 women and girls worldwide were killed by their intimate partners or other family members.⁸⁷⁰ The number of women killed by their intimate partners or family members in Africa was 17,200¹. In Tanzania, nearly half of women (48%) have survived intimate partner violence (IPV) in their lifetime, and one in four women has experienced IPV². This is above the average percentages of 36% and 33% for East Africa and Africa respectively. The proportion is higher for women living in rural areas and Mainland Tanzania.³

Globally, femicide has been recognized as a key obstacle for enjoyment of women's rights, and the international community has responded by taking various measures, including adoption of the Vienna Declaration on Femicide/Gender-Related Killings of Women and Girls by the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPJ) in 2013. Femicide has been noted globally and in 2013 the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) adopted the Vienna Declaration on Femicide/Gender-related killings of women and girls in 2013.

While welcoming the recent report of the Special Rapporteur on gender-related killings and inviting Member States to submit relevant information and remedies, the declaration recalled the Human Rights Council's Resolution on Accelerating Efforts to eliminate all Forms of Violence against Women: Remedies for Women who have been subjected to Violence (A/HRC/20/L.10). The Declaration calls Member States, in respect of their due diligence obligation to protect women as well as to prevent and prosecute femicide, to undertake institutional initiatives to improve the prevention of femicide and the provision of legal protection, remedies and reparation to women survivors of violence against women, in accordance with international treaties and to consider adopting and implementing legislation to investigate, prosecute, punish and redress femicide in line with the effective experience of some countries.

Tanzania has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Maputo Protocol, which protect women from all forms of violence. There is no specific legislation on femicide or GBV in Tanzania and prior to this study, there had been no research conducted to that effect.

1 LHRC Human Rights Report 2022 Page 268

2 UNODC & UN WOMEN, Gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicide),

at https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide_brief_Nov2022.pdf.

3 Ibid



Hence, femicide has continuously been considered to be a killing like any other and criminalized under sections 195 - 205 of the Penal Code CAP 16, R.E 2022.

According to the Tanzania Human Rights Report 2020, issued by LHRC in 2021,⁴ Intimate partner violence motivated by jealousy increases every year, this refers to killing of women by their intimate or former intimate partners, including former or current boyfriends and husbands. Recent trends show an increase of incidents of killings of women, perpetrated by their spouses, mainly motivated by jealousy.):

Recent trends show an increase of incidents of killings of women, perpetrated by their spouses, mainly motivated by jealousy. In 2019, LHRC documented 12 killings of women by their spouses, of which 8 were motivated by jealousy. In 2020, LHRC documented 32 killings of women by their spouses, 23 of which were motivated by jealousy. These THRR 2020 incidents, which constitute violations of women's freedom from violence and right to life, are more than double compared to those documented in 2019.

LHRC Conducted a Human Rights Survey 2021 where respondents were asked to give their opinions on the different forms of violence which are common in different parts of Tanzania and especially on being badly injured or killed by intimate partner due to jealousy and women being killed over witchcraft suspicion. On the badly injured or killed 33% said it is a serious problem, 36% said it is moderate problem, 23% said it is a minor problem and 8% said it is not a problem at all. On the killing on basis of Witchcraft suspicion 12% said it is a serious problem, 31% it is a moderate problem, 34% said it is a minor problem and 23% said it is not a Problem at all.⁵

In its 2022 Human Rights Report LHRC documented 33 incidents of IPH in 2022, which are 2 less than those documented in 2021. Out of these victims, 31 were female. At least 17 out of 33 IPH incidents were motivated by jealousy (52%). Most of the killings were reported in Eastern Zone (11), followed by the Lake Zone (7), with these two zones accounting for over 50% of the killings. The Central Zone (6) has also been a hotspot for IPV in recent years.⁶

1.2. Objectives and Rationale

a. Objectives of the Assignment

The overall objective of the task was to assess the current context of femicide in the selected regions of Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Dar Es Salaam and Kilimanjaro.

b. Specific Objectives

- To determine the causes of femicide in Tanzania through assessing affected communities and victims' families and offenders.
- To assess the current policy and legal framework on femicide in Tanzania.

4 (LHRC II in 2020 Pg.32)

5 LHRC Human Rights Report 2021 page 281

6 LHRC Human Rights Report 2022 Pg 269



- To assess the situation of femicide in selected regions.⁷
- To provide recommendations on the key findings and lessons which inform the future interventions.

1.3. Study Rationale

Understanding the magnitude of femicide and its causes is a crucial step towards enhancing protection of women's rights. If this growing practice continues unabated, the situation might escalate to another level. Beside this study being timely, it has helped to strengthen the understanding of the nature, dynamics, and extent of femicide, and galvanized action for effective interventions. Thus, it tried to establish and understand the patterns that could be detected in different settings and contexts; the women who were likely to be at risk of femicide; how they could be assessed; the responsibility of the state in responding to femicide and thus meet their obligation in terms of accountability including the kind of interventions that are most effective in preventing femicide. The research tools used provided that milestone.

1.4. Definitions of Key Concepts

a. Gender

Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities, and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed, and valued in a woman or a man in a given context (WB, 2022).

b. Gender Based Violence

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is the broadest and most inclusive of these three terms and refers to any type of violence "directed at an individual based on their gender. It is rooted in gender inequality, the abuse of power and harmful norms"⁸. GBV is considered a human rights violation, with serious health and security impacts for those affected. Although the majority of GBV victims are women and a majority of policymakers focus on women, it is important to recognize that men and gender-non-conforming individuals can also experience GBV. It is worth noting that although often used interchangeably, GBV, violence against women and girls (VAWG) and domestic violence have important distinctions that policymakers must consider when developing responsive responses.

c. Femicide

Femicide is the intentional killing of women and girls because they are women and girls. The term "Femicide", which was first introduced by Dr Diana Rusell, refers to the

⁷ Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Dar Es Salaam and Kilimanjaro

⁸ <https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/gender-based-violence.html> assessed on 20th Nov 2022



killing of women and girls because of their gender, committed and tolerated by both private and public actors. It is the killing of a woman or girl because of her gender, usually by a man. In addition to being the most extreme form of GBV, femicide is a human rights violation and a crime against humanity. It covers murder of women as a result of intimate partner violence, torture and misogynistic killing of women, murder of women and girls in the “name of honor” and murder as a result of other harmful practices, targeted murder of women and girls in armed conflict, and cases of femicide related to gangs, organized crime, drug dealers and trafficking women and girls. Sad to note that, this global health and human rights concern yet often goes unpunished (UNOC 2019,2020).

As the most extreme form of violence against women, the most common types/forms are, but not limited to:

- a. Intimate femicide** is also referred to as *intimate partner femicide*, which captures the killing of women by current or former partners. Globally, women are much more likely than men to be assaulted, raped or killed by a current or former partner and it most often occurs within relationships where there is a history of intimate partner violence.
- b. Non-intimate femicide** involves the killing of women by someone with whom they did not share any intimate partner relationship, encompassing a broad range of femicide subtypes such as familial femicide, ‘other known perpetrator’ femicide and stranger femicide.
- c. Culturally framed femicide**
This refers to the killing of women or girls that are framed within a particular cultural context such as ‘honour’-based femicide or dowry-related femicide as follows.

i. Dowry-related-femicide

A dowry is a cultural tradition whereby the family of the bride provides money and/or property to the family of the groom. When a larger dowry is requested following the marriage of the bride and groom, or when the groom’s family is dissatisfied with the dowry given to them, the woman starts to be considered an ‘unsuitable wife’. Women are then killed or forced to commit suicide through torture and harassment by the groom’s family.

ii. Honour’-based-femicide.

Honour-based violence is a practice where immediate or extended family members deliberately plan a violent response when there is a “[mere] perception that a woman, as wife or daughter, has violated the honour of her family by crossing a boundary of sexual appropriateness” (Korteweg, 2012, p. 136). Honour-based systems are rooted in power relations whereby the male creates established rules in the social order of patriarchy, and patriarchal values are meant to maintain the reputation and status of his family in their community (Aujla & Gill, 2014).

In this way, honor crimes are a complex form of femicidal violence because they



are carried out in specific contexts where behavioral norms are challenged. Such crimes are carried out to serve as a forewarning to girls and women that they will be punished if they do not adhere to socially acceptable rules of behavior.

This involve a girl or woman being killed by a male or female family member for an actual or assumed sexual or behavioral transgression, including adultery, sexual intercourse or pregnancy outside marriage – or even for being raped. Often the perpetrators see this femicide as a way to protect family reputation, to follow tradition or to adhere to wrongly interpreted religious demands. Often perceived as normal behaviors in current contexts, the behaviors in question may include the choice of a partner not seen as appropriate, pursuit of education and/or employment, inappropriate attire, or premarital sex or the belief that premarital sex had occurred.

Those who frame these killings within a cultural context argue that honour, from the perspective of the perpetrator, is believed to be restored to the family when the woman or girl is killed. These killings are usually perpetrated by male family members, although female perpetrators may also be involved. In some countries, these killings frequently take place in public to influence other women in the community. Murders in the name of 'honour' may also be used to cover up cases of incest, and there are reports of people using the 'honour defense' as a way to receive community and legal acceptance of a non-'honour' murder.⁹

d. Femicide on basis of Witchcraft Accusations

In many countries *stereotypes abound of elderly women as witches*. Although in the majority of the cases younger women are at higher risk of sorcery/witchcraft violence, a study has found that in some parts of Africa, older women are more vulnerable to sorcery-related femicide due to their economic dependence on others, or the property rights that they hold and which younger members of the family want to inherit. Also, if women are perceived as dangerous and a threat to men, their labeling as witches, and consequently their destruction, is then seen as justified(A/HRC/20/16).¹⁰

The pattern of violations includes violent murders, physical mutilation, displacement, kidnapping and disappearances of girls and women. Such women accused of sorcery/witchcraft, are normally subjected to exorcism ceremonies involving public beating and abuse by shamans or village elders. *Thus, suspicions or accusations of witchcraft are followed by lethal or nonlethal assault of the supposed witch*. Those who torture or kill them are

⁹ Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

[https://www.femicideincanada.ca/about/types#:~:text=Culturally%2Dframed%20femicide,related%20femicide%20\(see%20below\).&text=A%20dowry%20is%20a%20cultural,the%20family%20of%3.20the%20groom.](https://www.femicideincanada.ca/about/types#:~:text=Culturally%2Dframed%20femicide,related%20femicide%20(see%20below).&text=A%20dowry%20is%20a%20cultural,the%20family%20of%3.20the%20groom.)

¹⁰ United Nations General Assembly, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its causes and Consequences, May 2012



almost exclusively men and are often related socially or biologically to the victim. Some accusations of sorcery are economically motivated, for the purpose of taking over land or possessions of those accused, or because payments have been made by third parties to name alleged sorcerers (*ibid*).

e. Female-perpetrated femicide

Femicide by female perpetrators has been classified into a three-category typology by Diana Russell. The first category is a female acting as an agent of patriarchy, which may include dowry-related killings, female infanticide, and genital mutilation-related deaths. The second category captures females who may be acting as agents of male perpetrators such as accessories in gang-related femicide and what are referred to as ‘honour’ or dowry-related femicide. The final category captures females acting on their own behalf such as those who were driven by jealousy, or motivated by financial, crime-related or ideological activities.¹¹



¹¹ Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

[https://www.femicideincanada.ca/about/types#:~:text=Culturally%2Dframed%20femicide,related%20femicide%20\(see%20below\).&text=A%20dowry%20is%20a%20cultural,the%20family%20of%3.20the%20groom.](https://www.femicideincanada.ca/about/types#:~:text=Culturally%2Dframed%20femicide,related%20femicide%20(see%20below).&text=A%20dowry%20is%20a%20cultural,the%20family%20of%3.20the%20groom.)



2.1. Research Process

This research undertaking was conducted in accordance with the law of the land governing studies of this nature. Permission was granted by the National Bureau of Statistics and communicated to Regional Administrative Secretaries before conducting research in five Regions. The permission facilitated the consultant and the team of research assistants to work with multiple stakeholders such as Government authorities in the area, the Regional Administrative Secretary's (RAS) office, like minded organization working in selected regions and districts to mention just few. Members of the CWHRDs involved helped to identify study participants, local organizations working and served as community groundbreakers in identification and mobilization of respondents.

In addition to normal research protocol such as formal entry into respective communities by notifying all relevant authorities, informed consent was sought from all the respondents. Indeed, as research ethics require, the study relied on voluntary participation and informed consent whereby, all interviewees filled in and signed consent forms. Moreover, safety in participation was ensured. Other pertinent issues considered included privacy, confidentiality, trust, and the right to withdraw at any stage of the study if the participant so wished (McMillan, 2008, Cresswell, 2007). Presentation of findings and recommendations during dissemination and dialogue sessions with key stakeholders was done to help validate the data generated from the field, including recommendations resulting from the study.

2.2. Methodology

This study used participatory qualitative tools to establish the existing causes and power dynamics that play along the incidences of femicide and points of convergence and divergence of interest among such cases and actors. Qualitative approaches provided contextual, in-depth information on the "why" and "how." Qualitative information complemented and provided greater insight. It was extremely useful for understanding community level norms and attitudes underlying violence against women, the non-quantifiable factors that affect service providers' responses to cases of violence, including stigma and discrimination, and the barriers and challenges faced by women in accessing services and support.

The tools provided the respondents i.e., victims, their relatives, perpetrators (relatives) and affected communities with an opportunity to actively participate in the analysis and empower them in the process (Mayoux and Mackie, 2009, Patton,



1990). Qualitative tools used dialogue and accountability among stakeholders and actors as they tried to understand each other's functions and roles and activities involved, as well as increasing viability, visibility, voice and common perception and identifying and correcting barriers and gaps that cause femicide.

By their nature, qualitative methods are and were empowering. Actors analysed and negotiated their common interests while identifying interventions that are likely to be most beneficial to most, if not all actors, women inclusive.

