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DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

‘Being Young, Being a Politician.’ Konzepte und
Handlungsspielräume junger PolitikerInnen in Afrika
(Fallbeispiel Tanzania)

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„Nicht das Bestehende muss verändert werden, sondern das Verkehrte.“

(Joachim Fest zit. n. Seitz: 2009, S.5)

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Inhaltsverzeichnis

Inhaltsverzeichnis	1
Abbildungsverzeichnis	5
Abkürzungsverzeichnis	6
1. Einleitung	7
1.1 Problemstellung.....	9
1.1.1 Relevanz der Thematik	10
1.1.2 Erkenntnisinteresse & Forschungsfragen.....	10
1.2 Begriffliche Abgrenzungen	12
1.3 Aufbau der Arbeit.....	13
I Theoretischer Rahmen	14
2. Verankerung in der Theorie	14
2.1 Die Bedeutung von Jugend und jungen Menschen in Afrika.....	14
2.2 Generationen(verhältnisse).....	18
2.3 Politische Ideologien: Sozialismus, Konservatismus, Liberalismus	22
2.4 Definition Demokratie.....	25
2.5 Das Demokratieverständnis im afrikanischen Kontext	31
2.6 Und wie geht es weiter? Demokratisierungswellen in Afrika	34
2.7 Evolutionstheoretischer Ansatz: Misstrauen und Entwicklung.....	38
3. Politischer Alltag in Afrika	39
3.1 Vorbemerkungen – Kein Afrika-Pessimismus	40
3.2 Charakteristika von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext	41
3.2.1 Big Man Rule – Das „Chefproblem“	43
3.2.2 Neopatrimonialismus / Patron-Client System.....	45
3.2.3 Korruption.....	48
3.2.4 Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeiten.....	51

3.3 Voraussetzungen für Demokratie: Entwicklung vs. Machtverteilung.....	52
3.4 Das Generationenverhältnis in der Politik.....	55
4. Jugend und Politik in Afrika.....	59
4.1 Motivationen zu politischem Engagement	60
4.2 Möglichkeiten des Engagements	62
4.2.1 Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen.....	62
4.2.2 Populärkulturen/Jugendkulturen	66
4.2.3 Parteien/Jugendflügel politischer Parteien.....	68
4.3 Die Jugend als Wählerschaft	70
5. Exkurs: Drei Wege junger PolitikerInnen.....	72
5.1 Thomas Joseph Odhiambo Mboya (Kenya)	72
5.2 Julius Sello Malema (Südafrika)	74
5.3 Amina Chifupa (Tanzania)	76
5.4 Vergleich der Fallbeispiele	78
6. Fallbeispiel Tanzania	80
6.1 Politik seit der Unabhängigkeit (insbesondere seit Ujamaa).....	81
6.2 Aktuelle politische Situation / Grad der Demokratisierung in Tanzania.....	90
II Empirischer Teil.....	99
7. Methodenbeschreibung.....	99
7.1 Die Erhebungsmethode: Qualitative problemzentrierte Leitfadenterviews	100
7.2 Das Auswertungsverfahren: Qualitative strukturierende Inhaltsanalyse.....	103
7.3 Gütekriterien.....	104
7.4 Methodische Stärken und Schwächen	105
7.5 Begründung der Methodenwahl	107
8. Auswertung.....	107
8.1 Festlegung des Materials & Analyse der Entstehungssituation.....	107

8.2 Formale Charakteristika des Materials	108
8.3 Richtung der Analyse & theoriegeleitete Differenzierung der Fragestellung	109
8.4 Bestimmung der Analyseeinheit & Auswertung soziodemografischer Struktur.....	110
8.5 Das Kategoriensystem	112
8.6 Auffälligkeiten bei der Untersuchung	115
8.7 Auswertung nach Kategorien	116
8.7.1 Auswertung Kategorie 1.1 (Politikverständnis).....	116
8.7.2 Auswertung Kategorie 1.2 (Zusammenhang Politik und Lebensalltag).....	118
8.7.3 Auswertung Kategorie 2.1 (Definition Demokratie)	119
8.7.4 Auswertung Kategorie 2.2 (Skala Demokratie).....	120
8.7.5 Auswertung Kategorie 3 (Familiärer Hintergrund)	121
8.7.6 Auswertung Kategorie 4 (Motivation für Engagement)	122
8.7.7 Auswertung Kategorie 5.1 (Attribute junge PolitikerInnen)	124
8.7.8 Auswertung Kategorie 5.2 (Attribute älterer PolitikerInnen)	125
8.7.9 Auswertung Kategorie 6 (Chancen / Grenzen der Partizipation)	125
8.7.10 Auswertung Kategorie 7 (Generationenverhältnis)	128
8.7.11 Auswertung Kategorie 8 (Weitere Themen).....	130
9. Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen.....	131
9.1 Forschungsfrage 1.1.....	132
9.2 Forschungsfrage 1.2.....	135
9.3 Forschungsfrage 1.3.....	138
9.4 Forschungsfrage 2.1.....	142
9.5 Forschungsfrage 2.2.....	143
9.6 Forschungsfrage 2.3.....	148
9.7 Forschungsfrage 3.1.....	149
9.8 Forschungsfrage 3.2.....	152

9.9 Hypothesen	154
10. Conclusio & Ausblick.....	156
11. Literatur	160
11.1 Internetquellen	170
11.2 Weiterführende Literatur	172
12. Anhang	173
12.1 Freedom House Africa.....	173
12.2 Funktionen Demokratie (Studie Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi)	174
12.3 Interviewleitfaden	175
12.4 Fragebogen Soziodemografische Daten	176
12.5 Paraphrasierungen nach Interviews	177
12.6 Transkripte.....	219
12.7 Abstract (deutsch/englisch)	283
12.8 Lebenslauf	284

Abbildungsverzeichnis

Abb. 1: Konzept Diplomarbeit	13
Abb. 2: Marxistisches Modell der Gesellschaftsveränderung.....	23
Abb. 3: Demokratietheorien im Vergleich	27
Abb. 4: Embedded Democracy: Dimensionen, Teilregime und Kriterien.....	29
Abb. 5: Awareness of Democracy in %	31
Abb. 6: Popular Understanding of Democracy (in %)	32
Abb. 7: Corruption Perceptions Index 2011 Results.....	48
Abb. 8: Veranstaltungsfoto Walls in Tanzania and Germany.....	60
Abb. 9: Tom Mboya	72
Abb. 10: Julius Malema	74
Abb. 11 : Amina Chifupa	76
Abb. 12: Julius K. Nyerere.....	81
Abb. 13: Vier Phasen der nachkolonialen Entwicklung Tanzanias	82
Abb. 14: Ali Hassan Mwinyi.....	83
Abb. 15: Benjamin Mkapa	84
Abb. 16: Votes won by Presidential Candidates in 2000 and 1995	85
Abb. 17: Percentages of Seats Parliamentary Elections of 2000 and 1995.....	86
Abb. 18: Jakata Kikwete	86
Abb. 19: Freedom House Index: Tanzania.....	90
Abb. 20: Freedom in the World 2011 (Grafik Afrika SdS).....	91
Abb. 21: Bertelsmann-Transformations-Indizes: Tanzania 2009/2010	93
Abb. 22: Tanzania Country Report (Bertelsmann Stiftung)	93
Abb. 23: Freedom in Africa: Tanzania.....	96
Abb. 24: Politische und ökonomische Reformen in den Afrobarometer-Ländern	97

Abb. 25: Ablehnung autoritärer Regierungsführung, nach Ländern (in %)	97
Abb. 26: Erwartungen für die politische Zukunft des eigenen Landes (Skala von 0-10)	98
Abb. 27: Gegenstandsbereiche und Methoden empirischer Sozialforschung	99
Abb. 28: Charakteristika qualitativ angelegter Interviews	101
Abb. 29: Ablauf des problemzentrierten Interviews	102
Abb. 30: Inhaltsanalytische Gütekriterien nach Krippendorff	105
Abb. 31: Geschlechterverhältnisse in Empirie	110
Abb. 32: Altersstruktur Empirie	110
Abb. 33: Politische Orientierung Empirie	111
Abb. 34: Politischer Zyklus Interviews	117
Abb. 35: Vergleich Demokratieverständnis Bratton et al/Herlinghaus (in %)	139

Abkürzungsverzeichnis

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ASP Youth League	Afro Shirazi Party Youth League
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands
CHADEMA	Chama cha Maendeleo na Demokrasia (Party for Democracy & Development)
CUF	Civic United Front
FDP	Freiheitlich Demokratische Partei
IMF	International Monetary Found
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
UVCCM	Umoja wa Vijana wa CCM (Jugendflügel der CCM)

1. Einleitung

„Der ganze Kontinent wird zum Almosenempfänger, nicht wegen der Menschen und Völker, sondern weil sie Regierungen haben, die faul, raffgierig und größenwahnsinnig sind.“ (Neudeck: 2009, S. 19)

Warum hat es (demokratische) Entwicklung in afrikanischen Ländern so schwer? Abhängig davon wen man befragt, bekommt man sehr unterschiedliche Antworten. Weit verbreitet ist nach wie vor die Meinung, dass die Hauptschuldigen an der anhaltend schlechten Gesamtsituation der Länder des afrikanischen Kontinents vor allem der Kolonialismus und (auch aus der Geschichte des Kolonialismus folgend) die anhaltende Marginalisierung Afrikas auf dem Weltmarkt sind. Doch diese Sichtweise greift zu kurz, wie es auch der südafrikanische Politik- und Wirtschaftswissenschaftler Moeletsi Mbeki in einem Interview formuliert:

„Viele Afrikaner waren regelrecht darauf versessen, die Ursache ihrer Probleme im Kolonialismus zu suchen. [...] Unsere politische Elite hatte genug Zeit, die Situation zu ändern – wenn sie das gewollt hätte.“ (Mbeki: 2011, S. 8)

Ohne Frage gibt es externe Ausbeutung und Marginalisierung und zweifelsohne hat der Kolonialismus den Boden für vielfältige Konflikte auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent geebnet. Doch was bedeutet es, wenn man überwiegend ein abstraktes (historisches) Konstrukt wie den Kolonialismus oder andere externe Einflussfaktoren zu den Hauptschuldigen erklärt?

In erster Linie sind damit alle derzeitigen innerafrikanischen AkteurInnen und EntscheidungsträgerInnen freigesprochen von jeglicher Schuld und Verantwortung für ihr eigenes Handeln. Durch die Fokussierung auf externe und historische Faktoren kommt es außerdem zu einer Entmündigung, die eigenverantwortliches Handeln der afrikanischen Eliten zu wenig beachtet. Dies eröffnet eine Problemperspektive, die den Fokus auf die innerafrikanischen Eliten des 21. Jahrhunderts lenkt. Eine zentrale Frage sollte also vielmehr sein: *Welche Rolle spielen die nachkolonialen Eliten in afrikanischen Ländern im Hinblick auf (politische) Entwicklung?* Ihr Handeln wird in der Praxis und im theoretischen Diskurs zunehmend kritisch hinterfragt. So auch von Volker Seitz in seinem Buch „Afrika wird armregiert“:

„[V]erantwortlich für das heutige Elend des Kontinents sind nicht mehr die Sklaverei und 80 Jahre Kolonialherrschaft (1880-1960). Ein Satz wie >> Der afrikanische Kontinent wird vom Rest der Welt arm gehalten << des schwedischen Schriftstellers Henning Mankell erscheint heute wie ein Freibrief für afrikanische Herrscher, die ihre Staaten rücksichtslos geplündert haben oder immer noch plündern. [...] Weiße Kolonialherren wurden durch schwarze Kolonialherren ersetzt.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 35)

Hinzu kommt, dass viele nachkoloniale Eliten in afrikanischen Ländern seit den Unabhängigkeitskämpfen von der Kolonialherrschaft bis heute ihre Machtposition mit allen Mitteln verteidigen. Dies hat dazu geführt, dass es gerade junge Menschen immer schwer hatten in der politischen Arena Fuß zu fassen. Da die nachkolonialen Eliten nun aber nach und nach aus Altersgründen die politische Arena verlassen und so unweigerlich Macht an die nachfolgende Generation abgeben müssen, eröffnen sich hier neue Potentiale. Die vorliegende Arbeit hebt deshalb junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen aufs Podest und wirft das Scheinwerferlicht auf ihre Rolle als politische AkteurInnen.

Die Proteste und Revolutionen, die seit Ende 2010 in einigen nordafrikanischen Ländern stattfinden, zeigen, dass die Luft für antidemokratische Regierungen dünner wird. Die Menschen wollen Veränderung und gehen dafür auf die Straße. Moeletsi Mbeki, Bruder des ehemaligen Präsidenten von Südafrika, prognostiziert, dass ähnliche Revolten spätestens 2020 auch in Südafrika ausbrechen werden, weil die Menschen immer unzufriedener werden. Schon jetzt kann er auf Provinzebene diese Tendenzen erkennen (Mbeki: 2011, S. 8).

Dieser Arbeit liegt deshalb die Annahme zu Grunde, dass Afrika sich derzeit auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Welle politischer Umwälzung befindet. Diese geht Hand in Hand mit der erwähnten biologischen Wende: Die bisherigen Eliten werden älter und die jungen Menschen, die nachrücken sind völlig anders sozialisiert, als es noch ihre Elterngeneration war. Durch eine zunehmende Globalisierung und die wachsende zeitliche Entfernung zum Kolonialismus, setzen sie potentiell andere Prioritäten und stellen andere Forderungen an die Politik. Dominic Johnson beschreibt dieses Phänomen etwas blumig, aber dennoch passend:

„Die Generation der Staatsgründer, die ihre Länder als erste und bisher einzige regieren und die ihre Machtfülle selbst definieren, ist tot – bis auf zwei bezeichnende Ausnahmen [...]: Robert Mugabe in Simbabwe und Isaias Afewerki in Eritrea [...] Afrikas zweite Befreiung ist im Entstehen: eine Befreiung von den Befreiern und von ihrer Fixierung auf den althergebrachten Widerpart des Kolonisatoren, eine Rückbesinnung auf Afrika selbst, seinen Erfindungsreichtum und seine gesellschaftliche Kraft.“ (Johnson: 2011, S. 62)

Wie diese *Befreiung* potentiell aussehen kann, und welche Chancen und Risiken ein Generationenwechsel in der politischen Arena vor dem Hintergrund bestehender Generationenverhältnisse zwischen jungen und älteren PolitikerInnen haben kann, wird in der vorliegenden Diplomarbeit thematisiert.

1.1 Problemstellung

„When looking more closely at African politics in the post-colonial era, one notes that they were marked by immobility and the monopolizing behaviour of the elites in power, sustained by often surrealistic and ruthless methods of intimidation. [...] the generation that secured independence blocked the path of the younger generation in political life [...].“ (Abbink: 2005, S. 13)

In der vorliegenden Arbeit stehen die Handlungsspielräume junger afrikanischer PolitikerInnen im Zentrum des Erkenntnisinteresses. Auch das hierfür relevante Generationenverhältnis der jungen PolitikerInnen zu der herrschenden Elite wird auf seine Bedeutung hin untersucht. Dies ist besonders auch vor dem Hintergrund der jüngsten Entwicklungen in den nordafrikanischen Ländern hochinteressant: Stichwort *Arabischer Frühling* 2011¹. Um zu reflektieren welche Bedeutung den Handlungsspielräumen zukommt, wird auch das Demokratie- und Politikverständnis junger afrikanischer PolitikerInnen untersucht, da dieses ihr politisches Handeln bestimmt.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich also formulieren: Untersucht wird der Zusammenhang zwischen politischen Handlungsspielräumen junger afrikanischer PolitikerInnen und ihrem Potential zu politischer Veränderung, vor dem Hintergrund eines anstehenden Generationenwechsels auf politischer Ebene am Fallbeispiel Tanzania. Um diesen Zusammenhängen auf den Grund zu gehen, wird auch das derzeitige Generationenverhältnis analysiert. Der Fokus liegt insgesamt auf internen Faktoren² von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern.

Da es zu dieser Thematik bisher wenig Auseinandersetzung auf wissenschaftlicher Ebene gibt, umfasst die Arbeit neben der Darstellung des aktuellen Forschungsstandes auch einen empirischen Teil. Für diesen wurde das Fallbeispiel Tanzania als Untersuchungsgegenstand ausgewählt. Begründet wird dies mit der politischen Situation in Tanzania. Das Land gilt als politisch recht stabil, was die Wertigkeit der Forschung erhöht, weil die Interviewausagen verlässlichere Gültigkeit haben und so ein stärkerer Fokus auf die eigentliche Fragestellung möglich ist.

¹ Im Dez. 2010 begann in Nordafrika eine Protestwelle der Bevölkerung gegen die autokratischen Herrscher.

² Im Gegensatz zu externen Faktoren, wie Geber-Richtlinien und Bedingungen internationaler Organisationen.

1.1.1 Relevanz der Thematik

„By the end of the 1990s it was clear that the mere presence of multiple political parties does not ensure democracy. The old single parties have demonstrated a remarkable ability to adapt the new environment.“ (Van de Walle: 2003, S. 315)

Zwar wurden in den 1990er Jahren in vielen afrikanischen Ländern südlich der Sahara Mehrparteiensysteme und Wahlen eingeführt und so eine Aura von Demokratie geschaffen, aber bis heute ist die Politik afrikanischer Staaten vor allem geprägt durch autoritäre Regierungen unter dem Deckmantel der Demokratie und das *Big Man Rule-Prinzip* einzelner Personen, die Macht bei sich akkumulieren und aus dieser Position heraus ein Land regieren. *Informelle Netzwerke, Korruption* und das *Patron-Client-System* hängen mit dem *Big Man Rule-Prinzip* zusammen und sind ebenfalls charakteristisch für die politischen Systeme in vielen afrikanischen Ländern. Auch die *Orientierung entlang von ethnischen Zugehörigkeiten* spielt oft, wie beispielsweise in Kenya, eine große Rolle. Diese Mechanismen führen dazu, dass sich auf politischer Ebene ein vielschichtiges Netz an Gegenseitigkeiten entwickelt hat, das für politisch aktive Menschen ohne die nötigen Beziehungen nur schwer zu durchbrechen ist. So zeigen diese negativen Charakteristika eine scheinbar unüberbrückbare Hartnäckigkeit. Dennoch werden in jüngster Zeit Stimmen lauter, die mit dem Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene, der in naher Zukunft ansteht, die Chance auf positive Entwicklungen in der politischen Arena verbinden. Deshalb ist es unbedingt notwendig sich mit dem aktuellen Generationenverhältnis, welches schon jetzt Anzeichen eines Wandels trägt, und den Chancen und Risiken des Generationenwechsels auseinanderzusetzen. Hierzu leistet die vorliegende Arbeit einen ersten Beitrag.

1.1.2 Erkenntnisinteresse & Forschungsfragen

Das Erkenntnisinteresse dieser Diplomarbeit lässt sich auf drei Ebenen definieren:

1. Charakteristika von Politik und das Demokratieverständnis im afrikanischen Kontext.
2. Die Rolle, die junge PolitikerInnen in den gegebenen politischen Strukturen einnehmen (Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der politischen Einflussnahme & Partizipation).
3. Das Generationenverhältnis zwischen jungen PolitikerInnen und den herrschenden Eliten und die Rolle eines potentiellen Generationenkonfliktes.

Alle drei Ebenen werden aus dem aktuellen Forschungsstand heraus und empirisch am Fallbeispiel Tanzania reflektiert.

Aus dem Erkenntnisinteresse ergeben sich folgende Forschungsfragen:

- 1.1 Was sind Charakteristika von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext und welchen Einfluss auf die politische Praxis nehmen diese?
- 1.2 Welches Politikverständnis vertreten junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen und welche politischen Ideologien verbergen sich dahinter?
- 1.3 Welches Demokratieverständnis dominiert in afrikanischen Ländern generell und wie definieren junge PolitikerInnen eine funktionierende Demokratie?

- 2.1 Welche Formen politischen Engagements für junge Menschen in Afrika gibt es und wodurch werden sie zu diesem motiviert?
- 2.2 Welche Rolle nehmen junge Menschen in afrikanischen Ländern auf gesellschaftlicher und politischer Ebene ein und wo zeigen sich in diesem Zusammenhang Chancen und Grenzen der politischen Partizipation für junge PolitikerInnen?
- 2.3 Zeichnet sich ein Zusammenhang zwischen den biografischen Hintergründen junger afrikanischer PolitikerInnen und ihren Möglichkeiten zur Partizipation und Einflussnahme ab? Wenn ja, welcher?

- 3.1 Wie nehmen junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen ihre Beziehung zu den älteren Mitgliedern ihrer Partei/ der Regierung wahr? Wie beschreiben sie ihre eigene Rolle in diesem Verhältnis?
- 3.2 Welche Chancen/Risiken können grundsätzlich einem Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene zugesprochen werden?

1.2 Begriffliche Abgrenzungen

Im nachfolgenden Text wird gelegentlich von der *afrikanischen Demokratie*, der *politischen Praxis im afrikanischen Kontext* oder ähnlichen Begriffen Gebrauch gemacht, und es ist wichtig an dieser Stelle zu betonen, dass diese Formulierungen nicht im Sinne einer Verallgemeinerung oder Pauschalisierung zu verstehen sind. Nicht überall wird auf vorhandene Ausnahmen und Sonderfälle verwiesen, aber es ist der Autorin durchaus bewusst, dass viele Aussagen keinesfalls pauschal auf die politische Praxis jeden afrikanischen Landes gleichermaßen zutreffen. Vielmehr sei an dieser Stelle darauf verwiesen, dass es unterschiedliche Grade der demokratischen Entwicklung und des politischen Status unter den afrikanischen Ländern gibt. Dabei gibt es viele verschiedene Ansätze die verschiedenen Stadien zu erfassen³. Ein Verfahren ist es, die Länder in *emerging democracies / good performers* (z.B. Ghana, Botswana, Tanzania) und *failing states* (z.B. Somalia, Chad) einzuteilen (vgl. Tetzlaff: 2007, S. 19).

Die Ausführungen in dieser Arbeit beziehen sich auf Länder in Afrika südlich der Sahara. Es muss außerdem angemerkt werden, dass es die in dieser Arbeit beschriebenen Probleme politischen Alltags teilweise auch im westlichen Kontext gibt – in geringerem Maße vielleicht, aber Korruption und andere Charakteristika von Politik, wie sie in Kapitel 3 beschrieben werden, lassen sich auch in einigen westlichen Ländern ausmachen. Der große Unterschied aber ist der Lebensstandard der Bevölkerung und die sozioökonomischen Bedingungen, unter denen man als junger Mensch aufwächst. Würde Korruption in Westeuropa bedeuten, dass beispielsweise den jungen Menschen keine gute Ausbildung möglich ist, dann würde diesem Thema auch hier ein anderer Stellenwert zugemessen. Dies wird explizit betont, weil die Arbeit nicht den Eindruck erwecken soll, dass aus eurozentristischer Perspektive die mangelnde Demokratiefähigkeit afrikanischer Staaten dargestellt wird.

³ Auf die verschiedenen Messmethoden des Demokratisierungsgrades eines Landes wird am Beispiel Tanzania in Kapitel 6.2 näher eingegangen.

1.3 Aufbau der Arbeit

Die vorliegende Arbeit strukturiert sich klassisch in einen theoretischen und einen empirischen Teil.

Im theoretischen Teil werden zunächst die Kernbereiche Jugend, Generation, Politik und Demokratie theoretisch reflektiert. Anschließend wird näher auf politischen Alltag und Charakteristika von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext eingegangen, sowie Möglichkeiten jugendlichen politischen Engagements vorgestellt. Im Weiteren werden die Biografien dreier junger PolitikerInnen exemplarisch vorgestellt und die politische Geschichte des Fallbeispiellandes Tanzania seit der Unabhängigkeit dargelegt.

Im empirischen Teil der Arbeit werden nach der Vorstellung der Forschungsmethode die soziodemografischen Daten der Befragten präsentiert und Auffälligkeiten der Befragung angemerkt. Anschließend folgt die Auswertung der Kategorien. Danach werden die Ergebnisse mit dem aktuellen Forschungsstand in Verbindung gesetzt und die Forschungsfragen beantwortet. Den Abschluss der Arbeit bildet ein Ausblick auf den Forschungsbereich, den die vorliegende Arbeit eröffnet. Die nachfolgende Grafik fasst das Konzept der Diplomarbeit zusammen:

Abb. 1: Konzept Diplomarbeit

Titel	,Being Young, Being a Politician‘ Konzepte und Handlungsspielräume junger PolitikerInnen in Afrika (Fallbeispiel Tanzania)
Erkenntnisinteresse	Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Politikverständnis junger afrikanischer PolitikerInnen, ihren politischen Handlungsspielräumen und ihrem Potential zu politischer Veränderung, vor dem Hintergrund eines potentiellen Generationenkonfliktes am Fallbeispiel Tanzania.
Theoretische Bezugsrahmen & Schlüsselbegriffe	Jugend, Generationen(verhältnisse), politische Ideologien, Demokratie / Politik in Afrika südl. d. Sahara
Untersuchungsgegenstand	Junge PolitikerInnen & Politik in Afrika, Fallstudie Tanzania
Empirische Analyse	Leitfadeninterviews mit jungen PolitikerInnen in Tanzania, Auswertung mittels Mayrings Qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse
Datengrundlage	Englisch- und deutschsprachige Literatur und eigene empirische Untersuchung (12 Interviews, davon 11 ausgewertet)
Ziel der Arbeit	Interne Faktoren von Entwicklung und vor allem die Rolle junger PolitikerInnen in Afrika südl. d. Sahara in den Fokus rücken.

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung

I Theoretischer Rahmen

Der theoretische Rahmen der Arbeit stellt alle relevanten theoretischen Hintergründe und den Stand der Forschung bezüglich des Erkenntnisinteresses dieser Arbeit dar. Weil die Zusammenhänge, die Thema dieser Arbeit sind, bisher in der Wissenschaft nicht explizit behandelt wurden, wird hierzu auf verschiedene Bereiche und Perspektiven der Sozialwissenschaft zurückgegriffen.

2. Verankerung in der Theorie

In diesem Kapitel wird die Arbeit in den theoretischen Kontext eingebettet, der für das Erkenntnisinteresse dieser Arbeit relevant ist. Dabei findet zunächst eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Begriffen Jugend/junge Menschen statt. Diese Diskussion wird anschließend in den größeren Rahmen von Generationenverhältnissen übertragen. Dann folgt die Vorstellung politischer Ideologien, die Basis für die darauf folgende Auseinandersetzung mit Demokratie in Afrika ist und auch im empirischen Teil der Arbeit Anwendung findet.

2.1 Die Bedeutung von Jugend und jungen Menschen in Afrika

„African youth are [...] generating the future of the continent, turning present day youthscapes into some of tomorrow's core power.“ (Christiansen/Utas/Vigh: 2006, S. 22-23)

An dieser Stelle soll zunächst darauf hingewiesen werden, dass Jugend (youth) auf definitiver Ebene nicht gleichbedeutend ist mit jungen Menschen (young people). Während die Bezeichnung Jugend einen sozialen Hintergrund hat, handelt es sich bei jungen Menschen um die biologische Zuordnung nach Alter. Jemand kann also ein junger Mensch von beispielsweise 20 Jahren sein, aber gleichzeitig kann diese Person dahingehend überzeugt haben, dass sie Verantwortung übernimmt und deshalb im sozialen Sinne nicht mehr als jugendlich gilt. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 139 / vgl. auch Ringsted: 2008, S. 377) Junge PolitikerInnen werden in dieser Arbeit deshalb nicht rein durch das biologische Alter definiert. Dies macht im Kontext vieler afrikanischer Länder keinen Sinn, da die persönliche Entwicklung einer Person sehr unterschiedlich verlaufen kann – in Abhängigkeit soziokultureller Umstände. (vgl. Abink: 2005, S. 6 / vgl. Christiansen/Utas/Vigh: 2006, S. 10 / vgl. Durham: 2000, S. 116 / vgl. Ringsted: 2008, S. 377). Eine rein biologische oder psychologische Definition von jungen Menschen würde also zu kurz greifen. Außerdem kommt hinzu, dass die Art und Weise des Begreifens von Jugend/jungen Menschen immer auch vom kulturellen Verständnis der Grup-

pe abhängt, in der die Person sozialisiert ist (vgl. Christiansen/Utas/Vigh: 2006, S. 10 / vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 138).

Eine wichtige Komponente bei dem Versuch Jugend verstehen und sozial definieren zu wollen, ist anzuerkennen, dass es sich um eine Begrifflichkeit handelt, die sich laufend in einem Veränderungsprozess befindet, genauso, wie sich die betroffenen Personen laufend in einem solchen Entwicklungsprozess befinden, der einerseits von den Personen selbst ausgeht, aber auch von außen beeinflusst wird. (vgl. Christiansen/Utas/Vigh: 2006, S. 11f. / vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 136)

Der Lebenskontext junger Menschen in afrikanischen Ländern zeigt einige besondere Charakteristika. Christiansen, Utas und Vigh beschreiben in ihrer Einführung in das Buch „Navigation Youth, Generating Adulthood“ junge Menschen in Afrika als

„a generation of people who have been born into social environments in which their possibilities of living decent lives are negligible and in which many have found themselves stuck in positions of inadequate life chances and bleak prospects [...], in 'youthscapes' [...] built on and saturated by prolonged processes of destruction, disease and decline.“ (Christiansen/Utas/Vigh: 2006, S. 9)

Auch Jon Abbink zeichnet ein ähnliches Bild. Obgleich er positive Entwicklungen in den Bereichen Bildung, Migration und Berufschancen im städtischen Raum ausmacht, sieht er die Situation für die Mehrheit der jungen Menschen in Afrika weniger rosig. Das große Bevölkerungswachstum und der damit zusammenhängende Kampf um Ressourcen im Kontext von schlecht funktionierenden Staaten und willkürlicher Politik⁴, haben zu einem relativen Rückgang der Lebensqualität und schrumpfenden Möglichkeiten eines sozialen Aufstiegs geführt. Es handelt sich hierbei auch nicht um kurzfristige Zustände, sondern um strukturelle, seit der Unabhängigkeit gewachsene Mechanismen, die zu der schlechten Situation gerade der jungen Menschen führen. (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 1)

„They are facing tremendous odds and do not seem to have the future in their own hands. [...] They are growing up in conditions of mass unemployment and are facing exclusion, health problems, crisis within the family due to poverty and the AIDS pandemic, and a lack of education and skills. They are also marginalized in national state policies and have a weak legal position.“ (Abbink: 2005, S. 1)

⁴ Siehe die Probleme politischer Praxis in Kapitel 3

Filip de Boeck und Alcinda Honwana sehen das sehr ähnlich und betonen, dass junge Menschen besonders angreifbar sind, weil sie sich in schlechten Lebensumständen befinden (mangelnde Bildungsmöglichkeiten, keine Arbeitsplätze, keine Existenzgrundlage, unzureichende Gesundheitsversorgung etc.). (vgl. De Boeck/Honwana: 2005, S. 1) Wie Hendrik Vigh für Bissau beschreibt, gibt es für viele junge Menschen, die ihre soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage verbessern wollen, nur drei Möglichkeiten dies zu tun: *Migration, economy of affection* oder *Patrimonialismus*. *Migration* ist dabei die oft beliebteste, aber auch am schwierigsten zu realisierende Möglichkeit, da man zunächst finanzielle Mittel braucht. Unter *economy of affection* versteht man ein System, in dem der Einzelne durch sein eigenes soziales Netzwerk – bestehend aus Familie, Freunden und Organisationen – finanziert wird. Kann das soziale Netzwerk dies nicht leisten, muss man sich einen Patron suchen, der dies übernimmt. Dieser verlangt aber in der Regel eine Gegenleistung – beispielsweise in Form von Loyalität. (vgl. Vigh: 2006, S. 48)

Die Beschreibungen von Christiansen/Vigh/Utas, De Boeck/Honwana und Abbink sind, obgleich wertvoll für diese Arbeit, wertend und sollen daher nicht als definitorische Grundlage von Jugend in dieser Arbeit dienen. Hierzu wird vielmehr ein Definitionsansatz von Mshai Mwangola herangezogen, der von einem sozial definierten Jugend-Begriff ausgeht. Er formuliert:

„The term ‘youth’ [...] is used to denote the transitional stage of life between childhood and adulthood characterised by the transfer of societal responsibilities affirming the change of status from the former to the latter. Youth in this sense bears only incidental relationship to age.“ (Mwangola: 2007, S. 137)

Mwangola spricht der Jugend zwar keine unabhängige Rolle zu, aber betont, dass sie schon zunehmend Verantwortung übernimmt. Eine Lebensphase also, in der eine Person beginnt durch die Übernahme sozialer Verantwortung für die Gesellschaft ins Erwachsenenleben überzugehen, wobei dies nichts mit dem eigentlichen Alter einer Person zu tun hat. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 137). Dieses Verständnis von Jugend ist auch Grundlage dieser Arbeit.

Eine Alters-Obergrenze soll für den empirischen Teil dieser Arbeit – trotz der Kritik an einer rein biologischer Definition von Alter – bei 40 Jahren liegen, da diese Arbeit sich mit jenen

politisch aktiven Menschen Tanzanias beschäftigt, die in einem post-Ujamaa⁵ politischen Umfeld sozialisiert worden sind.

In der Wissenschaft wurden Jugendliche und junge Menschen in Afrika lange nur marginal und passiv thematisiert – als Opfer oder in Verbindung mit Gewalt (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 140). Durham geht sogar so weit zu sagen, dass sie nur in Verbindung mit Gewalt – entweder als passive Opfer dieser oder als aktiv involviert in diese – behandelt wurden (vgl. Durham: 2000, S. 117). Dies hat sich nach Meinung der Autorin in den letzten Jahren geändert, denn Jugend wird zunehmend, nicht zuletzt auf Grund der zahlenmäßigen Stärke, als Akteur wahrgenommen. Zahlreiche Sammelbände, Artikel und Monografien, wie „Vanguard or Vandals. Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa“ von Abbink/Kessel (2005) oder „Makers & Breakers. Children & Youth in Postcolonial Afrika“ von Honwana/De Boeck (2005), sind deutliche Belege dafür. Jungen Menschen wird im derzeitigen Diskurs – gerade im afrikanischen Kontext – oft viel Potential zu Veränderung eingeräumt: *„Youth are important actors in redefining and restructuring existing models of kinship and moral matrices of reciprocity and solidarity.“* (De Boeck/Honwana: 2005, S. 2)

Abbink folgend zeichnen sich drei verschiedene Stränge in der Art und Weise der Thematisierung von jungen Menschen im aktuellen Diskurs ab, die sich aber gegenseitig beeinflussen und bedingen (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 8ff.):

1. „Agency Response“

Angehörige dieses Stranges setzen sich vor allem mit der aktiven Rolle auseinander, die junge Menschen/Jugendliche einnehmen. Im Fokus steht das selbstbestimmte Handeln und Entwickeln von Problemlösungen – junge Menschen also, die ihr Schicksal selbst in die Hände nehmen. Dabei wird ihnen das Potential zugesprochen Einfluss auf Politik und Gesellschaft ausüben zu können. Außerdem wird anerkannt, dass junge Menschen dazu neigen sich auch mit kriminellen und bewaffneten Bewegungen einzulassen, um an ihr Ziel zu kommen. Die Forderung von WissenschaftlerInnen, die diesen Strang vertreten, ist, dass der Stimme der Jugend von akademischer Seite mehr Gehör geschenkt werden muss.

