Eastern African Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences
Vol. 5 No. 2 (2026): ISSN (Online): 2958-4558
DOI: https://doi.org/10.58721/hp7vcz92
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Article History
Received: 11.02.2026
Revised: 07.06.2026
Accepted: 22.06.2026
Published: 18.07.2026

Keywords
Clientelism
Legislative politics
Parliament
Political representation

How to cite:
Mafuwe, S. E., Nguyahambi, A. M., & Shayo, D. P. (2026). Assessing Representation Roles in the 12th Parliament of Tanzania 2020-2025. *Eastern African Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 5*(2), 279-291.

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Abstract
This study examines representation roles in 12th Parliament of Tanzania (2020-2025) by analysing the relationship between Members of Parliament's (MPs') motivations for seeking office, their expectations of parliamentary service, and their actual representational experiences. A mixed-methods research design was employed, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. Data were collected from a stratified sample of 195 MPs selected from a population of 382 through questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions, and documentary review. Descriptive statistics and chi-square analysis were used for quantitative data, while thematic analysis was applied to qualitative data. The findings show that 77.9% of MPs reported high or very high realisation of their initial motivations, while 76.9% indicated that their expectations of parliamentary service had been largely fulfilled. A significant relationship was found between MPs' expectations and their perceived level of representation (χ^2 = 9.1747, p = 0.001), suggesting that expectations shape perceptions of representational effectiveness. Despite these positive assessments, MPs identified major institutional and political constraints, including limited executive responsiveness, inadequate parliamentary support, party dynamics, and persistent public expectations for direct material assistance. The study concludes that parliamentary representation in Tanzania extends beyond formal constitutional responsibilities and is shaped by the interaction of institutional, political, and socio-economic factors. These findings contribute to debates on political representation, democratic accountability, and legislative performance in emerging African democracies

Introduction
Political representation is a fundamental principle of representative democracy through which citizens' interests, preferences, and concerns are articulated within formal political institutions. In parliamentary democracies, Members of Parliament (MPs) perform three core functions: representing constituents, legislating, and overseeing executive actions. Effective representation requires MPs to communicate citizens' concerns, influence public policy, promote accountability, and balance constituency interests with national priorities (Pitkin, 1967; Warren & Pearse, 2013). Consequently, the quality of representation is widely regarded as an important indicator of democratic performance and institutional legitimacy.

In many emerging democracies, however, representation extends beyond these constitutional responsibilities. MPs often operate in environments characterised by limited resources, competing institutional demands, and high public expectations. Besides their legislative responsibilities, they are expected to facilitate local development, advocate for public services, and respond to citizens' immediate socio-economic needs. Such expectations frequently create tensions between constitutional mandates, party obligations, and constituency demands, making representation a complex and negotiated process rather than a purely institutional function (Kelsall & Hart, 2021).

These challenges are particularly evident in many African democracies, where citizens frequently assess MPs not only by their legislative performance but also by their ability to mobilise development resources and provide direct assistance to constituents. Consequently, parliamentary representation is shaped by the interaction of formal democratic institutions, political party structures, and informal socio-economic expectations. MPs must therefore balance accountability to their constituents, political parties, Parliament, and the executive while operating within institutional constraints that often limit their effectiveness.

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) assigns Members of Parliament the responsibility of representing citizens, making laws, overseeing executive actions, and promoting national development. Previous studies have examined parliamentary accountability, legislative behaviour, constituency service, and democratic governance in Tanzania and other African countries (Amundsen, 2010; Collord, 2021; Tsubura, 2014). While these studies have enhanced understanding of parliamentary institutions, they have paid limited attention to how MPs' motivations for seeking office, their expectations of parliamentary service, and their actual representational experiences interact to shape representation. As a result, important questions remain regarding whether MPs are able to fulfil their initial aspirations while responding effectively to competing institutional, political, and constituency demands.

Understanding these relationships is important because representation is influenced not only by constitutional mandates but also by MPs' personal motivations, institutional opportunities, political incentives, and citizens' expectations. Examining these dimensions provides a more comprehensive understanding of parliamentary representation and helps explain why MPs may perceive themselves as successful representatives despite operating within significant structural constraints. Such insights are particularly relevant for strengthening democratic accountability and legislative effectiveness in developing democracies. This study therefore assesses the representation roles in Tanzania's 12th Parliament (2020-2025) by examining the relationship between MPs' motivations for seeking parliamentary office, their expectations of parliamentary service, and their actual experiences of representation. Using a mixed-methods approach, the study evaluates the extent to which MPs perceive they have fulfilled their representational roles while identifying the institutional, political, and socio-economic factors that facilitate or constrain effective representation.