2.3. Study Area and Rationale

The study was conducted in Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro, respectively. While room for adjustment was open, the choice of these area took into account the fact that during the time of the call for this assignment in May 2022, these were the areas that had high incidences of femicides reported in the national media.

2.4. Sampling Framework and Justification

This study opted to use two sampling methods, namely purposive sampling and snowball sampling strategies. Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This involved identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that were especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest to the study (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) notes the importance of availability and willingness of participants to participate, and their ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner because the study aimed at determining the causes by assessing the affected communities and victim families and offenders. Hence, due to its sensitivity, it required people who were both knowledgeable and willing to cooperate.

Likewise, since the study wanted to ensure respondents are people who know the victim in different capacities, such as neighbours, relatives of both victim or perpetrator, and opinion leaders, it also used snowball sampling. This is a form of non-probability sampling in which a researcher begins by identifying an individual who is perceived to be an appropriate respondent. The identified respondent was asked to identify another potential respondent. This technique worked like a chain or referral system by taking advantage of the social network of the identified respondents. The process was repeated until a researcher had enough respondents per each data collection method so as to gather sufficient data.



Table 1 below provides a snapshot of sampling strategy employed in the study and number of respondents reached.).

Table 1; Respondents per method of data collection and sex

#	Research Tool	Respondents Targeted			Respondents Reached		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	In depth Interview	5	5	10	5	5	10
2	Key Informant Interview ¹²	15	15	30	15	15	30
3	Focus Group Discussion ¹³	60	60	120	60	60	120
4	Case study ¹⁴	7	8	15	7	8	15
	Total Respondents	87	88	175	87	88	175

2.5. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

The methods which were applied in collecting data for this study included In-Depth Interviews, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and reviews as follows.

2.5.1. In-depth Interviews

Unlike 'Key Informant Interviews' which aimed at identifying the problem, in-depth interviews were used with anyone to find ways to fix a problem. Hence, open-ended and discovery-oriented questions were used to obtain detailed information about a topic from each stakeholder involved in the study, in that as a qualitative research method, the goal of In-depth interviews was to explore each respondent's point of view, experience, feelings, and perspectives. Therefore, since they had flexible structures, interactive, and deep, through In-depth interviews respondents generated a new body of knowledge¹⁵obtained from selected victims, family members and offenders.

2.5.2. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

KIIs are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of using key informant interviews was to collect information from a wide range of people—including community leaders, professionals, or residents—who had first-hand knowledge about the issue within the community¹⁶. These community experts, with their particular knowledge and understanding, provided insight on the nature of problems and gave recommendations for solutions (UCLAS, 2004). KIIs aimed at delving beyond the surface of superficial responses to

¹² In each scene the study planned to interview 2 KII. Since 3 events were reached, this makes a total of 30 KII with equal gender representation.

¹³ In each Region, 3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) composed of 8 respondents were conducted. Thus, there was 1 male alone, one female alone and 1 mixed group of male and female respondents in each region making a total of 15 FGDs conducted

¹⁴ Depending on incidences 3 case studies were explored in each Region.

¹⁵ <https://www.questionpro.com/blog/in-depth-interviews/>

¹⁶ UCLA Center For Health Policy Research



obtain true meanings that individuals assign to events and the complexities of their attitudes, behaviour, and experiences (Kroeger, 1983; May, et al., [eds.] 1996; Patton, 1982).

The study probed to elicit detailed answers to questions, often using nondirective techniques to uncover hidden motivations. The interview subjects were pre-selected from a given community basing on their relevance to the topic under investigation. This study primarily employed interview method with Key Informants in which few issues were covered in great detail with questions being based on the interviewee's responses (Kroeger, 1983; May, et al., [eds.] 1996).

The choice of this method took into account the fact that these were conversations with a purpose, through which the study would learn from a person's understanding including benefits from his or her knowledge, perceptions and experiences. These interviews were semi structured so as to allow follow-up question whenever and wherever deemed necessary. They helped to control, direct, probe and gather information.

2.5.3. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

FGD is a good way for gathering together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest. Guided by a moderator (or group facilitator) who introduces the topics for discussion and helps the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst themselves, the strength of the particular FGD relies on allowing the participants to agree or disagree with each other so that it provides an insight into how a group thinks about an issue, about the range of opinions and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variations that exist in a particular community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices. Thus, FGDs were used to explore the meanings of the study itself including its findings that cannot be explained statistically, the range of opinions/views on a topic of interest, including collection of a wide variety of local terms. ODI (2009) confirms that FGD was useful in bridging research and policy, in providing an insight into different opinions among different parties involved in the change process enabling the process to be managed more smoothly.

Therefore, the study used FGD where a group of 6-8 participants had an opportunity to discuss ideas, beliefs, perceptions, practices and experiences they had as far as their experience of femicide was concerned from a gender perspective. There were men alone, women alone and mixed sex groups FGDs. 15 FGDs composed of: women only, men only; and a mixed group of male and female across all age groups were conducted in all 5 regions. As mentioned in the sampling process above, purposeful and snowball sampling were used to identify respondents from affected communities. These were mainly neighbours who knew both the victim and perpetrator very well.

2.5.4. Case Study

The case study approach allows in-depth, multi-faceted explorations of complex issues in their real-life settings. It is a research methodology that helps in exploration and explanation of certain social behavior sought after. The case study method enables



a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. The context of a detailed case study method resulted in a comprehensive understanding of the complex behavior (Zainal, 2007). In addressing the study objectives, this method tried to get life history and real stories of victims from relative and/or close friend. Depending on incidences, 3 case studies were explored in each Region. All research tools are annexed in **Annex 1**.

2.5.5. Document Review

In order to contextualize femicide in the broader context of domestic violence, and homicide in Tanzania, a rigorous document review was done to get an in-depth understanding of the gender-related pattern to femicide at the global, national as well as the particular local level. Secondary sources of data reviewed were those mainly found in libraries as well as electronic resources. The internet was specifically used in getting various publications and papers related to this topic. As both footnotes and list of references show, books, publications, treaties, newsletters in both hard and electronic forms were used to gather background information and empirical evidence on what is already known on the research topic as well as the attendant problems. Again, the Ministry of Home Affairs, especially the Directorate of Criminal Investigation was one source of the information for quantitative data.

2.5.6. Data Entry, Management and Analysis

After every interview, the researcher reflected on the relevance of the information generated against the critical decisions that were made based on that information. The researcher skimmed through the notes and transcriptions to identify the preliminary themes, patterns, dynamics, trends, practices and surprises; and determined the preliminary set of themes from the notes. Thereafter, data was organized by themes. Finally, a quick preview was done to see how the themes responded to the objective of the research questions, identify overarching patterns and conclusions. The consultant took note of the contrast between sources and lastly highlighted information that had answered the research questions.

2.6. Limitations and Mitigations

One of the main limitations arose from the fact that the study could not ascertain the situation of femicide in targeted regions due to lack of both region-specific data and lack of detailed information on the cause of women killed from the relevant authorities. Thus, data obtained from the Director of Criminal Investigation lacked detailed information that could inform regional variation thus limiting the capacity of research to have in-depth insight and analysis on some issues such as regional differentiation, age, education, religion, socio-economic background and reasons behind such deaths so as to allude (from secondary sources) type of femicide that occurred among others. Despite that fact, to a limited extent though, the research was able to establish the magnitude of the problem. Again, the qualitative study was able to tease out causes of femicide and thus highlight types of femicide from existing case studies conducted.



3.1. Policy and Legal Framework

3.1.1. Global and Regional Level

Globally, the prevalence of different manifestations of gender-related killings is reaching alarming proportions. Culturally and socially embedded, these manifestations continue to be accepted, tolerated, or justified—with impunity as the norm¹⁷. Femicide is a violation of some of the most basic human rights, namely the right to life, liberty, and personal security. It is also an obstacle to social and economic development. Both the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration clearly define discriminatory actions against women and urge States to commit to their prevention; these fundamental documents do not mention femicide.

As a new phenomenon that is getting greater attention, the European Union (EU) Guidelines on violence against women and girls and combating all forms of discrimination against them, as well as the Gender Action Plan III (GAP III) include femicide and other violent deaths among different forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG). In 2013, the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) adopted the Vienna Declaration on Femicide/Gender-related killings of women and girls where 20 countries and the European Union voted for the resolution.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a key part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which is the shared framework for inclusive and sustainable development adopted by all United Nations Member States at a special summit in 2015. The 17 SDGs and 169 targets seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and are an urgent call for action by all countries - developed and developing - in a global partnership. Eliminating gender-based violence is a priority within Agenda 2030 and the 17 SDGs.

There is a dedicated goal on gender equality – Goal 5 – and gender equality is also ‘mainstreamed’ across all the Goals. In SDG 5 there are two dedicated targets 5.2 and 5.3 to eliminating violence against women and girls and each target has two indicators by which progress is measured (UN Women 2020).

Lastly, as Simonovic (2019) narrates, at global level, there is a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences. Established in 1994 by the then United Nations Commission on Human Rights, this mandate was the first mechanism

¹⁷ A/HRC/20/16



created to eliminate violence against women, its causes and consequences, and integrate the issue of violence against women into the United Nations human rights system. Based on these premises, this mandate focuses on addressing the human rights obligations of States parties, including the due diligence obligation to prevent and combat acts of violence against women and girls, whether perpetrated by States, non-State actors or individuals, including domestic violence. The mandate functions within the United Nations human rights framework, which includes the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, CEDAW, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, as well as relevant regional instruments.

In addition to response to the need for the United Nations system-wide approach to addressing violence against women, in 2018, a platform of cooperation between United Nations and regional independent expert mechanisms on violence against women and women’s rights, with a view to accelerating implementation of the international and regional legal framework on violence against women was launched.

The platform, among others is composed of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women; CEDAW; the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Rapporteur on the Rights of Women; the Working Group on the issue of discrimination against women in law and in practice; the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Women in Africa; the Committee of Experts of the Follow-up Mechanism to the Belém do Pará Convention; and the Council of Europe Group of experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence. The platform has become an effective tool for raising awareness about issues affecting women and girls worldwide as it adopted several joint statements and, by speaking with one voice on topics of common concern ¹⁸(*ibid*).

Table 2 gives a snapshot of the Legal and Policy Framework set out to guide and help respond to VAW globally and regionally.

Table 2; Legal and Policy Framework on VAW

Title	Date	Status/ Tanzania	Significance
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	1979	Ratified 1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ International bill of rights for women established ■ VAW not explicitly mentioned, but General Recommendations 12 & 19 clarified that states should report on VAW. ■ Legally binding.

18 <https://www.un.org/en/un-chronicle/ending-violence-against-women-and-girls-progress-and-remaining-challenges> accessed on 20th Nov 2022



Vienna Declaration and Platform for Action	1993	Part to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreed at World Conference on Human Rights Recognized elimination of VAW in public and private life as a human rights obligation
Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women	1993	Part to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognized that VAW violates women's rights and fundamental freedoms Called on states and international community to act to eradicate VAW.
Beijing Platform and Declaration for Action	1995	Part of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4th UN World Conference listed VAW as a critical area of concern
Agenda 2030 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	2015	Part of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> VAWG included in SDG5 on Gender Equality 2 targets on ending violence & harmful practice

Regional Frameworks

Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the "Maputo Protocol")	2003	Ratified 2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopted by African Union Dedicated article on VAW and also references throughout Legally binding treaty on women's rights 13 countries yet to ratify, including 3 that have also not signed
African Youth Charter	2006	Adopted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopted by African Union Dedicated an article on girls and young women Calls on state to enact and enforce legislation that protects girls and young women from all forms of violence and support survivors



African Union Declaration of 2010-2020 as African Women Decade	2010	Adopted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Adopted by African Union ■ Milestone year ■ Focused on accelerating global and Regional Commitments on gender equality and women's rights
Agenda 2063: The Africa We want	2015	Adopted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Adopted by African Union ■ Aspires to Eliminate all forms of GBV against Women and girls and harmful social practices by 2063 ■ Ten-year implementation plans

3.1.2. Legal Framework on Femicide in Tanzania

i. Introduction

Femicide is addressed in Tanzania in multiple ways from a constitutional guarantee to criminalization and prevention through measures in sectoral laws preventing Gender-based Violence, and violence that can in the end lead to femicide. The discussion in this paper takes note of Tanzania, at the constitutional level will give offer a brief discussion of the guarantee of human rights in the Constitutions and sectoral law in Tanzania's mainland. Tanzania does not have a specific legislation that explicitly addresses GBV and the crime of "femicide". However, there are various laws in place that can apply to cases involving violence against women, including murder or gender-based violence.

ii. The Constitutional Guarantee of Rights

The Constitutional framework in addressing femicide in Tanzania aligns with the guarantee of human and fundamental freedoms in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of the year 1977 (the Constitution of the United Republic)¹⁹ and the Constitution of Zanzibar of the year 1984 (the Constitution of Zanzibar).²⁰ Both Constitutions have the bill of rights provided for in articles 12-24 with an explicit catalogue of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Relevantly to femicide, the Constitution guarantee for equality of all people, the right to equal protection of the law, and the right to life while prohibiting discrimination.²¹

iii. Statutory Laws Provisions

Aside from the constitutional guarantee of rights, Issues of women rights have not been fully addressed in Tanzania Laws and violence and femicide is addressed indirectly in some specific sectoral and penal laws). According to (WILDAF 2020, TAWLA 2014, and WB 2022) these specific laws include the Law of the Child Act

¹⁹ Cap 2 RE 2002 as amended in 2000 and reprinted in the year 2008.