⁵ Siehe Kapitel 6.1

2. „Interventionist Response“

Vertreter dieser Gruppe sehen junge Menschen passiver und fordern daher, dass von Seiten nationaler und internationaler Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGOs) Strukturen geschaffen werden müssen, die jungen Menschen dabei helfen unabhängig zu werden, Arbeitsplätze zu finden und soziales Ansehen zu erlangen. Außerdem werden Regierungen angehalten mehr in die eigene Bevölkerung zu investieren, um diese vor Ausgrenzung und damit dem Abstieg in Perspektivenlosigkeit und Kriminalität zu schützen. Zielgruppen sind vor allem benachteiligte Jugendliche, wie Straßenkinder, ehemalige KriegsteilnehmerInnen, langzeitarbeitslose junge Menschen oder jene ohne Bildung.

3. „Descriptive-Analytic Response“

Dieser Ansatz analysiert aktuelle Entwicklungen im Bereich Jugend vor dem Hintergrund historischer und soziologischer Berichte und versucht so soziale Phänomene theoretisch abzuleiten.

Die vorliegende Arbeit sieht sich dabei dem Strang der *Agency Response* am ehesten verbunden, weil den jungen PolitikerInnen Potential zur Politikveränderung zugesprochen wird. Im nachfolgenden Kapitel wird vertiefend auf das Verhältnis junger Menschen zu der älteren Generation eingegangen, da diese Beziehung einen wichtigen Aspekt des Erkenntnisinteresses dieser Arbeit ausmacht.

2.2 Generationen(verhältnisse)

„In childhood, a generation has negligible influence on policy making, while in youth it is prepared for the responsibilities of leadership through the supervised performance of selected duties. In adulthood, it assumes the leadership of the nation through the performance of delegated authority, finally taking on in elderhood the ultimate socio-political authority, overseeing the smooth running of the nation.“ (Mwangola: 2007, S. 133)

Kindheit, Jugend/Adoleszenz, Erwachsensein und das Alter – die klassischen Lebenszyklen, die ein Mensch in seinem Leben durchläuft (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 133). Dabei stehen diese Stufen, die natürlich fließend verlaufen und jeweils, wie in Kapitel 2.1 argumentiert, nicht rein biologisch zu definieren sind, zwangsläufig in einem Verhältnis zueinander. Mit jeder Stufe werden unterschiedliche Attribute verbunden, die auch von soziokulturellen Umständen abhängig sind. (vgl. Christiansen/Utas/Vigh: 2006, S. 14 ff) Hinzu kommt, dass der Begriff Generation an sich schon schwer zu definieren ist, da es sich auch bei einer Generation nie um

eine homogene Gruppe von Menschen handelt. Grundsätzlich kann aber festgehalten werden, dass folgende Charakteristika jede Generation beschreiben (vgl. Geyer: 2004, S. 94 / vgl. Auch Höpflinger: 1997, S.8f. /vgl. auch Whyte/Alber/Van de Geest: 2008, S. 2ff.):

- Eine Generation besteht immer aus Menschen, die sich in etwa in derselben Altersspanne befinden. Davon ausgehend kommt etwa alle 20 Jahre eine neue Generation auf die Welt, wobei die Grenzen selbstverständlich fließend verlaufen.
- Eine Generation besteht immer aus Menschen, die sich bezüglich der Lebensinhalte und Lebensbedingungen ähnlich sind (sozialer Status in der Gesellschaft, Mode etc.)
- Eine Generation steht immer in Abhängigkeit zu anderen Generationen und wirkt mit ihnen zusammen.

Es wird an dieser Stelle betont, dass Generationenverhältnisse immer durch Spannungen geprägt sein können und dies kein afrikaspezifisches Merkmal ist. Seit es die Menschheit gibt, setzt man sich überall auf der Welt mit diesem Verhältnis auseinander. Unterschiedlich hingegen sind die kulturelle Bedeutung und der Grad der Formalisierung der Lebensphasen/des Generationenverhältnisses. Während diese in westlichen Ländern in der Regel sehr fließend und wenig formalisiert sind, gibt es in vielen afrikanischen Ländern ausgeprägte *age systems*, die durch Zuteilung bestimmter Rollen das Generationenverhältnis formalisieren. (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 4 / vgl. auch: Durham: 2000, S. 115) Wobei dies kein striktes Unterscheidungskriterium ist, da auch im westlichen Kontext lange gesellschaftliche und soziale Strukturen das Verhältnis zwischen den Generationen bestimmt haben. Individualisierungstendenzen und die zunehmende Pluralisierung der Gesellschaft haben aber dazu geführt, dass diese heute eine marginale Rolle spielen. So gibt es heute im westlichen Kontext keine Muster von Jugend mehr, die als allgemeingültig gesehen werden. Das biologische Alter ist oft nicht mehr Maßstab und es gibt keine sogenannten „normalen Jugendbiografien“ (Haupt: 2004, S.63) mehr, die bestimmte kollektive Muster vorgeben, an denen sich Jugendliche entwickeln. (vgl. Haupt: 2004, S. 63)

Auch in Afrika haben die *age systems* vor allem in der nachkolonialen Phase⁶ mehr und mehr an Bedeutung verloren, was dort auf Grund der sozioökonomisch schwierigen Umstände besonders zu Spannungen geführt hat. (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 4 / vgl. auch: Durham: 2000, S.

⁶ Dieser Prozess setzte teilweise auch schon während der Kolonialzeit ein.

115) Modernisierung, soziale Umbrüche und starkes Bevölkerungswachstum hatten zur Folge, dass sich die Spannungen zwischen den Generationen verändert haben (vgl. Burgess: 2005, S. XII). Während junge Menschen nahezu überall auf dem Kontinent die größte Bevölkerungsgruppe ausmachen, finden sie sich gleichzeitig in einer Position der Abhängigkeit und der wirtschaftlichen, sowie politischen Exklusion wieder – und das vor dem Hintergrund schlecht funktionierender politischer Strukturen, die durch Patrimonialismus⁷ geprägt sind und dazu neigen, ebenfalls exkludierend zu agieren. (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 11) Dieses angespannte Verhältnis verdeutlicht die Relevanz dieser Arbeit⁸.

Unter *Gerontokratie* (Altenherrschaft) versteht man das in Afrika traditionell weit verbreitete Verhältnis zwischen den Generationen, das durch ein starkes Ungleichgewicht in der Verteilung von Macht, die Vorherrschaft der älteren Männer gegenüber den jüngeren Männern und Frauen sichert. (vgl. Whyte/Alber/Van de Geest: 2008, S. 13f.) Die Achtung vor älteren Menschen und ihre Bevorrechtigung sind zentrale und nicht zu unterschätzende Faktoren, die die Vorherrschaft der älteren Generation vor dem Hintergrund der Annahme, dass Macht unteilbar ist, rechtfertigt. (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 13)

„Solche Menschen [Anm d. Autorin: die afrikanischen HerrscherInnen] zehren davon, dass Afrikaner traditionell hohe Ehrerbietung für das Alter haben und dies auf die Politik übertragen. Sie setzen weiße Haare mit Weisheit gleich, mit Ehrlichkeit und Führungsstärke.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 80)

Der große Respekt der jungen Menschen vor den Älteren führt, nach Meinung der Autorin, dazu, dass diese ihr Potential oft nicht voll ausschöpfen. Revolten junger Menschen gegen die ältere Elite sind bisher eher die Seltenheit. Es gehört in jeder Gesellschaft viel Mut dazu bestehende, historisch gewachsene soziale Traditionen zu durchbrechen und die Gefahr dabei zu scheitern ist überall sehr groß. Ein vergleichbares Beispiel im europäischen Kontext wäre vielleicht der Fall des *Eisernen Vorhangs*: Eine friedliche Revolution, die ebenfalls von der Bevölkerung getragen wurde.

Ein aktives Auflehnen der Bevölkerung wäre jedoch, nach Meinung der Autorin, ein entscheidender Faktor, um dem Bedürfnis nach mehr Mitspracherecht Ausdruck zu verleihen⁹. Seit einigen Jahren hat sich der Begriff der *new generation* (Swahili: *kizazi kipya*) in Tanzania etabliert und wird vor allem von den jungen Menschen selbst als Charakterisierung der Identität

⁷ Siehe Kapitel 3.2

⁸ Zum Generationenverhältnis in der Politik siehe Kapitel 3.4

⁹ Bestes Beispiel dafür sind die sogenannten Farb-Revolutionen (vgl. Kapitel 4.2.1)

fikationsbereiche ihrer Generation genutzt. Allgemein wird damit die aktuelle Generation junger (vor allem gebildeter) Frauen und Männer verstanden, die in einer postkolonialen Welt aufwachsen. (vgl. Stroeken: 2008, S. 294) Das folgende Zitat stammt von dem Tanzanier Ndaki Munyeti, der Stroeken 2005 erzählte:

„*Kizazi kipya* means new generation, with more emphasis put on the new life-style we are acquiring from abroad. It started when *Bongo Flava* music took over, referred to as *Muziki wa kizazi kipya*. It spread speedily and now involves other kinds of new generation. [...] Even new technologies, for example IT, internet, are referred to as *kazi* (jobs) *za kizazi kipya*. [...] *Kwa kifupi, mambo yote yahusuyo kijana wa kisasa wa kitanzania, kuanzia muziki, mavazi, kuongea na hata new professional* (In short, all things concerning Tanzanian youth today, starting with music, dress and even the discourse on the new professional) are treated as *mambo* (matters) *ya kizazi kipya*. *Na sasa hata katika* (And now even in the) coming election, they are saying that *kizazi kipya* should lead the nation: a good leader should know what a new generation needs!“¹⁰ (Ndaki Munyeti zit. n. Stroeken: 2008, S. 295)

Der Begriff *kizazi kipya*, der in Tanzania sehr populär ist, ist also ein Zeichen dafür, dass die jungen Menschen eigene Vorstellungen und Lebensweisen haben und diese in Form der *kizazi kipya-Bewegung* als Identifikationsgröße heranziehen. Mit der zunehmenden Verbreitung und Wirkungsmacht dieses Begriffs, geht aber auch eine Pauschalisierung einher und in der Politik wird er zunehmend populistisch verwendet. Dies wiederum führt dazu, dass er als Identifikationsbegriff einer Generation an Bedeutung verliert. (vgl. Stroeken: 2008, S. 295f.) Nichts desto trotz ist es für die vorliegende Arbeit relevant darzustellen, dass es eine *kizazi kipya* gibt und diese im Land so wahrgenommen wird, da dies als Beweis einer selbstbewussten jungen Generation gesehen wird, was auch eine der Ausgangsüberlegungen dieser Arbeit ist.

Auch die Tatsache, dass es zwischen den Generationen kulturelle Transfers gibt, ist für diese Arbeit relevant. Hierbei wird davon ausgegangen, dass „*Werte, Weltanschauungen und Einstellungen, Grundstrukturen des Handelns [...] von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben werden.*“ (Richter: 1997, S. 83). In der Soziologie wird dies als *Habitus* bezeichnet. Diese Transfers von *Habitus* finden nicht immer gleichermaßen intensiv statt und brauchen gewisse Vorbedingungen. Es muss beispielsweise ein aktiver Kontakt zwischen den Generationen bestehen. Auch finden sie nicht ausschließlich einseitig von der älteren zur jüngeren Genera-

¹⁰ Dieses direkte Zitat wird nicht, wie die anderen in dieser Arbeit, kursiv gedruckt, um die Originalformatierung erhalten zu können. Alle kursiven Passagen sind vom Original übernommen. Die eckigen Klammern vom Original wurden durch runde ersetzt, um zu verhindern, dass die von mir gesetzten eckigen Klammern zur Kenntlichmachung weggelassener Passagen als Original verstanden werden.

tion statt, sondern auch in die andere Richtung. (vgl. Richter: 1997, S. 83ff.) Dieser Ansatz ist für die vorliegende Arbeit insofern interessant und wird daher hier kurz präsentiert, als dass in der Arbeit die Frage gestellt wird, ob die junge Generation afrikanischer PolitikerInnen den Habitus der jetzigen MachthaberInnen übernehmen wird oder aber neue politische Wege beschreiten und Ziele verfolgen will und kann.

In diesem Kontext ist auch der Begriff der *Sozialisationsinstanzen* anzuführen, um deutlich zu machen, dass der kulturelle Transfer zwischen den Generationen (Kinder ↔ Eltern) nicht alleiniger Einflussfaktor bei der Sozialisation eines Menschen ist. Identitätsentwicklung findet bei jedem Menschen durch vielfältige Einflüsse und verschiedene Sozialisationsinstanzen statt: Durch das direkte soziale Umfeld in Familie, Peer-Group¹¹ und Schule, durch Medien und die durch Populärkulturen (z.B. Musik) vermittelten symbolischen Welten. (vgl. Mikos: 2001, S. 20 / vgl. Kleiner: 2009, S. 96) Diese Entwicklung beschrieb Jean Piaget schon im frühen 20. Jahrhundert ganz passend als „*Interaktion zwischen Subjekt und Umwelt*“ (Jean Piaget, zit. n. Paus-Hasebrink/Bichler: 2008, S. 60) und so wird es auch in dieser Arbeit verstanden. Der Sozialisationshypothese folgend, ist diese frühe Sozialisation prägend für das ganze Leben (vgl. Richter: 1997, S. 96). Im empirischen Teil dieser Arbeit wird deshalb auch abgefragt, wie die PolitikerInnen zu ihrem politischen Engagement motiviert wurden.

2.3 Politische Ideologien: Sozialismus, Konservatismus, Liberalismus

„*Politik ist Freiheit*“ (Hannah Arendt zit. n. Brockhaus¹²: 2008, S. 5)

In diesem Kapitel werden die wichtigsten politischen Ideologien kurz vorgestellt, weil im empirischen Teil der Arbeit auch nach dem Politikverständnis junger PolitikerInnen gefragt wird. Für die Auswertung wird hier die Grundlage geschaffen. Dabei ist das Ziel, die verschiedenen Ideologien kurz und prägnant vorzustellen, wobei bewusst ist, dass diese sich auch gegenseitig bedingen und überschneiden.

¹¹Peer-Groups sind jene sozialen Gruppen, die sich informell und auf Grund „*größtmöglicher sozialer Ähnlichkeit*“ (Fend: 1980, S. 111) bezüglich Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft etc. bilden. (vgl. Fend: 1980, S. 111f.)

¹² In diesem Kapitel ist der Brockhaus „Der Brockhaus Politik. Ideen, Systeme und Prozesse“ Basisliteratur, nicht jedoch die Brockhaus Enzyklopädie.

1. Der Sozialismus

Der Sozialismus strebt nach einer gerechten, solidarischen Gesellschaft, welche die Gleichheit der Menschen betont. Gerechtigkeit, Solidarität und Gleichheit sind also zentrale Leitideen dieser Ideologie. (Brockhaus: 2008, S. 405f.) Ziel ist eine neue Wirtschaftsordnung jenseits des Kapitalismus (vgl. Schiller: 2011b, S. 571). Der Sozialismus hat sich im 19. Jahrhundert auch zu einer politischen Bewegung entwickelt, die heute in viele verschiedenen Gruppierungen aufgesplittert ist. Die radikaleren Sozialisten (z.B. VertreterInnen des Marxismus, Marxismus-Leninismus) wollen die Gesellschaft mittels einer Revolution verändern, während die gemäßigeren Sozialisten (z.B. VertreterInnen der Sozialdemokratie) den Weg der Reformen anstreben. Es wird deshalb zwischen den Polen der revolutionären und der reformistischen Sozialisten unterschieden. (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 405f.)

1.1 Der Marxismus

Der Marxismus stellt eine Ideologie dar, die als Weiterführung der sozialistischen Ideen zu verstehen ist und im Kommunismus seine Erfüllung findet (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 282f.):

Abb. 2: Marxistisches Modell der Gesellschaftsveränderung

Kapitalismus	Sozialismus	Kommunismus
Klassengesellschaft (Besitzer-Besitzlose)	Übergangsphase („Diktatur des Proletariats“)	Idealer Endzustand
Ökonomische und soziale Ungleichheit: Konflikt Kapital ↔ Arbeit	Prozess gesellschaftlicher Umgestaltung: Abschaffung des Privateigentums an Produktionsmitteln	Klassenlose, deshalb herrschaftsfreie, sozial gerechte Gesellschaft
Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung der Arbeiterklasse	Arbeiterklasse als revolutionäre Kraft („proletarische Revolution“)	Freiheit und Gleichheit für alle Menschen
Staat als Herrschafts- und Unterdrückungsinstrument	Staat als Mittel zur Umgestaltung	Staat verliert seine Funktion als Herrschaftsapparat

Quelle: Brockhaus: 2008, S. 282

Sie baut auf die Gesellschaftstheorie von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels auf. Der Marxismus-Leninismus, die Hauptströmung des Marxismus, wurde vor allem durch Stalin zu einer Weltanschauung (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 283 / Kropp: 2000, S. 370ff.).

1.2 Die Sozialdemokratie

Die Sozialdemokratie ist eine gemäßigte Form des Sozialismus (vgl. Schiller: 2011b, S. 571) Hier wird explizit versucht, die Prinzipien des Sozialismus mit jenen der Demokratie zu verbinden und durch die Demokratisierung aller Bereiche des menschlichen Zusammenlebens eine Gesellschaft nach sozialistischem Verständnis (Gleichheit, Solidarität, Gerechtigkeit) zu schaffen. (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 401)

2. Der Konservatismus

Der Konservatismus ist eine Ideologie, die traditionelle Werte und Ordnungen bewahren möchte und diese als Bewertungsmaßstab für alle Bereiche des Zusammenlebens (Gesellschaft und Staat) heranzieht. Vorhandene, vertraute Zustände werden neuem, utopischem Wandel vorgezogen. (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 254f. / vgl. Bendel, Petra: 2011, S. 327 / vgl. Schissler: 2000, S. 320ff.) Dabei lassen sich folgende zwei Pole unterscheiden (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 254f.):

- a) Konservatismus als Rechtfertigungsideologie für Herrschaftsverhältnisse (sozialapologetische Grundhaltung), wobei sich bestehende herrschende Gruppen gegen neue, bedrohlich auf sie wirkende Gesellschaftsgruppen wehren.
- b) Konservatismus als Erinnerung an unabdingbare Grundsätze der menschlichen Existenz (transzendentalsoziologische Grundhaltung), wobei es um die nötige Bindung der Menschen an institutionelle Bereiche des Staates, aber auch der Familie, Heimat oder Religion geht, um die Stabilität, Sicherheit und den Frieden der Gesellschaft sicherzustellen.

3. Der Liberalismus

Der Liberalismus ist eine Ideologie, deren wichtigstes Identifikationsmerkmal die Freiheit des Individuums ist. Staat und Gesellschaft müssen diesem dienen, während gleichzeitig aus der Gesamtheit individueller Entfaltung positive Effekte für das Gemeinwohl wachsen. (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 271) Dieses Recht auf Freiheit wird mit der menschlichen Vernunft argumentiert, welche den Menschen selbstbestimmungsfähig macht (vgl. Schiller: 2011a, S. 342). Der Schutz der individuellen Freiheitsrechte wird als zentrale Aufgabe des Staates gesehen. Die Macht des Staates soll dabei durch Gewaltenteilung (Exekutive, Legislative, Judikative) und das Recht auf Teilhabe für die Bevölkerung (Wahlrecht) eingegrenzt werden. Aus diesen Ansprüchen ergibt sich die Demokratie, die auf das Prinzip der Volkssouveränität baut,

als passende Regierungsform. (vgl. Brockhaus: 2008, S. 271) Auf Demokratie als Regierungsform wird im nachfolgenden Kapitel vertiefend eingegangen, weil das Demokratieverständnis auch im Rahmen der empirischen Untersuchung thematisiert wird und hier seine theoretische Verankerung erfährt.

2.4 Definition Demokratie

„It seems more useful (...) to discuss democracy as a verb rather than a noun, as a process of transition occurring over time.“ (Mwangola: 2007, S. 130f.)

Der Medienwissenschaftler Stephan Ruß-Mohl sagte einmal über den Versuch, Qualität im Journalismus definieren zu wollen, dass dies dem Versuch *einen Pudding an die Wand nageln zu wollen* gleichkäme. Diese Metapher lässt sich, nach Meinung der Autorin, auch auf die Regierungsform Demokratie übertragen. Demokratie ist ein vielfältig genutzter und deshalb schwer umfassend und abschließend zu definierender Begriff. Unzählige existierende Definitionen beziehen sich auf unterschiedliche Aspekte und Kontexte von Demokratie. Außerdem muss angemerkt werden, dass es meist Differenzen zwischen dem theoretischen Anspruch an Demokratie und der Realität von Demokratie gibt – kein politisches System dieser Welt hat bis heute die Idee von Demokratie vollständig und ohne jegliche Einschränkungen erreichen können. (vgl. Lindberg: 2006, S. 21f. / vgl. Diamond: 1997, S. 17)

Die Schwammigkeit des Begriffs führt dazu, dass heutzutage fast jede Form politischer Herrschaft das Wort Demokratie für sich beanspruchen kann. Die Annahme, dass Länder, die sich offiziell und auf Namensebene von ihrem autoritären Regime entfernen, automatisch zu demokratischen Ländern werden, ist falsch. Nur weil beispielsweise Wahlen abgehalten werden, ist ein Land nicht demokratisch – Politischer Wandel (hin zu Demokratie) verläuft nicht linear¹³. (vgl. Nasong'o/Murunga: 2007, S. 4f.) Das fast schon historisch anmutende nachfolgende Zitat von George Orwell, Autor des Romans *Animal Farm*, hat so auch heute noch Geltungsberechtigung:

„In the case of a word like democracy not only is there no agreed definition but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. The defenders of any kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to any one meaning.“ (Orwell: 1946)

¹³ Zur theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit Transitionen zur Demokratie siehe Schmidt, Manfred (2008): Demokratietheorien. Eine Einführung. 4. Auflage. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften: Wiesbaden

Festgehalten werden kann, dass allgemein unter Demokratie die „*Herrschaft des Volkes*“ (Brockhaus: 1997, S. 209) verstanden wird. Dies entspricht auch dem Wortursprung von Demokratie. Damit grenzt sie sich von der Aristokratie und der Oligarchie (Herrschaft Weniger), sowie der Monarchie und Tyrannis (Herrschaft einer Person) ab. Das Volk wird in der Demokratie nicht ethnisch, sondern über den Staat definiert. (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 17) Drei grundsätzliche Prinzipien gehören zu Demokratie: „*Sie geht vom Volk aus, wird von ihm (oder von vom Volk gewählten Repräsentanten) ausgeübt und dem Anspruch nach zu seinem Nutzen eingesetzt.*“ (Schmidt: 2008, S. 17).

Auch Tatu Vanhanen, Begründer des *Vanhanen-Index* zur Messung von Demokratie, definiert Demokratie entlang dieser drei Prinzipien:

„I mean by democracy a political system in which ideologically and socially different groups are legally entitled to compete for political power and in which institutional power holders are elected by the people and are responsible to the people.“ (Vanhanen: 2003, S. 49)

Damit wird die *Volkssouveränität* als zentrales Element von Demokratie definiert. Allein mit dieser abstrakten Definition ist Demokratie als Regierungsform aber nicht praktisch anwendbar und lässt noch viel Raum für Interpretationen. Darum ist die jeweilige Demokratietheorie zentraler Orientierungsmaßstab für unterschiedliche Demokratieverständnisse. Mit dieser jeweiligen Demokratietheorie bzw. dem Demokratieverständnis, das sich daraus ergibt, geht dann auch ein Set an Kriterien für politisches Handeln und eine demokratische Staatsverfassung einher. Dieses unterscheidet sich aber zwischen und innerhalb der Gruppe von PraktikereInnen und TheoretikerInnen, die sich mit diesem Thema beschäftigen. Es gibt viele TheoretikerInnen, die einen demokratietheoretischen Beitrag geleistet haben. Dazu zählen Namen wie Jean-Jacques Rousseaus, Alexis de Tocqueville, John Stuard Mill, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Joseph Schumpeter und Anthony Downs, sowie die DenkerInnen hinter den Konzepten der Demokratietheorie der Pluralisten, der sozialen Demokratie, der beteiligungszentrierten, komplexen und kritischen Demokratietheorien. Sie alle haben Demokratietheorien mit entworfen. (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 80ff.)

Die nachfolgende Tabelle zeigt die zentralen Demokratietheorien und ihre jeweilige Leitidee¹⁴:

Abb. 3: Demokratietheorien im Vergleich

Rousseau	Unveräußerliche Volkssouveränität, Gemeinwillen, Sonderwillen, Gesamtwillen
Federalist Papers	Zügelung des Demos durch Föderalismus, Repräsentation und Konstitutionalismus
Tocqueville	Zielkonflikt von Gleichheit und Freiheit
Mill	Repräsentativregierung, Meritokratie, Bürgerkompetenz
Marx	Klassenkampf, instrumentalistische Demokratielehre
Weber	Politische Führer, Herrschaft, Legitimität, Machtstaat
Schumpeter	Politische Führer, Konkurrenz, geringe Wählerrationalität
Downs (ökonomische Theorie)	Eigennutzen, Konkurrenz
Pluralismustheorie	Pluralismus, Kampfparität (Fraenkel), Polyarchie (Dahl)
Beteiligungszentrierte Theorie	Partizipation und Deliberation als Wert an sich & Mittel zur Qualitätsverbesserung der Demokratie
Theorie der Sozialen Demokratie	Reform, umfassende sozialstaatliche Demokratie
Kritische Demokratietheorien	Ungleichgewichtige, selektive Ordnung mit demokratischer Pfadabhängigkeit
Komplexe Demokratietheorie	Input & Output, Dilemmata des Regierens in und jenseits von Nationalstaaten

Quelle: Adaptiert übernommen aus Schmidt: 2008, S. 492f.

Die vorliegende Arbeit bleibt aus Überzeugung demokratietheorie-neutral, weil es hier nicht um die Bewertung dieser Konzepte geht oder darum, dass die Gültigkeit eines Konzeptes belegt werden soll. Vielmehr geht es darum, welches politische Konzept (siehe Kapitel 2.3) hinter dem Demokratieverständnis der befragten PolitikerInnen steckt.

Wie in Kapitel 2.5 dargestellt wird, herrscht afrikaweit ein eher liberales Demokratieverständnis vor: „*popular African conceptions of democracy are unexpectedly liberal*“ (Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 70) Deshalb wird in dieser Arbeit ebenfalls ein liberales Demokratiekonzept als Grundlage gewählt. Bei der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 1.3 wird dann ein Vergleich zwischen diesem nun in der Folge vorgestellten Konzept, den Ergebnissen der Empirie und der Studie von Bratton, Mattes und Gyimah-Boadi gezogen.

¹⁴ Auf die einzelnen Demokratietheorien wird in dieser Arbeit nicht vertiefend eingegangen, da dies den Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit sprengen würde. Die Vorläufer moderner Demokratietheorien werden gar nicht angeführt. Als Einstiegsliteratur wird empfohlen: Schmidt, Manfred (2008): Demokratietheorien. Eine Einführung. 4. Auflage. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften: Wiesbaden

Ein erster Vorstoß zur Demokratiedefinition, der Demokratie im Sinne der *Volkssouveränität* definiert, wird von Philippe Schmitter und Terry Karl gebracht. Der Begriff wird insoweit definiert, als dass nicht jede Regierungsform ihn für sich beanspruchen kann, aber gleichzeitig bleibt genügend Raum für soziokulturelle und historische Unterschiede der Länder dieser Welt:

„Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.“ (Schmitter/Karl: 1991, S. 76)

Diese Definition von Schmitter/Karl hat allerdings kaum Praxisrelevanz, weil sie zu abstrakt ist. Differenzierter formuliert es das liberale Demokratiekonzept der *embedded democracy*, das Demokratie als „*mehrdimensionale politische Ordnung [...] aus unterscheidbaren Teilregimen*“ (Thiery: 2002, S. 73) versteht:

„Demokratie [...] soll definiert sein als ein Set an institutioneller Minima, das erstens eine vertikale Dimension demokratischer Herrschaft bezeichnet, nämlich vertikale Machtkontrolle, universales aktives und passives Wahlrecht und die effektive Gewährleistung der damit verbundenen grundlegenden politischen Partizipationsrechte; zweitens eine horizontale Dimension, als Herrschaftskontrolle im Rahmen der gewaltenteiligen Organisation der Staatsgewalt und der rechtstaatlichen Herrschaftsausübung; drittens eine transversale Dimension, also die effektive Zuordnung der Regierungsgewalt zu den demokratisch legitimierten Herrschaftsträgern.“ (Merkel et al: 2003, S. 47)

Die nachfolgende Darstellung zeigt die Dimensionen (I, II...), Teilregime (A, B...) und Kriterien (1,2...) von *embedded democracy*.

Abb. 4: Embedded Democracy: Dimensionen, Teilregime und Kriterien

<p>I. Vertikale Dimension der Herrschaftslegitimation und –kontrolle</p> <p>A. <i>Wahlregime</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(1) Aktives Wahlrecht(2) Passives Wahlrecht(3) Freie und faire Wahlen(4) Gewählte Mandatsträger <p>B. <i>Rechte politischer Organisation und Kommunikation (öffentliche Arena)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(5) Meinungs-, Presse und Informationsfreiheit(6) Assoziationsfreiheit <p>II. Dimension der Agendakontrolle</p> <p>C. <i>Gewählte Mandatsträger mit realer Gestaltungsmacht</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(7) Effektive Regierungsgewalt <p>III. Dimension des liberalen Rechts- und Verfassungsstaates</p> <p>D. <i>Horizontale Verantwortlichkeit</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(8) Horizontale Verantwortlichkeit (Gewaltenteilung) <p>E. <i>Bürgerliche Freiheitsrechte</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(9) Individuelle Schutzrechte gegen staatliche und private Akteure(10) Recht auf (gleichen) Zugang zum Recht und Gleichbehandlung vor dem Gesetz
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Quelle: Thiery: 2002, S. 74

Die *Kriterien* stellen ein sehr konkretes Set an Voraussetzung für Demokratie dar. Dabei wird nicht nur das Vorhandensein freier und fairer Wahlen als Voraussetzung für echte Demokratie definiert (Dimension I), sondern auch die institutionelle Garantie, dass die gewählten Repräsentanten auch in demokratischem Sinne regieren (Dimension II und III). Nichtsdestotrotz kommt dem *Wahlregime* eine besondere Bedeutung im Konzept der *embedded democracy* zu, weil dies der deutlichste Ausdruck der Volkssouveränität ist und somit deutlichster Unterscheidungspunkt zur Autokratie, da vertikale Herrschaftskontrolle stattfindet. Die *Rechte politischer Organisation und Kommunikation* sind Voraussetzungen für ein funktionierendes Wahlregime und werden von Merkel als Rückrad des Systems beschrieben. Die Dimensionen II und III beziehen sich hingegen auf die horizontale Herrschaftskontrolle, die garantiert, dass gewählte HerrscherInnen kontrolliert werden können. Dabei wird die Struktur von Macht angesprochen, die breit in der Legislative, Judikative und Exekutive angeordnet und somit institutionell verankert sein sollte. (vgl. Merkel: 2004, S. 37ff.) Das Kriterium *Effektive Regierungsgewalt* (7) und das übergeordnete Teilregime *Gewählte Machtträger mit realer Gestaltungsmacht* (C) ist dahingehend zu verstehen, dass außerpolitische MachtträgerInnen, wie das Militär, aus der politischen Praxis herausgehalten werden. Bei der *Dimension des*

liberalen Rechts- und Verfassungsstaates (III) geht es einerseits um Gewaltenteilung, welche die Unabhängigkeit der Justiz voraussetzt und andererseits um bürgerliche Freiheitsrechte, die hier Schutzrechte gegenüber dem Staat darstellen. (vgl. Thiery: 2002, S. 75ff) Alle Kriterien müssen beidseitig intern und extern verankert sein, da sie voneinander abhängen und einander bedingen können (vgl. Merkel: 2004, S. 43). Werden die im Konzept dargestellten Voraussetzungen für Demokratie nicht erfüllt, dann gilt die Demokratie als nicht vollkommen. Das Konzept der *embedded democracy* ist definitorische Grundlage für Demokratie der hier vorliegenden Arbeit. Auch die afrikaspezifischen Überlegungen von Claude Ake werden im empirischen Teil aber als Ergänzung zu diesem liberalen Konzept berücksichtigt. Ake, ein bekannter nigerianischer Politikwissenschaftler, formuliert vier zentrale Charakteristika für eine funktionierende Demokratie im afrikanischen Kontext (vgl. Nasong'o/Murunga: 2007, S. 5f.):

1. Die Bevölkerung muss tatsächlich die Macht haben, auf Entscheidungsfindungen Einfluss zu nehmen. Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass es eine starke Legislative, Dezentralisierung der Macht und Institutionalisierung von Interessen gibt.
2. Es muss eine soziale Demokratie sein, die ganz konkrete politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Rechte betont. Liberale Demokratien betonen hingegen eher abstrakte politische Rechte.
3. Kollektive Rechte müssen auf gleicher Höhe mit individuellen Rechten stehen.
4. Es muss eine integrative Demokratie sein, die keine Minderheiten ausschließt.

Es wird im Bezug auf Afrika außerdem oft argumentiert, dass eine am Allgemeinwohl orientierte Regierungsform vorkolonialen Formen des Zusammenlebens eher entsprechen und deshalb besser in den afrikanischen Kontext passen würde, als abstrakte politische Regelungen, wie sie in westlichen Demokratien üblich sind. Deshalb wird auch oft von der Einzigartigkeit afrikanischer Demokratien gesprochen. (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 65 / vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 132f.) Dies kann zu einer Reorientierung von politischen Konzepten führen. Im empirischen Teil der Arbeit wird deshalb auch analysiert, ob das Politik- und Demokratieverständnis der befragten PolitikerInnen auf eine solche Reorientierung schließen lassen.