The study contributes to the literature on political representation by demonstrating that parliamentary representation in Tanzania is shaped by the interplay among institutional arrangements, party dynamics, and constituency expectations, rather than by constitutional mandates alone. By providing empirical evidence from the 12th Parliament of Tanzania, the study offers context-specific insights into legislative representation and democratic governance in Tanzania while contributing to broader debates on political representation in emerging African democracies.

Literature Review

Political representation is a central concept in representative democracy, referring to the process by which elected representatives articulate and defend citizens' interests within legislative institutions.

According to Pitkin (1967), representation extends beyond occupying political office; it requires representatives to act on behalf of citizens, remain responsive to their needs, and be accountable for their actions. Effective representation therefore combines legislative participation, constituency service, and oversight of executive actions, making it a critical measure of democratic governance.

Contemporary scholarship argues that representation is multidimensional and influenced by institutional, political, and socio-economic contexts. Mansbridge (2003) contends that representation is a dynamic relationship that evolves in response to changing political environments and citizens' expectations. Similarly, Warren and Pearse (2013) maintain that effective representation requires balancing local interests with national policy priorities while ensuring government accountability. In developing democracies, however, this balance is often complicated by limited institutional capacity, weak public service delivery, and increasing public expectations.

Studies from Africa demonstrate that parliamentary representation frequently extends beyond formal legislative responsibilities. Citizens often expect Members of Parliament (MPs) to mobilise development resources, provide financial assistance, and facilitate access to public services. Consequently, MPs must simultaneously satisfy constitutional obligations, political party expectations, and constituency demands, despite having limited authority over policy implementation and resource allocation (Lindberg, 2010; Kamau, 2018). These competing responsibilities create tensions that influence both parliamentary performance and citizens' perceptions of effective representation.

In Tanzania, Parliament is constitutionally mandated to represent citizens, enact legislation, oversee executive performance, and promote national development. Existing studies have examined parliamentary accountability, constituency service, legislative behaviour, and executive-legislative relations (Amundsen, 2010; Tsubura, 2014; Collord, 2021). While these studies provide valuable insights into parliamentary institutions, they pay limited attention to how MPs' motivations for entering politics, their expectations of parliamentary service, and their lived experiences collectively shape representational performance. Consequently, there remains limited empirical evidence explaining why MPs may perceive themselves as successful representatives despite operating within institutional and political constraints. Addressing this gap is essential for understanding the realities of parliamentary representation in Tanzania and similar emerging democracies.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts an integrated theoretical framework combining Pitkin's Theory of Political Representation (1967), Political Ambition Theory (Schlesinger, 1966), Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943), and the concepts of clientelism and patron–client relations. The integration of these perspectives provides a comprehensive explanation of the relationship between MPs' motivations, citizens' expectations, institutional constraints, and representational performance.

Pitkin's Theory of Political Representation provides the principal analytical framework. The theory distinguishes between formalistic, descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation, with substantive representation emphasising representatives' responsibility to act in the interests of citizens. This perspective is particularly relevant because it evaluates representation in terms of responsiveness, accountability, advocacy, and constituency engagement rather than merely on occupying parliamentary office. Political Ambition Theory complements Pitkin's framework by explaining why individuals seek parliamentary office. Schlesinger (1966) argues that political actors seek elected office to achieve leadership, influence public policy, advance their political careers, and serve society. Similarly, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs explains that individuals seek opportunities to satisfy higher-order needs, including achievement, recognition, esteem, and self-actualisation.

Together, these theories explain the motivations and expectations that MPs bring into parliamentary service.

Citizens' expectations are best understood through the concepts of clientelism and patron–client relations. In many developing democracies, voters evaluate MPs not only on legislative performance but also on their ability to secure development projects, facilitate access to public resources, and provide direct assistance to communities. Such expectations frequently extend beyond MPs' constitutional responsibilities, creating pressures that influence both parliamentary behaviour and public perceptions of representation. Taken together, these theoretical perspectives suggest that parliamentary representation is shaped by the interaction of democratic responsibilities, political ambitions, institutional arrangements, and constituency expectations. While MPs may enter Parliament with aspirations to influence policy and promote development, their ability to fulfil these goals depends on the broader institutional and political environment within which they operate. This integrated framework therefore provides an appropriate basis for analysing representation roles in Tanzania's 12th Parliament by linking MPs' motivations, expectations, and lived experiences to the realities of parliamentary representation.