²⁰ RE 2006 as amended in 2010

²¹ See, for example, article 12-14 of both the Constitutions of United Republic and the Constitution of Zanzibar and article 29(1) of the Constitution of the United Republic



R.E 2029, the Law of Marriage Act 1971, the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act, 2008 the Criminal Procedure Act CAP 20, the Employment and Labor Relations Act,2004, the Education Act R.E 2016, the Customary Laws Declaration Order of 1963, the HIV and AIDS (Prevention and Control) Act,2008, the Land Act, 1999, the Probate and Administration of Estates Act, CAP 352, Persons with Disabilities Act,2010 and the Village Land Act, 1999.

iv. The Tanzania Penal Code

Of all the specific laws, the Penal Code (revised 2022) have specific provisions prohibiting and punishing homicide,²² infanticide and child destruction.²³ It criminalizes various GBV offences and provides penalties for sexual violence against women/girls/children, and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).²⁴ These offences are vector acts towards infanticide therefore one of the preventive measures for femicide albeit indirectly.

v. Sectoral Preventative Laws

a. Provision for Legal Aid

Apart from penal law, the architecture of the law has now made access to justice easy process through the legal aid provision. The enactment of the Legal Aid Act, 2017 has provided a framework for the implementation of reforms to guarantee access to justice for all, including poor and vulnerable women and girls. This law is designed to coordinate the provision of legal aid services to indigent persons and has established a registry of legal aid providers, including paralegals, who provide free legal assistance across the country. This is relevant in addressing femicide by opening the avenue for easy access to information and early address of the cases that otherwise could not be addressed, the life of women and children (the vulnerable could be in a mess). The operation of the law is supported by the Judiciary adopting rules of procedure to deal with cases involving vulnerable people, making them disposable within six months.²⁵

b. VAW in Marriage

The Law of Marriage Act (LMA)²⁶ prohibits spousal beating stating that no person has any right to inflict corporal punishment on his or her spouse.²⁷ Also, as of the year 2019, the minimum age of legal marriage is 18 for boys and girls following the Court of Appeal upholding a High Court ruling finding the difference in age between a girl and a boy child to be discriminatory

²² See, section 196 of the Penal Code Cap 16 RE 2022

²³ See, sections, 219 *ibid*

²⁴ See, sections 138C(1) grave sexual abuse; 169A(1)Cruelty to Children; 130 Rape; 133. Abduction; 134. Abduction of girls under sixteen; 135. Sexual assault on persons and indecent assaults on women; 138. Defilement by husband of wife under eighteen, etc; 138B. Sexual exploitation of children; 138C. Grave sexual abuse and 138D. Sexual harassment.

²⁵ See, Judicature and Application of Laws (Practice and Procedure of Cases Involving Vulnerable Groups) Rules, 2019 (Government Notice 110 of 2019), Rule 4

²⁶ Cap 29 RE 2022

²⁷ *Ibid*, section 66



and unconstitutional.²⁸ Child marriage has been one of the influencing factors for GBV and femicide.

The Education Act R.E 2016 also prohibits child marriage by clearly stipulating in Section 60 (1) that it shall be unlawful under any circumstance for a) any person to marry a primary or secondary school girl or boy b) a primary or secondary school boy to marry any person.

While laws highlighted above demonstrate various initiatives done by the Government to address gender-based violence by protecting and promoting women's rights. It also aligns with international treaties and conventions that Tanzania is a part to including regional commitments such as Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Sustainable Development Goals(SDGs), African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR), African Youth Charter (AYC), Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women of Africa (Maputo Protocol), and Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol to mention just a few.

That said, of importance to note is that national practices aimed at reducing violence against women can be roughly divided into three areas; the implementation of legal charges; early interventions; and multi-agency efforts (creating special units or specialized expertise within the police, prosecution and courts, and training of criminal justice officials in charge of investigation and prosecution. It is the quality of this aspiration that will ensure justice for the victims is served.

3.1.3. Key National Policies Addressing Gender Based Violence

National commitments to addressing GBV are captured in the National Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women and Children in Tanzania 2017/18 – 2021/22 and the National Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women and Children in Zanzibar 2017-2022. They provide the overall policy framework for preventing and responding to GBV (and VAC) in Tanzania. These NPAs have been developed and aligned with government policies and initiatives related to gender equality and the promotion and protection of women's rights. This range of policies and national guidelines enable more strategic implementation of the NPAs. They include, among, others:

- The Zanzibar Gender Policy (2016) and its Implementation Plan.
- The Education and Training Policy (2014), provides for equal access and opportunities to education and training for boys and girls.
- Zanzibar Education Policy which emphasizes access and equity The Social Protection Policy for Tanzania Mainland (2006).
- The National Health Policy (2017).

²⁸ See, the decision of the Court of Appeal in AG vs. Rebecca Gyimi (Civil Appeal 204 of 2017) [2019] TZCA 348 (23 October 2019)[CA] also available online at <https://tanzlii.org/tz/judgment/court-appeal-tanzania/2019/348> (last accessed on 2nd December 2022)



- Small and Medium Enterprises Policy (2006);
- Women and Gender Development Policy (2000) for Tanzania Mainland and its Implementation Strategy (2005); d
- National Energy Policy for Tanzania Mainland (2015);
- Zanzibar Social Protection Policy (2014);
- The Zanzibar Cooperative Development Policy (2014);
- National Strategy on Inclusive Education (2009-2017);
- National Gender-based Violence Committee (Zanzibar) and Roadmap on Violence against Children and Gender-based Violence (2014-2016);
- National Disability Mainstreaming Strategy (2010-2015), and Policy on Disability (Zanzibar, 2010); and
- The Zanzibar Occupational and Health Policy (2017).
- The Domestic Workers Convention 2011 (No. 189)

Despite that milestone, coordination is not sufficiently resourced from the national level to the local level. Also, the relatively archaic paper system of data collection on service delivery statistics for GBV inhibits understanding of trends and needs. GBV data does not appear to be collected systematically, harmonized, and properly integrated to inform decision making (WB, 2022). Most forms of gender-related killing of women and girls discussed in this study fall under the definition of homicide where the criminal justice response to most gender-related killings follows the same pattern as other homicide offences.

This entails that general criminal law provisions are used on homicide, murder, and manslaughter in applying harsher sentences when there are aggravating circumstances in cases such as the killing of a spouse or the killing of a pregnant woman. It should be noted that other countries have put in place additional legislative provisions to prosecute gender-related killings of women and girls more specifically. These countries include South Africa with the Domestic Violence Act, Kenya with the Protection Against Domestic Violence Act, Uganda with the Domestic Violence Act, Rwanda with the Law Relating to the Prevention and Punishment of Gender-Based Violence, Liberia with the Domestic Violence Act, and many others African Countries.

It is worth noting that the Tanzanian police operate gender and children's desks where women can report instances of domestic violence. As "safe spaces" for domestic violence victims to report incidents, these gender desks, staffed with specialists trained for this purpose, allow GBV reports to be filed in "separate rooms instead of ... the police station's lobby" where victims feel comfortable to interact with female officers exclusively. It is estimated that there are more than 400 desks within Tanzanian police stations that were specially trained to handle GBV cases (WiLDAF, 2020). Tanzania now has integrated courts that tries GBV and Family related Cases and the Chief Justice circular that directs cases relating to women, children and PWDs to be tried in a span of only 6 months. Although the reforms of the Police Form Number 3 (PF.3) have eased the cumbersome victim unfriendly procedure for treatment of the GBV, the requirement of requiring the PF.3 to be



filled by a medical officer at a government facility is still a serious limitation because most of the government health facilities are few and widely scattered.

This in turn creates a constraint of transport charges to hire transport to reach the said facility. It should be noted that the burden of proof of the commission of criminal offences usually rests on the prosecution. However, due to lack of effective referral and coordination mechanisms between the police force (investigators); DPP office (prosecutors); and other criminal justice service providers, a lot of GBV cases are lost along the way (WILDAF 2020, TAWLA,2014).

Thus, the above analysis affirms data generated by this study which shows clearly that though some initiatives have been taken to address gender-based violence, **there is no a specific legislation on Femicide or GBV in Tanzania** and, save for this one, no prior research that has been undertaken focusing on femicide exclusively. There is no a femicide registry that records women's deaths in case of intimate femicide, non-intimate femicide and femicide not based on relationships including the profile of the perpetrator. As Odunga (2019) asserts such attitudes, norms and behaviors are deep-rooted in the families, homes and communities and institutionalized at all levels and consequently producing a culture of social acceptance of gender violence, especially violence against women. This makes it difficult to track death caused by femicides, which undermine efforts advocating femicide as part of the country's criminal code. As a result, femicide is continuously being taken as normal deaths and killings with which the crime is explained from section 195 – 205 of the Tanzanian Penal Code CAP 16, R.E 2022.

3.2. Femicide Situation at Various Levels and by Type

3.2.1. Global and Regional Level

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) (2021) indicates that in 2021, approximately 45,000 (40,200 – 49,800) women and girls were killed globally by their intimate partners or other family members (including fathers, mothers, uncles, and brothers). This means that around 56% of the estimated total of 81,100 female homicide victims recorded in 2021 were killed by someone in their own family. With an estimated 17,800 victims (16,100 – 19,500), Asia recorded the largest number of female intimate partner/family-related killings in 2021, followed by Africa, with 17,200 (14,200 – 20,200). In the Americas, an estimated 7,500 (7,450 – 7,550), women and girls were killed by their intimate partners or other family members in 2021, while Europe recorded 2,500 (2,400 – 2,600) and Oceania recorded 300 (250 – 350) such killings. Differences in absolute numbers between world regions are also a reflection of differences in the size of the regional populations, so it is important to also examine the extent of the problem in terms of rates (per 100,000 female population).

In 2021, out of every 100,000 women and girls worldwide, approximately 1.1 were killed by their intimate partners or other family members. Although the absolute number of killings was highest in Asia, the available data suggest that in Africa women and girls are at greater risk of being killed by their intimate partners or other



family members. In 2021, the female intimate partner/family-related homicide rate in Africa was estimated at 2.5 per 100,000 female population, compared with 1.4 in the Americas, 1.2 in Oceania, 0.8 in Asia and 0.6 in Europe (*ibid*). The vast majority of femicide cases occur as the final phase of interpersonal or domestic violence. Women's social vulnerability, legal inequality and low access to education resulting in gender inequality, stereotypes and social discrimination are drivers of VAWG and femicide. The table below summarizes risk factors for becoming a perpetrator and a victim.

Table 3: Most Relevant Risk Factors for Becoming a Perpetrator or Victim of Femicide

Level	Perpetrating femicide	For being a victim of femicide
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abuse of alcohol and drugs Violating protection order Witnessing domestic violence in the family of origin Unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attempted strangulation High level of education and economic freedom²⁹ Witnessing domestic violence in the family of origin Low level of education and economic dependency
Interpersonal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prior violence against partner Obsessive jealousy Coercive control over partner 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prior violence by perpetrator Estrangement, divorce Presence of child (ren) from previous relationship Conflict within laws (over dowry, land, property, behaviour)
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Celebration of aggressive masculinity Loose ties in the neighbourhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Devaluation of women's roles Isolation Lack of strong/dysfunctional coordinated victims protection structures Pattern of behaviour transgressing gender norms (in patriarchal settings)

²⁹ This study has confirmed this fact.



Level	Perpetrating femicide	For being a victim of femicide
Society	Perception of impunity Lack of measures redressing gender inequality	Low access to justice Lack of SoP focusing on VAW Lack of strong and highly coordinated response including social support system

Source: Adapted and updated from WHO 2012

Violence is costly to individuals and nations where it occurs. The UN Women report of 2016 shows that the cost of violence against women is estimated at 2 % of global GDP. This is equivalent to USD 1.5 trillion, approximately, the size of the economy of Canada' (UN Women, 2016 in Corradi, C., et al., 2021). The economic costs of not ending VAWG are substantial, with broader costs attributed to the delivery of services to victims (including health, legal and social), along with other costs related to the criminal justice response and negative impact on development. Any direct impact is borne by individuals, close relatives and children who experience trauma, as well as negative repercussions regarding physical and mental wellbeing; presence at work/school; acquisition of skills; and income. As WHO (2021) claim, indeed controlling and reducing cases of femicide and attempted femicide represents a challenge for authorities worldwide.

3.2.2. Femicide in Tanzania

GBV is widespread and common practice in Tanzania. Data obtained revealed that 40% of women and girls in Tanzania aged 15-49 have experienced physical violence and 17% sexual violence in their lifetime.³⁰ A violence against children survey found that 27.9% of girls had experienced sexual violence before their 18th birthday. Likewise, the Tanzania Demographic Health Survey and Malaria Indicator Survey (2015-16) showed that the Lake Zone has higher violence prevalence compared to the rest of Tanzania Mainland. Some of examples cited were spouse violence ranges at 78% in both Mara and Shinyanga, and 60% in Mwanza regions while in Pemba/Zanzibar's prevalence rate is between 8% and 9% (*ibid*). In Arusha, for example, about eight women have been killed and then their dead bodies thrown into the barracks by unknown perpetrators since January 2018 (Kessey, 2018). In Tanzania, the difference in earnings between abused and non-abused women amounted to 1.22 % of the country's GDP (Corradi, C., 2021).

Partner violence against women is more prevalent in patriarchal societies and research on associated risk factors is commonly framed within the context of unequal power relations that emphasises men's and women's roles and asserts men's dominance over women. These gendered inequalities are theorised to be

³⁰ Tanzania Demographic Health Impact Survey 2015-2016



products of broader structural systems—political (e.g., lack of gender responsive policy making), legal (e.g., inadequate provision of legal and social services), and economic (e.g., unequal access to education, economic resources and employment opportunities)—that reinforce the disadvantaged status of women at both the community and the individual levels (Janseni, 2018).

Research on factors associated with partner violence against women is often framed within the context of gender inequality and power imbalances between husbands and wives—inequalities that are considered to be products of broader structural systems. Therefore, Tanzania, is a patriarchal society where high levels of partner violence exists (Jansen, 2018). Nationally representative population-based data documents 46.2% of ever-married women have experienced physical or sexual partner violence in their lifetime; 29.6% experienced in the year 2015 (TDHS, 2016). As BBC claims, this is as much about the deaths that aren't reported, compared with those reported. Those whose stories never reached the media, that went unreported, were unverified, or were not or could not be investigated.³¹

While national data shows 40% of women have experienced violence, the country has been experiencing increased incidences of extreme form of gender-based violence that has led to femicide. In spite data being patchy, the table below shows the state of the art as far as women killing is concerned because they are women, notably femicide.