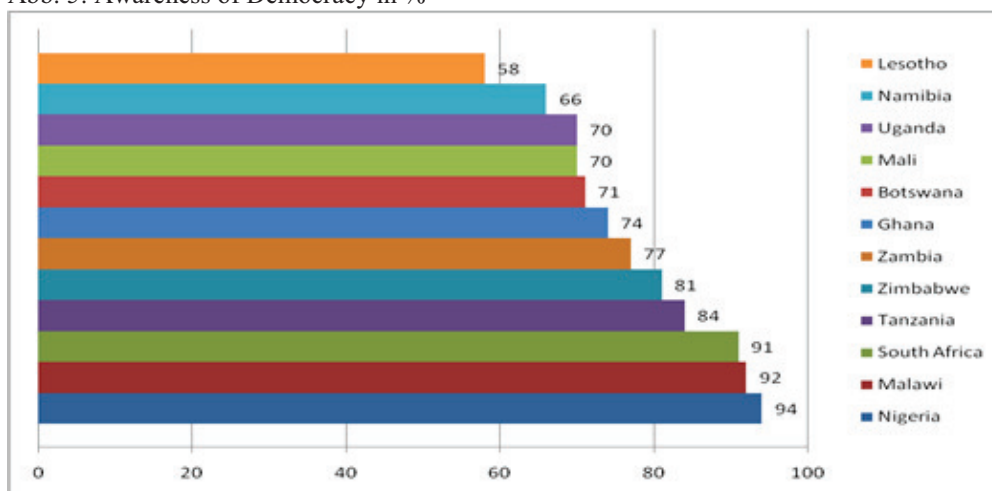
Nach dieser theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Demokratiebegriff folgt der Praxistest: Das Demokratieverständnis der Bevölkerung afrikanischer Länder.

2.5 Das Demokratieverständnis im afrikanischen Kontext

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich auch mit der Frage, was eigentlich von den Menschen selbst unter dem Begriff Demokratie verstanden wird. Die Meinung der Bevölkerung zu Demokratie im Allgemeinen und des politischen Auftritts ihres eigenen Landes ist relevant, weil sie den Erfolg von demokratischen Entwicklungen beeinflussen kann. Steht die breite Bevölkerung hinter der Demokratie als Regierungsform, dann ist sie eher bereit sich dafür einzusetzen und diese aktiv einzufordern. Außerdem ist sie eher bereit politische Umstrukturierungen¹⁵ im Sinne von Demokratie zu akzeptieren. (vgl. Merkel et al: 2003, S. 214)

In afrikanischen Ländern zeichnet sich ein weit verbreiteter Trend ab, dass Demokratie von Seiten der Bevölkerung als einzige legitime Regierungsform gesehen wird (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 65). Doch was ist das Demokratieverständnis das sich dahinter verbirgt, bedenkt man doch, dass die politische Praxis der meisten afrikanischen Regierungen nicht wirklich als zufriedenstellend demokratisch gelten kann? Michael Bratton, Robert Mattes und Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi haben 2003 eine Studie in 12 afrikanischen Ländern zum Demokratieverständnis von AfrikanerInnen durchgeführt. 78% der Befragten konnten zumindest mit dem Begriff etwas anfangen, was im Vergleich zu anderen weniger entwickelten Regionen der Welt eine relativ hohe Zahl ist¹⁶. Wie die nachfolgende Grafik zeigt, gibt es allerdings große Unterschiede zwischen den Ländern. (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 66f.)

Abb. 5: Awareness of Democracy in %



n= 21.531 / Question: What, if anything, does 'democracy' mean to you?

Quelle: Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi : 2005, S. 67

¹⁵ Beispielsweise im Klientelismus keine direkten Leistungen vom Patron mehr zu bekommen. Siehe Kapitel 3.2

¹⁶ In Indonesien beispielsweise sind es nur 39% (vgl. Bratton: 2005, S. 66)

Wie deutlich wird, sind es im Fallbeispielland Tanzania 84% der Befragten, die mit dem Begriff Demokratie grundsätzlich etwas anfangen können. Die Daten wurden ermittelt indem errechnet wurde, wie viel Prozent der Befragten auf die Frage *What, if anything, does ,democracy‘ mean to you?* überhaupt etwas nennen konnten.

Innerhalb dieser Gruppe jener Personen, die mit dem Begriff Demokratie grundsätzlich etwas anfangen können (78% der Befragten im Länderquerschnitt insgesamt), sind es 93%, die etwas Positives damit assoziieren. In Tanzania (und einigen anderen Ländern) ist die Meinung über Demokratie sogar so hoch, dass fast keine Person etwas Negatives damit verbindet. Das Problem in diesen Fällen ist, dass der Demokratiebegriff scheinbar unangreifbar ist und deshalb nicht kritisch hinterfragt wird. (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi : 2005, S. 69)

Welche Dimensionen von Demokratie besonders oft als wichtiger Bestandteil von Demokratie genannt wurden, als die interviewten Personen gefragt wurden *What, if anything, does democracy mean to you?*, zeigt die nachfolgende Grafik.

Abb. 6: Popular Understanding of Democracy (in %)

POSITIVE MEANINGS	73	POSITIVE MEANINGS (cont.)	
Civil Liberties	28	Good Governance	2
Freedom (general)	13	Effective and efficient government	2
Freedom of speech	12	Rule of law	<1
Other individual liberties	2	Transparency/openness	<1
Group rights	1		
Popular Participation	15	Other positive Attributes	4
Government by, for, of the people	9	National political independence	1
Power sharing	2	Personal responsibility	1
Listening to/informing the people	2	Personal security	<1
Political accountability	1	Telling the truth	<1
Deliberation and discussion	1	Other	1
Political Rights	9		
Electoral choice	3		
The right to vote	2		
Multiparty competition/rule	2		
Majority rule	2		
Peace and Unity	7	NEUTRAL MEANINGS	4
Social peace	3	Civilian government	3
National Unity	2	Change of government	<1
Political consensus	1	Other (e.g., government)	1
Mutual understanding and respect	1		
Equality and Justice	5	NEGATIVE MEANINGS	1
Political equality	2	Social and political conflict	<1
Social equality	2	Economic hardship	<1
Social justice	1	Corruption	<1
Legal justice	< 1	Neo-colonialism/democracy is foreign	<1

		Bad governance	<1
		Other	<1
Socioeconomic Development	3	DON'T KNOW, ETC.	22
Developing the country	1	Don't know/never heard of democracy	20
Improving living standards	1	Nothing/meaningless/doesn't matter	2
Ensuring economic independence	<1	Refused to answer	<1
Providing education	<1		

n= 21.531 / Frage: "What, if anything, does 'democracy' mean to you?"

Quelle: Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 68

Wie deutlich wird, sind es vor allem Bürgerrechte, die mit Demokratie assoziiert werden. Aus der Tabelle lässt sich auch errechnen, dass die Mehrheit der Befragten Demokratie eher *procedural* (54%) als *substantive* (22%) definieren. *Procedural* bezieht sich auf den politischen Prozess der Lösungsfindung (Bürgerrechte, Wahlen, Reformen etc.) und *substantive* auf das Ergebnis, das dabei herauskommt (mehr Wohlstand, Gleichberechtigung, soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung etc.).

Interessanterweise widerspricht die Studie der im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs verbreiteten Annahme und von Regierenden in afrikanischen Ländern gern als Argument gegen Demokratie genutzten Meinung, dass Demokratie als „*alien import [linked] [...] with foreign or neocolonial rule*“ (Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 69) gesehen wird. (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi:2005, S. 69) Die ForscherInnen sind außerdem zu dem interessanten Ergebnis gekommen, dass die Mehrheit der 21.531 befragten Personen ein eher liberales, veränderliches und vor allem universales Verständnis von Demokratie haben. Die am häufigsten genannten Attribute sind liberale. (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 70) Es wird geschlussfolgert:

„[I]n seeking a suitable form of government, the Africans we interviewed seem to conceive of democracy as a system based on a mixture of liberal and participatory norms. They envision a sort of open, direct, and decentralized form of democracy rather than a model that hinges mainly on the intermittent election of political representatives to national governmental office.“ (Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 72)

Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie werden auch bei der Interpretation der Ergebnisse aus dem empirischen Teil dieser Arbeit einfließen.

2.6 Und wie geht es weiter? Demokratisierungswellen in Afrika

„We know a little more about how African politicians view democracy – with enthusiasm when they are in the opposition, and with caution when they are in power.“
(Ottaway 1997: 10)

Im Rahmen dieser Arbeit sind auf theoretischer Ebene auch die Demokratisierungswellen relevant, weil der Arbeit die Annahme zu Grunde liegt, dass der afrikanische Kontinent sich derzeit auf einem neuen Pfad der politischen Umwälzung befindet. Das Konzept der Demokratisierungswellen wurde erstmals 1991 von Samuel Huntington formuliert. Betont werden muss, dass die Demokratisierungswellen nach Huntington mittlerweile als weitestgehend überholt gelten, weshalb diese selbst wenig Relevanz für die vorliegende Arbeit besitzen und hier nicht näher ausgeführt werden¹⁷. Er beschäftigte sich außerdem nicht mit der Entwicklung afrikanischer Länder, was später zu Spekulationen über die Einordnung dieser in Huntingtons System geführt hat¹⁸. Keiner dieser Versuche der Einordnung kann überzeugen, weshalb diese hier nicht angeführt werden.

Die Idee politische Entwicklungen als wellenartige Prozesse zu betrachten ist, nach Meinung der Autorin, nichtsdestotrotz durchaus geeignet, um grundsätzliche Entwicklungen über mehrere Jahrzehnte hinweg darzustellen und zu systematisieren. Dabei sollte aber davon Abstand genommen werden dies Kontinent übergreifend durchzuführen, weil ein weltweites System politischer Entwicklung zwangsläufig in allzu oberflächlichen Pauschalisierungen sehr heterogener Strukturen und Bedingungen enden muss. Wesentlich zielführender erscheint es deshalb, anzuerkennen, dass afrikanische Länder eigene Wellen der Demokratisierung durchlaufen, und sie sich nicht zwanghaft in ein weltweites System einfügen müssen.

Die vier afrikaspezifischen Wellen der Demokratisierung stellen sich folgendermaßen dar:

- Erste Welle

Diese Welle setzte in den 1950er Jahren ein als die ersten afrikanischen Länder mit dem Unabhängigkeitskampf begannen. Ihren Höhepunkt hatte die Welle in den 1960er Jahren als die meisten Länder unabhängig wurden. Das Hauptziel dieser Welle war die Unabhängigkeit zu erlangen. (vgl. Mubangizi: 2011)

¹⁷ Als weiterführende Literatur wird empfohlen: Huntington, Samuel (1991): *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman

¹⁸ Vergleiche hierzu: Vanhanen: 2004, S. 242 / Erdmann: 2002, S. 328 / Van de Walle: 2002, S. 76 / Huntington: 1991, S. 24

- Zweite Welle

Die im Zuge der Unabhängigkeit eingeführten Demokratien hatten oft nur eine sehr kurze Lebensdauer und in vielen Ländern entstanden de facto schnell Einparteienstaaten. Auch die militärischen Regime, die sich in der Zwischenzeit in manchen Ländern an die Macht geputscht hatten, regierten nach einem ähnlichen Prinzip - unter ihnen wurde oft der Tiefpunkt demokratischer Bemühungen erreicht. Sie konnten (oder wollten) die Versprechen, die sie als Legitimierung für ihre oft gewaltsamen Machtübernahmen nutzten, nicht erfüllen. (vgl. Saxena: 2002, S. 67)

Die zweite Welle setzte also in den späten 1960er Jahren ein und reichte bis in die 1980er Jahre. Das Hauptziel dieser Welle war der Kampf gegen militärische Regime. Es sollte zivile Kontrolle von Macht wiedererlangt werden. (vgl. Mubangizi: 2011)

Einige Länder haben sich während dieser Zeit stark an das Einparteiensystem geklammert (beispielsweise Tanzania) – mit der Begründung, dass Mehrparteiensysteme entweder fremd seien und nicht zu Afrika passen würden oder aber das jeweilige Land noch nicht bereit sei, da die ideologischen Grundlagen für die Existenz verschiedener Parteien fehlen. Diese Argumentationslinien wurden von den Gebern und der internationalen Gemeinschaft zunächst akzeptiert. (vgl. Mubangizi: 2011) John Mukum Mbaku fasst diese Entwicklungen folgendermaßen zusammen:

„Unfortunately for Africans, the indigenous elites who captured the evacuated structures of colonial hegemony did not use the state as an instrument of social, economic, and political transformation to enhance national wealth and wellbeing. Instead, these individuals and groups transformed governmental structures into instruments of plunder to extract benefits from the economy for themselves and their supporters. The privatization of state structures in post-independence Africa to fulfill the objectives of bureaucrats, politicians, and pressure groups has enriched these groups but impoverished most of the African peoples.“ (Mbaku: 1999, S. 299)

- Dritte Welle

In den frühen 1990er Jahren setzte dann eine erneute Demokratisierungswelle ein, die mit den Schlagworten Wahlen, Mehrparteiensystem, Zivilgesellschaft und Demokratie zusammengefasst werden kann (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S. 66,71 / vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 191). Das Ergebnis war, dass ab 1997 ca. $\frac{3}{4}$ der afrikanischen Länder offiziell unter demokratischer Herrschaft standen und regelmäßig Wahlen abgehalten wurden – in der Regel sah es abseits des Rampenlichts aber auch in dieser Phase nicht wirklich demokratischer aus. Es waren

vielmehr innere (z.B. Massendemonstrationen) und äußere Umstände (Forderungen vieler westlicher Geber), welche die MachthaberInnen dazu zwangen, offiziell eine demokratischere Linie zu fahren. (vgl. Saxena: 2002, S. 68 / vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 298) Dass diese Demokratisierungswelle wenig nachhaltigen Erfolg haben kann, ist vor diesem Hintergrund logisch.

„While the third wave of democratization opened some political space, the reforms were just skin-deep. Key issues such as separation of powers, rule of law, independent electoral commissions, civilian control of military and free and vibrant media, are still unresolved.“ (Mubangizi: 2011)

Als realisiert wurde, dass man es mit einer *democracy with adjectives*¹⁹ (Van de Walle: 2002, S. 66) zu tun hatte, wurde der Demokratie-Optimismus durch extremen Pessimismus in Bezug auf die demokratische Entwicklung abgelöst. Man erkannte, dass sich vielerorts *virtual democracies* etabliert hatten, die zwar durch die Symbolhaftigkeit und Rituale um freie Wahlen eine Aura von Demokratie hergestellt hatten, diese aber nicht mit Inhalten füllten. (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 192) Dieser Wechsel der Extreme birgt drei Gefahren, so Nicolas van de Walle (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S. 66f.):

1. Werden die wirklichen Errungenschaften (wie beispielweise mehr politischer Wettstreit) der 1990er Jahre nicht mehr anerkannt. Man sollte nicht verkennen, dass die meisten afrikanischen Länder heute zwar keine perfekten Demokratien sind, aber durchaus demokratischer sind als noch in den 1980er Jahren.
2. Der allzu düstere Blick auf Afrika verleitet dazu, dass man sie an Kriterien liberaler Demokratie misst, die selbst in westlichen Ländern nicht erfüllt werden.
3. Wird man dazu verleitet alle afrikanischen Länder über einen Kamm zu scheren und sie ohne Rücksicht auf teilweise große Unterschiede als defekte Demokratien zu benennen.

¹⁹ Der Begriff wird von David Collier und Steven Levitsky geprägt, die argumentieren, dass die wachsenden Herausforderungen an das Demokratiekonzept auf Grund verschiedenster Kontexte in denen es angewandt wird, zu einer Ausuferung konzeptioneller Ideen und Konzepte zu Demokratie geführt hat. Siehe hierzu auch Collier, David/Levitsky, Steven (1997): “Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovations in Comparative Research,” In: World Politics Nr. 49 (April 1997), S. 430–451

- Vierte Welle

Die vierte Demokratisierungswelle fand ihren Beginn Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts und ihren vorläufigen Höhepunkt in den Protesten der nordafrikanischen Länder 2011. Diese Proteste konnten bislang einige Regime stürzen (Ägypten, Tunesien, Libyen). Auch wenn es zu früh ist, um abschätzen zu können wann und wie diese vierte Welle enden wird, lassen sich schon jetzt einige zentrale Merkmale erkennen (vgl. Mubangizi: 2011):

- Die Funktion von (Online-)Social-Networks für die Organisation der Proteste.
- Die antreibende Rolle, die vor allem junge Menschen spielen.
- Das Durchhaltevermögen, das die DemonstrantInnen trotz Gewalt von Seiten der Regierung zeigen.
- Die Rolle der internationalen Gemeinschaft, da erstmals UN und NATO aktiv in Auseinandersetzungen in afrikanischen Ländern involviert sind, um die Zivilbevölkerung zu schützen.

Interessant ist auch, dass zusätzlich im Rahmen des internationalen Rechts seit Beginn der vierten Welle Signale gesetzt werden. So wurden 2008 sechs hochrangige kenyanische Politiker in Den Haag angeklagt, da sie nach den Wahlen 2007 gewalttätige Aufstände organisiert hatten. (vgl. Mubangizi: 2011) Die Anklage Gaddafis geht ebenfalls in diese Richtung.

Die zentrale Botschaft, die in der vierten Welle vermittelt wird, formuliert Mubangizi folgendermaßen:

„The loud and clear message in this case is that there is no more impunity by those in power. There is nothing as empowering to the ordinary citizens as to realize that the high and mighty can also face the wrath of the law if they violate the rights of others, especially the destruction of life and other crimes against humanity.“ (Mubangizi: 2011)

Dieser Versuch einer Strukturierung der Demokratisierungsprozesse in Afrika ist für die vorliegende Arbeit deshalb besonders relevant, weil der Arbeit die Annahme zu Grunde liegt, dass wir uns derzeit in der gerade formulierten vierten Demokratisierungswelle befinden, deren weiterer Verlauf derzeit noch nicht abzusehen ist. Es wird aber davon ausgegangen, dass die Strukturen und die Unzufriedenheit vor allem der jüngeren Bevölkerung auch in den afrikanischen Ländern südlich der Sahara vorhanden sind und somit das Potential, dass die Entwicklungen in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft auch dort in irgendeiner Form zur Transformation in der Politik führen können.

2.7 Evolutionstheoretischer Ansatz: Misstrauen und Entwicklung

Evolutionstheorien stellen Typologien sozialer Formen auf, die in einer bestimmten Reihenfolge angeordnet sind. Die Möglichkeit auf höher gelegene Stufen aufzusteigen wird hierbei angenommen und gleichzeitig ausgeschlossen, dass es einen Übergang auf niedrigere Stufen geben kann. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 9) Für die vorliegende Arbeit interessant sind theoretische Überlegungen, die auf eine Studie von Banfield (1958) zurückgehen. Dieser hatte das Leben in einer italienischen Kleinstadt untersucht und festgestellt, dass ein *amoralischer Familialismus* als Einstellung vorherrscht: Enge Verbindungen in der Familie, aber Misstrauen und fehlende soziale Verbindungen, die über diesen *inner circle* hinausgehen. (vgl. Banfield zit. n. Künzler: 2004, S. 49) Verschiedene AutorInnen²⁰ stellen einen Zusammenhang zwischen diesem Phänomen und wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung her, denn Vertrauen und Beziehungen, die über das familiäre Umfeld hinausgehen werden als wichtig für wirtschaftliche Aktivitäten angesehen. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 49f.)

Künzler zeigt in seiner Dissertation auf, dass „*geringes generalisiertes Vertrauen auch ein kulturelles Merkmal afrikanischer Gemeinschaften ist*“ (Künzler: 2004, S. 50) Geheimhaltung und damit Misstrauen sind zentrale Merkmale der Gesellschaften²¹. Dieses Misstrauen besteht vor allem gegenüber Autoritäten – wozu auch PolitikerInnen zählen. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 51f.) Das fehlende Vertrauen behindert auch den Aufbau von gut funktionierenden politischen Institutionen, die über das direkte Umfeld hinausgehen. Tocqueville verwies schon 1961 auf die Wichtigkeit von Gemeinschaften, Vertrauen und den positiven Effekt, den dies auf Demokratie hat. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 55) Diese *civic community* oder *civic culture* ist stark von ethnischer Homogenität abhängig. In ethnisch homogenen Gruppen kann Sozialkapital besser entstehen. Die ethnische Heterogenität der afrikanischen Länder kann deshalb auch als Argument dafür gesehen werden, warum die *civic culture* weniger stark ist. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 54)

Kritische Stimmen sehen in den Ideen einen zu einseitigen Zusammenhang. Es gebe ja auch Institutionen, die Vertrauen ausnutzen, außerdem ist die Richtung der Kausalität nicht so eindeutig, da es beispielsweise auch Institutionen gibt, die speziell dazu geschaffen werden, um

²⁰ De Soto (2000), Putnam/Gross (2001), Inglehart (1998), Bornschie (2000) u.a. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 49)

²¹ Er begründet dies vor allem mit Traditionen rund um Hexerei und Magie, die in Afrika weit verbreitet sind. Diese Arbeit sieht aber vor allem auch die generelle Instabilität (politisch, wirtschaftlich, sozial) und daraus resultierende Willkürlichkeit als Ursache für Misstrauen, welches wiederum Instabilität bedeutet.

Vertrauen aufzubauen – damit wäre die Argumentation von Vertrauen als Voraussetzung für den Aufbau effizienter Institutionen nicht mehr logisch. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 55)

Dieser theoretische Ansatz ist hier wegen seiner Komplexität und Vielschichtigkeit etwas verkürzt auf jene Aspekte dargestellt, die für die vorliegende Arbeit relevant sind. Künzler stützt seine Argumentation auf vielfältige AutorInnen und Argumentationsstränge. Dennoch sind die Überlegungen relevant für diese Arbeit, da die Theorie zum Zusammenhang zwischen Misstrauen und Entwicklung gerade in der Politik Erklärungsansatz für viele Probleme sein kann.

3. Politischer Alltag in Afrika

„In much of Africa the main problem is not that democratic rights have deteriorated qualitatively after the holding of multiparty elections, but rather that the process has not moved beyond the holding of elections. The patterns of neopatrimonial rule, personal rule, and state-based clientelism remain intact and are simply manifesting themselves in a multiparty context.“ (Tripp: 2000, S. 212)

Nach der Unabhängigkeit hatten die Menschen in den verschiedenen afrikanischen Ländern große Hoffnung, dass sich ihre politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Situation nun bessern würde. Sie erwarteten mehr Mitspracherecht und weniger Unterdrückung in der Politik, wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung und daraus folgend bessere Lebensbedingungen. Es wurden Unabhängigkeitserklärungen nach westlichem Vorbild geschrieben, doch schon bald machte man in immer mehr Ländern Einschränkungen. Regeln und Gesetze galten für die MachthaberInnen nicht mehr, politische GegnerInnen wurden unterdrückt und die Unabhängigkeit der Judikatur wurde eingeschränkt. (vgl. Saxena: 2002, S. 66 / vgl. Joseph: 1997, S. 363ff.) In den 1990er Jahren fanden wieder vermehrt Demokratisierungsbemühungen statt, die aber oft mehr kosmetischer Natur waren, als dass sie wirklich demokratische Strukturen etablierten. Nachdem sich zunächst Optimismus breit machte, dass die afrikanischen Länder tatsächlich demokratisch würden, setzte Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts die Ernüchterung ein und man sprach von Fassadendemokratien und *virtual democracies*. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S. 66 / vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 192) Seit Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts kann man sagen, dass die Mehrheit der afrikanischen Länder *multiparty electoral regimes* sind – dabei geht die Spannweite von relativ freien Demokratien (wie beispielsweise Botswana, Benin) bis hin zu Diktaturen unter dem

Deckmantel von Demokratie (wie beispielsweise Cameroon, Guinea²²). (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S: 67f.) Nach diesem kurze Überblick über die Entwicklung von Politik seit den 1950er/1960er Jahren²³, widmet sich dieses Kapitel nun jenen Phänomenen, die für Politik in Afrika im 21. Jahrhundert nach Meinung vieler ExpertInnen typisch sind.

3.1 Vorbemerkungen – Kein Afrika-Pessimismus

Dieses Kapitel soll dazu dienen jene Spezifika vorzustellen, die für die noch jungen Demokratien in Afrika typisch und bei der Entwicklung echter Demokratien hinderlich sind. Ziel der Ausführungen ist es zu verdeutlichen, warum es in vielen afrikanischen Ländern so schwierig ist, dass sich die auf dem Papier oft existierende Demokratie zu einer echten entwickelt. Es ist hierbei anzumerken, dass es durchaus auch AutorInnen gibt, die betonen, dass man weniger darauf achten sollte, was in afrikanischen Demokratien alles schlecht funktioniert. Eine ideale Demokratie verlangt gewisse Vorbedingungen, die in den afrikanischen Staaten kaum bzw. nur in geringem Ausmaß vorhanden sind, so die VerfechterInnen dieser Theorie. Der in den 1960er- und 1970er- Jahren eintretende Trend (weg von Demokratie hin zu autoritären Systemen) wird mit der damals, und oft auch noch heute, vorhandenen generellen Instabilität der betroffenen Länder argumentiert²⁴. Trotz dieser ungünstigen Ausgangslage, haben die meisten afrikanischen Länder wieder zu demokratischen Regierungsformen zurückgefunden. Daher sollte man, so beispielsweise John Wiseman, nicht zum wiederholten Mal danach fragen, warum Demokratie in Afrika auf so schwachen Füßen steht, sondern eher untersuchen, warum sie trotz der für sie schlechten Bedingungen bis heute überdauert hat bzw. wiedereingeführt wurde. (vgl. Wiseman: 1990, S. 14) Als Beispiele positiver Entwicklungen seien nur kurz genannt: Die wachsende Zahl von abgehaltenen Wahlen, wenngleich diese oft nicht fair sind, die wachsende Zahl von Parteien, wenngleich diese oft unterdrückt werden, die wachsende Zahl von zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen und die Entwicklung hin zu einer Vielfalt an Massenmedien (z.B. Malawi, Ghana) (vgl. Saxena: 2002, S. 83). Diese Tendenzen haben sich auch in den Interviews, die für den empirischen Teil dieser Arbeit durchgeführt wurden, für das Fallbeispiel Tanzania bestätigt.

²² Es haben in Guinea 2010 offiziell demokratische Wahlen stattgefunden, was eine positive Entwicklung darstellt. Diese waren aber überschattet von ethnischen Konflikten und Betrugsvorwürfen. (vgl. Dugge: 2010) Auch in Cameroon fanden 2011 Wahlen statt, die aber nicht als demokratisch gelten können (vgl. Johnson: 2011)

²³ Vertiefend behandelt wurden die Demokratisierungswellen in Kapitel 2.6

²⁴ Zum Verhältnis zwischen Entwicklung und Demokratie siehe Kapitel 3.3

Die Erwähnung dieser Sichtweise und einiger positiver Entwicklungen ist wichtig, um zu verhindern, dass durch die nachfolgenden Ausführungen der Eindruck von Afrika-Pessimismus entsteht. Dies wird für sehr wichtig erachtet, weil bei den verschiedenen Ansätzen, die versuchen Politik im afrikanischen Kontext zu erfassen, oft zwischen den Strängen der Optimisten und der Pessimisten unterschieden wird. Während die Optimisten die Fortschritte bei Demokratisierung und politischen sowie zivilen Rechten seit den 1990er Jahren hervorheben und der Ansicht sind, dass sich die Errungenschaften weiter ausdehnen werden, betonen die Pessimisten vor allem die andauernden Defizite in sozialen, politischen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Bereichen, die demokratische Institutionen gefährden. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 135) Für die nun folgenden Phänomene, die als typisch für Politik im afrikanischen Kontext gelten, wird deshalb explizit darauf verwiesen, dass diese Charakteristika keine starren unveränderlichen Symptome darstellen, sondern für jedes Land individuell zu beurteilen sind. Das Vorhandensein dieser Phänomene, mit definitiv negativen Folgen für die politische Praxis, bedeutet nicht, dass daneben nicht auch positive Entwicklungen in bestimmten Bereichen grundsätzlich möglich sind.

3.2 Charakteristika von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext

„Politische Parteien in Afrika sind kein Instrument der politischen Willensbildung von unten. Sie bilden sich um eine prominente Persönlichkeit, zumeist auf ethnischer Grundlage, und organisieren sich straff von oben nach unten.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 77)

Volker Seitz spricht in diesem Zitat mehrere Charakteristika politischer Praxis an, die in diesem Kapitel behandelt werden. Afrikanische Staaten werden ganz allgemein von den meisten Autoren als neopatrimonial und tendenziell autoritär, bezeichnet. Auch wenn dies eine Verallgemeinerung darstellt, so hat die Bezeichnung durchaus ihre Daseinsberechtigung, wenn man sich näher mit den Charakteristika von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext beschäftigt. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 98f.) Nicolas van de Walle, vom *Center for Global Development*, hat 2003 eine Studie zu Parteien in Afrika südlich der Sahara in den 1990er Jahren veröffentlicht. Die Studie ergab drei signifikante Charakteristika für Politik im afrikanischen Kontext (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 298ff., S. 314):

1. Erfolg bei den ersten Wahlen nach der Unabhängigkeit im Mehrparteiensystem bedeutet politische Dominanz in den gesamten 1990er Jahren. Die Parteien, die die ersten Wahlen gewannen, sind in der Regel auch während den gesamten 1990er Jahren an der Macht.

2. Das politische System der einzelnen Länder ist typischerweise gekennzeichnet durch eine dominierende Partei, die den Präsidenten stellte, und viele sehr kleine, unbeständige Parteien, die daneben existieren.
3. Ethnische und regionale Faktoren spielen im Wettkampf zwischen den Parteien eine größere Rolle als ideologische oder programmatische Aspekte. Dies führt dazu, dass PolitikerInnen einen starken Anreiz haben ihren ethnischen Hintergrund hervorzuheben und so die Stimmen der jeweiligen Community zu gewinnen. Dies ist auch eine Erklärung dafür, warum zu Wahlzeiten regelmäßig eine große Zahl kleiner Parteien oder einzelner KandidatInnen aufkommt, die jeweils die Stimmen einer bestimmten Community gewinnen. Dies wird im Sinne von Klientelismus strategisch eingesetzt, um WählerInnenstimmen zu gewinnen bzw. von anderen Parteien abzuziehen.

Als zwei weitere zentrale Phänomene identifiziert Van de Walle *clientelism* und *centralisation of power around the presidency*. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S.298f.)

Die Studie beschäftigt sich mit den 1990er Jahren und ihre Gültigkeit müsste für die Gegenwart neu überprüft werden. Aber auch aktuelle Literatur (z.B. Hyden: 2006) argumentiert weiterhin in diese Richtung, weshalb die Ergebnisse von Van de Walle, nach Meinung der Autorin, auch noch heute gelten.

Die Erkenntnisse von Van de Walle sind ein erster inhaltlicher Einstieg in die Phänomene, die auch in der aktuellen Literatur immer wieder als charakteristisch für Politik im afrikanischen Kontext genannt werden. Die nun nachfolgend vertiefend behandelten Phänomene führen dazu, dass Politik willkürlich wird und Kontrolle sowie eine breite Verteilung von Macht, wie sie für eine funktionierende Demokratie gefordert wird,²⁵ kaum möglich ist. Politische Parteien muss man im afrikanischen Kontext deshalb anders bewerten als in westlichen Ländern, wo sie als Bündelung von Interessen oder als Interessenzusammenschlüsse gesehen werden:

„In Africa today [...] parties do not really serve to aggregate interests – rather they serve a representation function in a context of clientelistic politics that are dominated by a disproportionately powerful executive and are only imperfectly democratic.“
(Van de Walle: 2003, S. 314)

²⁵ Siehe hierzu Kapitel 3.3

3.2.1 Big Man Rule – Das „Chefproblem“

„Politische Macht speist sich aus der Nähe zum Präsidenten, nicht aus demokratisch legitimierten Verfahren.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 75)

Afrikas Politik ist sehr oft geprägt durch autoritäre Regierungen unter dem Deckmantel der Demokratie und das so genannte *Big Man Rule-Prinzip* – einzelne Personen, die Macht bei sich akkumulieren und aus dieser Position heraus ein Land regieren. Macht ist damit sehr zentralisiert und personalisiert, was dazu führt, dass sich private und öffentliche Bereiche der herrschenden Person vermischen. Dies bringt vor allem Willkürlichkeit und Unvorhersehbarkeit des Regierens mit sich. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 99 / vgl. Seitz: 2009, S. 75)

Auch dem Politikwissenschaftler Goran Hyden zufolge bringt diese personalisierte Herrschaft einige spezifische Probleme mit sich. Er formuliert als zentrale Aspekte (vgl. Hyden: 2006, S. 102ff.):

1. Hohe Kosten, weil Unterstützer und Förderer ‚bei Laune‘ gehalten werden müssen
2. Undurchsichtigkeit von Politik
3. Beliebigkeit und manchmal Impulsivität des Regierens des *Big Man*
4. Vetternwirtschaft
5. Die oft subjektiven und persönlichen Ziele, die von den Regierenden verfolgt werden und die oft wenig mit Gemeinwohl zu tun haben

Hinzu kommt, dass *Big Man Rule* in der Regel eine sehr begrenzte Staatsspitze mit sich bringt. Das heißt, dass die Gruppe, die in der Politik aktiv ist, zentralisiert um die HerrscherIn angeordnet ist und außerhalb dieses Zentrums oftmals eine große Unbeständigkeit der aktiven Personen, Gruppierungen und Institutionen vorherrscht. So wird potentielle Konkurrenz kleingehalten, und es entsteht keine Opposition auf Augenhöhe. Politik ist also sehr stark vertikal und weniger horizontal angeordnet. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 99)

Dass *Big Man Rule* überhaupt möglich ist, sieht Hyden unter anderem darin begründet, dass die Staaten zu wenig *effective formalized* sind. Unter *effective formalized states* versteht er Staaten, die im Respekt vor bestimmten Regeln des Zusammenlebens regiert werden:

„In an effectively formalized state, everyone respects the rules, no matter how important the individual may be. In a state without effective institutions, formal rules are defined or ignored.“ (Hyden: 2006, S. 98)

In solchen *effective formalized states* würde ein *Big Man* gar nicht die Möglichkeit haben so viel Macht in einer Person zu konzentrieren, dass er diese Regeln für seine eigene Person außer Kraft setzen kann. (vgl. Hyden: 2006, S. 98f) In vielen afrikanischen Ländern ist es aber so, dass zwar auf dem Papier (beispielsweise in Form von Verfassungen) viele gute Absichten formuliert sind, diese dann aber in der politischen Realität nicht umgesetzt werden: „*Political leaders in Africa have had a very instrumental view of constitutions and formal institutions, treating them seriously only when it has suited them.*“ (Hyden: 2006, S. 98)

Goran Hyden unterscheidet in Anlehnung an Jackson/Rosberg bei den *Big Man* zwischen Prinzen, Autokraten, Propheten und Tyrannen, wobei die Typen natürlich nicht statisch zu sehen sind, sondern mehrere in einer Person verschmelzen können. Prinzen sind jene, die gut beobachten und clevere Manipulatoren anderer Menschen sind. Sie legitimieren ihre Macht durch Besitz und die Entscheidungsgewalt darüber, wie mit Ressourcen umgegangen wird (Beispiel: Senghor). Die Autokraten unterscheiden sich hiervon durch eine strengere Führung und der Überzeugung, dass der Staatsapparat allein dazu dient die eigenen Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen (Beispiel: Moi). Die Propheten sind eine Minderheit der *Big Man*. Sie sind Visionäre und wollen ihr Land verändern (oft sozialistische Führer wie Nyerere). Die Tyrannen herrschen durch Angst. Sie haben keinen Respekt vor Menschenrechten und regieren oft impulsiv und brutal (Beispiel: Mugabe). (vgl. Hyden: 2006, S. 99 ff.)