Methodology

Research Approach and Design

This study employed a mixed-methods approach, integrating quantitative and qualitative methods to assess representation roles in Tanzania's 12th Parliament (2020–2025). A mixed-methods approach was appropriate because parliamentary representation involves measurable patterns as well as subjective experiences that cannot be adequately captured using a single method (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Quantitative data were used to examine MPs' motivations, expectations, and perceptions of representational performance, while qualitative data provided deeper insights into the institutional, political, and socio-economic factors influencing representation. The study adopted a cross-sectional design and collected data during the tenure of the 12th Parliament of Tanzania. Although respondents were required to reflect on their motivations and expectations at the beginning of their parliamentary service, the design enabled an assessment of how these compared with their actual experiences of representation (Bryman,2016).

Study Population and Sampling

The target population comprised all 382 Members of Parliament serving in Tanzania's 12th Parliament of Tanzania including constituency and Special Seats MPs. Including both categories provided a comprehensive understanding of parliamentary representation, as Special Seats MPs constitute an important component of Tanzania's legislative system. A sample of 195 MPs was determined using Yamane's (1967) formula and selected through stratified random sampling. Stratification was based on parliamentary category, political party affiliation, gender, and geographical representation to ensure proportional representation of the study population (Kothari, 2004). Within each stratum, respondents were selected through simple random sampling. For the qualitative component, purposive sampling was used to identify MPs with extensive parliamentary experience, committee membership, leadership responsibilities, or significant constituency engagement. These participants provided detailed perspectives that complemented and explained the quantitative findings.

Data Collection

Data were collected during parliamentary sessions in Dodoma, the official seat of the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania, and through selected constituency visits. Collecting data in both settings enabled the study to capture MPs' experiences within parliamentary institutions and their interactions with constituents. Four complementary methods were used to enhance methodological

triangulation (Denzin, 2017). A structured questionnaire was administered to the sampled MPs to collect quantitative data on demographic characteristics, motivations for seeking parliamentary office, expectations of representation, perceived representational performance, institutional constraints, and constituency demands. Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews with purposively selected MPs. The interviews explored experiences of parliamentary representation, constituency relations, executive responsiveness, party influence, parliamentary support, and challenges encountered in fulfilling representational responsibilities (Kvale, 2015). Focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with selected MPs to facilitate collective reflection on their roles in representation. Discussions explored common experiences regarding constituency expectations, institutional support, party dynamics, and challenges affecting parliamentary performance (Krueger, 2015). A documentary review complemented the primary data by examining parliamentary debates (Hansards), committee reports, Standing Orders, constitutional provisions, political party manifestos, and relevant government documents. Documentary evidence was used to verify and contextualise information obtained from respondents (Bowen, 2009).

Data Analysis

Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics, including frequencies and percentages, to summarise patterns relating to MPs' motivations, expectations, and representational experiences. Chi-square tests were employed to examine relationships between key variables and determine their statistical significance. Representation was operationalised as a multidimensional construct comprising constituency responsiveness, fulfilment of voter expectations, advocacy effectiveness, accessibility to constituents, and achievement of representational objectives. This approach reflects the multidimensional nature of political representation proposed by (Pitkin,1967 & Patton,2015). Qualitative data obtained from interviews and focus group discussions were analysed using thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework. Interview transcripts were coded, categorised, and organised into themes reflecting representation performance, institutional constraints, political party influence, constituency expectations, executive responsiveness, parliamentary support, and developmental clientelism. Findings from the qualitative and quantitative analyses were integrated during interpretation to strengthen the validity of the results.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical standards governing social science research were observed throughout the study. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained from all respondents before data collection. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and all information was used solely for academic purposes. Methodological triangulation through multiple data sources and collection methods enhanced the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings while reducing potential bias associated with self-reported perceptions.

Findings and Discussion

Representation Roles in the 12th Parliament of Tanzania

This study examined the representation roles of MPs in Tanzania's 12th Parliament by analysing MPs' motivations, expectations, and parliamentary experiences. Representation was assessed through responsiveness, advocacy, accessibility, and fulfilment of voters' expectations. Although most MPs reported successful representation, they identified important institutional and political constraints that limited their effectiveness.