Table 4: Women killed during the past five years³² for different reasons.

Year	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Number of women killed	544	437	431	554	472 ³³	2,438

This is attested by the Police report shared by DCI office indicating that during the **past five years 2,438** of women were killed, with an **average of 492** women killed every year and **43 women** killed **every month**. As of September 2022, already **472 killings of women** had occurred which was equivalent to an average of **53 women killed per month from 43 women killed per months**. This denotes an average increase of **10 more women killing per month** from those killed in the past five years.

In addition to lack of information on key information that could help analyse causes of such death, weaknesses have also been absorbed in its inability to record reasons of such deaths. Hence, the study could not establish beyond any shadow of doubt how such killings have been treated in criminal law provisions on homicide, murder and manslaughter giving loopholes to addressing what seems to be emerging and growing incidences of brutal killing among women.

31 (<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-46307051>).

32 DCI Data shared in October 2022 to LHRC through official communications.

33 This is January up to September 2022 only.



Data obtained has no victim's and perpetrators' profile among other issues. This unfortunate shortfall is occurring where police have been instrumental in not only informing the public about such incidences including reasons behind them, but also calling for the public support in helping to ensure either perpetrators are brought to book or victims avoid finding themselves in such brutal killing if they detect unusual behaviours such as extreme violence. Yet those incidences are not thoroughly documented suggesting lost energy in informing appropriate measures to curb them.

In spite of this shortfall, respondents in all areas reported deaths incidences in their areas, most of which are presumed to fall under the category of what is considered femicide.



Introduction

The study intended to determine the magnitude and causes of femicides in Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Kilimanjaro and Dar Es Salaam. Although mixed responses were registered, yet it was noted that in some areas it was the first incidence to occur. Surprisingly, however, in some areas femicides occurred more than once. In May 2022, for instance, the media report shown Geita had 4 incidences, Mwanza had 4, Shinyanga had 3, Kilimanjaro had 4 and Dar Es Salaam had 4 incidences respectively. An illustrative example was cited in Ilmela, Mwanza where at the time of this study 3 incidences were mentioned by respondents.

The manner in which such incidences occurred varied significantly with young men forming the huge strata of perpetrators. It is also worth noting that, there is a community concern over the manner in which people seem to take the law in their own hands, by taking lives of their spouses, specifically women's. There is also a growing feeling and desperation on the manner in which such issues and cases are mismanaged. In several cases registered in this study, perpetrators have never been brought to book. Some have been released due to gaps in the evidence provided or investigation could not bear fruits envisaged leaving such families and communities without a closure.

As narrated by respondents interviewed using various methods such as In-depth Interviews, cases studies, key informants interview including Focus Group Discussions conducted, the following factors might have triggered femicides in the above-mentioned regions.

a. Economic Factors

Several case studies highlighted economic hardship as a key driver of femicide. The following are some of such cases shared.

Case study 1: Femicide incidence involving Ms. Hadija, a famous food vendor at Nyamadoke centre as narrated by various respondents in September 2022.

"After experiencing two divorces, 37-year-old Hadija, (not her real name), a mother of four, found herself in love with Hamis. Though they were not married yet officially, they managed to have a child. Hadija, a renowned food vendor in the area, ended up being the sole bread winner of the family. *We sympathized*



with her as we knew Hamis, as a violent, alcoholic, drug user (marijuana) and jobless. He was raised and grew up in this neighbourhood. He used to beat her up, grab the money she got from her business, abuse her, and in some occasions, insult her in front of people and customers at her working place, community members interviewed as part of Focus Group Discussions narrated. Another relative said "Hamis did not want Hadija to have close ties with us, a thing that made us stop visiting her. As Hadija feared to disturb our family with endless mediation meetings, she resorted to report violence incidences to the street leadership who helped solve some of them from time to time". Narrating Hadija's ordeal, a niece interviewed as part of the case study method went on saying, street leadership focused on mediation by pleading to conflicting parties to resolve their grievances amicably.

Through Women's FGD it was revealed that "*Hadija was confiding to her friends that since this was her third marriage, she had to hang on for fear that she would be misjudged and labelled as a difficult person. The previous marriages were equally violent and bitter.*" But when things turned sour with Hamis, she opted to move out leaving everything she had acquired when she was living with him. She rented a room and started her new life. Having known that he cannot survive without her, Hamis used to follow Hadija in her working place pretending that he was just visiting his child whom he was missing. That opportunity gave him a chance to take all meals in Hadija's office and return to his room to sleep.

Other days he would go to Hadija's house, refuse to go back to his home, because Hadija would not allow him in, he would sleep at the doorsteps till morning, ask for forgiveness and urge Hadija to reconsider taking him back in her life as a spouse, something Hadija did not wish to accept after a very toxic relationship they had. "*Sometimes he would grab Hadija's money and leave without paying for food,*" a niece narrated. In the fateful day, Hamis went to Nyamadoke centre, where Hadija had her food vending business, ate, pretended to hold his child, and proceeded home where Hadija lives.

He called her home pretending he had something to tell her. Hadija finished her business collected her utensils and went home. Upon arrival, Hamis, who had a hidden knife, attacked and stabbed her in the stomach, killing her instantly!

It suffices to note that, out of 15³⁴ cases that were studied, 12 cases involved women who were engaged in economic activities and were economically independent. At the time of courtship, such spouses found themselves already engaged in income generating activities. While ability to provide for the family or themselves would have been considered to have given them voice to engage, instead, it saved as a threat to their spouses. Economic capacity amidst male financial challenges hence

³⁴ It should be noted that due to similarities, strength and key issues raised, only 8 case studies were shared to reduce repetition and enhance relevancy.



independency, led to inferiority complex, created tension that manifested itself into violence leaving this relationship fragile. Also, it is worth noting that three female victims divorced prior to starting the relationships that took their lives.

Their religion, apparently all of them were Muslims, which gave them that liberty should each party fail to agree and resort to part ways. Unfortunately, traditions and culture including societal expectations embedded in long rooted social norms strangled these women in toxic and non-functional relationships in fear of portraying a negative image like the fear of being branded negatively by others.

As such family pressure was highly demanding to such victims to hold on in the dysfunctional relationships in order to protect the family reputation. This is because the society perceives divorce as reflection of inability of a specific family, and mostly a mother, to raise up a persevering child with good ethics. This is regardless of circumstance's she finds herself in. Thus, taking decision to leave an abusive relationship on time, is often the most difficult part. As shown above, victims feel confusion, guilt or self-blame, and isolation or withdrawn from their support network. Some believe that their partner would change, or promised they would seek help for their abusive behaviour.

Case study 2: Rehema, a beauty maker who died from a gunshot of her husband in Ilemela Mwanza as narrated by respondents in September 2022).

This reason is reinforced by Rehema's story. She was killed by a gun by her second husband Sudi (all are not real names) in Ilemela. While Sudi had two previous failed marriages before marrying Rehema, this was Rehema's second marriage. She was a beauty maker who ran a successful business in that industry. Her business attracted superstars, celebrities and big shots of all sexes who were eager to access her services. On his side Sudi was a fisherman, very rich too but extremely violent in all his previous relationship including with his third wife Rehema.

Focus Group discussions and Key informants interviewed, and cases study conducted in the area showed that when Rehema got married Sudi stopped her from working. In the midway of their marriage, Sudi suffered from financial hiccups, a thing that forced Rehema to resume her work to support the family. Sudi would trace and control Rehema whereabouts, interactions, etc. *In spite of knowing the industry she was engaged in has a wide range of customers of different age, social background and sex, Sudi was insecure and jealousy which culminated itself into violence*, one case study respondent narrated.

Even after recapitulating from financial setback, Rehema realised, violence was just Sudi's behaviour regardless of the financial situation he was going through. This was reinforced further by the second wife who said, *on the onset Sudi would fool you with gifts dresses, outings and other material things but would enslave*



you. You are not allowed to go outside and when you have to, it has to be with his permission even when he is on work related journey far from the Region. He was always with anxiety, a thing that made the female Councillor advise a second wife to leave him as he seemed he would do something extremely dangerous after she confided her.

Unfortunately, just like many women who are victim of femicide, Rehema did not seek support from the Government machinery. She consulted her parents who kept on pleading her to hold on. They said it would look awful to the family if she had another divorce. Rehema confided her friend that she intends to leave Sudi but pressure from the family stopped her from doing that, even after hitting her with a gun a thing that made her faint. She associated her husband behaviour with witchcraft from a previous husband who was working so hard to bring Rehema back in as his wife.

Rehema succumbed to death from Sudi's gunshots, who latter on shot himself. His previous two wives reiterated that Sudi had issues as far as temperate is concerned and he was extremely abusive. He also wore a different face. On one hand, he was indeed a very loving and caring spouse who showers his wives with gifts and material things. On the other face, when irritated he would do otherwise. He restricted their movements. One can imagine what Rehema, who was already in business before her marriage to Sudi, faced in his custody. She had a very difficult time to adjust to the new lifestyle. In short Sudi was always insecure to all wives. He was extremely jealousy for no good reasons.

The majority of women remain in violence relationships because they fear parting with their homes, property and children. Fear of further violence prevents victims/survivors from taking action to prevent or respond to GBV and have a visible stand that can be supported by neighborhood or authorities. Thus, lack of guts and decision-making power leave women tied up in intimate partner femicide. This is supported by the study because despite the fact that both Rehema and Sudi were actively engaged in economic activities, patriarchal values enshrined in our society shaped the societal norms and expectations. Male are given a voice and control on matters of household management regardless of each spouse's contribution of the same. A control to one's freedom, economic liberty and in short, a wife is a husband's property.

Case study 3 of Martha and James

It is another illustrative example. James a newly ordained Pastor in Didia, Shinyanga, attested that. A newly married Pastors' wife was forced to do casual labour to sustain herself amidst his husband restricted mobility. At one time she was forced to sell the Bible to get their next meal. When the situation became tougher, she would do casual labour in other people's farms. But the husband accused her of engaging in extra marital relationships with other men in the area.



At a given point, a hamlet leader called the two couples for mediation before James decided to kill her.

The two case studies above show that the male intimate partners were prompted to commit murder due to suspicion of infidelity and sexual jealousy. Relationship termination, divorce and estrangement were identified as other precipitating factors that led to the killing of female intimate partners. This study affirms other studies around the world show that the killing of women and girls by intimate partners does not result from random or spontaneous acts.

The identified and analyzed factors that precede such killings, along with the traits and characteristics of the perpetrators show considerable gender differences exist as expressed by the motivations behind the offence. Motivations typically reported by men include possessiveness, jealousy and fear of abandonment.

b. Patriarchal Values as a Driver to Femicide

Sarah, Rehema and Hadija's stories reflect stories of most victims interviewed. The respondents were of the opinion that in their attempts to acquire or grab power and control, male perpetrators felt insecure to have a woman who is economically active. The economic freedom women had resulted to intimidation from their spouse as an attempt to place them in a purportedly a rightful position and thus reduce their "power".

Use of excessive force is meant to marginalize, reduce their self-esteem, silence and eventually control them. This bitterness and hatred eventually resulted into brutal killings. Participants in the Focus Group Discussions involving male alone in Ilala and Kimara, Golani was of an opinion that women not only forget their rightful position within the household when they are economically powerful but also tend to be disrespectful. They were of an opinion that even when a bill needs to be paid, for example, a plumber who has come to fix a tap in the house, knowing that a husband is financially weak, a wife should pass that money to a husband to foot such expenses.

It is wrong for a wife to handover the money to a plumber as this connotes that it is a wife who is the bread earner, a secret that has to remain in four walls of the house and not otherwise. One respondent in Ilala Focus Group Discussion involving male alone said bitterly, *a wife is a property of a man, so she is his income earner. This is regardless a husband is working or not, whether a man is earning an income or not. Income earned by a wife is a man's rightful ownership. He is the decision maker of how to use it and the wife should be submissive.* One could tell this attitude was highly influenced by multiple factors among them being his faith, tradition and patriarchal values embedded in most children's traditions and socialization processes.

In affirming this attitude, one of outspoken Focus Group Discussion respondent in Kimara said, ***this habit of women being disrespectful disclosing to outsider***



that she controls the household's economy makes a man like me, when an opportunity unfold, I beat her severely. *The severe beating is an accumulation of bitterness derived from previous incidences of that nature.* In their opinion, whatever is observed as far as violence against women including brutal killing by spouses is concerned, it is because women nowadays demand equal rights. Unfortunate events that occur are a result of a struggle those men go through to assume their roles as a real man and thus restore order in their respective households. Otherwise, it will be perceived a failed household, a thing they would never allow to happen at all costs.

These sentiments were reinforced by a key informant interview in Mwangi, Makururu hamlet who sadly said emotionally, *women are now holding and managing households. As boys and men increasingly become irresponsible, they feed the children, work hard and manage all household welfare. Male, across all ages tend to hang out with friends, loitering, engaging in excessive use of alcohol and drugs. Yet they want to maintain control, power and voice. They would also come home and expect to find food on the table, should there be none, violence would emerge. Under such circumstances women spend most of their times outside home from early in the morning to late in the evening.*

Depending on the nature of income generating activities they are engaged in, occasionally, they come home at night only to find their idle husbands restless and unhappy. Meanwhile girls are going to school. This is a threat to the society's continuity. This connotes the fact that a male child is simply disempowered by the patriarchal system and socialization process including irresponsible parenting. Yet they don't want to earn, but rather would wish to hold on to power, control and voice that they have somehow already lost. Brutal killings of spouses observed, is an attempt to force such power by reminding their wives their superior position in life and in the society. Hence a need to be respected including to own resources they have not participated in generating.