Solange *Big Man Rule* vorherrscht, sieht Goran Hyden keine Chance für Fortschritt, weil die HerrscherInnen mehr damit beschäftigt sind, Ressourcen für die Versorgung ihrer Unterstützer zu akkumulieren, als sich um gute Politik zu bemühen. (vgl. Hyden: 2006, S. 103) Außerdem wird von verschiedenen AutorInnen argumentiert, dass eine starke Opposition, wie sie beim *Big Man Rule* nicht existieren kann, eine wichtige Komponente für demokratische Transition ist. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S. 73) *Big Man*, die ihre Macht ausnutzen, sind also ein deutliches Hindernis für die Entwicklung demokratischer Strukturen in einem Land.

3.2.2 Neopatrimonialismus / Patron-Client System

Informelle Netzwerke und das oft ausgeprägte *Patron-Client System*, das die Beziehung zwischen Staat und BürgerIn prägt, hängen mit dem *Big Man Rule Konzept* zusammen und sind ebenfalls charakteristisch für die politischen Systeme in vielen Ländern Afrikas. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 198) Im *Neopatrimonialismus*, wie das Regieren auf Basis von informellen Beziehungen zwischen einem Patron und seinem Klientel genannt wird, ist Macht durch „*die Befriedigung der (finanziellen) Erwartungen der Klientel*“ (Künzler: 2004, S. 98) legitimiert. Gehen die Mittel der Befriedigung aus, und fällt somit auch die ohnehin schwache Legitimation der Macht weg, wird das entstehende Vakuum oft mit Gewalt und Repression gefüllt, um das System zu erhalten. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 98) Gero Erdmann definiert Neopatrimonialismus in Abgrenzung zu Max Webers Konzept des Patrimonialismus:

„Beim Neopatrimonialismus handelt es sich um eine Mischform von Herrschaft. Elemente patrimonialer und rational-bürokratischer Herrschaft sind miteinander verwoben. Die Unterscheidung von Privatem und Öffentlichem ist zwar formal vorhanden, wird aber in der Praxis oft nicht beachtet. So koexistieren zwei Systeme miteinander: das patrimoniale der persönlichen Beziehungen und das legal rationale der Bürokratie. Dabei dringt das patrimoniale in das legal-rationale System ein und deformiert seine Funktionslogik und Wirkung.“ (Erdmann: 2002, S. 330, vgl. hierzu auch Künzler: 2004, S. 101)

Dabei lässt sich ein unterschiedlicher Grad an Neopatrimonialismus im Vergleich afrikanischer Länder identifizieren. Da sind auf der einen Seite Länder wie Botswana, die als demokratisch relativ weit entwickelt gelten, wo Neopatrimonialismus weiterhin existiert, aber nur in engeren Grenzen und – das ist entscheidend – nicht als *system of rule*. Andererseits gibt es aber auch jene autokratischeren Länder, wie beispielsweise Zimbabwe, wo Klientelismus und die Vermischung von privatem und öffentlichem Bereich von Regierungsseite stattfindet und die *Big Man* keine Rechenschaft dafür ablegen müssen. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S. 69)

Die Ursache für Neopatrimonialismus sehen viele AutorInnen in der zentralisierten Herrschaft der Kolonialzeit und der wirtschaftlichen Abhängigkeit vom Weltmarkt. (vgl. Künzler: 2004, S. 101) Neben diesen externen Faktoren wird die generell unsichere und instabile gesellschaftliche Lage in den meisten afrikanischen Ländern von einigen AutorInnen als weitere zentrale Ursache angesehen: Das Patron-Client System dient dabei als Zielerreichungsstrategie. (vgl. Erdmann: 2002, S. 331) Auch der vielfältige Ressourcenreichtum vieler afrikani-

scher Länder, der oft zum Zwecke von Neopatrimonialismus ausgebeutet wird, ist ein Faktor, der Neopatrimonialismus und Patron-Client Systeme erleichtert, so die Annahme der Autorin. Keefer et al haben in einer Studie über Unterschiede zwischen alten und jungen Demokratien als Ursache von Neopatrimonialismus zudem auch die mangelhafte Verlässlichkeit von politischen Parteien und das Unvermögen konkrete und verlässliche Wahlversprechen zu formulieren angeführt²⁶. Der Studie zufolge führt mangelnde Zuverlässigkeit zu einer tiefen Verankerung von Patron-Client Beziehungen in politische Strukturen. (vgl. Keefer: 2007, S. 819f.) Nicolas van de Walle fasst die Ursachen folgendermaßen zusammen:

„The absence or narrowness of a public realm in the Western sense, the strength of clan, ethnicity and other sub-national identities, the predilection for dyadic exchange in primarily rural societies, and the need for mechanisms of ‘social insurance’ in the risky and uncertain environment of low-income societies, have all been used in the literature to explain the ubiquitous presence at every level of African life of the exchange of gifts, favours and services, of patronage and courtier practices.“ (Van de Walle: 2003, S. 311)

Neben den *Big Man* selbst, gibt es auf niedrigerer Ebene eine Vielzahl an PolitikerInnen, die das *Patron-Client System* am Laufen halten – dieses zieht sich also von lokaler bis zu nationaler Ebene durch alle Bereiche der Politik. (vgl. Sissoko: 2004, S. 148) Dabei ist zentrales Merkmal des neopatrimonialistischen Klientelismus, dass es nicht um den direkten Tausch eigener Ressourcen zwischen zwei Parteien geht, sondern darum, dass der Patron staatliche Ressourcen verteilt und dafür politische Unterstützung (z.B. durch WählerInnenstimmen) bekommt. (vgl. Erdmann: 2002, S. 330) Oft wird er so auch damit gerechtfertigt, dass er schließlich nicht Einzelne bereichern würde, sondern in einem gewissen Sinn einen Gemeinschaftszweck erfüllt, was schlichtweg nicht der Realität entspricht, da vor allem eine eher kleine Gruppe rund um die HerrscherInnen von diesen Systemen profitiert (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 311f.). Die wirkliche Funktion von Patron-Client Systemen ist – neben dem Gewinn von WählerInnen – wohl eher die *reciprocal assimilation of elites* (nach Bayart). Durch die Nutzung von Staatsressourcen werden Allianzen zwischen verschiedenen sozialen Eliten (politischen, militärischen, wirtschaftlichen und kirchlichen) geschlossen, die dann Politik einseitig stabilisieren. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 312)

²⁶ Im Rahmen der Quellenkritik muss an dieser Stelle darauf verwiesen werden, dass die Quelle von der Weltbank ist und die formulierte Kritik der Unfähigkeit verlässliche Wahlversprechen abgeben zu können wohl auch auf viele westliche Wahlen zutrifft, was in der Quelle aber nicht erwähnt wird.

Geht man einmal davon aus, dass eine Person nur an die Macht kommt, wenn sie genügend UnterstützerInnen und FördererInnen gewinnen kann, impliziert dies schon, dass sie sich als MachthaberIn auf diesen Kurs eingelassen haben muss, um überhaupt an die Position zu kommen. Ist man erst einmal Teil dieses eingespielten Systems von Gegenseitigkeiten, dann wird es schwer diesem wieder zu entkommen. Versucht man dies, wird man wohl einfach von einer nachrückenden Person, die das System weiter trägt, ersetzt. Dies gilt nicht nur auf Regierungsebene, sondern auf allen Ebenen von Politik. Es kann hier, nach Meinung der Autorin, von einem Teufelskreis gesprochen, der sich immer wiederholt und selbst dazu beiträgt, dass der Kreislauf nicht durchbrochen werden kann, weil durch ihn selbst wieder Unsicherheiten des politischen Systems entstehen, die Nährboden eines Patron-Client Systems sind.

Selbst wenn es zu einem pro-demokratischen Machtwechsel kommt, stehen die neuen MachthaberInnen vor der sehr schwierigen Aufgabe demokratische Institutionen zu installieren und gleichzeitig ihre Macht sichern zu müssen. Diese Kombination von Reformwillen und Machterhalt ist im Kontext der schwachen Institutionalisierung neopatrimonialer Systeme nur sehr schwer vereinbar. Nur zu leicht rutscht man da in die gängigen Muster des Patron-Client Systems zurück. (vgl. Erdmann: 2002, S. 336) Es kann also ein starker Zusammenhang zwischen Neopatrimonialismus und dem Scheitern von Demokratisierungsbemühungen angenommen werden.

Die unzureichende programmatische Identität politischer Parteien kann ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit Neopatrimonialismus gesehen werden. Durch Klientelismus befinden sich Patron und Klient in einem ganz bestimmten Verhältnis zueinander – politische Programme spielen dann keine Rolle mehr²⁷. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 311) Auch das in afrikanischen Ländern weit verbreitete Problem Korruption steht in einem engen Zusammenhang zum Neopatrimonialismus.

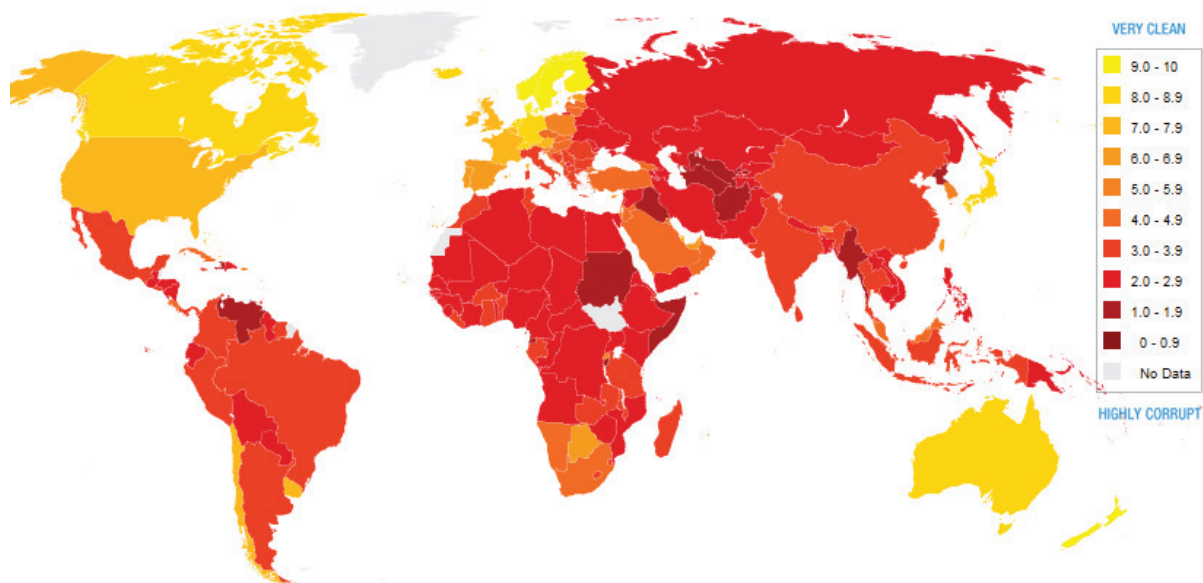
²⁷ Dazu mehr in Kapitel 3.2.4

3.2.3 Korruption

„A serious assault against corruption is difficult in an environment where political will is absent.“ (Kpundeh: 2004, S. 136)

Korruption ist ein weit verbreitetes Problem – eigentlich überall auf der Welt. Auch in europäischen Ländern wurde Korruption bis in die späten 1990er Jahre steuerlich gefördert²⁸. *Transparency International* bewertet jährlich im *Corruption Perceptions Index* den erkennbaren Grad von Korruption im öffentlichen Sektor aller Länder. Die nachfolgende Grafik stellt die Ergebnisse für das Jahr 2011 dar.

Abb. 7: Corruption Perceptions Index 2011 Results



Quelle: Transparency International: 2012, <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/> [Zugriff: 03.02.2012]

Wie deutlich wird, ist Korruption weltweit vor allem in jenen Ländern, die nicht zu den Industrienationen zählen, stark verbreitet. Diese Stärke der Verbreitung auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent ist ein Indiz dafür welche Dimension Korruption im Alltag afrikanischer Länder angenommen hat. Die Frage nach Korruption muss im afrikanischen Kontext auch immer vor dem Hintergrund betrachtet werden, dass die Bevölkerung unter schlechten Lebensbedingungen lebt, und Korruption deshalb ihr Leben ganz anders beeinflusst als in Industrieländern, wo es nur um die ungerechtfertigte Bereicherung Einzelner geht, aber nicht um systemische Strukturen. Gleichzeitig darf man nicht den Fehler machen und Korruption als kulturelles

²⁸ Zum Beispiel in Deutschland bis 1999 (vgl. Seitz: 2009, S. 92)

Phänomen verharmlosen. Das würde die StaatsbürgerInnen afrikanischer Länder entmündigen und Korruption legitimieren, denn eine Regierung, die tatsächlich Korruption bekämpfen wollte, würde zumindest Mittel und Wege finden diese transparent zu machen. (vgl. Seitz: 2009, S. 90f.)

„Viele Afrikaner, auf der Straße angesprochen, würden ohne weiteres drei oder vier überzeugende Maßnahmen zur Korruptionsbekämpfung benennen können, die, den entsprechenden politischen Willen vorausgesetzt, von jeder afrikanischen Regierung sofort umgesetzt werden könnten und ohne Zweifel Wirkung erzielen würden.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 91)

Wenngleich diese Aussage etwas zu einseitig optimistisch anmutet (schließlich gibt es auch bei den ‚kleinen Leuten‘ Profiteure von Korruption), zeigt sie zumindest auf, dass der Wille zu Veränderung auch hier zentrale Voraussetzung für eine Verbesserung ist. Dies zeigt auch das Beispiel von Benin – als Boni Yani 2006 zum Präsidenten gewählt wurde, ging er unter anderem effektiv gegen Korruption vor und war damit erfolgreich (vgl. Seitz: 2009, S. 193).

Auch in den Interviews, die im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit durchgeführt wurden, wird das Thema Korruption behandelt. Dabei zeichnete sich ab, dass von nahezu allen InterviewpartnerInnen bestätigt wurde, dass Korruption als weit verbreitetes Mittel im Wahlkampf eingesetzt wird. Hier ein Beispiel:

„So, someone is not having good food, someone is needing goods, so when you give him like 50.000. Wow, it's huge for a person. So, despite of being aware and in need of change, that money we will give to him makes him to forget everything. So, that's one of the major reasons. [...] And secondly for what they give, for instance when they are doing the campaigns they give caps, t-shirts, kangas, we call them. So, many women like that to be given those things. And the other thing, for the government I've seen, is during the campaign maybe the person who was a member of parliament for that constituency, you find during campaign or early before campaign, starting to give donations to the citizens like maybe the football, giving football balls [...]. So, this is in one way another a strategy, why could they not do this in the last five years?“ (Interview 7 #00:23:36-9#)

Die möglichen Ursachen von Korruption in afrikanischen Ländern sind vielfältig. Grundsätzlich sind es die Zentralisierung von Herrschaft, Geldgier, überforderte und überzentralisierte Politik und Wirtschaft und ein Mangel an moralisch vertretbarem Führungsstil, Verlässlichkeit und Transparenz. Die schwache Verpflichtung der Regierungen die Verantwortung für das eigene Handeln zu tragen (accountability), ist hierbei sicherlich eines der zentralsten

Probleme. Dieses ist, nach Andreas Schedler, zweidimensional zu verstehen und besteht einerseits aus *answerability* (Die Pflicht der Regierenden die Öffentlichkeit über das eigene Handeln zu informieren und sich zu erklären) und andererseits aus *enforcement* (Die Anerkennung von Institutionen, die EntscheidungsträgerInnen mit Sanktionen bestrafen, die ihre öffentliche Aufgabe verletzt haben). Gerade in Afrika werden diese beiden Bereiche zu stark vernachlässigt. (vgl. Kpundeh: 2004, S.123f.) Dieser Trend wurde auch in den durchgeführten Interviews bestätigt:

„If the government would have been serious, the prime minister would have been taken to the court and if he would have been found guilty, to be taken to jail. The court could rule out what to do for him but if he is not taken to the court, they will always talk the same ‘Ah, law is only for this young fishes but big fishes, like prime ministers, will not be taken to the court.’ So, that is the case here, that there are some people who have stolen very minor things, they are beaten up or others are banned, fired, others are taken into jail for life but this big leaders are always on the safe side.“ (Interview 11 #00:44:07-9#)

Zwar gibt es Institutionen in der Zivilgesellschaft und Regelungen in der Politik (watchdog groups etc.), die Korruption in vielen Ländern theoretisch beschränken sollen, aber diese werden von der jeweiligen Elite des Landes kontrolliert und haben daher wenig Wirkungskraft. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die unzureichende Dezentralisierung von Macht ein Hindernis für die effektive Etablierung von Anti-Korruptionsmaßnahmen. (vgl. Kpundeh: 2004, S.123f.) Die Probleme, die durch Korruption entstehen, fasst Volker Seitz folgendermaßen zusammen:

„Korruption erhöht die Transitzkosten beim Aushandeln von Preisen für Güter und Dienstleistungen, Korruption verhindert eine marktkonforme Preisbildung, die im Ergebnis Knappheitsverhältnisse widerspiegeln sollte, Korruption zementiert Machtverhältnisse und Abhängigkeiten, wo Initiative und Engagement gefordert wären, Korruption schafft Unsicherheit und Misstrauen statt Berechenbarkeit und Verlässlichkeit, Korruption stellt die staatliche Legitimität in Frage, Korruption untergräbt die Voraussetzungen für wirtschaftliches Wachstum.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 92f.)

Darüber hinaus behindert Korruption die Durchsetzung von Menschenrechten, wenn sich beispielsweise die Polizei oder die Justiz allgemein durch Geld und andere Zuwendungen beeinflussen lässt. (vgl. Seitz: 2009, S. 107) Auch Sahr Kpundeh betont den empirisch belegten negativen Einfluss von Korruption auf Politik, Wirtschaft und Entwicklung auf allen Ebenen und schlussfolgert, dass der Kampf gegen Korruption eine der größten Herausforderungen im

Bereich politischer Stabilisierung und Konsolidierung in Afrika ist. Dazu ist es notwendig, die afrikanischen Regierungen mehr zur Verantwortung zu ziehen und zunehmend Transparenz zu fordern. Dies geschieht Kpundeh zufolge bisher zu wenig. (vgl. Kpundeh: 2004, S. 121)

Insgesamt gilt es einige Voraussetzungen zu schaffen, um Korruption effektiv bekämpfen zu können. Es muss als zentrale Voraussetzung politischer Wille vorhanden sein und eine Legislative, Exekutive und Judikative geschaffen werden, die in der Lage sind Anti-Korruptionsmaßnahmen effektiv um- und durchzusetzen. Aber auch andere StakeholderInnen, aus NGOs, der Privatwirtschaft, der Internationalen Gemeinschaft und der Zivilgesellschaft, müssen eingebunden werden. Je breiter die Variation an StakeholderInnen angelegt ist, desto eher können Anti-Korruptionskampagnen erfolgreich sein. (vgl. Kpundeh: 2004, S. 122)

3.2.4 Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeiten

„Politics is a competition over the control of state patronage, and ethnic groups thus become competitors over limited state resources [...] Structural differences are in this sense of limited importance for the notion of diverging ethnic interests. Winning the game entails control over patronage.“ (Hulterström: 2007, S. 20).

Auch die Orientierung entlang von ethnischen Zugehörigkeiten spielt oft, wie beispielsweise in Kenya, eine große Rolle. Die für viele afrikanische Länder typische ethnische Vielfalt trägt dazu bei, dass politische Praxis kompliziert wird. Realisierbare Mehrheitsentscheidungen sind schwer zu erreichen. (vgl. Linz/Stepan: 1997, S. 18ff.) Außerdem wird es dadurch zunehmend schwierig, Politik entlang von Parteiprogrammen erfolgreich zu führen. Wenn die anderen Parteien mit Klientelismus und über das Argument der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit UnterstützerInnen binden, dann können Parteiprogramme auf einer emotionalen Ebene kaum mithalten. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 315)

Tatu Vanhanen identifiziert *ethnicity* als einen der größten Einflussfaktoren auf Demokratie neben der Verteilung von Macht und Ressourcen²⁹. Er spricht ihr sowohl positives als auch negatives Potential zu:

„In some countries ethnic cleavages have provided a solid basis for democratic party competition, in some other cases ethnic interest conflicts have accelerated into violences or attempts to establish ethnic hegemonies.“ (Vanhanen: 2004, S. 243)

²⁹ Siehe Kapitel 3.3

Nicolas Van de Walle sieht das kritischer. Er sagt, dass die meisten BeobachterInnen der Entwicklung von Politik in Afrika den ethnischen Charakter von Politik als destabilisierend sehen. Viele PräsidentInnen nutzen die Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeit aktiv aus, um diese Stimmen bei Wahlen sicher zu gewinnen. Deshalb sind sie oft besonders um die eigene ethnische Gruppe bemüht, was zu Spaltungen in der Gesellschaft führen kann. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 305 & 314) Wahlkampagnen bleiben so populistisch und versprechen allgemein eine bessere Zukunft. Einen möglichen Grund für diese flache programmatische Abgrenzung sieht Van de Walle im Mangel an Parteien, die einen kirchlichen Hintergrund haben oder Arbeiterpartei sind. Diese hätten nämlich eher programmatische Anliegen als Parteien, die sich ohne eine solche ideologische Basis allein auf Grund von ethnischen Zugehörigkeiten oder Persönlichkeiten gründen. (vgl. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 304) Auch Marina Ottaway argumentiert, dass nach dem *Kalten Krieg* vielerorts in Afrika die programmatische Orientierung wegfiel und die ethnische Zugehörigkeit wichtigstes Identifikationsinstrument wurde (Ottaway: 1998 zit. n. Van de Walle: 2003, S. 305). Diese Tendenz ist also eines der größten Hemmnisse auf dem Weg zu einer programmatischen Politik, die derzeit wenig Chancen auf viele WählerInnenstimmen hat – sie kann im Kontext schlechter sozioökonomischer Umstände der Bevölkerung in kurzer Zeit nicht genug bieten.

Nachdem nun die drei zentralen Merkmale von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext dargestellt wurden, wird in diesem Kapitel zusätzlich vertiefend auf zwei weitere relevante Bereiche eingegangen, die in engem Zusammenhang zu politischer Praxis in Afrika stehen: Voraussetzungen für Demokratie und das Generationenverhältnis in der Politik.

3.3 Voraussetzungen für Demokratie: Entwicklung vs. Machtverteilung

„In the absence of a developed society, only minimalist forms of democracy can be attempted.“ (Mugenyi: 1988, 180).

Mit dieser Aussage spricht Mugenyi einen weiteren wichtigen Bereich bei der Auseinandersetzung mit Politik in Afrika an – Voraussetzungen für Demokratie. Die vorgestellten Charakteristika von Politik in Afrika, die Demokratisierungsprozesse verhindern, sind, wie erwähnt, keine statischen unveränderlichen Zustände. Es gibt verschiedene Ansätze dazu, wie diese überwunden werden können. Zwei zentrale werden hier vorgestellt.

Mugenyi argumentiert, dass wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung zeitlich vor einer echten Demokratisierung nötig ist, wenngleich beide sich bedingen. Der soziale Zustand einer

Gesellschaft bestimmt den politischen Stil eines Landes – nicht die abstrakte Eleganz demokratischer Theorie, wie er betont. In den so genannten Entwicklungsländern kann, seiner Meinung nach, nur eine *minimalist democracy* funktionieren, welche anpassungsfähig ist und durch ihren Variationsreichtum oberflächlich und verwässert bleibt. Maximale Demokratien³⁰ sind für Entwicklungsländer noch nicht realistisch. (vgl. Mugenyi: 1988³¹, S. 179ff.) So sehen es auch die Autoren Linz und Stepan, die betonen, dass die hohen Erwartungen einer gleichzeitigen Entwicklung auf politischer und wirtschaftlicher Ebene kaum realisierbar sind und das Streben danach nur zu einem Scheitern auf beiden Ebenen führen kann. (vgl. Linz/Stepan: 1997, S. 18ff.)

Marina Ottaway formuliert konkrete sozio-ökonomische Vorbedingungen, die für eine demokratische Entwicklung förderlich sein können – aber nicht unbedingt dort hinführen und somit auch keine unabdingbare Voraussetzungen sind. Fehlen diese Faktoren, findet Demokratisierung auf rein politischer Ebene statt. Dies führt zu Fragen der Macht, was die Hauptproblematik der politischen Übergangsperioden ist. Folgende Faktoren können, Marina Ottaway zufolge, zu einer Demokratisierung beitragen bzw. diesen Prozess erleichtern, wenngleich sie, wie erwähnt, keine unbedingt zwingenden Voraussetzungen sind (vgl. Ottaway: 1997, S. 6 ff.):

- Aktive, stimmkräftige Zivilgesellschaft
- Institutionenaufbau
- Starke Opposition/Mehrparteiensystem
- Freie Wahlen
- Gewaltenteilung
- Unabhängige Gerichte
- Effiziente Bürokratie
- Professionelle Armee
- Wachsende Ökonomie
- Bildungsgrad der Bevölkerung

Auf der anderen Seite gibt es zahlreiche Autoren, wie beispielsweise Tatu Vanhanen, die (wirtschaftliche) Entwicklung nicht als zentrale Voraussetzung für Demokratie sehen. Diese Sichtweise hat sich vor allem in jüngster Zeit mehr und mehr durchgesetzt und wird auch in dieser Arbeit vertreten. Die FürsprecherInnen dieses Zugangs argumentieren, dass sich demo-

³⁰Er versteht dies im Sinne von westlichen, liberalen Demokratiemodellen.

³¹ Im Rahmen der Quellenkritik muss an dieser Stelle darauf verwiesen werden, dass diese Annahme schon 1988 formuliert wurde. Heutzutage geht der Diskurs eher in eine andere Richtung, der in der Folge noch vorgestellt wird.

kratische Strukturen in vielen sehr armen Ländern etabliert haben und es vielmehr darum geht, Macht möglichst breit zu verteilen. Dabei spielen der (wirtschaftliche und/oder soziale) Entwicklungsstand eines Landes keine zentrale Rolle. Auch Nicolas Van de Walle schließt sich, in Anlehnung an Adam Przeworski³², der Sichtweise an, dass Entwicklung nicht Voraussetzung für Demokratie ist: „*transition to democracy can occur at any level of development*“ (Van de Walle: 2002, S. 70). Er führt hier an, dass jene Länder, die in der ersten Hälfte der 1990er Jahre einen umfassenden politischen Wandel durchgemacht haben und diesen auch halten konnten (z.B. Mali) wesentlich ärmere Länder sind als jene, die einen Rückfall in autokratische Strukturen erlebt haben (z.B. Zambia, Congo-Brazzaville). (vgl. Van de Walle: 2002, S. 68f.) Auch Wolfgang Merkel und seine KollegInnen, die das Konzept der *Defekten Demokratien* entwickelt haben, sehen keine eindimensionale Kausalität zwischen wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung und Demokratie (vgl. Merkel et al: 2003, S. 203).

Eine andere Voraussetzung für erfolgreiche Demokratisierungsprozesse, ist für viele WissenschaftlerInnen wesentlich zentraler: Machtressourcen – bestehend aus Besitz, Kapital, Wissen oder politischer Gestaltungsmacht – müssen in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft breit genug gestreut sein. Diese breite Machtverteilung muss in Afrika erst erreicht werden, wenn sich Demokratie durchsetzen soll. (vgl. Vanhanen: 2004, S. 243 / vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 415):

„*Democratization takes place under conditions in which power resources become so widely distributed that no group is any longer to suppress its competitors or to maintain its hegemony. [...] The low degree of resource distribution explains the lack of democracy in most sub-Saharan African countries and leads to the prediction that it is not reasonable to expect any drastic changes in the near future.*“ (Vanhanen: 2004, S. 208ff.)

Würden Ressourcen breiter verteilt sein, dann könnten kleine Gruppen nicht mehr die Macht bei sich akkumulieren und *institutionally shared power* würde sich durchsetzen. (vgl. Vanhanen: 2004, S. 241) Gibt es beispielsweise in einem neopatrimonialistischen System zwei oder mehr gleichmächtige Patrone, dann stehen diese in einem Konkurrenzverhältnis um die Gunst der Klienten. Dies wiederum kann eine gute Voraussetzung für rational-legale Handlungen sein, da abgewogen werden muss, wer neben der Befriedigung von Bedürfnissen den besseren Auftritt liefert. (vgl. Erdmann: 2002, S. 331)

³² Dieser führte Ende der 1990er eine weltweite Studie zum Thema *Democracy and Development* durch.

Auch Merkel formuliert in seiner Auseinandersetzung mit den Demokratisierungswellen als zentrale Voraussetzung dafür, dass sich Demokratie ausbreiten kann, dass Macht möglichst breit verteilt sein muss. Weitere relevante Faktoren sind internationale Entwicklungen und die räumliche Nähe zu Demokratien. Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung hingegen wird nicht als wichtige Voraussetzung gesehen. (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 435) Merkel und seine KollegInnen argumentieren, dass eine Entwicklung, welche die Dominanz der Oberschicht nicht eingrenzen kann, auch bei theoretisch demokratischen Strukturen, zu „*quasi feudalen Besitz- und Beschäftigungsverhältnisse[n]*“ (Merkel et al: 2003, S. 203) führt. Bürgerrechte würden dann ad absurdum geführt, da die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung diese faktisch nicht nutzen kann, weil sie von der öffentlichen Arena ausgeschlossen wird. Guillermo O'Donnell nennt dies *low-intensity citizenship*. (vgl. Merkel et al: 2003, S. 203)

Die Autoren Nasong'o und Murunga ergänzen die Voraussetzung einer breiten Machtverteilung noch durch die, ihrer Meinung nach, nötige Umstrukturierung der Institutionen und der Regierung, die mit der Machtübertragung bzw. Machtreduktion vom Präsidenten einhergehen soll. (vgl. Nasong'o/Murunga: 2007, S. 6f.)

3.4 Das Generationenverhältnis in der Politik

„As in other African countries, the young majority in Tanzania has found itself in a situation of subordination vis-à-vis the political establishment which predominantly consists of members of the elder generation. Widespread lack of opportunities for political participation of the younger generation has characterised the post-colonial period.“ (Englert: 2008, S. 72)

In vielen postkolonialen Staaten hat das angespannte Verhältnis zwischen den Generationen im politischen Bereich schon kurz nach der Unabhängigkeit neue Dimensionen angenommen. Schon in den Anfängen konnten junge aufstrebende PolitikerInnen kaum politische Macht erlangen, wenn sie sich nicht durch oftmals verlockende Positionen im bestehenden System eingliedern ließen und so keine Gegenkraft zur politischen Elite mehr darstellten. (vgl. Abink: 2005, S. 7ff.) Ein Beispiel hierfür ist der Kenyaner Tom Mboya³³, dessen erfolgsversprechende politische Karriere durch seine Ermordung beendet wurde. Die Hintergründe des Mordes sind ungeklärt. Mboya hatte zuvor die Elite um Präsident Jomo Kenyatta der Selbstbereicherung beschuldigt. (vgl. Boddy-Evans: o.J) Auf diese Person wird in Kapitel 5 noch genauer eingegangen. Eine andere Maßnahme, um die jungen Menschen aus der aktiven Poli-

³³ Mehr zur Person in Kapitel 5.1

tik rauszuhalten, war es Altersgrenzen für politische Ämter einzuführen³⁴. So galt beispielsweise in Kenya wenige Jahre nach der Unabhängigkeit das Mindestalter von 35 Jahren für die Präsidentschaft. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 146f.)

Verschiedene Beispiele zeigen, wie sich ältere Eliten nahezu an die Macht klammern, die sie oft noch heute aus ihrem Kampf gegen den Kolonialismus legitimieren, und jungen aufstrebenden Persönlichkeiten so kaum eine Chance geben. Hier wäre beispielsweise die Politik von Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe) zu nennen, oder der namibische Präsident Sam Nujoma, der 1999 die Verfassung ändern ließ, um sein autokratisches Regime noch eine dritte Amtszeit ausführen zu können. (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 13) In Bezug auf Robert Mugabe formuliert es Volker Seitz sehr deutlich:

„Die Unabhängigkeit, die er als Person symbolisiert, ist ihm Errungenschaft genug. Dass das Land existiert, reicht ihm zu seiner Rechtfertigung. Die Tatsache, dass er nur noch über einen Trümmerhaufen regiert, spielt keine Rolle.“ (Seitz: 2009, S. 76)

Aktuell ist die Ablehnung der Präsidentschaftskandidatur des jungen Musikers N'Dour in Senegal durch das Verfassungsgericht des Landes Anfang 2012 ein weiteres Beispiel dafür wie sich die älteren Eliten an die Macht klammern. Gleichzeitig wurde nämlich die Verfassung des Landes geändert, um dem derzeitigen Präsidenten Wade eine dritte Amtszeit zu ermöglichen. (vgl. Süddeutsche.de: 2012)

Ältere PolitikerInnen zielen außerdem darauf ab, die Jugend im eigenen Sinne heranzuziehen. Dieses Verhältnis hat oft zur Folge, dass junge Menschen von wichtigen Entscheidungsprozessen als aktive und kritisch hinterfragende TeilnehmerInnen ausgeschlossen werden. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 137 / vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 3) In die Politik zu gehen ist so für engagierte junge Menschen in Afrika wenig attraktiv, wenn sie aktiv partizipieren wollen und eigene Ideen einbringen möchten. Moeletsi Mbeki antwortet in einem Interview auf die Frage, warum es in Afrika an jungen politischen HoffnungsträgerInnen mangelt:

„Weil es ein Job mit geringem Prestige geworden ist. Ein junger Absolvent eines Wirtschaftsstudienganges wird in Südafrika nicht in die Politik gehen, wo er Befehle von ungebildeten politischen Führern wie dem Chef der ANC-Jugendliga, Julius Malema, ausführen muss.“ (Mbeki: 2011, S. 8)

³⁴ Was allerdings auch für politische Ämter westlicher Länder gilt.