Table 1: Overall Assessment of Representation Roles (n = 195)

Indicator	**Frequency (n)**	**Percentage (%)**
High/Very High Realisation of Motives	152	77.9
High/Very High Realisation of Expectations	150	76.9
MPs Reporting Fulfilment of Voters' Expectations	164	84.1
MPs Wishing They Could Have Done More	110	56.4
MPs Reporting Government Unresponsiveness	172	88.2
MPs Experiencing Financial Pressures from Constituents	170	87.2

Source: Field Data (2024)

The results in Table 1 indicate that MPs generally perceived representation in Tanzania's 12th Parliament positively. Most respondents reported high or very high realisation of their motivations (77.9%) and expectations (76.9%), while 84.1% believed they had met voters' expectations. Despite these positive assessments, many acknowledged important constraints: 56.4% believed they could have done more, 88.2% cited inadequate government responsiveness to constituency concerns, and 87.2% reported persistent public expectations for material support. These findings suggest that parliamentary representation is a continuous process characterised by both achievement and institutional constraints rather than a simple measure of success or failure. This supports Pitkin's (1967) view that representation requires responsiveness without satisfying every citizen demand and aligns with Mansbridge's (2003) argument that representation is an evolving process shaped by changing political and social conditions.

Realisation of Motives for Seeking Parliamentary Office

This research examined how aware Members of Parliament (MPs) were of the reasons they were motivated to join parliament in the first place. Results show that most MPs found their initial motivation was fulfilled in parliament.

Table 2: Extent of Realisation of Motives (n = 195)

Level of Realisation	**Frequency (n)**	**Percentage (%)**
Very High	104	53.3
High	48	24.6
Moderate	36	18.5
Low	6	3.1
Very Low	1	0.5
Total	**195**	**100.0**

Source: Field Data (2024)

The results show that 152 respondents (77.9%) reported high or very high levels of motive realisation, suggesting that parliamentary service largely enabled MPs to pursue the goals that motivated them to seek office. Only 3.6% reported low or very low levels of fulfilment.

Interview findings support these results. One respondent noted:

> *"I have consistently advocated for increased agricultural budgets and development initiatives. I feel that many of the issues that motivated me to seek office have received attention, and progress has been made." (Interview with MP 04, June 2024).*

Similarly, a participant in a focus group discussion observed:

> *"Although not everything has been achieved, I have been able to represent community concerns and influence decision-making processes." (FGD Participant 3, July 2024).*

The results show that most MPs cited reasons for joining parliament related to serving the public, developing constituencies, and exercising political leadership, and viewed parliamentary work as an avenue to achieve those goals. The results lend credence to the Ambition Theory (Schlesinger, 1966), which posits that political actors seek positions of power to realise personal and public interests. But the low levels of motive realisation among some respondents suggest that there are barriers within institutions and politics to realising personal ambitions.

Realisation of Representation Expectations

Expectation fulfilment levels were measured to assess congruence between MPs' experiences in Parliament and their expectations before taking up the position. The expectations considered included opportunities for policy influence, constituency development, representation of citizens' interests, and involvement in governance.

Table 3: Extent of Realisation of Expectations (n = 195)

Level of Realisation	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Very High	52	26.7
High	98	50.3
Moderate	38	18.5
Low	6	4.1
Very Low	1	0.5
Total	195	100.0

Source: Field Data (2024)

The findings in Table 3 indicate that 150 respondents (76.9%) reported high or very high satisfaction. From Table 3, one can deduce that 150 of 195 individuals (76.9%) experienced high or very high realisation of expectations, implying that most MPs saw their parliamentary experience as in line with their expectations. 9 respondents (4.6%) experienced low or very low realisation of expectations. This implies that despite the different challenges that the MPs faced in Parliament, most of them were able to fulfil a considerable number of their expectations. The interview findings reinforce this conclusion. One individual noted:

> *"Before entering Parliament, I sought advice from experienced MPs to understand the realities of the position. Once I joined, I realised that parliamentary work is guided by procedures and institutional rules. This understanding helped align my expectations with the actual responsibilities of the role." (Interview with MP 04, June 2024).*

This implies that some MPs were able to adapt and fulfil their duties because of their knowledge about parliamentary procedure. This was not true for all interviewees, as some found that parliamentary life did not match their expectations before taking office. For example:

> *"You come with many expectations of what you want to achieve, but after entering Parliament, you realise that some things depend on procedures, institutions, and actors beyond your direct control." (Interview with MP 07, July 2024).*

The result shows that the fulfilment of expectations depends not only on personal effort but also on the institutional setting in which the MPs work. According to Pitkin (1967), representation depends on the structure of the system in which representatives can act on behalf of the people. To examine the relationship between expectations and representation, the Chi-square test was performed.