While aspects of women's empowerment such as education, economic independence and ownership of capital assets have been found to be protective in some settings, it has been found to have a risk association in others. Within the context of poverty, women's financial contributions can ease financial stresses within households. A competing view, however, asserts that economic (e.g., employment or income) or status (e.g., educational attainment) differentials that favour women over men increases a woman's risk of violence because of challenges to established gender norms. So, if a woman is working when her husband or male partner is not, then this may confer a risk onto women if this unequal status fuels men's feelings of inadequacy. Another factor that has the effect to disadvantage women is early or other forms of abuse. Women's early experience of violence (either childhood violence or witnessing their mother being beaten) may reinforce notions of inferiority and acceptance of abuse by a partner. By contrast, men who witness violence towards their mothers or who were beaten themselves as children are more likely to become perpetrators of violence.



c. Mental Health Issues and Jealousy

Economic dependency came out through some case studies and research methods used, as one of the facts that presupposes these women to femicide and thus cut short their dreams.

Case study 4 of Anna who was killed by her fiancé Annicet of Mbagala Chalambe as narrated by participants in September 2022

For instance, a case study of Anna, a young lady, who had just finished her studies at a medical school, had a secret relationship with the Annicet, who was a neighbour in Mwanza. Annicet, a petty trader (commonly known as *Machinga*) had rented a room in Mbagala, Dar es Salaam. Anna, who was introduced to the neighbours as a sister, used to visit him every time she was in holiday or weekend when the Annicet was around. Neighbours said Annicet was a very quiet person, with good relationship with neighbours. However, he loved his beer too. On the unfortunate day, Anna visited Annicet as usual.

Surprisingly, a neighbour sitting outside overheard Annicet talking over the phone with who might be his parents, telling them that he was going to kill himself. He quickly ran to the ten-cell leader, accompanied by another neighbour, then they rushed to the scene. They knocked on the door and called him. Annicet was not responding, so they broke the door and entered, and were met with the smell of pesticide used on cow. They found Annicet semi-conscious and rushed him to the hospital where he died shortly upon arrival. While they were at the hospital, Annicet's young brother rushed to his room to see what was going on, as instructed by their concerned parents.

When he arrived, he found the door open as they had already taken his brother to the hospital. He looked at the bed and shockingly discovered the body of Anna, whom he knew, covered with blood inside the blanket. What came out later was that Anna came to tell Annicet he is no longer willing to marry him. She had found another lover. Annicet's action was provoked by the bitterness caused by material and emotional investment he had made in his relationship with Anna in terms of love. Annicet felt neglected and betrayed.

Participants in Kimara, Kishapu, Kilanji and Mbagala shared the similar concern as one cause of femicide. Thus, they were of an opinion that economic dependency is one of the issues that triggers these unfortunate outcomes. Again, this connotes an urge for power and control as one's destiny is not under anyone's liberty but that of the owner despite the prevailing circumstance. Indeed, this affirms what WHO (2012) highlighted as a potential risk factor that can lead to the vulnerability of girls and women to femicide.



d. Parental Interference and Jealousy

Furthermore, a case of parental interference in the relationship of their children was mentioned as another cause for femicide.

Case study 5 of A schoolgirl namely Rose who was killed by her boyfriend Richard - Kimara, Golani as narrated in September 2022).

Male-only FGD participants in Kimara, Dar es Salaam narrated a story of Rose, **who had started a relationship with a man who fully supported her in all school-related needs and her parents were aware of the relationship. As she progressed further academically, the parents preferred to marry her off to a man who was better off than the long-time boyfriend and lover, Richard. They young lady went to her boyfriend's place to disclose the arrangement, not knowing how heartbroken and bitter he would be to hear the news. Little did she know that it would be her last day to see the sun as boyfriend he told her that he was not ready to see her marry another man. So, he killed her so that they would all be losers, that is, Rose's parents, himself, and Rose's husband to be.**

The tendency of parents to use their daughter as a commodity, hence as a source of income, is an issue that exposes such women into a toxic relationship within and outside the marriage. This is reinforced further by Case study 6 of Beatrice.

(Case study 6 of Beatrice, in Busonga Village, Mwanashele ward, Kishapu District narrated on 30th Sept 2022).

A 26-year-old young mother of three children who was brutally killed by her ex-husband. Beatrice was in form three when she was forced to leave school because of pregnancy. The boy, Frank, whom all neighbours said comes from a well-to-do family just like Beatrice, did not marry her instantly. Besides that, Beatrice did not disclose the pregnancy to the father of the child in fear of legal measures which would be taken against him.

Frank took in Beatrice and started cohabiting with her after a year before his parents officiated the marriage traditionally by paying 18 cows as a dowry. Beatrice asked Frank to officiate their marriage in church to allow their marriage to be recognised spiritually, but Frank's parents did not approve. At that time, they had two children, and she would suffer verbal abuse at the hands of her in-law, including telling her that "wewe ni msimbe" meaning "you are a woman who failed to get married" that is why you fell in the hands of our son. Insults and misunderstandings persisted till she could not take it anymore and decided to leave the marriage. The in-laws came over to claim their dowry. At first, Beatrice's parents refused but later on, due to mistreatment and bad-mouthing of their daughter, they decided to return all 18 cows given as dowry and the divorce was finally granted traditionally. Beatrice asked her parents' permission to go live with her sister in another village Frank followed her there and they secretly rekindled their relationship. Later on, they quarrelled, and Beatrice decided to return home to



her parents.

However, Frank continued to secretly visit her there and her children would say 'daddy came over at night. 'Eventually they had a third child together, quarrelled again, and parted ways for good. Later, Frank had a mild stroke and pleaded Beatrice to reconsider their marriage, but she refused. One day, he saw Beatrice going to the shop with his brother and texted her, threatening to kill her if she would get back to him. That fateful night children were in the main house, Frank sneaked in a small house where Beatrice lived, stabbed her with a knife in the stomach and poured petrol on her in an attempt to burn her. Unfortunately for him, the door closed itself and they were both burnt to death. Beatrice's body was found tied on her legs and hands, while Frank's was found at the door, indicating he was attempting to escape after starting the fire.

Thus, parental interference on children's relationship justified by the dowry price paid coupled by jealousy and need for control has a bearing on femicide

e. Poor Parenting

All respondents, regardless of sex were of an opinion that poor parenting is one of the major drivers of femicide. The psychological damage and exposure to severe adversity in childhood, though not alone, was highlighted as one cause of femicide, explaining the gendered context of these murders. As participants in the male only FGD in Ilala and Kimara narrated, **"children born and raised in fragile and violent families, though not all, tend to replicate the same in their own relationships."** Thus, dysfunctional parenting results in spouses who cannot manage relationship.

Lack of communication skills among parents and lack of transparency due to patriarchal values are some of issues that make such relations fragile. For instance, one of the major tensions among couples in a good number of case studies studied has to do with finance. Secrecy surrounding financial status amidst huge expectation from the spouse and those who depend on them has emerged as an issue of concern. A Key Informant Interview Respondent in Ilala said **"Males are raised not to disclose their financial welfare as financial muscle connotes one's respect, strength and hence power. Weak financial situation coupled with inferiority complex and insecurity resulting from the same manifest itself into violence."**

Case study 7: Sarah, a girl killed by an ex-husband in Siha as narrated by respondents on 27 September 2022".

Beatrice's case is not much different from that of Sarah, a girl who was supported by Compassion International³⁵ since primary school as part of the programme to help girls from pastoralist communities to have access to education. She was forced into marriage as a child, which saw her abandon her studies and marry Kina, a Masai boy from

³⁵ A child-development ministry dedicated to releasing children from poverty.



a neighbouring village. Soon Sarah realised she had made the biggest mistake ever in her life, which was hard to reverse. Kina was a lazy boy, disrespectful of his own mother and community members, an alcoholic and drug user.

He used to beat her regularly, and her mother-in-law, who raised Kina solely after his father's demise, was never supportive of her. On several occasions, her parents intervened when she returned home, and her husband would come for reconciliation. Six years ago, Sarah returned home after being beaten severely and her husband never showed up for reconciliation, something which made her, and her parents believe that the relationship is over. Thus, she decided to move on with her life. She was pregnant by her husband. Her husband started following her around, pleading with her to get back together without involving her parents, which she did not agree to.

Later, she moved to a small centre and started a small food vending business. That fateful day, a man believed to be her former husband, entered her apartment, brutally butchered her to death, and left, leaving the door unlocked. He did this in the presence of the baby, who went to the neighbours in the morning covered in blood and told them that 'daddy' had killed his mum. The neighbours rushed to the house and indeed found the dead body of Sarah. Police arrested the father dad, but he was released due to insufficient evidence linking him to the crime.

f. Cultural and social norms encouraging tolerance of violence against women.

All respondents across all targeted regions were of an opinion that the society still believes that marriage is a life-long social unit. They will strive to nurture and where necessary use indirect force to ensure parties cling to each other within it even when there are a lot of storms in their marital relationship. Divorce is not only discouraged but also is highly stigmatised. This is contrary to other religious belief giving a green light to separation when disagreeing parties decide to part. Even in such beliefs, reaching a divorce is a long process. Mechanism and steps that needs to be followed to arrive at an official divorce is perceived as a delayed tactic that is meant to provide an avenue for spouses to reconcile and reconsider their decision before calling their marriage off completely.

As such, most victims confide in their friends and close relatives before moving to parents because the latter will involve elders' council in an attempt to tap into elders' wider wisdom. In all these stages, the tone will be that of appealing to opposing parties to reconcile. It is common for a female side to plead with their daughter to persevere so as to preserve the family reputation. Hence, she should sacrifice her own pleasure, happiness, and aspiration. Divorce has implications to the siblings too, as it will affect them to get good fiancée as they would be considered unsuitable future partners.



For those who attempted to go to hamlet leader the spirit was the same and patriarchy was vivid where even when a man is a troublemaker they rule in favour of him in an attempt, in their opinion, to help a female spouse to remain in the relationship. Some aspects of violence against women are socially sanctioned and justified as an inevitable way of managing conflict and viewed as a normal way of life. This sentiment was shared by Sudi's second wife, in a story shared above who said, ***I am lucky to have shared my ordeal with a female Ward Counsellor in my area who advised me to leave that life threatening relationship.***

According to respondents, these structures, which are apparently male dominated, if they should rule in favour of a female spouse, he will not accept his wife back home. Others will not even show their position but rather encourage a lady to go back home and forget whichever mistake the man made and move on with life with their children. While the spirit behind such decision of protecting children's welfare, such incidences are happening amidst external pressure from the society encouraging opposing parties to hang on in the abusive and toxic relationship so as to protect family image.

All respondents in Shinyanga narrated how patriarchy shapes decisions made by Police Gender Desk. An experience was shared by a Key Informant Interview Respondent in Shinyanga who said *"a victim's PF.3 form was grabbed by the same police who granted it. The police asked the lady to go back and reconcile with her husband. In some instances, they will not be ready to hear marital related violence and will force victims to go back to their husbands and relatives despite severe injuries they have suffered from."* Such leadership is caught by surprise when at the end of the day femicides occurs, a thing that would have been prevented well in advance due to frequency and level of violence where signs of extreme violence were already detected and reported. *"Wanaogopa kuonekana wamevunja ndoa za watu"* literally meaning they don't want to be perceived that they helped breaking those marriages, according to narrations given by one of key informants in Rehema and Sudi's case 1 in Mwanza and case 7 of Martha and James in Shinyanga.

The study suggests that the reluctance of women to report domestic assault can be attributed to fear of reprisals, economic and psychological dependence, anticipation that the police will not take the charges seriously and viewing the assault as a private matter.

The most frequently mentioned reasons for not reporting violence against women include embarrassment, the belief that reporting is pointless, and that gender-related violence is a normal part of life that women must bear, and various concerns about the well-being of others. All these facts show that while the killing of a person tends to be recorded by the police more effectively than other crimes, it is well evidenced that violence against women is poorly reported to the police and that a large share of it remains hidden.

Attitudes, norms, and behaviors deep-rooted in the families, homes and communi-



ties and institutionalized at all levels and consequently producing a culture of social acceptance of gender violence, especially violence against women. Some aspects of violence against women are socially sanctioned and justified as an inevitable way of managing conflict and viewed as a normal way of life. But the reality is that hatred-related crimes against women and their investigations and prosecutions did not follow specific protocols.

As a result, victims and their relatives have little confidence in public institutions, culminating into very low rates of reporting and prosecuting cases of violence. There is a perception that the aggressors are able to act with impunity, increasing the risk of severe violence and femicide. In the process, many women still find themselves alone, not only in the face of violence in their home but also of criminal justice systems that fail to respond adequately or do not have the capacity and knowledge to do so. The killing of women by their partner is often the culmination of long-term violence and is preventable.

The case above explains how reluctance of women to report further contributes to the underreporting and prevalence of violence; this has been attributed to their lack of confidence in a criminal justice system that assigns blame to them rather than to offenders. Reasons for underreporting such violence also include the embarrassment and stigma associated with the crime, perceptions by victims that they will not be believed, perceptions that some incidents are not serious enough, ambiguity about what constitutes violence act and fear of reprisals when reported.

Thus, femicide also results from the complex interaction of risk factors, characterizing the condition and behavior of persons involved, how they relate to each other, the presence or lack of dedicated services (such as risk assessment centres, safe houses, trained health and police officials, etc.), as well as the dominant representation of male and female roles in society. It downgrades the status of women in the society which limits their socio-economic empowerment.

g. Excessive Use of Alcohol and Drugs

All respondents attributed alcoholism and drug abuse (marijuana and khat/*mirungi*) as among main drivers of brutal killing of female by their spouses. While this has been explained extensively in other factors as both cause and effect, all respondents were of an opinion that it is when a spouse question a male spouse when he is in drunkard state that she receives severe physical assault.