Wer politisch partizipieren möchte, sucht sich eher andere Wege als direkt in der politischen Arena als PolitikerIn aktiv zu werden. Mbeki betont aber auch, dass es viele junge Menschen gibt, die den Beruf PolitikerIn dennoch als profitabel ansehen, weil sich – unter anderem auch Dank Korruption – gutes Geld verdienen lässt. Für engagierte und qualifizierte Menschen habe dies aber wenig Anreiz, was dazu führt, dass die falschen Personen in die Politik kommen: „*In Südafrika erlangt man hohe Positionen im Öffentlichen Dienst, weil man ein Freund von Jacob Zuma ist. Nicht wegen seines Fachwissens.*“ (Mbeki: 2011, S. 8). (vgl. Mbeki: 2011, S.8) Hinzu kommt, dass von Seiten der Politik oft wenig unternommen wird, um diese Traditionen zu ändern und Jugendliche mehr in politische Arbeit einzubeziehen. Jugendlichkeit galt bis vor kurzem als negatives Attribut für aufstrebende Führungskräfte. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 129). Doch Mwangola sieht seit einigen Jahren auch Potential zur Veränderung:

„*The period 1990-2005 has brought to the fore an aggressive youth discourse that has rejected prevailing perceptions of youth and demanded a reconfiguring of the social roles and responsibilities of this category.*“ (Mwangola: 2007, S. 130)

Die bestehenden Definitionen und Bedeutungszuschreibungen von Begriffen, wie beispielsweise Jugend, werden, Mwangola folgend, neu diskutiert. Dies führt dazu, dass Demokratisierungsbewegungen neue Kraft gewinnen, weil alte Regeln aufgebrochen werden. Jugend ist bisher oft unvereinbar mit *leadership* – diese pauschalisierenden Bedeutungen wandeln sich jetzt. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 159)

An dieser Stelle lohnt sich deshalb auch ein Blick auf die Wahlen der letzten Jahre und welche Rolle junge PolitikerInnen dabei spielten. Ein Beispiel ist Kenya – in den Wahlen 2002 trat der politische ‚Neuling‘ Uhuru Kenyatta mit dem Slogan *Kizazi Kipya, Mwongozo Mpya* (New Generation, New Leadership) an und viele Oppositionsparteien folgten diesem Beispiel und stellten ihre jungen PolitikerInnen im Wahlkampf auf das Podest. Dies ist grundsätzlich positiv zu bewerten, wenngleich bedacht werden muss, dass es sich wiederum mehr um eine kosmetische Angelegenheit handelte, als darum, dass diese jungen PolitikerInnen eigene, neue Wege beschreiten konnten. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 151) Yvonne Khamati war 22 Jahre alt als sie für das kenyanische Parlament kandidierte. Sie schlussfolgert: „*When National Alliance Rainbow Council (NARC) came into power, it did not take me long to realise there was little space in the new leadership for the young (to actively participate)*“ (Onyango: 2006, S. 6 zit.n. Mwangola: 2007, S. 151).

Die Tatsache, dass die politische Tradition in vielen afrikanischen Ländern jungen Menschen die alleinige Rolle als UnterstützerInnen zuschreibt, führt dazu, dass ihre selbstständigen Initiativen oft nur sehr marginal wahrgenommen werden und so weniger Erfolgchancen haben. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 151) Dies ist eine zentrale Annahme, die, nach Meinung der Autorin, große Auswirkungen mit sich bringt und einen Zustand beschreibt, der mit dem zuvor erwähnten patrimonialen System zusammenhängt. Dieser Generationen-Kampf ist ein zentrales Element, wenn man sich mit politischem Wandel im afrikanischen Kontext beschäftigt.

Nach Meinung der Autorin, ist ein weiterer wichtiger Faktor im derzeitigen Generationenverhältnis, dass die heute älteren PolitikerInnen ihre Machtlegitimation zu großen Teilen noch aus der Befreiung von den KolonialherrscherInnen und ihrer oft langen Tradition als Elite eines Landes ziehen. Demgegenüber steht eine Generation junger PolitikerInnen, welche die Unabhängigkeitskämpfe selbst nicht miterlebt haben und in einer postkolonialen Welt sozialisiert wurden, welche durch zunehmende Modernisierung und eine globalere Sichtweise geprägt ist. Dies wurde auch in den Interviews, die im Rahmen dieser Arbeit durchgeführt wurden, von den InterviewpartnerInnen bestätigt.

Mit der Bezeichnung *exit without voice* wird ein wichtiger Aspekt angesprochen. Es ist diesem Konzept folgend für die jungen Menschen wesentlich einfacher sich aus der Politik auszuklinken, als die Stimme zu erheben und innerhalb der Systeme etwas zu verändern und tragende Rollen zu übernehmen. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2004, S. 2f.) Auch dies hängt maßgeblich mit dem paternalistischen Weltbild der Regierenden zusammen. Es wäre ihre Verantwortung junge Menschen aktiver in Politik einzubinden, aber im Gegenteil, es wird widerspruchsloser Gehorsam erwartet. Die Jugendflügel vieler Parteien sind eher Mobilisierungsinstrumentarien als selbstständige politische Kraft und dienen vor allem dazu WählerInnenstimmen für die Mutterpartei bei der jungen Bevölkerung sicherzustellen³⁵. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2004, S. 3 / vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 147) Jene jungen Menschen, die Visionen haben, engagieren sich oft lieber außerhalb politischer Strukturen. Dies zeigt auch das Beispiel von Nii Armafi, der die Aktionsgruppe *Corporate Social Responsibility* in Ghana gegründet hat. Er ist neben diesem Engagement Gemeinderatsmitglied, aber sagt klar, dass er bei den nächsten Wahlen nicht wieder antreten wolle und kein Interesse habe Parlamentarier

³⁵ Gemeint sind jene Jugendflügel und politische Vereinigungen junger Menschen, die nicht gewalttätig agieren. Sehr wohl gibt es aber auch viele, oft kurzfristige Verbindungen, die eher *Gangs* gleichzusetzen sind, als politischen Verbänden. Auf diese Gruppe kann an dieser Stelle nicht näher eingegangen werden, da dies den Rahmen der Arbeit sprengen würde.

zu werden, da er nur außerhalb der etablierten politischen Strukturen erfolgreich arbeiten könne. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2004, S. 6)

Die Beispiele zeigen, dass es bei dem Generationenverhältnis in der Politik mehrere potentielle Konfliktlinien gibt. Im nachfolgenden Kapitel wird nun vertiefend auf die jungen Menschen eingegangen, die potentiell aktiv werden können. Dies tun sie auf ganz unterschiedliche Art und Weise, was in der Folge kurz vorgestellt wird.

4. Jugend und Politik in Afrika

„Africa is a young continent, demographically speaking. In some countries more than 50% of the population is below 18. Democracy, based on the principle that the majority of the people decide, has another meaning in this context. Here, a minority (above 18 years) of the population decides for the majority (below 18 years).“ (Peters: 2004, S. 25)

Auch wenn in dieser Arbeit Jugend nicht über das Alter sondern sozial definiert wird, sei an dieser Stelle darauf verwiesen, dass die afrikanischen Gesellschaften ein sehr junges Durchschnittsalter haben. Dies hängt vor allem damit zusammen, dass die Säuglings- und Kindersterblichkeit in vielen Ländern deutlich zurückgegangen ist und gleichzeitig die Geburtenrate tendenziell steigt (vgl. Durham: 2000, S. 114 / vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 11). Junge Menschen stellen also in fast allen Ländern die zahlenmäßige Mehrheit, werden aber trotzdem marginalisiert (vgl. De Boeck/Honwana: 2005, S. 1 / vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 72). Diese Information ist relevant, weil die Jugend in jüngster Zeit immer mehr als politische Kraft angesehen wird – vor allem als WählerInnenschaft. Gleichzeitig ist es auch jene Gruppe, die oft besonders unter schlechten Arbeitsmarktverhältnissen und einem unzureichenden Bildungsangebot leidet. Darum ist es in der Vergangenheit auch immer wieder zu Aufständen gekommen, die vor allem durch junge Menschen maßgeblich angetrieben wurden. Hierzu zählen große, folgenreiche Revolten, wie jene des 76er Austandes in Südafrika und den seit 2010 stattfindenden Aufständen in vielen nordafrikanischen Ländern. Aber auch zwischen diesen historischen Großereignissen fanden und finden immer wieder politikbezogene Proteste der jungen Bevölkerung statt. So beispielsweise auch 2000 in Mali, wo, von den unerfüllten Versprechen der Politik, frustrierte Jugendliche gewalttätige Aufstände initiierten (vgl. Durham: 2000, S. 113). Dieses oft hohe Frustrationspotential sehen viele als Ursache dafür, dass jungen Menschen sich immer mehr gegen eingesessene HerrscherInnen wehren. Sie übernehmen dabei beispielsweise die Rolle der politischen Saboteure, die gewachsene politische Regelmäßigkeiten

zerstören und Taten statt Versprechungen fordern³⁶ (vgl. Durham: 2000, S. 113) Da es in afrikanischen Ländern weit verbreitet ist gerade älteren Menschen mit Respekt und Ehrerbietung zu begegnen, ist dieses aktive politische Engagement mit einem besonders hohen Maß an Mut verbunden. Dies wird hier in Erinnerung gerufen, um die Bedeutung dieses Engagement hervorzuheben.

4.1 Motivationen zu politischem Engagement

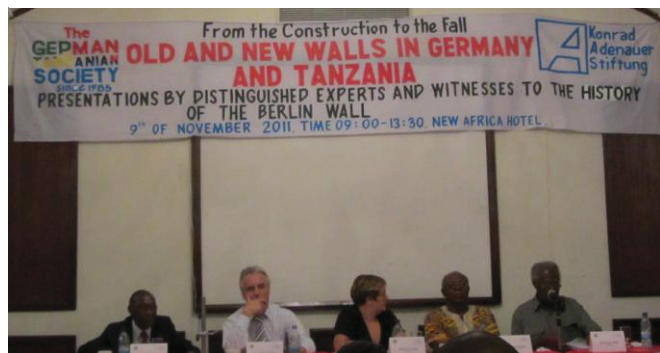
Warum und mit welchen Zielen wird ein junger Mensch in Afrika politisch aktiv? Wie anfangs formuliert, widmet sich diese Arbeit jenen jungen Menschen, die politischen Aktivismus zeigen. Dabei muss unterschieden werden zwischen dem zivilgesellschaftlichen politischen Engagement, Politik in Populärkulturen und dem Engagement auf der politischen Bühne selbst, das den Kern der Arbeit bildet.

Politisches Engagement kann, nach Meinung der Autorin, aus zwei grundsätzlich unterschiedlichen Richtungen heraus motiviert sein, wobei sich diese Pole auch überschneiden können:

1. Aus der Unzufriedenheit mit der vorherrschenden politischen Praxis und – daraus resultierend – der eigenen Situation (ideologisch und wirtschaftlich).
2. Aus dem persönlichen Streben nach Macht, Geld, Reputation etc. (gilt vor allem für jene, die in Parteipolitik aktiv sind).

Diese zweite Motivationsgrundlage wurde auch auf der Veranstaltung *From the construction to the fall. Old and new walls in Germany and Tanzania* am 09. November 2011 in Dar es Salaam formuliert, die von der Konrad Adenauer Stiftung und der Deutsch-Tansanischen Gesellschaft organisiert wurde.

Abb. 8: Veranstaltungsfoto Walls in Tanzania and Germany



Quelle: Privat

³⁶ Im Gegensatz zu den Bestrebungen älterer PolitikerInnen die jungen Menschen in ihrem Sinne heranzuziehen. Siehe Kapitel 3.4

Der tanzanische Autor Shafi Adam Shafi stellte dort folgende fünf ‚Ps‘ vor, die das PolitikerInnenleben für junge Menschen attraktiv machen: 1. Property, 2. Power, 3. Prestige, 4. Popularity und 5. Pomposity. (vgl. eigene Veranstaltungsmitschrift)

Innerhalb der Gruppe junger, politisch aktiver Menschen, unterscheidet diese Arbeit außerdem zwischen jenen, die das System verändern wollen und jenen, die Teil dieses Systems werden wollen:

1. Jene, die sich von der herrschenden Elite abgrenzt und neue Wege (welche nicht unbedingt demokratisch motiviert sein müssen) beschreiten möchte. Diese jungen Menschen engagieren sich in StudentInnenbewegungen, politischen Parteien, Gewerkschaften oder im Extremfall in bewaffneten Gruppierungen (vgl. Abbink: 2005, S. 13). Die Motivationen für das jeweilige Engagement sind meist idealistischer Natur. Sie werden oft als *Young Turks* beschrieben³⁷ und ihr Engagement wird im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs häufig an den beiden Polen *Macher* und *Zerstörer* abgehandelt: De Boeck und Honwana (2005) beschreiben sie als „Maker“ & „Breaker“ und „creativ“ & „destructiv“ forces, Jon Abbink (2005) als „vanguard“ & „vandal“.
2. Jene, die sich innerhalb des bestehenden Systems engagiert und hier aufsteigen möchte, wobei das Engagement vor allem in den Parteien und StudentInnenbewegungen stattfindet. Hier bietet es sich an früh bei den bestehenden politischen FührerInnen in die Lehre zu gehen – sich also durch persönliche Verbindungen eine bessere Ausgangsposition zu verschaffen (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 149) Diese Gruppe ist eher durch die ‚Ps‘ motiviert, kann aber auch ideologisch vom bisherigen System überzeugt sein. Mshai Mwangola beschreibt in diesem Zusammenhang die Gruppe der *Political sons*. Dies sind Personen, die zu älteren, der Führungselite angehörigen Personen persönliche Verbindungen haben. Beispiele wären Katana Ngala, Uhuru Kenyatta oder Michael Wamalwa. Diese Personen haben durch die Blutsverwandtschaft automatisch mehr Chancen auf politische Partizipation innerhalb des Systems, in dem die Beziehung besteht. (vgl. Mwangola: 2007, S. 149)

Beide Gruppen können durch die beschriebenen zwei Motivationsfaktoren Unzufriedenheit und Karriere (*Ps*) motiviert sein.

³⁷ Beispielsweise in Mwangola: 2007, S. 149

Die Möglichkeiten des Engagements, die jungen Menschen im politischen Bereich zur Verfügung stehen, können entweder institutionalisiert oder nicht-institutionalisiert sein. Betont werden soll, dass es hierbei nicht um jenes Engagement geht, das in der Literatur oft als Rekrutierung von Jugendlichen zu bestimmten Zwecken (politische, militärische o.ä.) beschrieben wird, sondern um Formen des politischen Ausdrucks, die jungen Menschen zur Verfügung stehen³⁸.

4.2 Möglichkeiten des Engagements

„Youth enter political space as saboteurs – as political actors whose politics is to open up discourses on the nature of society in its broadest and most specific term.“
(Durham: 2000, S. 118)

In der Folge werden die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten politischen Engagements für junge Menschen vorgestellt.

4.2.1 Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen

Verschiedene Formen zivilgesellschaftlicher Organisation sind eine Möglichkeit politisch aktiv zu werden. Dieses Engagement wird häufig als besonders relevant für demokratische Entwicklung gesehen. Mit Hilfe zivilgesellschaftlicher Organisation können Interessen gebündelt und Forderungen gemeinsam vorgetragen werden. Sie stellen einen wichtigen Gegenpol zum Staat dar. (vgl. Merkel et al: 2003, S. 222) Als zivilgesellschaftlich wertvolle Organisationen zählen vor allem Interessensgemeinschaften verschiedenster Art (beispielsweise religiöse) und Bildungseinrichtungen (vgl. Cruise O'Brien: 1996, S. 64 / vgl. auch Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2010, S. 10). Eine Typologie zu Zivilgesellschaft in Afrika von Hillebrand (1994) benennt neo-traditionelle Gruppen, klassische Interessen- und Selbsthilfegruppen, religiöse Gruppen und Sekten sowie indogene (Süd)-NGOs als zivilgesellschaftliche Zusammenschlüsse (vgl. Schmidt: 2000, S. 307).

In postautokratischen Ländern allgemein ist gesellschaftliche Selbstorganisation allerdings oft wenig ausgeprägt. Dies hängt mit der mangelnden liberalen Tradition und stark verbreitetem sozialem Misstrauen mit einem geringen Grad an sozialer Kooperation zusammen. (vgl. Merkel et al: 2003, S. 222) Auch für die afrikanischen Länder gilt dies, wenn man den Ansatz Merkels mit jenem in Kapitel 2.7 formulierten evolutionstheoretische Ansatz verknüpft, der

³⁸ In dieser Arbeit wird nicht vertiefend auf die Beteiligung von Jugendlichen in bewaffneten Konflikten eingegangen, da dies für das hier behandelte Thema nicht relevant ist.

besagt, dass dieses mangelnde soziale Vertrauen in Afrika sehr ausgeprägt ist und Demokratieentwicklung behindert. Zudem wird diese Form der Organisation von staatlicher Seite kaum bis gar nicht gefördert (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2010, S. 20).

In den 1990er Jahren hatten zivilgesellschaftliche Zusammenschlüsse vor allem damit zu kämpfen, dass die Regierungen durch Personen oder Gesetze direkt Einfluss nehmen konnten. Trotz dieser Probleme ist die wachsende Bedeutung zivilgesellschaftlichen Aktionismus enorm, was sich vor allem durch die Unabhängigkeit vom Staat legitimiert. Die wachsende Bedeutung von zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen lässt sich in vielen afrikanischen Ländern (z.B. Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, Senegal) erkennen. Alle haben gemeinsam, dass sie erst eigene Strategien etablieren mussten, um sich vor der Einflussnahme von staatlicher Seite zu schützen, was ihnen vor allem seit Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts zunehmend gelingt. (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 195f.). Dies bestätigt Richard Shaba von der Konrad Adenauer Stiftung auch für Tanzania³⁹: „*Wenn auch nur langsam, so konnte die unabhängige Zivilgesellschaft eine Eigendynamik entwickeln.*“ (Shaba: 2009). Trotzdem formuliert die Bertelsmann Stiftung in ihrem Länderbericht 2010 für Tanzania: „*The landscape of interest groups is sparse*“⁴⁰ (Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2010, S. 9). Selbstorganisierte Gruppen beschränken sich diesem Bericht zufolge vor allem auf die Eliten und den städtischen Raum. Dadurch werden sie angreifbar für die Kritik von staatlicher Seite, dass sie keine ‚national authenticity‘ haben. Das wiederum delegitimiert sie in den Augen der Bevölkerung, der sie eigentlich dienlich sein wollen. Das macht die zivilgesellschaftlichen Gruppen politisch schwach. Trotzdem ist es ihnen in den letzten Jahren gelungen, sich zunehmend zu konsolidieren und einen wichtigen Stellenwert im öffentlichen Leben einzunehmen. (Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2010, S. 10)

Trotz der schwierigen Stellung von zivilgesellschaftlichen Zusammenschlüssen, wird heute viel Hoffnung in das Potential der Zivilgesellschaften afrikanischer Länder gesteckt. Im politischen Bereich sollen sie vor allem eine stabilisierende Wirkung für heranwachsende Demokratien darstellen. (vgl. Schmidt: 2000, S. 295f.) Insbesondere für marginalisierte Gruppen (wie z.B. Frauen, Jugendliche) haben diese Gemeinschaften einen unersetzlichen Wert (sofern

³⁹ Für detailliertere Informationen zu zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagement seit den 1990er Jahren in Tanzania siehe Tripp, Aili (2000): Political Reforms In Tanzania. The Struggle for Associational Autonomy. In: Comparative Politics, Vol. 32, Nr. 2, S. 191-214

⁴⁰ Eine der möglichen Ursachen für die schwache Stellung von zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen speziell in Tanzania könnten auch schlechte Eindrücke aus der sozialistischen Vergangenheit des Landes sein, in der Massenorganisationen weit verbreitet waren. (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2010, S. 17)

sie weitestgehend autonom handeln können), weil sie nur im organisierten Zusammenschluss die Chance haben, mit den eigenen Forderungen gehört zu werden (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 196). Gerade Universitäten bieten das ideale Umfeld für die Diskussion alternativer Ideen, die in jedem anderen öffentlichen Bereich wohl schnell als aufrührerisch bewertet würden. Dies bestätigt Mwangola auch für Kenya: „*The area of student politics was perhaps the only overt arena of genuine political debate.*“ (Mwangola: 2007, S. 152) Auch Cruise O’Brien betont, dass StudentInnen oft (er zeigt es am Beispiel von Senegal) eine der am besten organisierten Gruppen der Gesellschaft sind. Er schlussfolgert für Westafrika, dass diese Gruppe der StudentInnen eine doppeldeutige Rolle einnehmen kann. Einerseits gehören sie potentiell zur nächsten Elite und werden deshalb gemeinhin oft als faul und unproduktiv gesehen. Andererseits sind sie in Situationen der politischen Krise oft die Anführer der aufständischen Bevölkerung und werden als solche respektiert. (vgl. Cruise O’Brien: 1996, S. 66ff.) Auch Mkude/Cooksey/Levey sehen die Tendenz von elitärem Selbstverständnis der Studierenden in Tanzania, wo die absolute Minderheit der Bevölkerung studiert und es nur wenig Möglichkeiten durch Stipendien u.a. für ärmere Studierende gibt (vgl. Mkude/Cooksey/Levey: 2003, S. 21). Diese Einschätzung ist zu ergänzen durch die Kombination beider Rollen, da diese, nach Meinung der Autorin, durchaus auch koexistieren, da auch die StudentInnen nicht als homogene Masse gesehen werden können. Es gibt immer jene, die den bisherigen Eliten weiter folgen, aber auch jene, die sich aktiv für den Wandel engagieren.

Für das Fallbeispiel Tanzania lässt sich großes studentisches, politisches Engagement belegen. Die studentischen Bewegungen haben ab Mitte der 1960er Jahren immer wieder für Aufsehen gesorgt. So fand, um nur zwei Ereignisse herauszugreifen, 1966 ein großer Protestmarsch gegen den *National Service*⁴¹ statt und 1990 ein Aufstand der Studierenden, bei dem sie mehr Demokratie forderten, verschiedene universitäre Regelungen und den CCM-konformen Dachverband der Studentenorganisation kritisierten, der nach Abschaffung der unabhängigen Studentenorganisation *Dar es Salaam University Students Organization* (DUSO) eingeführt wurde. (vgl. Mkude/Cooksey/Levey: 2003, S. 4f. / vgl. Gänssle: 2009, S. 70, 88)

⁴¹ *National Service* war ein Programm für junge AbsolventInnen, die nach ihrem universitären Abschluss zunächst verpflichtet waren zwei Jahre in ländlichen Gegenden zu arbeiten. So sollten im sozialistischen Tanzania elitäre Gesinnungen der AbsolventInnen verhindert werden und ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Landes geleistet werden. Von Regierungsseite wurde außerdem argumentiert, dass das Studium schließlich erst durch staatliche Mittel finanziert und ermöglicht würde. (vgl. Mkude/Cooksey/Levey: 2003, S. 4f.)

Zivilgesellschaftliche Zusammenschlüsse können demokratische Entwicklung einfordern und dadurch fördern. Dies ist besonders dann relevant, wenn der Staat selber nicht ausreichend Initiative zeigt. Oft wird die Arbeit dieser Initiativen aber von staatlicher Seite eingeschränkt, indem beispielweise Versammlungen aus fadenscheinig anmutenden Gründen verboten werden. (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2010, S. 3, 8) Viele demokratische Errungenschaften in afrikanischen Ländern, wie beispielsweise Pressefreiheit und eine verbesserte Versammlungsfreiheit, sind in erster Linie Errungenschaften von zivilgesellschaftlicher Seite und nicht von Regierungen selbst. (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 194) Wie Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, Professor für Politikwissenschaft an der *University of Ghana*, schon 1998 formulierte: „*Clearly, Africa's societies are among the chief engines driving the continent's political development.*“ (Gymah-Boadi: 1998, S. 22)

Eine Farbevolution, wie sie beispielsweise in der Ukraine stattgefunden hat und wie sie jüngst in den arabischen Ländern stattfinden, ist eine weitere mögliche Form des Protests der Zivilgesellschaft, wo sich insbesondere junge Menschen engagieren. Sie zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass farbliche Symbole als Erkennungszeichen der Protestbewegung definiert werden. Es handelt sich um eine gewaltfreie Form des organisierten Widerstandes, der maßgeblich von jungen Menschen getragen und organisiert wird. Ihnen kommt zu Gute, dass sie sich dank Globalisierung mittlerweile ohne weiteres international vernetzen können. Außerdem stehen ihnen durch das Internet und andere Kommunikationstechnologien zunehmend Kommunikationskanäle offen, die von staatlicher Seite nur schwer zu kontrollieren sind. (vgl. Flottau/Follath/Klußmann et al: 2005)

„Die Protagonisten des Wandels im 21. Jahrhundert sind keine naiven Blumenkinder, keine blauäugigen Pazifisten, keine Peace-now-Phantasten. Sie sind knallharte Macher, die mit den Lehren ihrer Vorbilder flexibel umgehen: Sie übernehmen Bausteine aus deren Revolutionskasten, beispielsweise die Aktionen des Ungehorsams gegenüber der Staatsgewalt, aber sie passen die Ideen von Gandhi & Co. der Neuzeit an. Weil ihnen mit dem Internet ein virtueller Marktplatz zur Verfügung steht, verzichten sie häufig auf gemeinsame öffentliche Auftritte und bevorzugen dezentrale Führung.“(Flottau/Follath/Klußmann et al: 2005)

Unterstützt werden die Gruppen von staatlichen und privaten Institutionen, wie *Freedom House*⁴² und *Soros*⁴³. Deshalb wird ihre Unabhängigkeit von mancher Stelle kritisiert. Die jungen Revolutionäre werden mit Unterstützung der Organisationen auf den gewaltlosen Kampf vorbereitet. Dafür gibt es oft Lehrmaterial (z.B. Gene Sharps Buch "From Dictatorship to Democracy") und gelegentlich Schulungen in den USA. (vgl. Flottau/ Follath/Klußmann et al: 2005 / vgl. Schmidt: 2010)

4.2.2 Populärkulturen/Jugendkulturen

Populärkultur wird verstanden als

„der kommerzialisierte, gesellschaftliche Bereich [...] der Themen industriell produziert, massenmedial vermittelt und [der] durch zahlenmäßig überwiegende Bevölkerungsgruppen mit Vergnügen (als Informations- und Unterhaltungsangebote) genutzt und weiterverarbeitet wird.“ (Jacke: 2004 zit.n. Kleiner: 2009, S. 99)

Populärkultur wird in dieser Arbeit auf den afrikanischen Kontext übertragen und ergänzt durch die Tatsache, dass die Angebote immer in Abhängigkeit von technischen und infrastrukturellen Kapazitäten genutzt werden. De Boeck und Honwana schreiben dazu:

„Creative and innovative forms of popular culture – theatre, arts, music and dance – are often the exclusive domain of the young as they create, reinvent, and domesticate global trends into local form.“ (De Boeck/Honwana: 2005, S. 1)

Dabei ist die Entwicklung solcher Formen von Populärkultur nicht von der Frage nach der sozialen Rolle junger Menschen zu trennen. So spielt *street culture* besonders dann eine wichtige Rolle, wenn die Lebensbedingungen für junge Menschen schlecht sind. (vg. Biaya: 2005, S. 215f. & S. 224)

Oralität (Mündlichkeit) spielt im afrikanischen Kontext eine wesentliche Rolle (Diop: 2009, S. 131). Darum wird gerade Gesang oft als Ausdrucksmittel herangezogen. Dies gilt besonders bei dem sogenannten *knowledge rap*, der politische Themen ins Zentrum rückt und wo der Sänger/Rapper zum „sozialen Akteur“ (Kimminich: 2009, S. 198) wird. (vgl. Kimminich: 2009, S. 175) Dies verdeutlicht, was in Kapitel 2.2 schon kurz angedeutet wurde: Musik und alle anderen Formen von Jugend- und Populärkultur sind Sozialisationsinstanzen. In Tanzania

⁴² Einer amerikanischen Stiftung, die sich vor allem für Demokratie einsetzt und jährlich den Bericht „Freedom in the World“ (siehe Kapitel 6.2) herausbringt. Die Stiftung wird zu ca. 80% von der amerikanischen Regierung finanziert, außerdem von verschiedenen Stiftungen (z.B. Soros). (vgl. Freedom House: 2007)

⁴³ US-Amerikanische Stiftung, die demokratischen Wandel fördert. Wird heute von den Open Society Foundations gemanaged. (vgl. Soros: 2012)

erfüllt speziell *Bongo Flava*⁴⁴, eine sehr populäre Musikrichtung, diese Funktion. Es wird in den Texten beispielsweise die Scheinheiligkeit der politischen Führung angeprangert. (vgl. Stroeken: 2008, S. 289f.) Durch die Liberalisierung der Medienlandschaft erreicht die Musik zunehmend mehr Menschen (vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 74). Bongo Flava etwa schafft eine generationenbezogene Identität unter jenen jungen Menschen, die nach der Unabhängigkeit sozialisiert wurden und auch den Sozialismus von Nyerere nur noch wenig mitbekommen haben (vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 91 / vgl. Raab: 2006, S. 130): Die *kizazi kipyra*, die schon in Kapitel 2.2 thematisiert wurde. Bongo Flava und andere Formen von Jugendkultur dienen den jungen Menschen dazu ihre Sicht der Dinge präsentieren zu können: „*Musik zu machen, bedeutet, an der Gesellschaft in durchaus verantwortlicher Position teilzunehmen*“ (Raab: 2006, S. 128) Englert argumentiert den politischen Einfluss, den Bongo Flava hat, folgendermaßen:

„[I]t motivates young people from all levels of Tanzanian society to use their creativities in trying to make their living, thereby working as a source of a self-confidence and empowerment.“ (Englert: 2008, S. 77)

Bongo Flava ist so als Beispiel für viele verschiedene Formen von Jugendkultur oder Populärkultur zu sehen, durch die politisch Stellung bezogen werden können. Neben der Musik, spielt beispielsweise auch das Theater, bildende Kunst und das Musical eine große Rolle als alternative Ausdrucksmöglichkeit von politischem Engagement. In politischen Umständen, die Jugendliche von der aktiven politischen Gestaltung zu großen Teilen ausschließen, sind diese alternativen Kulturen politischen Ausdrucks besonders beliebt und erfüllen abseits der klassischen Politik eine wichtige gesellschaftliche und politische Funktion, so die Annahme dieser Arbeit.

„More importantly, this youthful musical genre has helped to increase the visibility and voiceability of youth in the Tanzanian public and thus at least indirectly encouraged the political participation of youth in political discourses.“ (Englert: 2008, S. 71)

Die wachsende Popularität einiger Jugendkulturen, wie beispielsweise Bongo Flava, hat dazu geführt, dass auch die Politik und internationale Organisationen/Firmen dieses Medium nutzen, um junge Menschen zu erreichen. Dies ist einerseits positiv zu bewerten, da die KünstlerInnen vermehrt gebucht werden und größere Popularität erlangen, aber die politische

⁴⁴ Um mehr über das spezifische Zusammenspiel zwischen HipHop/Bongo Flava und Politik in Tanzania zu erfahren, empfiehlt sich das Buch: Njogu, Kimani / Maupeu, Herve [Hrsg.] (2007): *Songs and Politics in Eastern Africa*. Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd: Dar es Salaam

Instrumentalisierung, wie sie gelegentlich beobachtet werden kann, ist, nach Meinung der Autorin, durchaus auch kritisch zu betrachten. Gleichzeitig muss anerkannt werden, dass die KünstlerInnen, die Musik im Idealfall als Beruf ausüben und damit Geld verdienen müssen.

„Concerning politics, Pieter Remes noted that certain rap groups might praise a political party during special performances for which they get paid [...]. This however does not necessarily mean that the same group is not taking a very critical position towards politicians in some of its other lyrics.“ (Englert: 2003, S. 79)

Insgesamt lässt sich festhalten, dass junge Menschen auch Populärkulturen als Form ihres politischen Ausdrucks und damit Engagements wählen können und so auch abseits der politischen Arena und zivilgesellschaftlich organisierten Gruppierungen indirekt politisch Partizipieren können. Den KünstlerInnen ist es möglich ihre Sicht der Dinge einem Publikum zu präsentieren, welches sich dann mit den Inhalten auseinandersetzt. So können öffentliche Diskurse geprägt werden.

4.2.3 Parteien/Jugendflügel politischer Parteien

Viele Parteien in Afrika haben Jugendflügel, die vor allem für den Parteinachwuchs sorgen. Auch hier engagieren sich viele junge Menschen, die politisch interessiert sind. Interessant ist die besonders enge Bindung der Aufgaben dieser Jugendflügel an die Bedürfnisse der Mutter-Partei. Dies hat zur Folge, dass es oft wenig Spielraum für eigene Ideen gibt.

Am Beispielland Tanzania zeigt sich diese Bindung sehr deutlich. In der ASP Youth League, die im revolutionären und nachkolonialen Zanzibar agierte, arbeiteten Jugendliche als *Volunteers* und führten Aufgaben aus, die ihnen von den AkteurInnen der Mutter-Partei aufgetragen wurden (vgl. Burgees: 1999, S. 33). Partizipation auf institutioneller Ebene blieb so ausgeschlossen und wichtigste Attribute waren Disziplin und Gehorsam. Im Revolutionsjahr 1964 war es dann vor allem die ASP Youth League, die maßgeblich in Ausschreitungen involviert war, aber schon kurz nach der Revolution gaben sie wieder alle Macht an die älteren Eliten ihrer Partei ab und wurden wieder zum ausführenden Organ der Regierung. (vgl. Burgess: 1999, S. 34f.) Um den Gehorsam zu sichern, wurden Organisationen wie die *Green Guards* und die *Young Pioneers*⁴⁵ gegründet. Außerdem nahmen junge Menschen an so-

⁴⁵ Institutionen, die Kindern und Jugendlichen Gehorsam und Disziplin beibringen sollten. Die *Green Guards* waren junge Menschen, die sowohl einfache Tätigkeiten für die Gemeinschaft übernahmen als auch als ‚SittenwächterInnen‘ patroulierten. (vgl. Burgess: 2002, S. 304) Die Idee der *Young Pioneers* war es Kindern und Ju-

nannten *Youth Camps*⁴⁶ teil. (vgl. Burgees: 1999, S. 37f.) Auch unter der gemäßigeren Führung des nächsten Präsidenten Aboud Jumbe wurden die Prinzipien Gehorsam und Disziplin weiter hoch gehalten, wenngleich der Widerstand von Seiten der Jugendlichen wuchs. (vgl. Burgess: 1999, S. 44f. / vgl. Burgess: 2002, S. 288) Dieser kurze Einblick in das Verständnis von politischen Jugendflügeln der 1960-1970er Jahre auf Zanzibar zeigt, dass Jugendliche mehr als Instrumente dienten und in Entscheidungsfindungsprozessen kaum partizipierten. Dies lässt sich auch auf das Festland-Tanzania übertragen, wo allerdings studentische Bewegungen die älteren Eliten mehr herausforderten und die eigene Partizipation einforderten. Vergleicht man die Rolle von Jugendflügeln politischer Parteien in Tanzania zwischen damals und heute, dann wird man feststellen, dass sich nicht so viel geändert hat, wie man vielleicht zunächst annehmen würde. Zwar gibt es seit 1996 die *Tanzania National Youth Development Policy*, welche die erste eigenständige Strategie des Landes in diesem Bereich darstellt, aber geändert hat sich nicht viel – vielmehr wird die Vergangenheit in der *Tanzanian National Youth Development Policy* beschönigt:

„Youth, especially green guards used to participate in community mobilization and generally youths used to participate in various political decisions. [...] Even under the multiparty system, youths have continued with the same activities.“ (Ministry of Labour and Youth Development: 1996, S. 3)

Wirft man einen Blick auf die heutigen Jugendflügel politischer Parteien in Tanzania, dann stößt man im Internet beispielsweise auf die große und einflussreiche *UVCCM*, welche die Jugendorganisation der Regierungspartei CCM ist. Sie stellt sich selbst folgendermaßen vor:

„UVCCM's objectives are to support and implement party and government policies; to take an active role in the process of policy formulation and decision making in order to further young people interests; and through youth initiatives, to participate in educating young people on health, education, protection and preservation of environment through the media, seminars, workshops, etc“. (UVCCM: 2011)

Interessant ist, dass im ersten Satz gleich die Funktion der Unterstützung und Umsetzung der Politik der Mutter-Partei angesprochen wird. Auch wenn anschließend einige weitere partizipative Funktionen angeführt werden, ist davon auszugehen, dass vor allem der erste

gendlichen durch Kontrolle von Spielen und Arbeit Disziplin beizubringen, um sie im Sinne der Nation heranzuziehen. (vgl. Burgess: 1999, S. 39)

⁴⁶ Zweijährige Aufenthalte in ländlichen Gegenden, wo die Jugendlichen Disziplin und konkrete Fertigkeiten lernen sollten. Diese waren vor allem bei der ärmeren, ländlichen Bevölkerung beliebt, während privilegiertere, städtische Bevölkerungsgruppen dagegen waren. (vgl. Burgess: 1999, S. 40)

Satz den Kern der Aufgaben trifft. Dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, dass auf der Facebook-Seite der UVCCM die CCM-Homepage als Webseite angegeben ist und als Information lediglich das Zitat „*Vijana ni nguvu ya taifa katika kulijenga, kulilinda na kuliendeleza.*“ (zu Deutsch: Die Jugendlichen sind die Energie der Nation – Sie bauen sie auf, sie beschützen sie und sie bringen Fortschritt) von Präsident Kikwete aufgeführt ist. (vgl. Facebook: 2011) Es ist also kein eigener, selbständig produzierter Inhalt im Internet aufzufinden, obwohl beispielsweise die Präsenz auf Facebook dies unkompliziert und gratis ermöglichen würde.