Table 4: Relationship between Expectations and Representation Levels (n = 195)

Level of Expectations	Unsatisfactory Representation	Satisfactory Representation	Total
High	53 (60.9%)	89 (80.6%)	142
Low	35 (39.1%)	21 (19.4%)	56
Test Statistic		Value	
Chi-Square (χ^2)		9.1747	
p-value		0.001	

Source: Field Data (2024)

There is statistical evidence of a significant correlation between expectations and representation levels ($\chi^2 = 9.1747$, $p = 0.001$). More MPs who reported high satisfaction with meeting their expectations had higher representation levels than MPs whose expectations were not met. This implies that expectations are a key variable in determining how effective representation is perceived. A focus group discussion participant pointed out:

> *"When your expectations are realistic, it becomes easier to appreciate the progress that is made. Problems arise when people expect immediate solutions to challenges that require long-term institutional action." (FGD Participant 2, July 2024)*

In conclusion, the findings show that the majority of MPs successfully reconciled their expectations with parliamentary reality and felt that their experience in representation was satisfactory. However, the presence of participants whose experience of expectation fulfilment was lower shows the persistence of the impact of institutional constraints and governance issues on parliamentary representation.

Representation Performance and Practical Realities

After the accomplishment of goals and expectations, the study also looked at how the Members of Parliament evaluated their performance in representing the citizens. It was found that although the majority of Members of Parliament perceived themselves as successful in their representation, most felt constrained in realising their full potential.

Table 5: Representation Performance and Practical Realities (n = 195)

Representation Indicator	**Frequency (n)**	**Percentage (%**
MPs who reported meeting voters' expectations (Agree + Strongly Agree)	164	84.1
MPs who reported not meeting voters' expectations (Disagree + Strongly Disagree)	22	11.3
MPs who wished they could have accomplished more (Agree + Strongly Agree)	110	56.4
MPs who did not feel the need to do more (Disagree + Strongly Disagree)	74	38.0

Source: Field Data (2024)

The findings on Table 5, indicate that 164 respondents (84.1%) believed they had fulfilled their voters' expectations, suggesting that most MPs were satisfied with their representational performance. However, 110 respondents (56.4%) felt they could have achieved more, indicating that satisfaction with performance did not necessarily imply full realisation of their representational responsibilities.

One interviewee observed:

> *"We have achieved many things, but there is always more that citizens expect from us. Development challenges continue to emerge, and sometimes the available resources are not sufficient to address every concern raised by the community." (Interview with MP 06, July 2024).*

These findings suggest that parliamentary representation is a continuous process shaped by evolving constituency demands rather than a fixed outcome. They support Mansbridge's (2003) argument that representation is dynamic and responsive to changing political, social, and economic conditions. MPs operate in an environment where public expectations often exceed available resources, making it difficult to satisfy all constituency demands.

Focus group discussions reinforced this view, with one participant noting:

> "*Representation does not end because a project has been completed or a problem has been solved. New issues continue to emerge, and citizens expect their representatives to keep responding to them.*" *(FGD Participant 4, July 2024*).

Overall, the findings indicate that although MPs considered themselves effective representatives, they recognised significant structural limitations. Executive responsiveness, coordination with local government authorities, parliamentary support structures, and development project implementation constrained their ability to fully achieve representational objectives. Consequently, representation in Tanzania's 12th Parliament is best understood as a continuous negotiation between democratic ideals, institutional realities, constituency expectations, and party interests.

Institutional Constraints on Representation

Although the results in the previous sections show that most MPs reported a high degree of realisation of their motives, expectations, and representational intentions, this research also found many institutional barriers that hindered representation and made it less effective. It is because of those institutional barriers that a good number of MPs (56.4%) expressed regret at not being able to do more, despite being relatively successful with their representation.