Sometimes even without being interrogated, a male spouse will come with all sorts of reasons such as lack of or bad food served, late arrival at home, spouse being disrespectful, lazy to initiate a fight. Unfortunately, once those events become regular, relatives and community members' fatigue expose a female spouse to life threatening experiences including femicide while such social networking watching without any interference, though they regret latter when it is too late. Excessive use of alcohol and drugs stems from so many reasons. Among them include poor parenting, socio economic stress (lack of employment), peer pressure, to mention just a few.



h. Planned, Child and Intergenerational Marriages

Dowry deaths are responsible for the murders of women. A case study of Cecilia (not her real name) helps elude this fact.

A case study 8 of Cecilia and Mzee Adam shared on 29th September 2022).

As a form four leaver aged 22 years old, Cecilia, who was a mother of three children, was killed alongside her last-born baby by her own husband, Adam, aged 85 years. Neighbours who participated in KIIs and FGDs narrated that while the old man was rich with huge farms and a large number of cows, the girl seemed to have come from a poor family in Kishapu District.

This is a common pattern for poor families to marry off their daughters to wealthy individuals, regardless of their age, in exchange for a huge dowry price. Adam had four wives previously, whereby one of them died due to old age and he divorced the second and third wives before settling with Cecilia. He had six children with his other wives and three with Cecilia. Adam reportedly brutally attacked and killed his wife and her baby, using an axe. Study respondents indicated that his actions were motivated by jealousy after suspecting his wife of having an extramarital affair with a young man and possibly him not being the father of the baby.

Prior to this incident, Adam and his wife never reported any marital dispute anywhere. This might be attributed by the fact that people in this community prefer to settle their matter within their family network namely “nzengo”. In a very rare occasion, would someone take the matter to police. Even those who do so end up closing the matter at a later stage as this practice is considered unacceptable. The woman will be pressurized to drop the case.

In another case study, a woman who was engaged in a sexual relationship with her houseboy was killed in Mwangi, Kilimanjaro after the houseboy felt the woman had other lovers in her life³⁶. Tabu, a very famous female conductor in Kimara, Dar es Salaam had the same experience due to the same accusation. While the bus conductor’s age was never an issue to go by, the Mwangi incident left many community members in shock and puzzled.

Just like any other marriage, intergenerational ones are generally envisaged to be marked by **respect, responsibility, reciprocity, and resilience**, where younger, middle, and older generations develop ways to support one another in the later years, most of the time the reverse is the case. Experience shows that intimate relationship between older men and women and younger women have challenging

³⁶ A story narrated by a case study participant when explaining similar femicide cases in the area



gender relations. The older men's lust for younger women leads them into an array of embarrassing situations, and otherwise respectable patriarchs grovel before servants, children and women they desire. This shows how the society disapproves these types of marriages regardless of sex due to their potential later mischief in life, femicide being one of them.

i. Witchcraft beliefs and witch-hunting

In some instances,³⁷, such as Case study 1 of Rehema and Sudi, issues of witchcraft were mentioned as one of the drivers of femicide. For instance, Mwajuma, a 34-year-old lady in Mkoani, Kalangala, Geita and the husband, Rajabu was working in the mines which are an area where people associate ability to get more gold to dark powers. At the crime scene, materials such as calabash and amulet (*hirizi*) were found.

As such the internal challenges they had, were assumed to be an excuse that provided an avenue to Rajabu to sacrifice her blood in an attempt to get wealth in the form of gold. In Same, a body of a woman believed to be killed by her husband was found without some parts of her body. It is worth noting that for a number of years, elderly women in the Lake Zone region have suffered brutal killings from what has been suspected to be male relatives. While Lake Zone seems to have more cases, it is worth acknowledging that so much effort was exerted to reduce witches hunting deaths. The emerging trend is a threat to the gains gained in this particular fight. It is not managed well as the trend will erode strides made so far. Studies have shown that the root cause behind witchcraft is power and control.

j. Social Stress and Silence

In what could be interpreted as mental health, to which further independent research is recommended, a WEO from Bulambila Ward, Mwaluka area in Shinyanga said, people in these areas are not only silent but also have so many painful things that are going on in their lives which they prefer to keep to themselves as a secret. However, their outcome is extreme violence that leads to murder. This was reinforced further by the hamlet leader in Ididia, Shinyanga.

i. Low Awareness Knowledge on Laws, Policies and Procedure Safeguarding Women against Violence

There were mixed responses as far as community members understanding of policy and legal frameworks safeguarding women from domestic violence including femicide. It is worth noting that respondents could not mention any act or policy safeguarding the same. Few of them, specifically government leaders, knew NPA VAW. Community members had scanty understanding of the procedures to be used to address VAW.

For community members who could mention procedures they would follow in case

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of violence, they said, women have no audacity to use the process for many reasons. Respondents affirmed earlier studies done that female victims of domestic violence rarely report incidents to the authorities due to cultural, social, and family pressures including ignorance of laws and procedures on the same³⁸. Thus, married women are expected to consult with their husband's relatives before reporting domestic violence to the police.

It is only when a problem cannot be solved within the family or immediate social networks that it is socially permissible to approach external sources of support even when such acts are so violent needing firm measure by the state machineries. The study affirmed further that women do not report incidents of domestic violence in fear of retaliation from their husbands and losing economic including the desire to protect their children.

In summary, poverty, or low household socio-economic status (SES) has been consistently found to be associated with higher rates of partner violence. Inherent stress of poverty is the mediating factor that leads men to be violent towards their wives and female partners. Poverty stress is further intensified in settings where ideals of successful manhood firmly place men to be the household's main provider. In circumstances reported therein **by case studies 1, 3, 4, 5 and 7** supposedly show limited or poor employment options for men have led to feelings of anxiety and despair and a crisis of male identity ensues.

This confirm earlier studies done in Tanzania³⁹, which observed that feelings of economic disempowerment among men have resulted in a reshaping of masculine ideals that involve the excessive use of alcohol and relationships with other women, both of which have been found to significantly increase women's risk of violence. The concept of successful manhood brings to the fore the tandem notion of "successful womanhood" that traditionally lay in reproductive responsibilities such as bearing children and especially sons, as well as in maintaining family values and family harmony. Transgressions of good or appropriate wifely behavior include women's use of alcohol, relationships with other men and displays of autonomy.

Apparently, the above reality comes amidst the fact currently, that there is limited prosecution of GBV cases due to lack of evidence, failure to collect and/or preserve forensic evidence, poor investigation, or corruption in the system. Furthermore, there are key gaps across all sectors of response, particularly in terms of quality of services and ensuring survivor-centered care, making prevention to be complex (TAWLA 2014, WB, 2022). Other Factors that were reported to be a driving cause of Femicide during FGDs were.

Gender Inequality: Deep-rooted gender inequality, where women and girls are often marginalized and their rights are not fully recognized, can contribute to an environment where violence against women is more tolerated.

38 Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) and Zanzibar Legal Services Centre (ZLSC). March 2014. Tanzania Human Rights Report 2013. [Accessed 8th Sept 2022]

39 LHRC (2014), TAWLA (2014) and WILDAF (2020) among others



Cultural Norms and Practices: Traditional norms and practices that reinforce male dominance and control over women's lives perpetuate attitudes that lead to violence against women and girls.

Violence Normalization: A culture of normalizing violence or accepting it as part of daily life mostly lead to the trivialization of violence against women and discourage reporting. In most incidents in the study, victim had faced violence from the perpetrator's countless times.

Harmful Masculinity: Toxic masculinity, which promotes aggressive and dominant behavior as traits of being "manly," contribute to violence against women and girls.

Lack of Education: Limited access to education, particularly for women and girls, perpetuates cycles of violence and inequality.

Impunity and Weak Legal Frameworks: Weak enforcement of laws related to violence against women, combined with low reporting rates, creates an environment where perpetrators are not held accountable.

Child Marriage and Forced Marriage: Practices such as child marriage and forced marriage expose young girls to abusive relationships and increase their vulnerability to violence.

Lack of Support Services: Limited availability of shelters, counseling services, legal aid, and medical support for survivors discourage reporting and seeking help. Even when victims report they are sent back to the same house with the abuse while waiting for their case to proceed. In Kilimanjaro these issues came out during the FGDs.

Stigma and Shame: Social stigma and shame associated with being a survivor of violence discourage women and girls from reporting incidents. It's important to note that these factors often interact with one another and contribute to a complex web of issues that need to be addressed comprehensively. Efforts to end femicide require a combination of legal reforms, awareness campaigns, education, economic empowerment, support services, and community engagement. Additionally, cultural sensitivity and local context must be considered when designing and implementing interventions to effectively address femicide.

4.1. Effects of Femicide

The effects of violence are enormous. While freedom from violence is a fundamental human right, femicide tragically robs a girl or woman life. As an outcome of GBV, it undermines a person's sense of self-worth and self-esteem. It affects not only physical health but also mental health and may lead to **self-harm, isolation, depression, and suicidal attempts**. Violence has consequences including **increased incidences of depression, anger, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, and suicide; increased risk of cardiovascular disease; and premature mortality**. The health consequences of violence vary with the age and sex of the victim as well as the form of violence (Learning Network, 2015, UNICE, 2017). Depending on the gravity of the problem, **immediate injuries such as fractures and hemorrhaging**, and long-term physical conditions including e.g., gastrointestinal, central nervous system disorders, chronic pain.



This study and similar studies around the world show that suffering does not end with the femicide victims. Women live their lives in relationship with others. They are daughters, mothers, partners, sisters, friends, coworkers, and neighbors (*ibid*). Femicide causes immeasurable loss and suffering for those who laughed with, loved, cared for and relied on their relationship with this woman. In some situations, families and friends do not know the fate of their loved one who is missing or do not have their loved one's body to honour through their preferred death and burial customs. Loss, traumatic grief, poor health, compromised functioning at school or work, and loss of income are some of the impacts experienced by those affected by the murder of a woman or girl close to them. In addition, femicide has an impact on all women and girls, not just those personally impacted by a death. "Women learn that there is a series of boundaries in the physical and social worlds which they must not cross if they wish to remain safe."

Femicide also harms communities and society. Gender expectations and gender-based violence violate the rights and limit the opportunities for women and girls to fully enjoy their rights. The continuum of violence against women prevents girls and women from reaching their potential and from contributing to the familial, social and economic well-being of themselves and their communities. This very real loss affects every member of society.

Lastly, this report sheds light on key problems in defining femicide, including poor data-collection systems, the invisibility of femicide as a result of underreporting, biases in data gathering and poor data governance. Much of the data that is collected on homicides is not disaggregated by type or form of violence, which results in many murders because of being a woman (Femicide) not accounted for. By October 2022, when this study was conducted data was rather fragmented, inconsistent, and not available in public domain, serve for incidences reported by the media, making it difficult to counting, accounting, and preventing femicide while protecting victims of GBV. Thus, sound and comparable data is essential to understanding better the prevalence of femicide.



CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, LESSONS LEARNT, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Through all the research tools used including case studies, in-depth interviews, and key informant interviews conducted with affected communities and victims' families and offenders, the study revealed a number of causes of femicide in Mwanza, Geita, Shinyanga, Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro. The study has revealed further that the prominent form/type of femicide practiced in the area is intimate femicide. This is followed by a pattern of dowry and witchcraft femicides which were equally observed in the Lake zone and Mwanza in Kilimanjaro respectively. It also revealed that attitudes, norms, and behaviors deep-rooted in the families, homes and communities and institutionalized at all levels and consequently producing a culture of social acceptance of gender violence, especially violence against women. Driven by various risk and causal factors highlighted above such as patriarchal system, economic dependency, low education, economic freedom, traditions, and taboos to mention just a few, victims died in the hands of people too close to them, the intimate partners.

As far as policy and legal frameworks are concerned, the study has revealed that the country not only lacks a national definition of femicide, but also there is no **a specific legislation on Femicide or GBV in Tanzania**. There is no femicide registry that records thoroughly well women's deaths by type such as in case of intimate femicide, non-intimate femicide and femicide not based on relationships including the profile of the perpetrator. This makes it difficult to track death due to femicides, a thing that undermine efforts advocating femicide as part of the country's criminal code. As a result, femicide is continuously being taken as normal deaths and killings with which the crime is explained from section 195 – 205 of the Tanzanian Penal Code CAP 16, R.E 2022.

As far as the assessment of situation of femicide in the study areas is concerned, as alluded in the limitation of this study, lack of disaggregated data from DCI office made it a bit difficult to ascertain the situation of femicide in targeted regions. However, general national data obtained indicated that between January and September 2022 a total **472 femicide** were registered in Tanzania suggesting an average of 53 cases reported per month in the country which amounted 10 cases higher than the past five years which stood at 43 femicide cases per month⁴⁰. This brings serious issues as far as data is concerned. The study revealed, among other

⁴⁰ DCI report shows a total of 2,438 cases of femicide in the past five years.



things, that standardized data on gender-related killings of women and girls remain patchy and of insufficient quality to monitor trends and understand the scale of the problem. Moreover, absence of consistent internationally prescribed definitions, standards, and procedures have contributed to the persistence of high femicide rates as mischaracterization of femicide abounds to happen in this circumstance e.g., if death does not involve perpetrator known to the victim.

5.1. Lessons Learnt

Among the key lessons learnt is the fact that effective crime prevention and criminal justice responses to violence against women are human rights based as they not only manage risk and promote victim safety and empowerment, but they also ensure offenders' accountability. These include comprehensive laws and policies that eliminate discriminatory provisions and prohibit and criminalize all forms of violence against women. Furthermore, they provide mechanisms for coordination between criminal justice agencies with support services. They also include specialized expertise and adequate capacity of police, prosecutors, judges and other justice officials, in order to increase the likelihood of successful apprehension, prosecution and conviction of the offenders, contribute to the well-being and safety of women and prevent secondary victimization.

Furthermore, gender-sensitive approaches that are women-centered rather than considering women as objects of protection and sources of evidence are more likely to build confidence and trust in criminal justice institutions and increase the number of women reporting violence and of perpetrators brought to justice. This study was about zero tolerance to GBV because women, who are vulnerable to femicide cases, deserve nothing less.