Das Engagement junger PolitikerInnen direkt in den Mutterparteien direkt ist ebenfalls eine Möglichkeit aktiv zu werden, welche sich vor allem jenen jungen Menschen anbietet, die entweder Beziehungen zu ParteifunktionärInnen haben und dadurch den Einstieg schaffen oder besonders engagiert sind und durch ihre gute Arbeit soweit überzeugen, dass sie eine Möglichkeit der Partizipation bekommen.

4.3 Die Jugend als Wählerschaft

„*Wir wollen den Besten für Tansania*“ titelt die Deutsche Welle im Oktober 2010 einen Artikel über junge WählerInnen in Tanzania. Es wird argumentiert, dass junge WählerInnen in Tanzania eine so große Gruppe ausmachen, dass sie die Wahlen beeinflussen können und so besonders umworben werden. Außerdem würde diese WählerInnengruppe kritischer als die vorherigen Generationen darauf achten, dass den Versprechungen auch Taten folgen müssten. (vgl. Jacobsen: 2010) Im Wahlkampf 2005 hat die CCM beispielsweise auch Bongo Flava vermehrt eingesetzt, um die jungen Menschen im Land für sich zu gewinnen. Man befürchtete, dass die jungen Menschen – ernüchtert durch gleichbleibend schlechte Lebensumstände – einen Wechsel der Stimmenabgabe an die Opposition vollziehen würden. (vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 80)

Dieses Bild wird beispielsweise auch in Somalia bestätigt, wo Faisal Ali Warabe, der nicht mehr der Kriegsgeneration angehört, mit seiner pragmatischen, weniger ideologiegeladenen Wahlkampfstrategie 2010 vor allem junge WählerInnen gewinnen konnte (vgl. Prunier: 2010). Auch die Wahl 2009 in Südafrika wurde maßgeblich von jungen Menschen beeinflusst. Mehr als 78% der registrierten WählerInnen waren unter 30 Jahre alt (vgl. Bailey: 2009). Ca. 6 Millionen der tatsächlichen WählerInnen waren so jung, dass sie die Apartheid nur noch aus Erzählungen kennen (vgl. Fischer: 2009).

Auch für Namibia lässt sich dies bestätigen. Hier fanden 2009 ebenfalls Wahlen statt, bei denen 200.000 ErstwählerInnen⁴⁷ antreten durften, die den Unabhängigkeitskampf nicht mehr miterlebt haben (vgl. Geiges: 2009). Stefan Fischer, Chefredakteur der namibischen „Allgemeinen Zeitung“, beschreibt es folgendermaßen:

„Diese Menschen sind mit einem ganz anderen Werteverständnis aufgewachsen. Man kann sie nicht mehr hinter dem Ofen vorlocken, in dem [sic] man sagt: ‚Wir müssen uns befreien von dem alten Regime.‘ Das ist vorbei. Diese jungen Leute sind selbstbewusster, stellen Fragen und fordern Ergebnisse.“ (Geiges: 2009)

In Ghana waren 2004 1,7 Millionen ErstwählerInnen zur Stimmenabgabe aufgerufen. Sie waren vor allem von kurzfristigen Wahlversprechen der Wahl im Jahr 2000 enttäuscht und strafte die Regierenden gleich ab:

„Die haben mir bei den Wahlen 2000 einen Job versprochen, wenn ich für sie wähle. Ich habe sie dann gewählt und heute noch immer keinen Job. Was sie sonst in den letzten vier Jahren angeblich alles geleistet haben, interessiert mich nicht. Wenn die z.B. Straßen bauen, dann doch sowieso nur, damit sie selbst mit ihren Mercedes schneller voran kommen [sic!].“ (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2004, S. 4)

Ein ähnliches Politikverständnis zeigt sich unter jungen StudentInnen in Südafrika (vgl. Walker: 2009).

In Benin wurde 2006 der bis dato eher unbekannte Boni Yani in einer fairen Wahl zum Präsidenten gewählt. Maßgeblich verantwortlich dafür waren vor allem junge Wähler (68 Prozent der Bevölkerung sind unter 24 Jahren), die seine offene Thematisierung von Problemen und seine zupackende Art schätzen. Demokratische Strukturen festigen sich seither⁴⁸. (vgl. Seitz: 2009, S. 193)

All diese Beispiele zeigen eines ganz deutlich: Junge Menschen in vielen afrikanischen Ländern könnten aus der WählerInnenperspektive großen Einfluss auf Politik haben. Nun stellt sich die Frage, warum es trotzdem so wenig aktive junge PolitikerInnen mit neuen Ideen in die entscheidenden politischen Spitzenpositionen schaffen (können).

⁴⁷ Wahlberechtigt insgesamt: 1,1 Millionen (vgl. Geiges: 2009)

⁴⁸ 2011 wurde er für eine zweite Amtszeit wiedergewählt.

5. Exkurs: Drei Wege junger PolitikerInnen

In diesem Kapitel werden beispielhaft drei PolitikerInnen vorgestellt, die dem dieser Arbeit zu Grunde liegenden Verständnis junger PolitikerInnen entsprechen. Es werden in der Folge die drei individuellen Karrieren kurz vorgestellt und dann ein Vergleich gezogen. So bekommen die theoretischen Überlegungen einen ersten Praxisbezug.

5.1 Thomas Joseph Odhiambo Mboya (Kenya)

„*Tom Mboya is a tragic narrative of the rise, decline and marginalization of the youth in Kenyan politics.*“ (Kagwanja: 2005, S. 89)

Tom Mboya⁴⁹ wurde 1930 nahe Thika geboren. Sein Vater ermöglichte ihm den Schulbesuch, obwohl die Familie sehr wenig Geld hatte. (vgl. Mboya: 1966, S. 22) Während seiner Ausbildung zum Gesundheitsinspektor begann sein Engagement im Gewerkschaftsbereich. Dieses gewerkschaftliche Engagement führte dazu, dass er sich auch mit Politik zunehmend auseinandersetzte. Als Jomo Kenyatta und andere Führer der *Kenya African Union* 1952 verhaftet wurden, trat Mboya der Partei bei (vgl. Mboya: 1966, S. 25).

Tom Mboya konnte in den 1950er Jahren einige Auslandserfahrung in der Schweiz, Belgien und England sammeln, wo er mit Hilfe von Stipendien beispielsweise in Oxford studieren konnte. Dort lernte er, laut eigener Auskunft, viele Menschen kennen, die in Diskussionen seine Einstellung und sein Handeln mit prägten. (vgl. Mboya: 1966, S. 59f.)

„*Durch diese Diskussionen [...] bekam ich eine klare Vorstellung davon, wie wir nach meiner Rückkehr den Kampf um eine neue Verfassung für Kenia am besten aufnehmen sollten.[...] Wenn ich heute zurückblicke, komme ich zu dem Schluß [sic!], daß [sic!] die Zeit in Oxford für meine politische Laufbahn sehr wichtig war*“ (Mboya: 1966, S. 60)

Bevor er 1956 nach Kenya zurückkehrte, reiste er noch nach Nordamerika, Deutschland und Brüssel, um dort diverse Vorträge über die Situation in Kenya zu halten. (vgl. Mboya: 1966, S. 61) Zurück in Kenya trat er im Distrikt Nairobi zu den Wahlen des *Gesetzgebenden Rates* 1957 an.

Abb. 9: Tom Mboya



⁴⁹ Quelle für das Foto: Africanpress : 2008, <http://africanpress.wordpress.com/2008/07/03/revealed-mboyas-fatal-links-with-cia/> [Zugriff : 01.02.2012]

Dabei wurde er auf Grund seines Alters als kritisiert: „*Mir wurde vorgeworfen, daß [sic!] ich zu jung sei – ich war 26 - , daß [sic!] ich unverheiratet sei und keinen akademischen Grad besitze.*“ (Mboya: 1966, S. 76f.)

Er gewann diese Wahlen trotzdem und war fortan Mitglied im *Gesetzgebenden Rat* und später Sekretär im *Kenya Independence Movement*. (vgl. Mboya: 1966, S. 89f.) Tom Mboya war also seit der ersten Stunde der Unabhängigkeit und bereits im Unabhängigkeitskampf engagiert. Er war an der Gesetzgebung beteiligt und mit 28 Jahren Vorsitzender der ersten *Allafrikanischen Konferenz* in Ghana. (vgl. Mboya: 1966, S. 20)

Kenya wurde dann 1963 unabhängig und Jomo Kenyatta nach seiner Entlassung aus der Haft der erste Präsident des Landes. Unter ihm wurde Mboya Planungs- und Entwicklungsminister und ein aussichtsreicher Kandidat für die Nachfolge von Kenyatta: „*Mboya, in his mid-thirties, was undisputedly the most powerful youth on the African continent.*“ (Kagwanja: 2005, S. 89) Unter diesen potentiellen NachfolgerInnen war er der Einzige, welcher der Ethnie der Luo angehörte und damit das Gleichgewicht der verschiedenen Volksgruppen stabil hielt. (vgl. Der Spiegel: 1969, S. 77)

Im Alter von 38 Jahren wurde Tom Mboya dann allerdings von einem Kikuju erschossen – die Motive sind ungeklärt, aber viele vermuten, dass seine Popularität viele Kikuju sehr störte. Gerüchte, ob die Ermordung aus Kikuju-Regierungskreisen angeordnet wurde, haben sich bis heute gehalten, wurden allerdings auch früh von offizieller Seite unterbunden (vgl. Boddy-Evans: o.J.) In jedem Fall wurde Mboyas Kritik an einigen führenden PolitikerInnen der Kikuju nicht gern gesehen:

„*When Mboya suggested in parliament that a number of Kikuyu politicians (including members of Kenyatta's extended family) were enriching themselves at the cost of other tribal groups, the situation became highly charged.*“ (Boddy-Evans:o.J.)

Die Frage, warum Tom Mboya wirklich erschossen wurde, lässt sich an dieser Stelle nicht beantworten. Seine Karriere und sein Engagement zeigen aber, dass er unbestreitbar ein aufstrebender junger Politiker war, der sich unter anderem intensiv mit dem ausgeprägten Tribalismus in Kenya beschäftigt hat, dem er sowohl Positives als auch sehr Negatives attestierte. Er selbst war äußerst populär, versuchte ethnische Konflikte zu lösen, gehörte aber nicht den Kikuju an, welche die Volksgruppe des damaligen Präsidenten Kenyatta ist. Dies, in Verbindung mit der Tatsache, dass er populär, jung und innovativ war, könnte ihm zum Verhängnis geworden sein.

5.2 Julius Sello Malema (Südafrika)

Julius Malema⁵⁰ wurde 1981 in einem armen Viertel Limpopos geboren. Er wurde von seiner Mutter und seiner Großmutter alleine aufgezogen. Seine ärmliche Herkunft betont er immer wieder: „*Having gone to school without shoes or proper uniform and during lunch times not knowing where you will get your next meal, those are the conditions we grew up under.*“ (Malema zit.n. Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S. 8)

Abb. 10: Julius Malema



Schon früh – im Alter von neun Jahren – beginnt Malemas politisches Engagement bei den *ANC's Masupatselas* und mit 14 Jahren wurde er Anführer der ANC Youth League in seiner Heimatstadt, mit 16 Jahren Vorsitzender des *Congress of South African Students* (Cosas) und mit 20 Jahren dessen landesweiter Präsident. (vgl. Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S.9) Malema war kein guter Schüler und schaffte sein mittelmäßiges Matura mit 21 Jahren. Dieser schwache akademische Hintergrund, der auch oft in den Medien thematisiert wird, hat möglicherweise dazu beigetragen, dass Malema heute einen stark anti-intellektuellen Kurs fährt. (vgl. Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S.10f.)

Sein politischer Stil ist kaum mit dem von Tom Mboya zu vergleichen. Früh, als Vorsitzender von Cosas, wurde (der Aufruf zu) Gewalttätigkeit eines seiner Markenzeichen und er selbst sagt, dass er in jungen Jahren Fundamentalist war. Seine Wahl zum ANC Youth League Präsidenten auf der *National Conference 2008* wird als relativ spektakulär beschrieben:

„Mostly drunken, they disrupted speakers and made sure no real discussion could take place. The conference had to be dismissed eventually, but not before the election of the top five leaders had taken place and Malema came out victorious [...]. The prevailing image of the conference will be the young delegate [...] pulling down his pants and flashing his bare bottom at opponents of Malema's candidature.“ (Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S. 12)

Julius Malema hatte bei den Präsidentschaftswahlen 2009, bei denen er den Ausruf „*Kill for Zuma*“ prägte, mit 28 Jahren seinen großen Durchbruch. Sein Einfluss auf die Wahlen wird als insgesamt groß angesehen – man streitet sich nur darüber, ob dieser positiv oder negativ war. Diese kontroverse Meinung über ihn lässt sich verallgemeinern. Die einen sehen in ihm

⁵⁰ Quelle für Foto: IQ4News : 2010, <http://www.iq4news.com/iq4news/south-africa-julius-malema-hearing-postponed> [Zugriff: 12.01.2012]

eine Witzfigur und verhöhnen ihn, die anderen – vor allem junge SüdafrikanerInnen – bewundern ihn, weil er oberflächlich betrachtet ihre Bevölkerungsgruppe vertritt. (vgl. Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S.5f / Scheen: 2010) Doch Malema ist anders. Er hat viel Geld und lebt im Luxus. Der Luxus bedeute ihm nichts, betont Malema immer wieder, bezeichnet seine Politik als ‚down to earth‘ und hebt seine ärmliche Herkunft hervor. Gleichzeitig wird seine Korruption in der Öffentlichkeit immer mehr thematisiert, seit aufgedeckt wurde, dass er an mindestens fünf Firmen aus Limpopo beteiligt ist, die (zu) regelmäßig öffentliche Ausschreibungen gewinnen (vgl. Scheen: 2010).

Das offensichtliche Ausspielen der ‚Rassenkarte‘ ist ebenfalls typisch für Malema:

„If we are going to refuse the youth to drive these cars [Anm. d. Autorin: gemeint sind teure Autos] it means they are only good for white youth. Ours will never drive those cars. So we must sit and appreciate the good things by whites and not by one of our own. That is what we are trying to break.“ (Malema zit. n. Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S. 23)

Tatsache ist, dass sein oft Streitbares, respektloses und zu Gewalt aufrufendes Auftreten im Wahlkampf 2009 und danach charakteristisch für Malema sind. Er wurde außerdem im September 2011 zum wiederholten Male der Hetz Rede schuldig gesprochen, weil er das Anti-Apartheitslied *Shoot the Boe* öffentlich gesungen hatte (vgl. Guardian.co.uk: 2011). Er scheint Tabubrüche zu lieben und wurde dadurch zu einer der bekanntesten und gleichzeitig umstrittensten Politikerpersönlichkeiten Südafrikas. Gerade bei den jungen, schwarzen, sozial schwachen SüdafrikanerInnen wird ihm allerdings ein großer Einfluss zugesprochen:

„It seems fairly safe to assume that Malema’s value to the mainstream ANC is the fact that the disaffected black youth, angry and resentful that their prospects have not dramatically improved in recent years, are attracted by Malema’s rudeness, militancy and blanket defiance.“ (Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S. 28)

Julius Malema wurde im November 2011 offiziell wegen Disziplinarverfahren für fünf Jahre aus der Partei ANC ausgeschlossen. Sein Verhalten in der Causa Botswana, wo er im Namen der ANCYL angekündigt hatte, Unterstützung für die Oppositionsparteien zu schicken, verursachte diplomatische Probleme und brachte der Partei einen schlechten Ruf. Außerdem hatte er die Führungsriege der Partei vor den Kopf gestoßen, als er ein Meeting dieser störte. Im Punkt ‚Aufruf zu Rassismus‘, wo er ebenfalls angeklagt war, wurde er allerdings freigesprochen. (News24: 2011)

5.3 Amina Chifupa (Tanzania)

Amina Chifupa⁵¹ wurde 1981 geboren und besuchte die Schule in Mwanza (Tanzania). Sie begann bald nach der Schule als Sprecherin bei dem Radiosender Clouds FM in Dar es Salaam zu arbeiten, was ihr zu einiger Bekanntheit vor allem bei der jungen Bevölkerung verhalf. (vgl. Englert: 2008, 82f.)

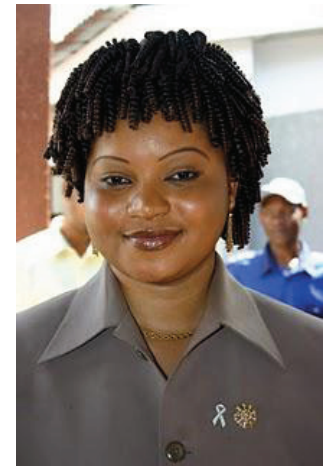
2005 gab sie den Beruf als Radiomoderatorin auf und zog als Mitglied des Jugendflügels der regierenden Partei CCM in das tanzanische Parlament ein, wo sie einen der *special seats* bekleidete, die dort für junge Menschen reserviert sind. Mit ihren 24 Jahren war sie damit das jüngste Mitglied des Parlaments aller Zeiten. (vgl. Englert: 2008,

S. 82f.) Neben ihr gab es ein zweites junges Parlamentsmitglied – Zitto Kabwe von der Partei CHADEMA, der auch heute noch im Parlament sitzt. Beide waren trotz Zugehörigkeit zu unterschiedlichen Parteien gut befreundet.

„He [Anm. d. Autorin: Zitto Kabwe] shared many characteristics with Amina Chifupa who was a close friend of him. The two youngest Members of Parliament regarded themselves as allies in the fight for a new political style which would allow for more debate and more inclusion of ordinary Tanzanians, especially the young majority who did not participate much in politics at the macrolevel until then.“ (Englert 2008: 86)

Amina Chifupas politisches Engagement wurde anfangs vor allem von den Medien und der allgemeinen Bevölkerung kritisch hinterfragt, was hauptsächlich mit ihrem niedrigen Bildungsgrad zusammenhing (sie hatte die Schule nur bis zur sechsten Klasse besucht, war aber trotzdem für ein Bachelorstudium der Politikwissenschaft an der Open University of Tanzania eingeschrieben). In kürzester Zeit schaffte Amina Chifupa es trotzdem zu den PolitikerInnen zu gehören, über die am meisten gesprochen wurde. Sie kam mit ihren öffentlichkeitswirksamen Aktionen, mit denen sie die Situation von Frauen und jungen Menschen verbessern wollte, oft in die Schlagzeilen. Außerdem führte ihr eher angespanntes Verhältnis zu einem Teil der Elite ihrer eigenen Partei dazu, dass ihre Person viel diskutiert wurde. Sie hielt sich nicht an die strengen formalen Vorschriften der Partei und trug beispielweise nicht die vorgeschriebene Uniform für Parlamentsabgeordnete der CCM. Außerdem eckte sie mit ihrer offenen

Abb. 11 : Amina Chifupa



⁵¹ Quelle für Foto: Tanzania Association Oslo: 2007, <http://watanzaniaoslo.blogspot.com/2007/05/amina-chifupa-kulipua-bomu-leo.html> [Zugriff: 12.01.2012]

Thematisierung von heiklen Themen oft an. Der Kampf gegen den Drogenhandel war ihr ein besonderes Anliegen und sie erlangte viel Öffentlichkeit damit, als sie öffentlich aussagte, die Namen der größten Drogenbarone des Landes zu kennen – und dass auch hochrangige PolitikerInnen in den Drogenhandel verwickelt wären. Danach bekam sie zahlreiche Todesdrohungen. Am 26. Juni 2007 starb Amina Chifupa dann tatsächlich - unter zweifelhaften und bis heute umstrittenen Umständen. Die offizielle Todesursache lautet Malaria und Diabetes, aber viele TansanierInnen glauben bis heute, dass Chifupas offene Thematisierung des Drogenschmuggels und vor allem der Partizipation hochrangiger PolitikerInnen die wirkliche Ursache ist und sie ermordet wurde. (vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 83f.)

Es wäre anmaßend, die wahren Hintergründe ihres Todes im Alter von nur 26 Jahren an dieser Stelle klären zu wollen, aber interessant ist, dass die Bevölkerung, und vor allem die jungen Menschen, Amina Chifupa als Vorreiterin verstehen: „*as someone who took great risks to work for the amelioration of living conditions of the country's youth.*“ (Englert: 2008, S. 84), wie Birgit Englert bei Gesprächen während ihres Forschungsaufenthaltes in Tanzania herausfand. (vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 84) Auch in den Interviews, die im Rahmen dieser Arbeit durchgeführt wurde, bestätigt sich ein durchwegs positives Image:

„Amina Chifupa was one of the few ladies in this country who stood fame and she was defending the wealth of the country and she didn't care whether the statement hurt the director, or minister, or president. She was saying what she believed was true and it was for the betterment of the public.“ (Interview 1: #00:58:16-3#)

„Amina Chifupa is the one among the youth who struggle (,) and I try to be like her, to challenge a lot of things, to make a research, to conduct a research to see that this is the wrong and to reveal to the society. This is my will.“ (Interview 4: #00:56:33#)

“She was a person who wanted to see the country moving on, wanted to see justice.” (Interview 11: #00:22:27-9#)

Amina Chifupa gilt noch immer als Vorbild für viele junge Menschen und als Vertreterin einer neuen Generation junger PolitikerInnen in Tanzania.

5.4 Vergleich der Fallbeispiele

Die Ausführungen machen deutlich, dass Malema im Gegensatz zu Mboya und Chifupa politisch einen wesentlich populistischeren Weg geht. Er betont die Unterschiede zwischen weißen und schwarzen SüdafrikanerInnen und hält nichts von höherer Bildung, womit er vor allem die sozial schwachen jungen schwarzen SüdafrikanerInnen anspricht und ihre Sorgen und Ängste instrumentalisiert. Mboya und Chifupa nutzten als PolitikerInnen sicher ebenfalls populistisch anmutende Argumente, doch stand Populismus hier weniger im Zentrum. Mboya war stets bemüht die ethnischen Konflikte in Kenya zu schlichten und Chifupa ging mit ihrer Kritik an den (politischen) Eliten ihres Landes auf Konfrontationskurs in den eigenen Reihen.

Als Gemeinsamkeit festzuhalten ist, dass alle drei PolitikerInnen nicht aus elitären Familien kommen. Mboya hat sich aus eigener Kraft trotzdem eine gute Schulbildung ermöglicht, während Malema betont, dass dies nicht nötig sei. Chifupa hatte sich trotz geringer Schulbildung an der *Open University* eingeschrieben, was dafür spricht, dass Bildung für sie wichtig war. Mit dem politischen Engagement kamen dann bei Mboya und Malema persönliche Beziehungen zu mächtigen Politikern der Partei hinzu – bei Mboya war es Kenyatta und bei Malema ist es Zuma. Amina Chifupa hingegen suchte eher die Konfrontation mit der Elite ihrer Partei.

Verbindendes Glied zwischen den Fallbeispielen junger PolitikerInnen ist vor allem der Fokus auf Jugend in ihrer politischen Arbeit. Interessant hierbei ist die unterschiedliche Art und Weise der Einbeziehung der jungen Bevölkerung durch Malema, Chifupa und Mboya. Malema wendet sich eindeutig der jungen, schwarzen WählerInnenschaft zu und vermittelt das Gefühl einer von ihnen zu sein: *„So we must speak out and never allow [ourselves] to be silenced because we are not ghosts. We must make our mark like the youth of 1976 made theirs.“* (Malema, 2009 zit. n. Du Preez/Rossouw: 2009, S. 125)

Mit Aussprüchen wie diesen, versucht er eine Generation zu erreichen, die die Apartheid nicht mehr bewusst miterlebt hat, schlechte Berufsperspektiven hat und mit der Politik im Land zunehmend unzufrieden ist. Auch Amina Chifupa sprach vor allem für und mit jungen Menschen und vermittelte, dass sie eine von ihnen sei. Allerdings setzte sie den Schwerpunkt anders. Sie versuchte vor allem auch die eigenen Eliten kritisch einzubeziehen, was einen Unterschied zu Malema darstellt. Mboya hat im Vergleich zu Chifupa und Malema, vor dem

Hintergrund der gerade erkämpften Unabhängigkeit⁵², ein ganz anderes Bild von der Rolle der Jugend: „[y]outh are [...] important to the nation’ with the observation, ‘[t]heir energies must be channeled to useful and productive purposes’” (Mboya: 1986, S. 54 zit. n. Mwangola: 2007, S. 129f.)

Alle drei sind bzw. waren also junge PolitikerInnen, deren Wege aber ganz unterschiedliche Richtungen zeichnen. Damit stehen sie stellvertretend für die weiter oben bereits angedeuteten Möglichkeiten zur Motivation für politisches Engagement, spiegeln aber auch die vielfältigen Probleme politischen Alltags wider.

Tom Mboya und vor allem Amina Chifupa haben sich im Laufe ihrer politischen Karrieren und trotz heftigem Gegenwind auch mal gegen die herrschende Elite gestellt und alle sind Beispiele für potentielle Generationenkonflikte in der Politik.

Die Fallbeispiele junger PolitikerInnen in Afrika haben eines besonders deutlich gemacht: Jede Biografie ist individuell und es wäre anmaßend, Aussagen über eine nicht vorhandene homogene Gruppe junger PolitikerInnen zu machen. Zudem stellen die ausgewählten Personen nur exemplarische Beispiele dar, aber spiegeln nicht die gesamte Breite von jungen PolitikerInnenpersönlichkeiten wider. Was aber hervorsteicht, ist der unterschiedliche Umgang mit den herrschenden Eliten. Während Malema die Nähe zu Zuma sucht (Stichwort: Kill for Zuma), ist Mboya zwar seinem politischen Ziehvater Kenyatta treu, formuliert aber auch eigene Ideen. Chifupa hingegen scheute nie die Konfrontation mit der älteren Elite ihrer Partei – nicht nur auf inhaltlicher Ebene, sondern auch symbolisch, indem sie die gängige Uniform der Partei verweigerte.

⁵² Die unterschiedliche Bewertung der Rolle der Jugend ist kennzeichnend für den historischen Kontext, in dem sie gemacht wurden.

6. Fallbeispiel Tanzania

„[The people we see,] the Permanent Secretaries, those people who speak the language of ‘good governance’, those who can talk the talk even if they don’t walk the walk, are like a shop-window – what is put on public display. But of course the real decisions are made behind the shop-window, in the ‘smoke-filled rooms’ of the CCM.“
(Aid donor in an interview held 2001 in Dar es Salaam, zit. n. Kelsall: 2002, S. 597)

Nachfolgend wird die jüngste politische Geschichte Tanzanias kurz und prägnant umrissen, um eine Grundlage für die Auswertung und die Interpretation des empirischen Materials zu schaffen. Vorab gibt es noch einige Basisdaten⁵³ zum Land. Die vereinigte Republik Tanzania (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania*) ist ein Land in Ostafrika und umfasst ca. 945,087 km². Die vereinigte Republik besteht aus dem Festland und einigen Inseln (Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia) im Indischen Ozean. Die Bevölkerung wird 2008 von der CIA mit 40,200,000 beziffert. Hauptstadt ist Dodoma, aber Regierungssitz und größte Stadt ist Dar es Salaam (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 158f.)

Wie in dieser Arbeit bereits für Afrika allgemein festgehalten wurde, ist auch die Bevölkerung in Tanzania sehr jung. 42% der Bevölkerung sind unter 15 Jahre alt und nur 2,9% sind älter als 65 Jahre (vgl. Index Mundi: 2011). In der Folge wird vertiefend auf die politische Situation Tanzanias seit der Unabhängigkeit eingegangen.

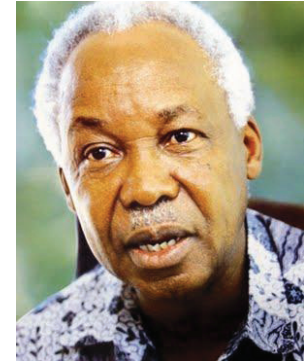
⁵³ Diese Daten basieren auf verfügbaren, möglichst aktuellen Quellen. Da die Zugänglichkeit und die Verlässlichkeit nicht immer zu 100% erfüllt ist, gelten sie als Richtwerte.

6.1 Politik seit der Unabhängigkeit (insbesondere seit Ujamaa)

1964, drei Jahre nach der Unabhängigkeit Tanganjikas von Großbritannien und ein Jahr nach der Unabhängigkeit Zanzibars, schlossen sich die Volksrepublik Zanzibar und die Republik Tanganjika zur Vereinigten Republik Tanzania zusammen. (vgl. Kaspar: 2002, S. 75 / vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 1)

Erster Präsident wurde am 26. April 1964 Julius K. Nyerere⁵⁴. Kurz darauf wurde die Verfassung des Landes reformiert und das Westminster-Modell, das man aus der britischen Kolonialzeit geerbt hatte, durch ein politisches Modell, das aus dem Land selber kam, ersetzt: Der demokratische Einparteiensstaat war eingeführt. (vgl. Dashwood/Pratt: 1999, S. 239) Nyerere begann 1967 mit der *Arusha Deklaration* den afrikanischen Sozialismus in Tanzania zu etablieren. Kurz darauf (1977) wurde durch eine Fusion die Einheitspartei *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* gegründet. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 1 / vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 202)

Abb. 12: Julius K. Nyerere



Der Sozialismus unter Nyerere wird im Allgemeinen mit den Begriffen *Ujamaa* (das politische System des afrikanischen Sozialismus) und *Kujitegemea* (self-reliance, wirtschaftliche Unabhängigkeit des Landes, die erreicht werden sollte) umschrieben und war als Alternative zum Kapitalismus gedacht. Der Klassenkampf, der zu dieser Zeit im Westen zum sozialistischen Modell gehörte, wurde von ihm abgelehnt. Er etablierte ein afrikaspezifisches Modell von Sozialismus und vertrat dabei panafrikanische Sichtweisen. Die Förderung des traditionellen Familienlebens, das Ziel einer klassenlosen Gesellschaft und der Fokus auf ländliches Leben sind charakteristisch für Nyereres Politik. Ihm gelang es die nachkoloniale Phase in Tanzania friedlich zu gestalten und – als Teil von *Ujamaa* – eine nationale Identität zu schaffen, wofür er international Anerkennung erhielt. Schlussendlich scheiterte er aber bei der Umsetzung seines Konzepts des afrikanischen Sozialismus. Trotzdem gilt er heute als *Mwalimu wa taifa* (Vater/Lehrer der Nation) und ist Vorbild, weil er es geschafft hat, das Land, das aus ca. 120 ethnischen Gruppen besteht, zu einen und eine nationale Identität auszubilden. (vgl. Raab: 2006, S. 31f. / vgl. Grawert: 2009, S: 202f.)

⁵⁴ Quelle für Foto: Tanzania City Explorers: o.J. <http://www.cityexplorers.info/history-of-tanzania> [Zugriff: 12.01.2012]

Die nachkoloniale Entwicklung Tanzanias bis Ende der 1980er Jahre lässt sich in vier Phasen einteilen, die einen guten Überblick über die politische Entwicklung geben⁵⁵. Die nachfolgende Grafik stellt diese Phasen dar:

Abb. 13: Vier Phasen der nachkolonialen Entwicklung Tanzanias

Phase	Charakteristika/ Entwicklungen
Erste Phase (1961-1967)	In diesen ersten Jahren nach der Staatsgründung bemüht sich das Land um Exportsteigerungen und importsubstituierte Industrialisierung, um das Land zu modernisieren. Diese Maßnahmen finden sich in vielen afrikanischen Ländern dieser Zeit.
Zweite Phase (1967-1972/73)	Mit der Arusha Deklaration beginnt die Zeit des afrikanischen Sozialismus, welche der zunehmenden sozialen und ökonomischen Ungleichheit entgegenwirken sollte. Idee war eine „ <i>modernization by traditionalization</i> “ (Samuel Mushi zit.n. Hyden: 1980, S. 98 zit. n. Hauck: 2001, S. 203). Zentrales Element ist die Etablierung von Dorfgemeinschaften, die gemeinsam produzieren und miteinander und füreinander leben. Dafür wurde 1968 das Programm <i>Ujamaa Vijijini</i> (Operation Villagization) eingeführt, das aber nur von einem sehr kleinen Teil der Bevölkerung freiwillig genutzt wurde.
Dritte Phase (1972/73-ca. 1979)	Da die Unterstützung aus der Bevölkerung für das sozialistische Modell weniger groß war als erwartet, griff die Regierung ab 1972 zunehmend mit Zwangsmaßnahmen ein. Umsiedlungsprogramme und andere Maßnahmen sollten den gewünschten wirtschaftlichen Erfolg bringen. Dieser blieb aber weiterhin aus.
Vierte Phase (ab ca. 1979 bis 1985/86)	Der Krieg mit Uganda 1978/79 brachte die Wirtschaft des Landes endgültig an den Rand des Zusammenbruchs. Tanzania war hochverschuldet. 1980 führte Zanzibar eine eigene Verfassung ein. Der afrikanische Sozialismus war gescheitert und das Land intensivierte den Kontakt zu internationalen Organisationen, wie dem IMF und der Weltbank. Ab 1983/84 wurden Strukturanpassungsprogramme und andere Maßnahmen vermehrt durchgeführt. Nyerere trat 1985 als Präsident zurück. Sein Nachfolger wurde Ali Hassan Mwinyi. 1986 beginnt das <i>Economic Recovery Programm</i> des IMF und der Weltbank. Politik wurde zunehmend wieder dezentralisiert. Die <i>local governments</i> wurden ab ca. 1980 vermehrt wieder mit Rechten ausgestattet (z.B. Local Government Act 1982).