Table 6: Institutional Constraints Affecting Representation (n = 195)

Institutional Factor	**Agree/Strongly Agree (%)**	**Agree (%) Disagree/Strongly Disagree (%)**
The government is not responsive enough to constituency demands submitted by MPs	88.2	7.2
Potentials for MPs to contribute to national development are constrained	58.0	32.8
MPs' efforts to promote constituency development are hindered by LGAs	58.5	30.8
Parliamentary support to individual MPs is adequate and appreciated	32.3	50.8
Implementation of development projects lacks transparency and efficiency	61.5	32.8

Source: Field Data (2024)

The findings in Table 6 indicate that institutional constraints significantly affect parliamentary representation. Most respondents (88.2%) cited inadequate government responsiveness to constituency concerns, suggesting that effective representation depends on both raising issues in Parliament and government action. As one MP explained:

> "*Many times, we raise issues affecting our constituencies, submit recommendations, and follow the required procedures. However, implementation depends on ministries and other government institutions. When responses are delayed, citizens often blame the MP even though the decision is beyond our direct authority.*" *(Interview with MP 06, July 2024).*

Similarly, 58.5% of respondents reported that Local Government Authorities (LGAs) hinder constituency development through weak coordination, bureaucracy, resource constraints, and

differing priorities. Institutional support also remained a challenge: 50.8% expressed dissatisfaction with parliamentary support, and 61.5% perceived development project implementation as lacking transparency and efficiency.

These findings support Pitkin's (1967) argument that representation is shaped by institutional contexts rather than individual effort alone and are consistent with Collord (2021) and Tsubura (2014), who emphasise the importance of responsive governance frameworks. Overall, although MPs regarded themselves as effective representatives, executive responsiveness, local government coordination, parliamentary support, and development project implementation continued to constrain their ability to meet constituency expectations.

Party Dynamics and Representation

Political parties are institutions essential for organising and exercising representation within parliament. Although political parties provide guidance on policy, political backing, and organisational support, they can at times limit MPs' freedom to act as representatives of constituency interests. This research focused on the perception of MPs on the degree to which party organisations affect representation performance.

Table 7: Influence of Party Dynamics on Representation (n = 195)

Response Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agree	69	35.38
Agree	22	11.28
Neutral	9	4.62
Disagree	51	26.15
Strongly Disagree	44	22.56
Total	195	100.0

Statement Assessed: *"Party systems hinder opportunities and freedom for effective execution of representation roles."*

Source: Field Data (2024)

The findings in Table 7 reveal divided views on the influence of political parties on parliamentary representation. While 46.7% of respondents agreed that party systems limited effective representation, 48.7% disagreed, suggesting that political parties function as both facilitators and constraints.

For many MPs, political parties provide organisational support, policy coordination, and legislative guidance, supporting Laver and Shepsle's (1996) view that parties are central to legislative organisation. However, qualitative evidence indicates that party discipline may constrain MPs' ability to represent constituency interests independently. As one respondent noted:

> "My party provides important support, but there are times when citizens expect us to speak more strongly on certain issues. In such situations, balancing party positions and constituency expectations becomes challenging." (Interview with MP 01, July 2024).

These findings demonstrate that MPs are accountable to both their constituents and political parties, which influence nominations, committee appointments, leadership positions, and political careers. Consistent with Ambition Theory (Schlesinger, 1966), MPs must balance political ambitions with constituency responsibilities. A focus group participant explained:

> "As MPs, we represent citizens, but we also belong to political parties with their own programmes and priorities. The challenge is ensuring that constituency interests are not overshadowed while still working within party structures." (FGD Participant 5, July 2024).

The findings also support Pitkin's (1967) concept of substantive representation, which views representation as a continuous negotiation between institutional structures and citizens' interests. Overall, political parties in Tanzania's 12th Parliament of Tanzania facilitate legislative coordination while simultaneously limiting MPs' autonomy in representing constituency interests.

Constituency Expectations and Developmental Clientelism

One of the key lessons learned from this study is that citizens' expectations of more than constitutional duties; Members of Parliament are expected to deliver. In addition to legislating, overseeing government activities, and representing citizens' needs, MPs were commonly expected by many respondents to offer financial support and to get personally involved in citizens' socio-economic problems. This was one of the most important sources of pressure on the process of representation in the Twelfth Parliament of Tanzania.