5.1.1. Conclusions

As the obtained evidence by this study shows, even though men are the principal victims of lethal violence, women continue to bear the heaviest burden as a result of gender stereotypes and inequality. The present study has indicated women are killed by their current and former partners, because of their role and status as women. Previous studies reviewed have also shown many women still find themselves alone, not only in the face of violence in their homes but also of criminal justice systems that fail to respond adequately or do not have the capacity and knowledge to do so.

Being private in nature, tangible progress in both protecting and saving the lives of female victims of intimate partner/family related femicide has not been made despite many programmes developed to eradicate violence against women and the amount of legislation adopted. Thus, the killing of women by their partner is often the culmination of long-term violence and is preventable. Local, national, and international institutions need to scale up their efforts to help and protect women who fall victim to such violence. The development and effective implementation of national strategies to combat GBV and legislation to address domestic violence, specifically femicide, sexual harassment and marital rape can provide the tools to build a protective system and can ensure that there is no impunity for such crimes.



5.2. Recommendations

In addressing the above-mentioned challenges, a number of both policy and programmatic recommendations were recommended by multiple stakeholders involved in the study. In order to validate and confirm their validity they were presented to key stakeholders.

5.2.1. Policy Recommendations

- i. The starting point should be to have a national definition of femicide. By giving this issue the spotlight, it deserves in addressing data deficiencies highlighted, LHRC can advocate for a need of having standardized data on gender-related killings of women and girls to monitor trends and understand the scale of the problem.

This can be done through strengthening surveillance and screening of femicide and intimate partner violence. To improve tracking of femicide, the MoH should develop a femicide registry that beside having gender disaggregated data showing both men and women killed, it should record women's deaths in case of intimate femicide, non-intimate femicide and femicide not based on relationships.

As UNODC (2019-2022) and other studies have alluded to, this has been seen as a best-practice model for improved research processes and evidence for better decision-making so that femicide becomes part of the country's criminal code. If collected, might be used to establish a national measurement framework for femicide.

- ii. There is a need to have a comprehensive specific law on GBV which will also address, among other issues, femicide, domestic violence and protection of the survivors or/and victims. This will ensure the country has appropriate punishment for perpetrators of gender-related killing of women and girls that is proportional to the gravity of the offence. Furthermore, a need to fast track these cases is underscored so as to serve as a warning to other perpetrators. Fast tracking of cases will also help address under a tendency of under reporting issues.
- iii. Tanzania to have in Place policies to prevent all forms of violence against women. The country must promote the creation, implementation, and strengthening of multiple programs to prevent all forms of violence against girls and women in order to prevent femicides. These policies, should rely on the coordination of all agencies of the state, must be directed at eliminating the risk of lethal violence, establishing critical routes of assistance to women, and applying early detection measures or risk assessments for victims that seek.



5.2.2. Programmatic Recommendations

i. Government

Ending femicide requires a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach involving legal, social, educational, and cultural changes. Here are some recommendations that the government could consider addressing and ultimately end femicide:

- a. It is important that the government produce official national data about the number of killings of women, under the characterizations of killings of women by intimate partners or non-intimate persons or intimate femicide and non-intimate femicide. This will allow national information systems to take into account the cases of femicides that take place in the context of intimate partner relations separately and identify all those perpetrators in different situations, whether femicides by association, connected to organized crime, human trafficking or situations of forced migration, sex commerce, or sexual violence or rape in public spaces.
- b. To promote the adoption of a focus on gender and the rights of women throughout the process of attention, investigation, and trial of cases of violence, it is essential to establishing multi-disciplinary training, re-training, and professionalization programs for those public servants involved in the tasks of attending to and advising victims; police, forensic, or prosecutorial investigations; and trials. These training programs should take place together with the Public Prosecutions service, CHRAGG, the judicial organs, and academia in general.
- c. Furthermore, there is a need to provide training for the police, prosecutors and Judges. The training of criminal justice officials in charge of investigation and prosecution (police and prosecutors) should focus on technical or tactical investigation concerning femicide so as to increase their capacity and skills required in situations of domestic and GBV and be able to detect those that, if not timely addressed, they are likely to turn to femicide.
- d. Efforts should be implemented to eliminate discriminatory practices, cultural and material barriers, as well as the messages that impede and obstruct the right of access to justice for women and girls. For this, programs can be created for advising and providing psychosocial assistance to family members of the victims of femicides; funds and budgetary allocations can be established with public resources to ensure the free legal representation of indirect victims and others.
- e. Develop and implement comprehensive gender-sensitive education programs to promote gender equality and challenge harmful stereotypes including education on healthy relationships, consent, and non-violent conflict resolution from an early age.
- f. Establish and fund shelters and safe houses for women and girls escaping abusive situations.
- g. Offer counseling, medical care, and rehabilitation services for survivors of femicide and gender-based violence.
- h. Align efforts with the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 5 (Gender Equality) and Goal 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions).
- i. Health staff and law enforcement have a role to play as well and need to be



trained to better identify intimate violence and if a woman is at risk of femicide, especially during pregnancy. Women need access to a comprehensive range of services provided by the police and justice system, health and social services, which need improved coordination where some such as Police Gender Desk need to scale up throughout the country so as to be more effective.

- j. Women also need access to specific measures that enable them to leave a violent relationship. Such measures have to take into account the fact that women are often economically dependent on their intimate partner and are thus at risk of being deprived of their only source of economic support should their partner turn against them and be convicted or imprisoned. Specialized support services for women, which include shelter, protection orders, help line, counseling and legal aid, have proved to be effective in helping women to leave abusive relationships.
- k. A need to allow private hospitals with qualified medical practitioners should be considered as a way of fast-tracking management of gender based violence cases and reduce number of women who opt to drop out due to stress and anxiety.

ii. Police

Ending femicide requires the active involvement and commitment of law enforcement agencies. Here are some recommendations specifically targeted towards police forces to address and prevent femicide:

- a. Provide comprehensive training for police officers specifically from gender desks on identifying signs of domestic violence, femicide risks, and handling gender-based violence cases sensitively.
- b. Offer training on trauma-informed responses to better support survivors.
- c. Develop clear and effective protocols for responding to domestic violence and femicide cases and ensure that protocols prioritize the safety and well-being of survivors and provide guidance on evidence collection, reporting, and victim support.
- d. Adopt a victim-centered approach that prioritizes the needs and safety of survivors and provide information to victims about available support services and legal remedies.
- e. Implement efficient emergency response systems for immediate assistance in cases of domestic violence or threats of femicide.
- f. Establish partnerships with local NGOs and organizations that provide support to victims of gender-based violence and collaborate to ensure survivors have access to shelters, counseling, legal aid, and medical care.
- g. Establish mechanisms for accountability within the police force to ensure that officers respond appropriately and professionally to gender-based violence cases.
- h. Collaborate closely with social services, medical professionals, legal experts, and other relevant agencies to provide a comprehensive response to survivors' needs.
- i. Conduct awareness campaigns and workshops within the police force to sensitize officers about the seriousness of gender-based violence and their role



in addressing it.

iii. Judiciary

The judiciary plays a critical role in ensuring justice, protection, and accountability in cases of femicide. Here are some recommendations for the judiciary to help end femicide:

- a. Continue to establish specialized courts and specific judges to handle gender-based violence cases, including femicide. This can be done by having in place more family courts and integrated courts in other areas.
- b. Ensure the specific judges receive specialized training on gender sensitivity, trauma-informed approaches, and relevant laws.
- c. Continue and strengthen expedited procedures for gender-based violence cases, ensuring timely access to justice for survivors.
- d. Adopt a victim-centered approach that prioritizes the safety, well-being, and rights of survivors throughout the legal process.
- e. Issue protection orders and restraining orders to victims of violence so they can be fully protected from the offenders who mostly are their closest people. The orders of protection can be acquired at the beginning of the case after ensuring that the victim is in danger.
- f. It is necessary to create a favorable environment and an effective and efficient legal culture to ensure that the truth about the facts is revealed; to satisfy the demands of the right to truth for indirect victims, family members, and society as a whole; to punish those responsible for the crime; and to provide comprehensive reparation and establish measures or guarantees of non-repetition.
- g. Provide legal aid and support to victims, ensuring their access to justice is not hindered by financial constraints.

iv. Media

The media plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions and attitudes, and it can contribute significantly to ending femicide by raising awareness, promoting education, and advocating for change. Here are some recommendations for the media to help end femicide:

- a. Informative coverage and social responsibility of the media. It is important that the country, civil society, and the media agree on appropriate mechanisms for guaranteeing the informative coverage of gender-related killings of women in accordance with international standards and adopting as basic principles the respect for the human dignity of the victims and family members, transparency, and impartiality in the coverage of the information. In this task the adoption of codes of ethics for the media's treatment of violence against women can be very useful.
- b. The social responsibility that print and digital media, as well as social networks, should show in the coverage of the killings of women is made concrete through the transparent management of the information and the deconstruction of discriminatory and sexist stereotypes, prejudices, and practices. For example, these cases should be handled in the strongest way, reflecting the injustice that the victims have suffered, challenging the myths and the beliefs that promote



violence against girls and women, and finally, ensuring that the narrative of the facts and the assigning of responsibility do not convert the violence into an object of desire or curiosity for the listening or viewing public.

- c. Adhere to ethical reporting guidelines that avoid sensationalism and victim-blaming in cases of femicide.
- d. Use language that is sensitive to the experiences of survivors and avoids reinforcing harmful stereotypes.
- e. Cover stories that highlight the root causes of femicide, including gender inequality, toxic masculinity, and cultural norms that perpetuate violence against women.
- f. Produce informative content, such as articles, documentaries, and interviews, that educates the public about the prevalence of femicide, its impact, and ways to prevent it.
- g. Showcase stories of survivors, activists, organizations, and communities that are working to end femicide, promoting positive change and inspiring others.
- h. Use their platform to raise awareness about femicide and publish content that challenges harmful stereotypes about gender roles, relationships, and masculinity, helping to shift societal attitudes.
- i. Encourage discussions about femicide and gender-based violence through online forums, social media, and interactive events and share information about prevention strategies, available resources, and support services for victims of gender-based violence.
- j. Ensure diverse and inclusive representation in stories and reporting, giving a voice to marginalized and vulnerable and collaborate with educational institutions to integrate media literacy education that helps audiences critically evaluate media portrayals of gender-based violence and femicide.

The media has a powerful role to play in changing societal perceptions and contributing to the elimination of femicide. By following these recommendations, media outlets can raise awareness, challenge harmful narratives, and promote a culture of respect, equality, and non-violence.

v. Community and Individual level interventions

- a. Reducing intimate partner violence is the most effective way to prevent femicide, which requires addressing gender inequality on the individual and societal level. A checklist on early warning signs can be developed and shared to help women conduct self-risk assessment and take timely action to avoid femicide. For women experiencing violence, it may be helpful to reach out to family, friends, and neighbors, to seek support from a hotline or, if safe, from online service for survivors of violence. Find out if local services (e.g., shelters, counseling) are open and reach out to them if available. It is worth noting that confiding in a trustworthy friend or relative is highly recommended. Measures such as contacting the doctor, social worker, psychologist, or counselor can be helpful to both perpetrator and the victim. Most importantly, getting out of an abusive relationship is a first step before dealing with abusive related difficulties.
- b. In deconstructing the culture of violence in the community through positive



socialization process, the study has drawn experience of other countries in the world addressing violence against women including early intervention. An example of such practices can be found in the Bahamas, which we can learn from and tap into their experience, where the Healthy Teen Relationship Campaign sought to educate young people on teen relationship abuse. The campaign was initially designed for high school students but was extended to primary school students. The campaign was aimed at helping youth recognize possessiveness, jealousy and controlling behaviors in intimate relationships, and create awareness of forced sex, verbal and emotional abuse, and physical violence among teenage relationships. Moreover, teens were given the possibility to reach out to teachers, guidance counsellors and a crisis center helpline. With this multi-agency effort (Inter Ministerial partnerships, social clubs and civil society organizations), the campaign was part of a larger programme aimed at reducing the prevalence of domestic violence.

- c. Challenge traditional gender norms and stereotypes that perpetuate violence and discrimination against women and promote discussions about healthy relationships, consent, and gender equality.
- d. Create a supportive environment for survivors of gender-based violence by offering emotional support, believing their stories, and helping them access necessary resources.
- e. Encourage community members to report suspected cases of gender-based violence and femicide to relevant authorities and intervene if you witness any form of violence or abusive behavior.
- f. Involve community leaders, religious leaders, and elders in discussions about ending femicide, as they often hold influence within communities.
- g. Lastly, while engaging NPA-VAWC structures, responsible actors should conduct progressive public education and sensitization campaigns to address gender issues reflected in negative social attitudes, norms and behaviors deep-rooted in the families, homes and communities and institutionalized at all levels and consequently producing a culture of social acceptance of gender violence, especially violence against women. Male engagement should be adhered to in the whole process. This will help mitigate the culture of violence including femicide among community members as it urges timely community response on the same. The study proposes the development and use of Standard Operating Procedures (SoP) for reporting VAWC at community level in the whole country.
- h. To guarantee women's access to justice, it is advisable to establish programs of mass public information to inform all women victims of violence of the prevention mechanisms, the routes of state assistance, and the scope of their rights.

vi. LHRC and Likeminded CSOs

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a crucial role in advocating for policy changes, raising awareness, providing support, and fostering community engagement to end femicide. Here are some strategic recommendations for CSOs to contribute effectively to ending femicide:



- a. LHRC should continue working with the Government to help strengthen NPA/VAW structures at all level and address weaknesses observed in the previous phase that ended in 2021/22. Thus, there is a need to develop a National Standard Operating Procedure for managing VAW including Femicide so as to secure timely support needed.
- b. Furthermore, working with other strategic allies and women movement in the country, LHRC should consider advocating for a strategy that supports sustainable funding for the NPAs and their accelerated implementation, such as through the establishment of a large basket fund led by government with support from private sector and development partners. Ensure this strategy builds out commitment and capacity of government to meet its budgetary responsibilities through the development and implementation of ongoing funding mobilization strategies. Local Government should set aside a budget focusing on NPA related interventions.
- c. LHRC should consider working with the Government and other strategic allies to establish Femicide Watch/observatory as a way of strengthening surveillance and screening of femicide and intimate partner violence.
- d. At international level, LHRC should work with like-minded organization to advocate for more commitments, and general recommendations on CEDAW to include issues of femicide and adopt the Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women (femicide/feminicide). LHRC should also work with coalitions on femicide to learn and use best practices in Tanzania.
- e. Advocate for comprehensive and effective legislation that addresses femicide and gender-based violence, and work to ensure its proper implementation.
- f. Collaborate with other CSOs, governmental agencies, and international organizations to pool resources, share knowledge, and amplify collective efforts.
- g. Develop targeted awareness campaigns to educate the public about the consequences of femicide, its root causes, and prevention strategies.
- h. Establish or support shelters, helplines, counseling services, and legal aid for survivors of gender-based violence.
- i. Support research initiatives that aim to understand the underlying causes and patterns of femicide in Tanzania. This data will be essential for evidence-based policymaking.
- j. Develop programs that engage young people in discussions about healthy relationships, consent, and gender equality.
- k. Continue to empower survivors by providing legal assistance, helping them navigate the legal system, and supporting them in seeking justice.
- l. Develop evidence-based policy recommendations to strengthen legal frameworks, enhance victim support, and prevent femicide.
- m. Mobilize communities to take a stand against femicide through rallies, workshops, seminars, and community dialogues.
- n. Use strategic litigation to challenge discriminatory laws and practices that contribute to gender-based violence and femicide.
- o. Advocate for government accountability in addressing femicide, including regular progress reports and transparency in resource allocation.