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung, Inhalte aus: Hauck: 2001, S. 201ff. / Vener: 2000, S. 134 / Kelsall: 2002, S. 609 / Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 1 / Grawert: 2009, S. 203f.

⁵⁵ Da die Politik vor 1990 für die vorliegende Arbeit nur von marginaler Relevanz ist, wird nicht vertiefend darauf eingegangen.

Anfang der 1990er Jahren wurde in Tanzania der politische Wandel eingeläutet. Der damalige Präsident Mwinyi⁵⁶ berief 1991 die *Nyalali Commission* (auch Presidential Commission) ein, die herausfinden sollte, wie hoch der Prozentsatz der Bevölkerung ist, die den bisherigen Einparteiensstaat weiter erhalten möchte. Die Kommission präsentierte die Ergebnisse der Befragung 1992.

Abb. 14: Ali Hassan Mwinyi



Es zeigte sich, dass von den 32.299 Befragten 77,2 % das Einparteiensystem weiter unterstützten. 55,6% dieser BefürworterInnen des Einparteiensystems sagten aber gleichzeitig, dass sie Reformen für nötig halten, die aber nur im Rahmen eines Mehrparteiensystems möglich sind. Als Reaktion auf dieses Ergebnis verstärkte Mwinyi sein Engagement für ein Mehrparteiensystem in Tanzania, wenngleich dies nicht die einzige Ursache hierfür ist, da auch der Druck der internationalen Geber eine Rolle gespielt hat. (vgl. Vener: 2000, S. 134, 151, 158 / vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 248) Der Einparteiensstaat wurde noch 1992 durch eine Verfassungsänderung in einen Mehrparteiensstaat gewandelt. Nicht jedoch ohne im gleichen Jahr den *Political Parties Act* zu verabschieden. Dieser besagt, dass Parteizugehörigkeit unabdingbare Voraussetzung für KandidatInnen im Wahlkampf ist. Damit werden unabhängige KandidatInnen von der Politik ausgeschlossen. Außerdem ist die Registrierung einer neuen Partei langwierig und findet unter Beobachtung eines Registrators statt, der auch für eine eventuelle Deregistrierung zuständig ist. Die CCM ist dabei die einzige Partei, die im Gesetz verankert ist und deshalb nicht deregistriert werden kann. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 2)

Der politische Wandel hin zu einem Mehrparteiensystem vollzog sich auf dem Festland-Tanzania (Tanganjika) relativ ruhig, während er auf Zanzibar mit gewaltsamen Zusammenstößen und der Unterdrückung oppositioneller Parteien (vor allem der CUF) einherging. Die anhaltenden Spannungen zwischen den beiden Teilen der Union ziehen sich wie ein roter Faden durch die jüngste politische Geschichte des Landes. (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009a)

Mit dem politischen Wandel hin zu einem Mehrparteiensystem ging auch ein ideologischer Wandel einher. Der Sozialismus wurde als Staatsideologie abgeschafft, womit auch die Freiheit der Medien zunahm und Massenversammlungen im Einparteiensstaat durch zunehmende

⁵⁶ Quelle für Foto: Tanzania City Explorers : o.J. <http://www.cityexplorers.info/history-of-tanzania> [Zugriff: 12.01.2012]

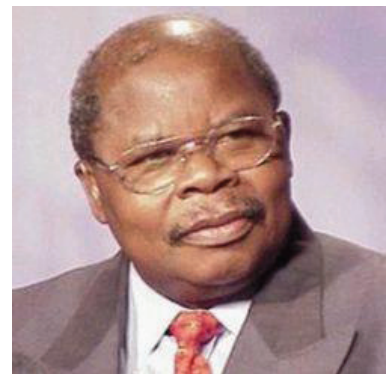
Versammlungsfreiheit ersetzt wurden. Die Liberalisierung wurde vorangetrieben, weil die politische Elite der CCM, die zu dieser Zeit stattfindende Demokratisierungswelle in Afrika erkannte und hoffte, durch eine „*jump starting political liberalization*“ (Tripp: 2000, S. 197) die eigene politische Vormachtstellung sichern zu können. Außerdem wollte man den Forderungen ausländischer Geber gerecht werden. Der CCM gelang es also durch die Einführung eines Wettbewerbselements (Wahlen) vor allem die eigene Partei zu stärken, weil dies ihre Glaubwürdigkeit enorm steigerte. (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 197) Der Verlauf der ersten Mehrparteienwahlen 1995 wird unterschiedlich bewertet. Einigkeit herrscht in der Annahme, dass Wahlbetrug auf Zanzibar stattgefunden hat, jedoch gibt es für das Festland Tanzania unterschiedliche Analysen. Dies verdeutlichen die folgenden zwei Zitate:

„Generally the voting in the 1995 presidential and parliamentary elections was regarded as free and fair, with the exception of Zanzibar, where there were serious irregularities that remained uninvestigated“ (Tripp: 2000, S. 198)

„Die Präsidentschaftswahlen auf Sansibar wurden gefälscht, die Wahlen für die tansanische Union versanken zumindest in den städtischen Zentren so im Chaos, daß [sic!] der deutliche Sieg der Regierungspartei CCM (Partei der Revolution) und ihres Präsidentschaftskandidaten Benjamin Mkapa zur Nebensächlichkeit wurde.“ (Fengler/Mair: 1996, S. 93)

Das offizielle Ergebnis dieser Wahl ergab, dass die CCM 59% der Stimmen in der Parlamentswahl bekam und der Präsidentschaftskandidat der CCM Benjamin Mkapa⁵⁷ 62% der Stimmen. Das Ziel des Machterhalts der CCM wurde also erreicht (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 253f.). Die Partei blieb an der Macht. Politische Liberalisierungsbemühungen gingen in der Folge nicht weiter über diesen Schritt des Abhaltens von Mehrparteienwahlen hinaus. (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 198)

Abb. 15: Benjamin Mkapa



Dies hatte sich schon im Wahlkampf angekündigt, wo die CCM vor allem mit Kontinuität, Frieden und sozialer Stabilität für sich warb, während die Oppositionsparteien sich Verfassungsänderungen auf die Fahne geschrieben hatten (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 257). Zwar wurden auch von der CCM nach den Wahlen große Reformen angekündigt, das Kabinett wurde neu

⁵⁷ Quelle für Foto: Tanzania City Explorers: o.J. <http://www.cityexplorers.info/history-of-tanzania> [Zugriff: 12.01.2012]

aufgestellt und viele hochrangige PolitikerInnen der vorherigen Regierung ausgetauscht, sowie einige Initiativen (wie das *Ethnics Secretariat* oder die *Presidential Commission on Corruption*) gegründet, aber dies alles blieben kosmetische Initiativen, die keine wirkliche Veränderung brachten. So wurde beispielsweise schnell klar, dass die finanziellen ‚big fish‘, die Nyerere meinte als er sagte, dass Tanzania vor Korruption stinke, niemals Beschuldigungen in Hinblick auf Korruption zu befürchten haben würden, weil die Politik sie und ihr Kapital braucht. (vgl. Kelsall: 2002, S. 605f.) Bis heute ist Korruption so auch in Tanzania ein verbreitetes Phänomen der Politik (insbesondere bei Wahlkämpfen) (vgl. Kelsall: 2002, S. 612).

Wie viele andere afrikanische Länder, wurde Tanzania in den 1990er Jahren also auch zu einer *electoral democracy*, was sich auch gegen Ende dieser Dekade kaum änderte. Die Regierung bleibt wenig bemüht darum, diese Demokratie auch zu konsolidieren. (vgl. Tripp: 2000, S. 193) Die zweite Mehrparteienwahl im Jahre 2000 bescherte der CCM einen noch größeren Wahlerfolg. Mkapa regiert weitere fünf Jahre. Diese Wahl stellt zwar einen kleinen Fortschritt zu jener von 1995 dar, die CUF und unabhängige BeobachterInnen werfen der CCM aber auch hier Wahlbetrug vor. (vgl. Freedom House: 2011b) Auf Zanzibar gewann ebenfalls der Präsidentschaftskandidat der CCM Amani Karume mit 67% der Stimmen (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 275). Die nachfolgende Grafik zeigt die Wahlergebnisse der Präsidentschaftswahl von 1995 und 2000 für Festland-Tanzania im Vergleich:

Abb. 16: Votes won by Presidential Candidates in 2000 and 1995

Name of Candidate	Party	Percentage of votes won in 2000	Percentage of votes won in 1995
Benjamin W. Mkapa	CCM	71,7	61,8
Ibrahim H. Lipumba	CUF	16,3	6,4
Augustino L. Mrema	TLP	7,8	27,8
John M. Cheyo	UDP	4,2	4,0
Total		100,0	100,0

Quelle: Grawert: 2009, S. 274

Es wird deutlich, dass Mkapa seine Stimmen signifikant ausbauen konnte, aber auch die CUF mit dem Kandidaten Lipumba große Erfolge im Vergleich zu 1995 erzielen konnte.

Die Parlamentswahlen zeichnen ein ähnliches Bild. Auch hier zeigt sich der Zugewinn der CCM:

Abb. 17: Percentages of Seats Parliamentary Elections of 2000 and 1995

Party	Percentage of seats in 2000	Percentage of seats in 1995
CCM	87,45	80,2
CUF	7,36	10,3
TLP	1,73	0
UDP	1,3	1,3
CHADEMA	1,73	1,3
NCCR-Mageuzi	0,43	6,9
Total	100,00	100,00

Quelle: Adaptiert übernommen aus Grawert: 2009, S. 275

2001 wurde eine Demonstration der Oppositionspartei CUF gegen Wahlmanipulation auf der halbautonomen Insel Zanzibar gewaltsam niedergeschlagen. Im selben Jahr wurde ein Programm zur Aussöhnung (*Muafaka-Abkommen*) zwischen CCM und CUF beschlossen. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 1) Die Implementierung dieses Programms wurde allerdings herausgezögert und die Beziehung zwischen den Regionen ist weiterhin angespannt (vgl. Freedom House: 2011b). Dies ist auch in den durchgeführten Interviews dieser Arbeit sehr deutlich geworden. Die PolitikerInnen, die auf Zanzibar interviewt wurden, waren allesamt der Meinung, dass die Union in der bestehenden Form unfair ist und reformiert werden müsse⁵⁸.

2005 fand dann die dritte Mehrparteienwahl des Landes statt. Da jeder Präsident nur zwei Legislaturperioden regieren kann, schickte die CCM einen neuen Kandidaten in das Rennen um die Präsidentschaft: Jakata Kikwete⁵⁹, der seit 1975 CCM-Mitglied ist. Kikwete war schon unter Mwinyi und Mkapa Minister für Energie, Minen und Wasser, dann für Finanzen und zuletzt Außenminister (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 280). Die Rechnung geht auf. In den Präsidentschaftswahlen gewinnt der Kandidat der CCM Jakaya Kikwete mit 80,28% der Stimmen (Wahlbeteiligung: 72,4% der berechtigten Wähler) (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 280).

Abb. 18: Jakata Kikwete



⁵⁸ Siehe hierzu die Transkripte der Interviews 3, 4 und 5 im Anhang.

⁵⁹ Quelle für Foto: Tanzania City Explorers : o.J. <http://www.cityexplorers.info/history-of-tanzania> [Zugriff: 12.01.2012]

In der Literatur wird nicht zuletzt sein jungdliches Auftreten als einer der Gründe genannt, warum er einen so überragenden Erfolg erzielen konnte (vgl. Englert: 2008, S. 80).

Auf Zanzibar wird Karume, in dieser ersten Wahl nach dem *Muafaka-Abkommen*, mit 53% wiedergewählt. Internationale BeobachterInnen beurteilen die Wahl insgesamt als fairer im Vergleich zu jener im Jahr 2000. (vgl. Grawert: 2009, S. 280 / vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 1) Die CCM konnte ihren Erfolg auch bei den Parlamentswahlen noch weiter ausbauen. Sie gewann die Wahl mit 89% der Stimmen. (vgl. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: 2006, S. 1) Die CUF wirft der CCM allerdings auch bei diesen Wahlen Betrug vor und erst nachdem im Juli 2010 ein Referendum zur Verfassungsänderung die Position zweier VizepräsidentInnen (einer der CCM und einer der CUF) schuf, wurde die Wahl von allen Seiten anerkannt (vgl. Freedom House: 2011b).

In den Wahlen 2010 wurde Präsident Jakata Kikwete nochmals im Amt bestätigt (61, 17% der Stimmen bei fünf Gegenkandidaten) und regiert seither das Land für voraussichtlich weitere fünf Jahre. Sein größter Herausforderer Willibrod Slaa (erreichte 36,34%) von CHADEMA und dessen AnhängerInnen zweifeln die Wahl allerdings an, weil sie Unregelmäßigkeiten festgestellt haben. Auch einige Ergebnisse der Parlamentswahl werden angezweifelt. (vgl. Amnesty International: 2011 / vgl. Freedom House: 2011b / vgl. Caspary: 2011) Die Wahlbeteiligung war mit 42,84% auf Tanzania Festland so niedrig wie noch nie seit Einführung der Mehrparteienwahlen (vgl. Caspary: 2011). Grundsätzlich wird die Wahl 2010 aber als die fairste und freieste in der tanzanischen Geschichte gesehen. Der Wahlkampf war durch eine lebendige politische Auseinandersetzung vieler Parteien geprägt. Die Oppositionsparteien argumentierten vor allem, dass die CCM die Versprechen im sozialen Bereich nicht eingehalten habe. Auch wenn die CCM trotzdem sowohl auf dem Festland als auch auf Zanzibar und Pemba die Wahl gewann, ist die Opposition im Parlament stärker geworden (CCM hat 186 Sitze, CHADEMA hat 23 Sitze und CUF 24 Sitze). Die internationalen WahlbeobachterInnen (EU, African Union u.a.) machten Anregungen bezüglich der Wahlkommission, welche derzeit nicht als unabhängig gelten kann, und der Dauer der Vorbereitung der Wahlmaterialien. Sie bescheinigten der Wahl aber grundsätzlich Transparenz und Fairness. (vgl. Freedom House: 2011b / vgl. Jansen/Lerch: 2010, S.1 / vgl. Caspary: 2011) Erstmals seit Einführung des Mehrparteiensystems muss die CCM also Macht abgeben und Oppositionsparteien gewinnen an Einfluss, was für den Demokratisierungsprozess als positiv zu bewerten ist.

Auf Zanzibar kann die CCM ebenfalls – allerdings nur sehr knapp – gewinnen. Mit 51,1% der Stimmen stellt sie den Präsidenten der teilautonomen Region Ali Mohammed Shein. Der Kandidat der CUF Seif Sharif Hamad ist sein Vize-Präsident. (vgl. Jansen/Lerch: 2010, S. 1) Das Verhältnis in der Union ist auch derzeit noch angespannt. Vor allem im wirtschaftlichen und politischen Bereich kommt es oft zu Uneinigkeit. So prangert Zanzibar beispielsweise an, dass alle Hilfgelder und die Gewinne aus dem Mineralienabbau allein auf dem Festland von Tanzania verbleiben. Politisch schwierig ist auch die Stellung des Präsidenten von Zanzibar (derzeit Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein), dem offiziell das Amt des Vizepräsidenten zukommt. (vgl. Shaba: 2009)

Tanzania gilt gemeinhin heute als politisch relativ stabil. Dies wird vor allem auf das Mehrparteiensystem zurückgeführt. Doch was hat die Regierung über die Installation freier Wahlen hinausgehend erreicht auf dem Weg hin zu mehr Demokratie? Richard Shaba, von der *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung* in Dar es Salaam spricht in seinem Länderbericht über Tanzania nicht zu Unrecht davon, dass Tanzania zwar durch eine Pluralität an Parteien geprägt ist, der Einfluss des Einparteiensystems aber noch so stark ist, dass man von einem „*Einparteienstaat mit einem Mehrparteiensystem*“ sprechen muss. Auch die personelle Kontinuität wird kritisiert: „*Die Politik wird weiterhin von der einen Partei und der einen Generation von Parteifunktionären in ihren späten Sechzigern und Siebzigern dominiert.*“ (Shaba: 2009). (vgl. Shaba: 2009) Ein zentrales Problem für das Nichtfunktionieren des Parteiensystems sieht Shaba außerdem darin, dass in Parteien zu häufig organisatorische Standards zu Gunsten persönlichen Ehrgeizes Einzelner aufgegeben werden. Damit wird diese Person zum unentbehrlichen Parteiführer und es droht ein Zusammenbruch der Partei, wenn die Parteispitze wegfällt. (vgl. Shaba: 2009) Institutionelle Schwäche, der Mangel an Ressourcen, die Dominanz und der Einfluss vermögender GeldgeberInnen –all dies sind für Shaba weitere Hindernisse in der politischen Entwicklung Tanzanias, die in Kapitel 3 teilweise auch schon für afrikanische Politik generell formuliert wurden. (vgl. Shaba: 2009)

„Hence it would be false to say, that the citizens have apathy on the issues of development. Moreover, I got the impression that they rely on their leaders like they did once on Julius Nyerere, whom they called the nation’s teacher. Even when the political landscape changed in recent years, through the implementation of multiparty politics and the wider and deeper involvement of international organizations and others into the domestic politics, the people’s perceptions remained almost unchanged. This fact speaks a lot for the politics and it ensures the stability of the system, on the other hand it is another sign that the government in the past and in the presence remains unsuccessful in its efforts to engage its citizens in the development.“ (Nastincova: 2010, S. 98)

Diese persönliche Erfahrung von Simona Nastincova, die zu Forschungszwecken mehrere Monate in Tanzania lebte, spiegelt etwas wider, was auch Richard Shaba formuliert: Die tanzanische Bevölkerung fordert zu wenig Veränderung von der Politik. (vgl. Shaba: 2009) Gleichzeitig ist ein Anwachsen fundamentalistischer Bewegungen (islamisch, christlich, traditionell) in Tanzania zu beobachten. Dies wird einerseits als Folge der zunehmenden Liberalisierung gesehen, aber andererseits auch als Ausdruck des Unvermögens des Staates alle Schichten seiner Bevölkerung zu erreichen und einzubeziehen. Es entsteht Unzufriedenheit, was wiederum den Anschluss an fundamentalistische Gruppen erleichtert. Auch der zunehmende Tribalismus deutet an, dass es der Politik misslungen ist die Bedürfnisse der Bevölkerung zu erfüllen. (vgl. Shaba: 2009)

Insgesamt ist das Land also als *elektorale Demokratie* relativ stabil, aber das mangelnde Engagement der Regierung für die eigene Bevölkerung und die daraus resultierende Erstarkung fundamentalistischer Gruppen, die finanzielle Abhängigkeit von ausländischen Geldgebern, Korruption⁶⁰, die Übermacht der CCM und die unsichere Situation in der Union zeigen, dass diese Stabilität auf wackeligen Beinen steht. Das nachfolgende Kapitel stellt aktuelle Bewertungen der politischen Situation in Tanzania vor.

⁶⁰ Tanzania befindet sich im „Corruption Perceptions Index“ 2010 von Transparency International auf Platz 116 von 178 Ländern. (vgl. Freedom House: 2011b)

6.2 Aktuelle politische Situation / Grad der Demokratisierung in Tanzania

Es gibt verschiedene Ansätze dazu, wie Demokratie messbar gemacht werden kann. Diese unterscheiden sich vor allem in den Bemessungsgrundlagen, die unterschiedlich komplex sind und unterschiedliche Fokusse haben können. Es gibt dabei kein Messinstrument, das nicht kritisierbar ist – entweder für die Bewertungskriterien, die verwendeten Quellen oder für die Operationalisierung der Kriterien. (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 390 / vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 135) In der Folge werden einige zentrale Messmethoden kurz vorgestellt und die jeweiligen Ergebnisse zur aktuellen politischen Lage von Tanzania präsentiert, um den Demokratiestatus des Landes zu verdeutlichen⁶¹.

Ein zentrales Messinstrument ist der *Freedom House Index*, der den „*Status der Freiheit in der Welt*“ (Bogaards: 2005, S. 145) misst. Der *Freedom House Index* setzt sich aus zwei Komponenten zusammen: Den Politischen Rechten und den Bürgerfreiheiten⁶². Beide Komponenten werden in Skalen von 1-7 ausgedrückt (1=volle Rechte). Beide Skalen werden zum *Freiheitsindex* addiert, der die Länder in die Kategorien *free* (Skalenwert 1-2,5), *partly free* (Skalenwert 3-5,0) oder *not free* (Skalenwert 5,5-7) einteilt. (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 381f, vgl. Bogaard: 2005, S. 145) Nachfolgend wird die Auswertung⁶³ (2011) für Tanzania vorgestellt:

Abb. 19: Freedom House Index: Tanzania

Country	Freedom Status	Bürgerfreiheiten	Politische Rechte
Tanzania	Partly Free	3 ▲	3

Quelle: Auszug aus Freedom House (2011a)

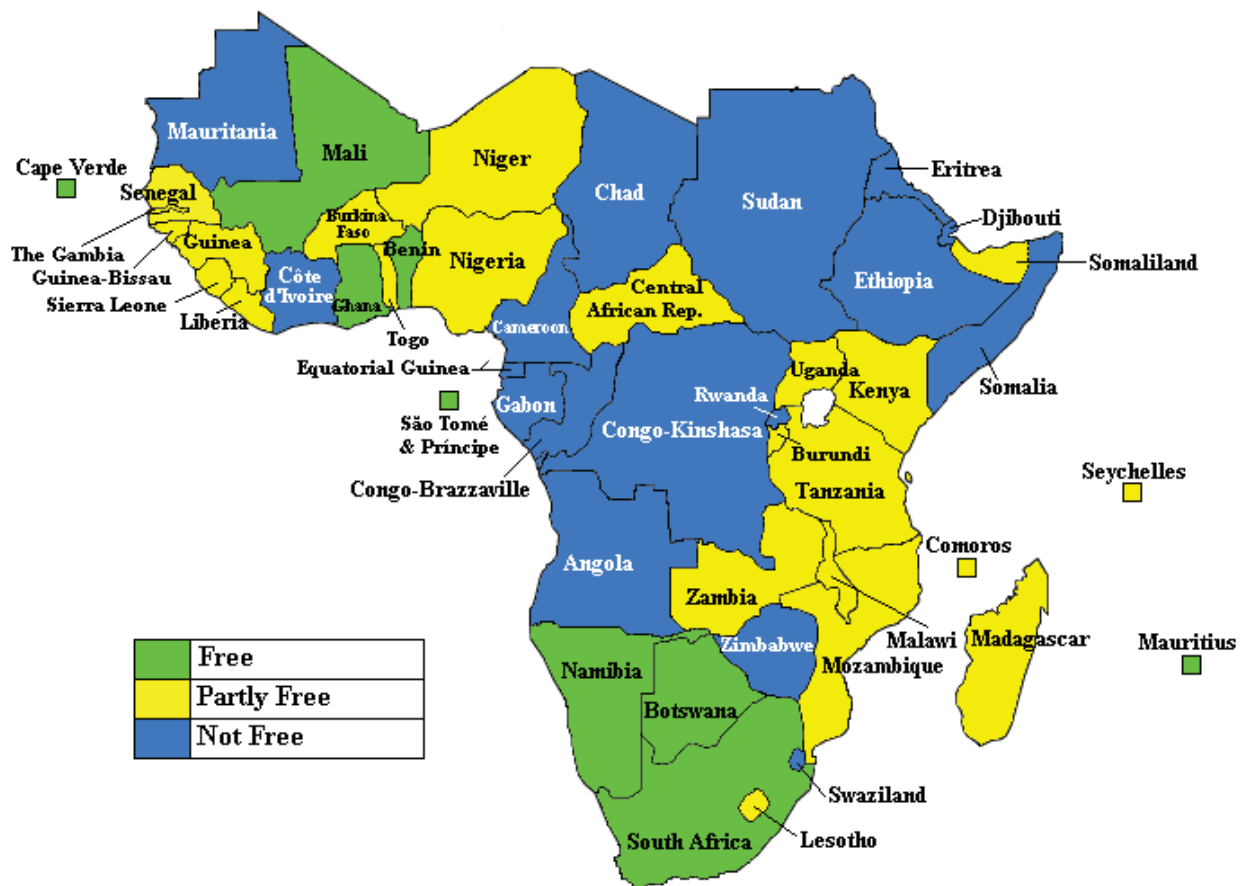
Es wird der offenere und faire Wahlkampf der Wahlen 2010 anerkannt. Deshalb konnte Tanzania seine Bürgerfreiheiten von 4 auf 3 verbessern (Freedom House: 2011a). Die nachfolgende Karte verbildlicht den Status der Freiheit in Afrika südlich der Sahara, wo sich Tanzania in einen gesamtafrikanischen Kontext einordnen lässt.

⁶¹ Dies wiederum ist wichtiges Hintergrundwissen bei der Interpretation der durchgeführten Interviews.

⁶² Für detailliertere Informationen siehe: Schmidt: 2006, S. 381f.

⁶³ Die Ergebnisse für alle Länder südl. der Sahara finden sich im Anhang dieser Arbeit

Abb. 20: Freedom in the World 2011 (Grafik Afrika SdS)



Quelle: Freedom House : 2011a

Ein weiteres anerkanntes Messinstrument ist der *Demokratisierungsindex* von Tatu Vanhanen, der 170 Staaten umfasst. Dieser Index beruht auf folgenden zwei zentralen Bemessungsgrundlagen: Dem Wettbewerbsgrad (Anteil der Opposition im Parlament) und der Partizipation (Wahlbeteiligung)⁶⁴ (vgl. Vanhanen: 2003, S. 56 ff.). Quelle der Analyse sind veröffentlichte Wahlergebnisse. Auf Grund dieser Bemessungsgrundlage wird dieses Messinstrument oft als wenig valide kritisiert. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 138)

Die Messung Vanhanens aus dem Jahr 2001⁶⁵ kommt zum Index-Wert 4,4 für Tanzania, damit fällt das Land in die Gruppe der *Countries with small and moderate residuals*⁶⁶, in der

⁶⁴ Für detailliertere Informationen siehe: Schmidt: 2008, S. 375 / Vanhanen: 2003, S.56 ff.

⁶⁵ Aktuellste auffindbare Daten. Auch Schmidt verwendet diese in seinem Buch aus dem Jahre 2008 (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 376)

⁶⁶ Desweiteren gibt es die Gruppe der *Countries with large positive residuals* und die *Countries with large negativ residuals* (vgl. Vanhanen: 2004, S. 221)

insgesamt 23 afrikanische Länder vertreten sind. Typisch für diese Gruppe ist es, dass sie sich politisch immer nah an der Grenze zwischen Autokratie und Demokratie bewegt, deshalb werden auch drei Länder dieser Gruppe zu den Demokratien gezählt – Tanzania gehört aber nicht dazu. (vgl. Vanhanen: 2004, S. 227) In seiner Beurteilung über Tanzania argumentiert Vanhanen, dass das Land seit seiner Unabhängigkeit 1961 von einer einzigen Partei dominiert ist und obwohl das politische System seit 1995 mehr Wettbewerb zulässt, bleibt Tanzania so knapp unter der Grenze zur Demokratie. Gleichzeitig spricht er mehr Potential für die Zukunft aus und meint, dass die nächsten Wahlen das Land über diese Schwelle bringen können. (vgl. Vanhanen: 2004, S. 233) Hier ist anzumerken, dass seit 2004 bereits wieder Wahlen stattgefunden haben, die als freier und fairer im Vergleich zu vorherigen gelten. Einen weiteren interessanten Aspekt formuliert Vanhanen noch mit Bezug auf Tanzania. Das Land ist geprägt durch eine sehr große ethnische Diversität, wobei keine der Gruppen die dominante ist. Dies beurteilt Vanhanen als positiv für Demokratieentwicklung, weil Ethnizität so in der Politik eine kleinere Rolle spielt als in vielen anderen afrikanischen Ländern (z.B. Kenya). (vgl. Vanhanen: 2004, S: 233)

Besonders hervorgehoben wird auch der *Bertelsmann-Transformations-Indizes* (BTI), der, in Ergänzung zu Messmethoden von Demokratie, die Qualität der politischen Bemühungen bei einem Transformationsprozess hin zu einer Demokratie untersucht⁶⁷. Es werden 128 Transformations- und Entwicklungsländer untersucht. (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009a)

Der Transformationsprozess wird bei dieser Messung in fünf zentralen Dimensionen gemessen (Schmidt: 2008, S. 387):

- Staatlichkeit
- Politische Beteiligung
- Rechtstaatlichkeit
- Leistungsfähigkeit
- Akzeptanz und politische und gesellschaftliche Integration der demokratischen Institutionen

Grundlage der Bewertung sind standardisierte, umfassende Gutachten zu den einzelnen Ländern (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 147).

⁶⁷ Außerdem zu Marktwirtschaft, aber das ist im Rahmen dieser Arbeit nicht relevant und wird so nur der Vollständigkeit halber erwähnt.

Die nachfolgende Darstellung fasst die Ergebnisse für Tanzania zusammen:

Abb. 21: Bertelsmann-Transformations-Indizes: Tanzania 2009/2010

Status Index	1-10	5.58	# 67 of 128	
Democracy	1-10	6.15	# 57 of 128	↘
Market Economy	1-10	5.00	# 81 of 128	→
Management Index	1-10	5.29	# 60 of 128	

scale: 1 (lowest) to 10 (highest) score rank trend

Quelle: Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009a

Die Tabelle fasst die Gesamtergebnisse für Tanzania in den Jahren 2009/2010 zusammen. Dabei sind für die vorliegende Arbeit vor allem der *Management Index* und der Teilbereich *Democracy* vom *Status Index* relevant. Der *Management Index* zeigt die Qualität des „*Political Management of Transformation*“ (Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009b) an. Es wird also die Qualität der Umsetzungsbemühungen der politischen Maßnahmen beurteilt. Der *Status Index* hingegen zeigt den Status der Entwicklung des jeweiligen Landes in Hinblick auf Demokratie und Marktwirtschaft. (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009b)

Zusätzlich zum Ranking der 128 Staaten veröffentlicht die Bertelsmann Stiftung individuelle Berichte zu jedem einzelnen Land. Die zentralen Ergebnisse des *Tanzania Country Report 2010* werden in der Folge vorgestellt.

Abb. 22: Tanzania Country Report (Bertelsmann Stiftung)

Stateness (Staatlichkeit)	Tanzania hat, trotz großer ethnischer Heterogenität, keine großen Probleme mit der Staatlichkeit. Lediglich die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Festlandtanzania und dem semiautoritären Zanzibar sind hier als Einschränkung zu sehen.
Political Participation	Festland-Tanzania: Die Wahlen sind frei, aber nicht gänzlich fair. Gelegentlich ist der Zugang zu Medien beschränkt und Veranstaltungen der Opposition werden unterbunden. Die Macht des Militärs ist reguliert und die gewählten VertreterInnen regieren das Land. Die Versammlungsfreiheit der Bevölkerung und die Pressefreiheit werden gelegentlich eingeschränkt. Zivilgesellschaftliche Zusammenschlüsse sind schwach und es kommt vor, dass sie in ihrer Arbeit beschränkt werden.
Rule of Law	Die Gewaltenteilung existiert, aber die Exekutive hat klar die meiste

	Macht. Die CCM respektiert nicht immer die gesetzgebende Funktion der Legislative. Der Staat verstößt gelegentlich gegen die Bürgerrechte.
Stability of Democratic Institutions	Die demokratischen Institutionen funktionieren weitestgehend und es gibt keine starken anti-demokratischen Tendenzen. Eine Einschränkung muss bezüglich des ineffizienten administrativen Systems gemacht werden.
Political and Social Integration	Es gibt ein stabiles politisches Feld, das von der früheren Staatspartei dominiert wird. Die Parteien orientieren sich stark an Persönlichkeiten, Interessensvertretungen gibt es unzureichend
Steering Capability	Die Regierung fördert Reformen im wirtschaftlichen Bereich, aber zu wenig im Bereich der Demokratisierung, der Armutsbekämpfung und gegen Korruption. Kikwete hat seit Amtsantritt zu wenig politischen Fortschritt vorangebracht.
Ressource Efficiency	Human- und organisatorische Ressourcen werden nicht ausreichend für Transformation genutzt. Es gibt eine Verschwendung öffentlicher Güter und einen Mangel an geeigneten Fachkräften, um politische/wirtschaftliche Maßnahmen wirksam umzusetzen.
Consensus Building	Es gelingt der Regierung zunehmend Konsens für verschiedene Themen zu erlangen.
International Cooperation	Die Regierung arbeitet eng mit internationalen und bilateralen Institutionen zusammen, um die wirtschaftliche & demokratische Entwicklung fortzuführen. Die Regierung legt dabei mehr Engagement im wirtschaftlichen Bereich an den Tag. Das Land ist im Entwicklungsbereich abhängig von ausländischen Gebern. Das Land ist auch aktiv in regionale Kooperationen eingebunden (z.B. Rwanda Tribunal).

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung, Inhalte aus: Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009a

Zusammenfassend besagt der BTI 2010 für Tanzania, dass die Regierung unzureichende Bemühungen zeigt die demokratische Entwicklung weiter voranzutreiben. Um dies zu erreichen, müsse Druck aus dem Ausland kommen, da die oppositionellen Parteien im Land selber zu schwach seien. (vgl. Bertelsmann Stiftung: 2009)

Auch das Messverfahren BTI hat aber mit einigen Defiziten zu kämpfen. Kritisiert wird vor allem, dass es keine definierte Schwelle zwischen Demokratie und Autokratie gibt und somit unklar bleibt wo der Schwellenwert liegt. Außerdem ist nicht nachvollziehbar warum gelegentlich Länder mit der gleichen Punktzahl unterschiedlich als Demokratie oder Autokratie bezeichnet werden. Im Falle Tanzanias ist außerdem verwirrend warum das Land als Präsidialdemokratie bezeichnet wird, aber gleichzeitig betont wird, dass es sich nicht um eine Demokratie handelt. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 149ff.)

Festzuhalten bleibt, dass die vorgestellten Demokratiemessungen (Bertelsmann, Vanhanen & Freedom House) hochsignifikant miteinander korrelieren, was ihre Wertigkeit erhöht (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S. 389).

Kurz Erwähnung finden sollte auch die Typologie der *Defekten Demokratien* von Wolfgang Merkel. *Defekte Demokratien* zeichnen sich durch folgende Charakteristika aus (vgl. Thiery: 2002, S. 73):

1. Sie unterscheiden sich von autokratischen Systemen dadurch, dass wichtige Bestandteile von Demokratie (z.B. faire Wahlen) erfolgreich institutionalisiert sind.
2. Sie unterscheiden sich von funktionierenden Demokratien dadurch, dass die institutionalisierten Bestandteile durch nicht-institutionalisiertes Recht ausgehebelt werden.