Table 8: Constituency Expectations and Representation Pressure (n = 195)

Statement	Agree/Strongly Agree (%)	Disagree/Strongly Disagree (%)
Citizens consider MPs as problem-solvers for their personal financial problems	87.2	8.7
Implementation of development projects lacks transparency and efficiency	61.5	32.8
MPs would still seek re-election despite representation challenges	4.6	84.6*

**The majority disagreed with the statement that they would not seek re-election after meeting their expectations, implying a continued interest in political service and representation.*

Source: Field Data (2024)

The findings in Table 8 show that 87.2% of respondents believed that citizens viewed MPs as providers of financial assistance, including school fees, medical expenses, funeral contributions, employment, and other personal needs, beyond MPs' constitutional responsibilities.

One respondent explained:

> *"Many citizens do not distinguish between the responsibilities of Parliament and the responsibilities of an individual MP. Whenever they face financial difficulties, they come directly to the MP expecting assistance." (Interview with MP 05, June 2024).*

These findings indicate that parliamentary representation in Tanzania extends beyond legislative and oversight functions to encompass development and welfare responsibilities. Consequently, MPs are evaluated not only on their parliamentary performance but also on their ability to address constituents' socio-economic needs. As one focus group participant observed:

> *"The challenge is that citizens often judge representation through what they can directly see and benefit from. If a development project is completed or someone receives assistance, they associate that with good representation." (FGD Participant 3, July 2024).*

The findings reflect developmental clientelism, whereby citizens assess representatives according to both legislative performance and their ability to facilitate access to resources and development opportunities. This also explains why many MPs believed they could have done more despite perceiving themselves as effective representatives, as public expectations frequently exceed their constitutional powers and available resources.

Consistent with Pitkin's (1967) concept of substantive representation, these findings suggest that representation in Tanzania is shaped by both democratic responsibilities and socio-economic expectations. Consequently, MPs must balance constitutional duties with developmental demands and clientelist pressures, highlighting a persistent tension between formal representation and constituency expectations.

Conclusion

This research evaluates the roles of representation in the 12th Parliament of Tanzania by analysing how MPs' motivations, expectations, and experiences influence the performance of those roles. The results indicate a mixture of realisation and non-realisation of roles of representation in Tanzania; these roles are neither completely realised nor ineffective.

Most members of parliament have entered office with a strong motivation to serve the public, develop their constituencies, lead politically, and advance national development. A significant number of MPs felt highly motivated to meet their expectations, suggesting that they have achieved their primary motives through their performance in parliament. The majority of respondents felt that they had successfully fulfilled the expectations of their constituents.

While there is evidence that representation has been achieved in these contexts, several other factors have also played an important role in limiting it. The factors include poor responsiveness by the government to constituent demands, coordination problems with Local Government Authorities, dissatisfaction with the mechanisms for supporting parliamentarians within parliament, and poor implementation of development initiatives. All these factors make it difficult for parliamentarians to represent citizens, even though they are committed to doing so.

Furthermore, the study found that party politics had a great influence on representation. It was noted that while political parties offer organisational support and legislative coordination to their members, they are also instrumental in restricting the activities of the same parliamentarians in certain cases.

Most importantly, it is found that there is a developmental clientele in the country's parliamentary representation. Most members of parliament have confirmed that people often demand financial assistance and help with their socio-economic problems, beyond their constitutional duties. Thus, representation goes beyond legislative and oversight activities to encompass developmental and welfare services.

Based on these findings, one would say that representation in Tanzania's 12th Parliament of Tanzania is structurally bound. While MPs have remained loyal to their duty to represent their citizens and achieve developmental goals, their efficiency is determined by institutional responsiveness and political and socio-economic factors beyond their control. Therefore, representation should be viewed not as an accomplishment but as a continuous process.

To strengthen representation, there is a need to improve the government's responsiveness to parliamentary recommendations, coordinate the efforts of MPs and local government bodies, strengthen the parliament's support system, and increase transparency in the implementation of development projects. Similarly, educating citizens about the constitutional function of MPs and the limitations of their mandate is equally significant in this context. It will help in setting more realistic expectations about the representative system.

Last but not least, the study shows that representation in the 12th Parliament of Tanzania is high, although limited by structural factors such as institutional constraints, the behaviour of political parties, and development problems. Therefore, the key problem in democratic governance is not only to improve the level of representation but to give it meaning.



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