- p. Advocate for comprehensive systems that include legal, medical, psychological, and social support for survivors.

CSOs play a critical role in creating social change and pushing for policy reforms. By adopting these strategic recommendations, CSOs can contribute effectively to ending femicide and creating a safer and more equitable society for all. It's important to note that addressing femicide requires long-term commitment, resources, and a cultural shift.



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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE CONSULTANCY ON FEMICIDE SURVEY IN 5 REGIONS IN TANZANIA MAINLAND

1. Background And The Consultancy

Femicide has been noted globally and in 2013 the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) adopted the Vienna Declaration on Femicide/Gender-related killings of women and girls in 2013. The declaration recalled the Human Rights Council's Resolution on Accelerating Efforts to eliminate all Forms of Violence against Women: Remedies for Women Who have been Subjected to Violence (A/HRC/20/L.10), which welcomed the recent report of the Special Rapporteur on gender-related killings and invited Member States to submit relevant information and remedies.

The Declaration Urged Member States, in respect of their due diligence obligation to protect women as well as to prevent and prosecute femicide, to undertake institutional initiatives to improve the prevention of femicide and the provision of legal protection, remedies and reparation to women survivors of violence against women, in accordance with international treaties and to consider adopting and implementing legislation to investigate, prosecute, punish and redress femicide in line with the effective experience of some countries. Tanzania have signed and ratified CEDAW convention together with the Maputo Protocol which aim to protect women rights and from all forms of violence. There is no a specific legislation on Femicide or GBV in Tanzania and no research so far. Femicide is continuously being taken as normal deaths and killings with which the crime is explained from section 195 - 205 of the Tanzanian Penal code CAP 16, R.E 2002.

According to Tanzania Human Rights report issued by (LHRC II In 2020 Pg.32) Killings of women motivated by jealousy (intimate partner femicides): Recent trends show an increase of incidents of killings of women, perpetrated by their spouses, mainly motivated by jealousy. In 2019, LHRC documented 12 killings of women by their spouses, of which 8 were motivated by jealousy. In 2020, LHRC documented 32 killings of women by their spouses, 23 of which were motivated by jealousy. These xxii THRR 2020 incidents, which constitute violations of women's freedom from violence and right to life, are more than double compared to those documented in 2019.

There were 23 homicides compared to 12 incidents in 2019. The number of women killed in the two months of December 2021 to January 2022 seems has tripled compared to 2019 and 2020. These killings are violence against women and violate their rights to protection and security which are safeguarding in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania.

LHRC and CWHRDs TZ have come to a partnership to commission a consultancy to conduct a survey on the context of femicide in Tanzania focusing on 5 prevalent Regions.



The findings of this survey will be used as a baseline to form a future intervention for addressing the problem.

1.1. Objectives of the assignment

The overall objective of the task is to assess the current context of femicide in the selected regions which will be determined by the client and the consultant.

1.2. Specific Objectives

- 1.2.1. To determine the causes of femicide in Tanzania through assessing affected communities and victims' families and offenders.
- 1.2.2. To assess the current policy and legal framework on Femicide in Tanzania.
- 1.2.3. To assess the situation of Femicide in selected regions
- 1.2.4. To provide recommendations on the key findings and lessons which inform the future interventions.

2. Key Tasks

- 2.1. A comprehensive inception report detailing the understanding of the assignment approach, methodology, tools and target respondents and stratification sampling.
- 2.2. Attend an inception meeting for the clarification of the task with the client.
- 2.3. Undertake the task subject to the approved inception report by the client.
- 2.4. Present preliminary key findings to the SMT, selected taskforce from the femicide coalition members and MEL unit.
- 2.5. Prepare and submit draft report to the client. Incorporate comments and submit final report to the client.

3. Deliverables

- 3.1. Inception report approved by the client
- 3.2. Survey tools approved by the client both in Swahili and English.
- 3.3. PowerPoint presentation for preliminary findings.
- 3.4. Final reports approved by the client.

4. Requirements

- 4.1. An experienced and proved competent individual or consultancy firm relevant to the consultancy's objectives and tasks.
- 4.2. Detailed technical and financial proposal.

ANNEX 2: PROPOSED RESEARCH TOOLS

Tool 1: In-depth Interview

Proposed Respondents: Peace and Security Chairperson at either District or ward level; plus, Opinion Leaders in the area.



- a. Have you ever heard of incidences of femicide in your area? What happened? (Probe to find out biography/social characteristic of victims, e.g., sex of victims, age, education level, economic status, social capital, hence support system, etc. Probe further to establish trend and whether there are unreported cases of similar incidences and why?)
- b. In your opinion what do you think are the causes of femicide in your area? (Probe further to find out if the victim's social economic status can have a bearing on her vulnerability. Probe to find out if there were any early warnings of such incidences that were undetected. Probe if societal norms and pressure have a bearing on victims' ability to escape femicide.)
- c. Are you aware of existing policies and legal framework on femicide in Tanzania? (Probe on attempts made by the victim and those around her to tape into existing framework to serve her. Probe the level of efficiency of such systems. Probe further to find out social norms that support or inhibit their effectiveness with reference to attempts made by the victims and those around her to try and tape from the same).
- d. How is the femicide situation in your area? (Probe to find out the magnitude and recurrence of such incidences and what triggers the same, and what has been done to address it at individual and community levels and using Government machineries.)
- e. What needs to be done to curb the situation? (Probe on possible interventions at different levels, i.e., individual and community levels and using Government machineries.)

Tool 2: Key Informant Interviews

Proposed Respondents: Offender Relative/friend, Opinion Leader

- a. Have you ever heard of incidences of femicide in your area? What happened? (Probe to find out biography/social characteristic of victims e.g., sex of victims, age, education level, economic status, social capital hence support system etc. Probe further to establish trend and whether there are unreported cases of similar incidences and why?)
- b. In your opinion, what do you think are the causes of femicide in your area? (Probe to find out if the victim's social economic status can have a bearing on her vulnerability. Probe further to find out if there are early warnings of such incidences that were undetected. Probe if societal norms and pressure have a bearing on victims' ability to escape femicide.)
- c. Are you aware of any existing policies and legal framework on femicide in Tanzania? (Probe on attempts made by the victim and those around her to tape into existing framework to serve her. Probe further on the level of efficiency of such systems. Probe further to find out any social norms that support or inhibit their effectiveness with reference to attempts made by victim and those around her to try and tape from the same.)
- d. How is the femicide situation in your area? (Probe to find out the magnitude and recurrence of such incidences and what triggers the same and what has been done to address it at individual and community level, and using Government machineries.)



- e. What needs to be done to curb the situation? (Probe on possible interventions at different levels, i.e., individual and community level, and using Government machineries.)

Tool 3: Case study

Proposed Respondents: Preferably a Victim's close relative, depending on the situation on the ground; a friend can also serve that role.

- a. Tell us a little bit about the relationship you have with the victim and her historical background? What happened? (Probe to find out the biography/social characteristics of the victims, e.g., sex of victims, age, education level, economic status, social capital hence support system, etc. Probe further to establish the trend and whether there are unreported cases of similar incidences and why?)
- b. In your opinion, what do you think caused that femicide? (Probe to find out if there was a pattern of violence, and if so, why the victim failed to escape from the same. Probe into the attempts made to address threats/violence if they were there, prior to the incidence). What were the inhibiting factors including facilitating factors to escape from the same? (Probe further to find out if the victim's social economic status can have a bearing on her vulnerability. Probe to find out if there are early warnings of such incidences that were undetected. Probe if societal norms and pressure have a bearing on the victim's ability to escape femicide.)
- c. Find out if the victim and those around her are aware of the existing policies and legal framework on femicide in Tanzania. (Probe into the attempts made by the victim and those around her to tape into the existing framework to save her. Probe into the level of efficiency of such systems. Probe further to find out the social norms that support or inhibit their effectiveness with reference to the attempts made by victim and those around her to try and tape from the same.)
- d. Probe to find out further how the femicide situation is in your area. Probe further to find out the magnitude and recurrence of such incidences and what triggers the same, and what has been done to address it at individual and community level, and using Government machineries. Probe further to find out if this had a bearing on her ability to act on the same.)
- e. In her opinion, what needs to be done to curb the situation? Probe into the possible interventions at different levels, i.e., individual and community level and using Government machineries.

Tool 4: Focus Group Discussion

Proposed Respondents: men only, women only, and a mixed group of men and women across all ages.

- a. Have you ever heard of incidences of femicide in your area? What happened? (Probe to find out the biography/social characteristics of the victims e.g., sex of victims, age, education level, economic status, social capital, hence support system etc. Probe further to establish the trend and whether there are unreported cases of similar incidences and why?)
- b. In your opinion, what do you think are the causes of femicide in your area? (Probe further to find out if the victim's social economic status can have a bearing on



- her vulnerability. Probe to find out if there are early warning of such incidences that were undetected. Probe if societal norms and pressure have a bearing on the victims' ability to escape femicide.)
- c. Are you aware of the existing policies and legal framework on Femicide in Tanzania? (Probe into the attempts made by the victim and those around her to tape into the existing framework to serve her. Probe on the level of efficiency of such systems. Probe further to find out the social norms that support or inhibit their effectiveness with reference to the attempts made by victim and those around her to try and tape from the same.)
 - d. How is the femicide situation in your area? (Probe to find out the magnitude and recurrence of such incidences and what triggers the same, and what has been done to address it at individual and community level and using Government machineries.)
 - e. What needs to be done to curb the situation? (Probe into the possible interventions at different levels, i.e., individual and community level and using Government machineries.)

Tool 5: Secondary Data-Police Affidavit/Data Base

Proposed Respondent: National Gender Desk Coordinator (provision of data and responses), Gender Desk officers in all areas where we have respondents.

- a. What is the situation of femicide in the country/your area and why is the trend alarming? (Ask for Police data/affidavit of cases reported. Probe from respondents and check on the data to find out the biography/social characteristics of victims e.g., sex of victims, age, education level, economic status, social capital, hence support system etc. Probe further to establish the trend and whether there are any unreported cases of similar incidences and why?)
- b. Probe to find out the magnitude and recurrence of such incidences and what triggers the same, and what has been done to address it at individual and community level and using Government machineries.)
- c. In your opinion, what, do you think, are the causes of femicide in the country/your area? Which regions have more incidences and why? (Probe further to find out if the victim's social economic status can have a bearing on her vulnerability. Probe to find out if there were any early warnings of such incidences that were undetected. Probe if societal norms and pressure have a bearing on the victims' ability to escape femicide.
- d. What are the policies and legal framework on femicide in Tanzania? (Probe to find out if there were any attempts made by the victim and those around her to tape into the existing framework to save her. Probe into the level of efficiency of such systems. Probe further to find out the social norms that support or inhibit their effectiveness with reference to the attempts made by the victim and those around her to try and tape from the same.
- e. What needs to be done to curb the situation? Probe into the possible interventions at different levels, i.e., individual and community level and using Government machineries?



STUDY GUIDE

1. Background and Introduction

- a. Background of the study
- b. Rationale and objectives
- c. Definitions of key concepts

2. Approach and Methodology

- a. Survey process and ethical protocols (per inception report)
- b. Methodology and methods
- c. Scope of the survey and rationale
- d. Sampling framework and justification
- e. Limitations and mitigations

3. Contextual Analysis of Femicide

- a. Policy and Legal Framework
 - i. Global
 - ii. Regional
 - iii. Sub Regional
 - iv. Local/National
- b. Femicide Situation at various levels and by type
 - i. Global
 - ii. Regional
 - iii. Sub Regional
 - iv. Local

4. Key Findings from the Surveyed Regions by Type of Women and Girls Related Killing

- a. Regional variations by trends
- b. Causes and effects as per feedback from the surveyed respondents (frequently mentioned from the KIIs, IDI, FGDs and case studies)
- c. May include animative photos.

5. Lessons, Conclusions and Recommendations

- a. Lessons
- b. Conclusions
- c. Recommendations (from the analysis and from the surveyed respondents)
 - i. Cluster the recommendation per responsible entity to address the gaps.

6. References

7. Annexes

- TOR
- Surveyed respondents
- Surveyed tools
- Case studies
- Permit/ethical clearance
- Any other relevant materials





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