Diese *Typologie Defekter Demokratien* unterscheidet vier demokratische Defekte: *Exklusive Demokratie* (Bestimmte Gruppen werden von für sie relevanten kollektiven Entscheidungsprozessen ausgeschlossen), *Illiberale Demokratie* (Mängel bei Bürgerrechten), *Delegative Demokratie* (Mängel bei der horizontalen Kontrolle, z.B. Eine Regierung übergeht das Parlament bei Entscheidungen) und *Enklavendemokratie* (Eingreifen in die Politik von nicht-gewählten MachtträgerInnen, wie Militär, Guerilla o.ä.), die sich in der Realität auch überschneiden. Für jeden Defekt wird definiert, wann es sich nicht mehr um eine *Defekte Demokratie*, sondern um Autokratie handelt. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 154ff, vgl. Thiery: 2002, S. 84f) Voraussetzung ist hierbei, dass die Minimalkriterien für Demokratie nicht unterlaufen werden. Als Messgröße wird das Konzept der *embedded democracy* herangezogen – wird eines der Teilregime nicht befriedigend umgesetzt, ist die Demokratie defekt. Dabei ist das *Wahlregime* die kleinste zu erfüllende Einheit. (vgl. Thiery: 2002, S. 79 / vgl. Merkel et al: 2003, S. 39,65) Tanzania wird in dieser Typologie als defekte *Delegative Demokratie* eingestuft (vgl. Schmidt: 2008, S.397).

In Ergänzung zu den genannten Messinstrumenten, werden nun auch zwei afrikaspezifische Messinstrumente kurz vorgestellt: *Freedom in Africa* und das *Afrobarometer*.

2003 hat die neue *Nationale Partei* in Südafrika ihre Studie *Freedom in Africa at a glance* veröffentlicht, die den Stand der Demokratie afrikanischer Länder untersucht. Kriterien der Messung sind: „1. Regelmäßige, freie und gleiche Wahlen, 2. Der Anteil der Bevölkerung, der lesen und schreiben kann, 3. Eine gleiche Behandlung und Rechte für Frauen, 4. Die Freiheit, sich zu organisieren, 5. Die Freiheit der Massenmedien, 6. Das Ausmaß der militärischen Beteiligung an der Politik, 7. Minderheitenrechte, 8. Dezentralisierung, 9. die Freiheit politi-

scher Parteien und 10. Gewaltenteilung.“ (Bogaards: 2005, S. 141f.) Die maximal zu erreichende Punktzahl ist 100, wobei die Indikatoren unterschiedlich stark gewichtet werden. Es ergeben sich folgende Demokratie-Kategorien: *Unterdrückte Freiheit* (0-30 Punkte), *beschränkte Freiheit* (31-50 Punkte), *teilweise eingeschränkte Freiheit* (51-70 Punkte), *meistens frei* (71-85 Punkte) und *völlig frei* (86-100 Punkte). (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 141f.)

Dieser Index ist allerdings nicht wissenschaftlich und weist einige massive Mängel auf, weshalb die Ergebnisse wenig aussagekräftig sind. Beispielsweise wird die Gewichtung der Kriterien nicht begründet und einigen Indikatoren liegen unnachvollziehbare Quellen zu Grunde (die Organisationsfreiheit wird beispielsweise daran gemessen, ob eine bestimmte Konvention der International Labour Organization ratifiziert wurde). Auch die Tatsache, dass Südafrika mit 98 Punkten Spitzenreiter ist und eine nahezu perfekte Demokratie darstellt, lässt die Messung wenig glaubwürdig erscheinen. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 142) Der Vollständigkeit halber stellt die nachfolgende Tabelle die Ergebnisse für Tanzania aus dem Jahr 2003 dar:

Abb. 23: Freedom in Africa: Tanzania

Land	Punkte (1-100)	Stand der Freiheit
Tanzania	67	Beschränkte Freiheit

Quelle: Auszug aus Bogaards: 2005, S. 141

Das zweite afrikaspezifische Messinstrument ist das *Afrobarometer*, das im Rahmen der Studien von Michael Bratton et al erhoben wird⁶⁸. Hier wird vor allem die Wahrnehmung von Demokratie durch die Bevölkerung untersucht. Es handelt sich also um ein Messinstrument von Demokratie, das in Ergänzung zu den bereits vorgestellten Messinstrumenten interessante Ergebnisse bezüglich der Wahrnehmung durch die Bevölkerung liefert. Es wird in einem Ranking von 0-100 ermittelt, inwiefern das Verlangen nach Demokratie durch die Bevölkerung gegeben ist und auch von Seiten der Politik erfüllt wird. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 143f.) Die im *Afrobarometer* abgefragten Themen beziehen sich auf die Bereiche Demokratie, Staatsführung, Lebensgrundlage, Volkswirtschaft, Sozialkapital, Konflikte und Kriminalität, Partizipation und nationale Identität. Diese werden in persönlichen Interviews in 12 afrikanischen Ländern abgefragt (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 53 f.) Dabei zeichnet sich in der Untersuchung der Trend ab, dass in der Regel mehr Demokratie gefordert wird, als von der Politik angeboten. (vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 143 f.) Die nachfolgende Tabelle zeigt das politische und ökonomische Abschneiden der 12 Afrobarometer-Länder.

⁶⁸ Siehe auch Kapitel 2.5

Abb. 24: Politische und ökonomische Reformen in den Afrobarometer-Ländern

		<i>Economic Reform</i>		
		Good Compliance	Weak Compliance	Poor Compliance
<i>Political Reform</i>	Liberal Democracy	Botswana, South Africa		
	Electoral Democracy	Ghana, Mali, Malawi, Namibia		
	Ambiguous		Tanzania, Zimbabwe	Nigeria
	Liberalized Autocracy		Lesotho, Uganda, Zimbabwe	
	Unreformed Autocracy			

Quelle: Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 55

Für Tanzania im Speziellen zeigt sich, dass lediglich ca. 20% der Bevölkerung ihr Land als *vollwertige Demokratie* ansehen (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 95 / vgl. Bogaards: 2005, S. 143f.). Gleichzeitig sind es aber 84%, die Demokratie als das grundsätzlich beste politische Konzept ansehen (damit ist nur in Botswana mit 84% die Unterstützung noch größer) (vgl. Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 73). Autoritäre Herrschaft wird in allen untersuchten Ländern von der Mehrheit abgelehnt. So auch in Tanzania, wie die folgende Grafik zeigt:

Abb. 25: Ablehnung autoritärer Regierungsführung, nach Ländern (in %)

	Reject Military Rule	Reject One-Man Rule	Reject One-Party Rule	Reject Authoritarian Rule (Mean Score)
Nigeria	90	83	88	87
Malawi	83	87	76	82
South Africa	75	67	56	66
Tanzania	96	92	60	83
Zimbabwe	80	78	74	77
Zambia	95	91	80	89
Ghana	88	86	78	84
Botswana	85	88	78	84
Mali	70	73	73	72
Uganda	89	84	53	75
Namibia	59	57	63	60
Lesotho	70	69	51	63

Frage: Some people say we would be better off if the country was governed differently. What do you think about the following options: (a) the army should come in to govern the country, (b) we should get rid of elections and parliament so that the president can decide everything, (c) candidates from only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office? Quelle: Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 77

Bei Tanzania zeigt sich ein interessantes Bild. So wird Militärherrschaft und One-Man Rule mit jeweils mehr als 90% abgelehnt, aber das Regieren durch eine einzige Partei – entsprechend der eigenen politischen Geschichte – durch lediglich 60% der Befragten abgelehnt. Wie erwähnt, dürfte sich dieses Phänomen durch die politische Vergangenheit des Landes erklären lassen⁶⁹. Wenn es um die politische Zukunft des eigenen Landes geht, sind die TanzanierInnen positiv eingestellt und erwarten sich Verbesserungen, wie die nachfolgende Grafik verdeutlicht.

Abb. 26: Erwartungen für die politische Zukunft des eigenen Landes (Skala von 0-10)

	Present System	Future System	Expectation (Future minus Present)
Nigeria	7,53	8,96	+ 1,53
Mali	6,68	6,97	+ 0,29
Tanzania	6,84	7,03	+ 0,19
Ghana	6,71	6,66	-0,05
Malawi	6,08	5,87	-0,21
South Africa	6,08	5,8	-0,28
Lesotho	5,85	4,56	-1,29
Zambia	5,98	4,28	-1,70

Frage: We are now going to discuss how much you like different kinds of government. I would like you to give marks out of ten. Let us say the best government gets ten out of ten and the form of governing gets no marks at all. What mark would you give to (a) our present system of government with free elections and many parties (b) the system of government you expect (this) country to have in five years time?"

+ signifies an optimistic expectation / - signifies an pessimistic expectation

Quelle: Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 92

Insgesamt stimmen alle Messverfahren trotz unterschiedlicher Bemessungsgrundlagen darin überein, dass Tanzania derzeit nicht als vollwertige Demokratie gelten kann. Es gibt Defizite auf verschiedenen Ebenen, die dazu führen, dass das Land lediglich als *elektorale Demokratie* (demokratische Prinzipien beschränken sich hauptsächlich auf Wahlen) bzw. als *Defekte Demokratie* gelten kann, da prodemokratische Verbesserungen auf verschiedenen Ebenen nötig sind. Die logisch daran anknüpfende Frage ist nun, ob junge Menschen, die in diesem politischen Umfeld sozialisiert werden, Potential zur Veränderung der Strukturen haben?

Diese Frage wird im empirischen Teil dieser Arbeit wieder aufgegriffen.

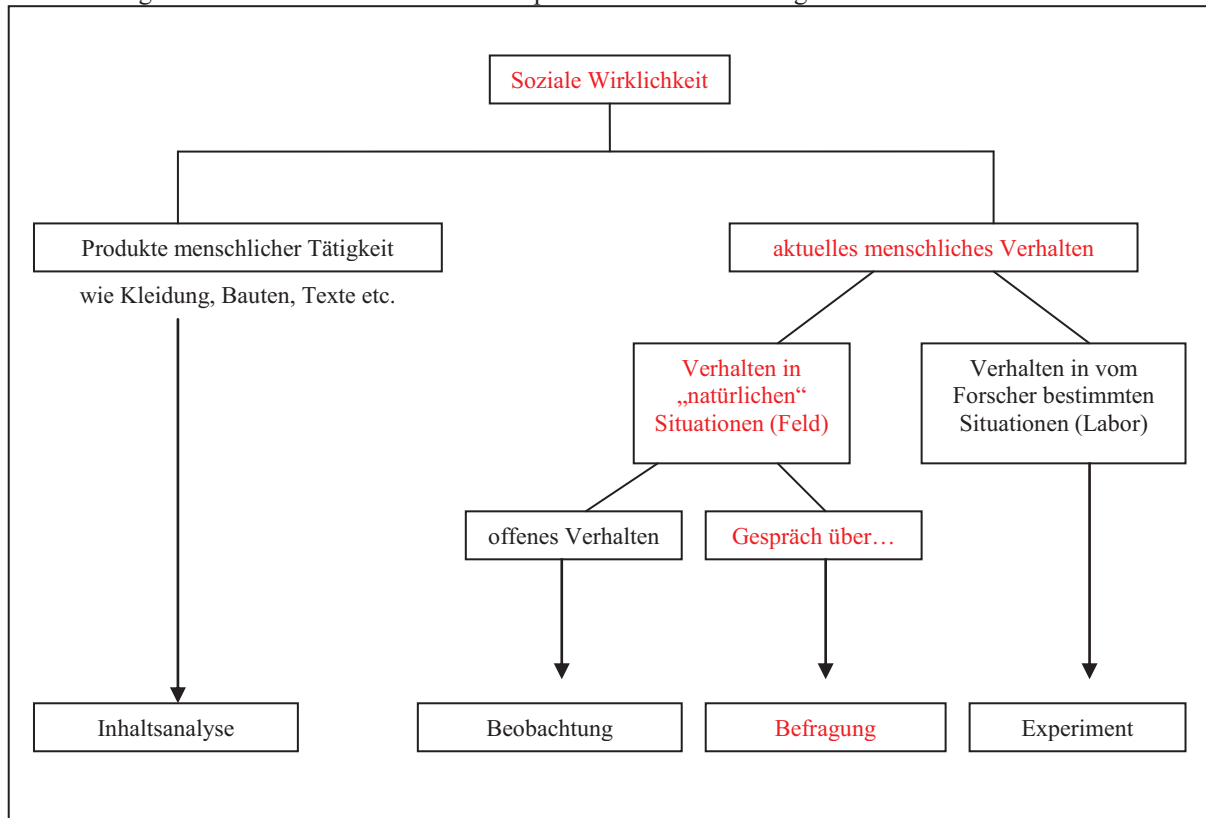
⁶⁹ Siehe hierzu auch Kapitel 6

II Empirischer Teil

7. Methodenbeschreibung

Der empirische Teil dieser Arbeit wird mittels qualitativer Befragung erarbeitet. Die nachfolgende Grafik zeigt, wo diese methodische Herangehensweise im Feld der empirischen Sozialforschung einzuordnen ist.

Abb. 27: Gegenstandsbereiche und Methoden empirischer Sozialforschung



Quelle: Adaptiert übernommen aus Atteslander: 2008, S. 49

Wie deutlich wird, ist dies ein Instrument, das es der ForscherIn erlaubt, menschliches Verhalten und Einstellungen in ihrem natürlichen Umfeld zu erfragen. In der Folge wird dargestellt, wie die Methode *Befragung* im Rahmen dieser Arbeit angewandt und ausgewertet wird.

7.1 Die Erhebungsmethode: Qualitative problemzentrierte Leitfadeninterviews

Qualitative Forschung wird oft als Gegensatz zu quantitativer Forschung dargestellt. De facto werden aber beide Forschungstraditionen bei vielen Studien zunehmend auch kombiniert⁷⁰ (vgl. Mayring: 1999, S. 9). Bei der vorliegenden Arbeit liegt der stärkere Fokus auf dem qualitativen Aspekt, weshalb die Grundsätze dieses Ansatzes hier kurz dargestellt werden.

Die Grundlagen qualitativer Forschung sind (vgl. Mayring: 1999, S. 9 ff.):

- *Stärkere Subjektbezogenheit als bei quantitativen Studien*

Die Subjekte der Forschung – hier die Menschen – sollen Ausgangspunkt und Ziel der Erkenntnisgewinnung sein.

- *Betonung der Deskription und der Interpretation der Forschungsobjekte*

Zu Beginn jeder Forschung muss der Gegenstandsbereich der Forschung beschrieben werden. Gleichzeitig ist auch die Interpretation des Subjekts nötig, da dieses selbst und die ForscherInnen immer von subjektiven Einflüssen geprägt sind. Handlungen können ja nach Interpretation unterschiedliche Bedeutungen haben.

- *Forderung Subjekte in ihrer natürlichen Situation zu untersuchen (im Gegensatz zur unnatürlichen Laborsituation)*

Um möglichst reale Verallgemeinerungen machen zu können, muss die Forschung in einem möglichst natürlichen Setting stattfinden. Menschen reagieren in ihrem natürlichen Umfeld anders als in Laborsituationen, wo sie ihr Handeln ständig über den Sinn für das Experiment reflektieren.

- *Generalisierung der Ergebnisse als schrittweiser Verallgemeinerungsprozess*

Die Verallgemeinerung aus qualitativer Forschung ist deshalb besonders sorgfältig zu argumentieren, weil hier oft mit einer kleineren Stichprobe gearbeitet wird als bei quantitativer Forschung. Die Repräsentativität wird hier nicht erreicht, aber auch nicht angestrebt, da man sagt, dass menschliches Handeln immer situativ ist, und sich die Verallgemeinerung nie aus der rein quantitativen Anzahl der untersuchten Fälle legitimieren kann. Vielmehr muss argumentiert werden, warum die gefundenen Ergebnisse auch auf andere Situationen passen.

⁷⁰ Weiterführend zu diesem Thema: Mayring, Philipp (2008): Neuere Entwicklungen in der qualitativen Forschung und der Qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse. In: Mayring, Philipp / Gläser-Zikuda, Michaela [Hrsg.]: Die Praxis der Qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse. 2. Auflage. BELTZ Verlag: Weinheim und Basel, S. 7-19

Die nachfolgende Grafik zeigt Charakteristika von Interviews in der qualitativen Forschungstradition:

Abb. 28: Charakteristika qualitativ angelegter Interviews

Offenes (vs. geschlossenes) Interview	Bezieht sich auf die Freiheitsgrade des Befragten / der Befragten	Er/Sie kann frei antworten, ohne Antwortvorgaben, kann das formulieren, was ihm / ihr in Bezug auf das Thema bedeutsam ist.
Unstrukturiertes (vs. strukturiertes) bzw. unstandardisiertes (vs. standardisiertes) Interview	Bezieht sich auf die Freiheitsgrade des Interviewers / der Interviewerin	Er / Sie hat keinen starren Fragenkatalog, Fragen können je nach Interviewsituation frei formuliert werden
Qualitatives (vs. quantitatives) Interview	Bezieht sich auf die Auswertung des Interviews	Auswertung geschieht mit qualitativ – interpretativen Techniken

Quelle: Adaptiert übernommen aus Mayring: 1999, S. 49

Die Interviews, die im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit durchgeführt werden, sind qualitativ angelegte problemzentrierte Interviews. Das heißt, dass diese *offen* und *teilstrukturiert* sind:

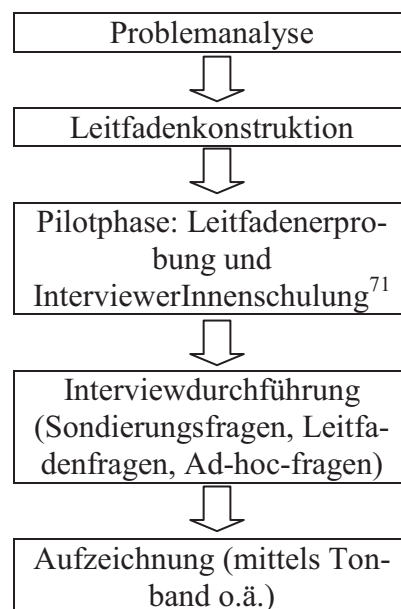
„Das Interview lässt den Befragten möglichst frei zu Wort kommen, um einem offenen Gespräch nahezukommen. Es ist aber zentriert auf eine bestimmte Problemstellung, die der Interviewer einführt, auf die er immer wieder zurückkommt. Die Problemstellung wurde vom Interviewer bereits vorher analysiert; er hat bestimmte Aspekte erarbeitet, die in einem Interviewleitfaden zusammengestellt sind und im Gesprächsverlauf von ihm angesprochen werden.“ (Mayring: 1999, S. 50)

Die besondere Verantwortung, welche die InterviewerInnen bei dieser Form offener Interviews tragen, besteht in der Animierung der GesprächspartnerInnen von sich aus und möglichst ohne Hemmungen zu erzählen. Deshalb ist es besonders wichtig, dass die/der jeweilige InterviewerIn die/den GesprächspartnerIn ausreden lässt und sich nicht ablässig oder negativ zu den getätigten Aussagen äußert. Dies ist wichtig, weil die befragte Person ihre Antworten daran orientiert, wie die gestellte Frage kognitiv (Verstehen, Einordnen in Lebenswelt), emotional (bewerten, erinnern) und rational (urteilen, Nutzen und Schaden abwägen) beurteilt wird (vgl. Atteslander: 2006, S. 110). Durch den Versuch eine möglichst natürliche Gesprächssituation zu schaffen, in der die befragte Person sich wohl fühlt, ist es in besonderer Weise möglich die subjektive Sichtweise dieser Person zu erfahren. (vgl. Bohn-

sack/Marotzki/Meuser: 2006, S. 96) Die Interviewerin nimmt in der vorliegenden Arbeit deshalb bezüglich des InterviewerInverhaltens die Position *neutral* ein, die im Gegensatz zu *weich* (befragte Person kann ganz frei über ein eigens gewähltes Thema sprechen) und *hart* (befragte Person wird schnell mit spezifischen Fragen konfrontiert) steht. Die neutrale Position zeichnet sich durch Sachlichkeit aus, wobei in dieser Arbeit eine lockere Form des neutralen Interviews angewandt wird, in dem, wie erwähnt, ein für die befragte Person möglichst angenehmes Umfeld entstehen soll. (vgl. Atteslander: 2006, S. 128)

Die Erstellung eines Leitfadens für das Interview steht im Zusammenhang mit der Problemzentriertheit des Interviews. Es gibt hier ein spezifisches Erkenntnisinteresse, das behandelt werden soll. Deshalb ist es hilfreich einen Leitfaden als ‚roten Faden‘ für das Interview zu erarbeiten. So verhindert man, dass wichtige Aspekte unangesprochen bleiben, aber hat trotzdem die Möglichkeiten neue Aspekte in das Interview zu integrieren. Die Funktion eines Leitfadens lässt sich so als ‚Gedächtnisstütze‘ beschreiben. Um einen sinnvollen Leitfaden zu erstellen, ist es unbedingt notwendig das Themenfeld gut zu kennen. (vgl. Bohnsack/Marotzki/Meuser: 2006, S. 114) Der Ablauf eines problemzentrierten Interviews stellt sich folgendermaßen dar:

Abb. 29: Ablauf des problemzentrierten Interviews



Quelle: Adaptiert übernommen aus Mayring: 1999, S. 53

⁷¹ Die InterviewerInnenschulung fällt bei der vorliegenden Arbeit weg, da alle Interviews von der Autorin persönlich geführt und ausgewertet werden.

Die Dauer einer Befragung sollte sich auf maximal ca. 60 Min. belaufen, da danach die Konzentration der GesprächsteilnehmerInnen nachlässt (vgl. Atteslander: 2006, S. 125).

7.2 Das Auswertungsverfahren: Qualitative strukturierende Inhaltsanalyse

Nach der Durchführung der Interviews werden diese zunächst transkribiert, das heißt wörtlich zu Papier gebracht.

Nach der Transkription wird das Material mit der *Qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse* nach Mayring ausgewertet. Generelles Ziel dieser ist eine systematische Analyse von Text oder sprachlichem Material durch systematische Bearbeitung und Interpretation mittels Kategoriensystem (*Strukturierung*). Das Kategoriensystem stellt das Herzstück der Analyse dar. (vgl. Mayring: 1999, S. 91 / vgl. Atteslander: 2006, S. 181) Es soll dabei „*die Systematik methodisch kontrollierter Textauswertung beibehalten [werden], ohne in vorschnelle Quantifizierungen zu verfallen*“ (Mayring: 2008, S. 10).

Das Besondere dabei ist, dass man sich nicht auf quantitative Textmerkmale (wie einzelne Wörter und Begriffsfelder) beschränkt, sondern den Text im Hinblick auf die erstellten Kategorien interpretiert. Dieser Interpretationsakt soll sich auf bereits erarbeitetes Wissen stützen und regelgeleitet ablaufen. (vgl. Mayring: 2008, S. 11) Das Prinzip einzelner Analyseschritte ist eine besondere Stärke der Qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse, denn das macht die Interpretation intersubjektiv prüfbar und nachvollziehbar (vgl. Mayring: 2010, S. 59).

Es gibt drei Techniken der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse: *Zusammenfassung* und induktive Kategorienbildung, *Explikation* (Kontextanalyse) und *Strukturierung*. Für die vorliegende Arbeit ist die strukturierende Inhaltsanalyse (inhaltliche Strukturierung) am geeignetsten, die aus dem Material bestimmte Muster herausfiltert; hier inhaltliche Muster. Diese Struktur tritt in Form von Kategorien an das Material. Es werden daher deduktiv Kategorien gebildet, die die Forschungsfragen widerspiegeln und theoretisch begründet sind. Aus dem Text werden dann nur jene Textstellen zur Analyse herangezogen, die für diese Kategorien relevant sind. (vgl. Mayring: 2010, S. 92)

Der konkrete Ablauf qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse nach Mayring stellt sich in dieser Arbeit wie folgt dar (vgl. Mayring: 2010, S.52ff.):

1. Festlegung des Materials
2. Analyse der Entstehungssituation
3. Formale Charakteristika des Materials
4. Richtung der Analyse
5. Theoriegeleitete Differenzierung der Fragestellung

Die Analyse selbst läuft dann in Anlehnung an das Erkenntnisinteresse dieser Arbeit nach dem folgenden Ablaufmodell ab, das der strukturierenden, inhaltlichen Inhaltsanalyse zuzuordnen ist. (vgl. Mayring: 2010, S. 92ff.):

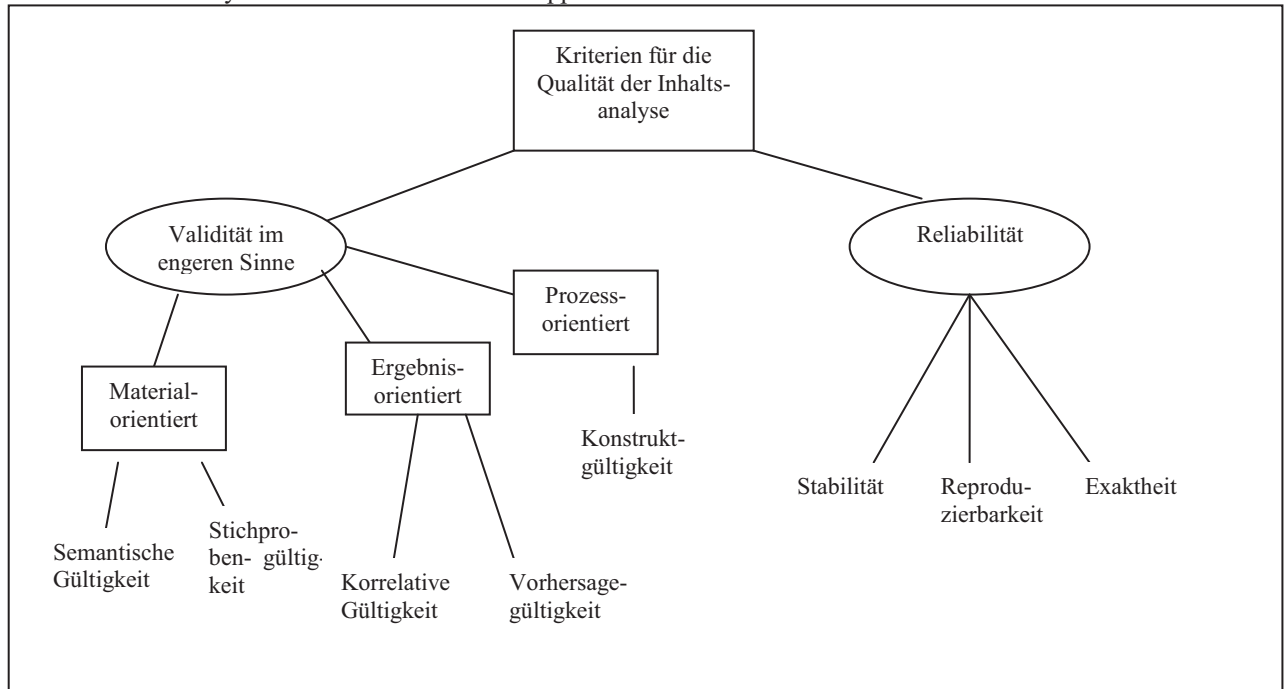
6. Bestimmung der Analyseeinheit
7. Zusammenstellung des Kategoriensystems (mittels Strukturierungsdimensionen und Bestimmung der Ausprägungen und Formulierung von Ankerbeispielen und etwaigen Kodierregeln)
8. Materialdurchlauf (Markierung der Fundstellen)
9. Extraktion der Fundstellen (Paraphrasen), Zusammenfassung pro Kategorie
10. Ergebnisaufbereitung

7.3 Gütekriterien

Um die Qualität von Forschung messen zu können, wurden sogenannte *Gütekriterien* entwickelt. Es gibt jedoch gerade in der qualitativen Forschungstradition unterschiedliche Meinungen darüber wie diese Kriterien aussehen sollten. Für die Inhaltsanalysen sind aber vor allem die *Reliabilität* (Verlässlichkeit) und die *Validität* (Gültigkeit) wichtig. Jede Inhaltsanalyse sollte also schlussendlich valide (es wird tatsächlich das gemessen, was gemessen werden soll) und reliabel (Verlässlichkeit der Messungstechnik – bei einer zweiten Untersuchung sollte dasselbe Ergebnis rauskommen) sein, um vorläufige Gültigkeit für sich beanspruchen zu können. (vgl. Bohnsack/Marotzki/Meuser: 2006, S. 80f.) Mayring betont, dass aber die Validität in jedem Fall wichtiger ist als die Reliabilität (vgl. Mayring: 2010, S. 51).

Die Grafik zeigt die Gütekriterien der Inhaltsanalyse nach Krippendorff und welche spezifischen, messbaren Größen damit zusammenhängen:

Abb. 30: Inhaltsanalytische Gütekriterien nach Krippendorff



Quelle: Mayring: 2008, S.111

In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden die Gütekriterien Reliabilität und Validität betont und versucht in größtmöglichem Maße zu erfüllen.

7.4 Methodische Stärken und Schwächen

Die *Teilstrukturiertheit* der Interviews durch den Leitfaden erleichtert den Vergleich der Interviews untereinander, was einen Vorteil der gewählten Methode darstellt (vgl. Mayring: 1999, S. 52). Die *Offenheit* des qualitativen problemzentrierten Interviews, also die Möglichkeit für die GesprächspartnerInnen frei zu antworten, hat außerdem folgende Vorteile, die auch das Vertrauen zwischen den GesprächspartnerInnen erhöhen und so zur Qualität der Befragung beitragen können (vgl. Mayring: 1999, S. 51):

- Es lässt sich sofort erkennen, ob die/der GesprächspartnerIn die Frage bzw. die Intention der Frage verstanden hat.
- Subjektive Sichtweisen der Befragten können in Gänze dargestellt werden (auch Dinge, an welche die/der InterviewerIn vorab vielleicht nicht gedacht hat)
- Die Befragten haben die Möglichkeit sich im Interview selbst zu entwickeln, also größere Zusammenhänge aufzustellen.
- Die Interviewsituation kann direkt thematisiert werden.

Die Offenheit kann von der befragten Person – gerade zu Anfang des Interviews – aber auch als irritierend wahrgenommen werden. Dies gilt es als InterviewerIn aufzufangen. (vgl. Bohnsack/Marotzki/Meuser: 2006, S. 96)

Potenzielle weitere Nachteile bei der Durchführung von Leitfadeninterviews können auch Einflüsse durch die/den InterviewerIn, hohe Anforderungen an die sprachliche und soziale Kompetenz der Beteiligten und höherer Zeitaufwand sein. Diese gilt es im Vorfeld zu erkennen und in der Empirie möglichst zu reduzieren. (vgl. Atteslander: 2006, S. 132)

Ein zentrales potentiell Problem der persönlichen Befragung ist außerdem die „soziale Erwünschtheit“, die auch in der vorliegenden Forschungsarbeit einen relevanten Faktor darstellt. So gibt es in jeder Gemeinschaft von Personen gewisse Themen zu denen wiederum gewisse Antworten gesellschaftlich mehr oder weniger erwünscht sind. Entsprechend dieser Einstufung werden dann Antworten gegeben. Dies muss bei der Interpretation der Interviews unbedingt bedacht werden. (vgl. Diekmann: 2007, S. 382)

Wie jede andere sozialwissenschaftliche Methode hat aber auch die Auswertungsmethode der (Qualitativen) Inhaltsanalyse mit einigen möglichen Fehlerquellen bei der Durchführbarkeit zu kämpfen. Diese werden in der Folge explizit thematisiert, um zu verhindern, dass diese Eingang in den empirischen Teil der vorliegenden Arbeit finden:

1. *Den Überblick bewahren:* Bei empirischer Sozialforschung ist man oft damit konfrontiert, dass die Fülle an gewonnenem Material zunächst strukturiert werden muss. Hilfreich kann es sein, sich hierzu auf die eigentlichen Forschungsfragen zu besinnen. (vgl. Diekmann: 2007, S. 484)

2. *Das Bedeutungsproblem:* Situationen, Aussagen und Verhalten können in Abhängigkeit verschiedener Bedeutungszusammenhänge unterschiedlich verstanden und interpretiert werden. Die/der ForscherIn muss also bei der Qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse in der Lage sein, die vorhandenen Bedeutungszusammenhänge als solche zu identifizieren und das Material im Kontext dieser zu analysieren. Dies ist insbesondere dann zu beachten, wenn es sich um interkulturelle Forschung handelt. (vgl. Diekmann: 2007, S. 484f.)

3. *Das Inferenzproblem:* Dieses beschreibt das Dilemma der eingeschränkten allgemeinen Gültigkeit von (vor allem qualitativer) Forschung. Keine sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung kann wirklich allgemeingültige Schlussfolgerungen ziehen, da die Ergebnisse meist geogra-

fisch und quantitativ (zu geringe Stichprobe) in ihrer Gültigkeit begrenzt sind. Hierzu ist allerdings anzumerken, dass die Behauptung von der Allgemeingültigkeit erzielter Forschungsergebnisse von der qualitativen Forschungstradition grundsätzlich als illegitim angesehen wird (siehe Kapitel 7.1). (vgl. Unland: 1984, S. 12)

7.5 Begründung der Methodenwahl

Die Entscheidung zur qualitativen Herangehensweise an den Forschungsgegenstand ergibt sich vor allem aus dem mangelnden bisherigen Angebot vergleichbarer Studien. So ist eine explorative Studie die beste Einstiegsmöglichkeit, um hier einen ersten Einblick zu gewinnen. Deshalb ist es auch besonders wichtig, dass die Interviews offen gehalten und qualitativ ausgewertet werden. Dass die Wahl der Methode auf die Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse nach Mayring fällt, hängt vor allem damit zusammen, dass diese sich durch ihre besondere Nachvollziehbarkeit auszeichnet, was ein wichtiges Gütekriterium im Rahmen qualitativer Forschung darstellt. Die strukturierende Analyse nach Inhalt ist sinnvoll, weil die Forschungsfragen sich direkt in den Interviews widerspiegeln und daher als Grundlage der Auswertung dienen sollen.

8. Auswertung

In diesem Kapitel findet schrittweise die Auswertung der Interviews statt. Um das Gütekriterium der Reliabilität bestmöglich zu erfüllen, finden sich hier alle Schritte der Analyse. Um die Lesbarkeit der Arbeit zu bewahren, befinden sich die Transkripte und die Paraphrasierungen der herausgefilterten relevanten Textstellen im Anhang dieser Arbeit.

8.1 Festlegung des Materials & Analyse der Entstehungssituation

Das zu analysierende Material setzt sich aus den Transkripten der durchgeführten Interviews zusammen.

Die Interviews wurden während eines Forschungsaufenthaltes in Tanzania durchgeführt. Durchführungsorte waren Dar es Salaam und Zanzibar. Der Durchführungszeitraum war zwischen dem 15. Oktober 2011 und dem 15. November 2011. Die Teilnahme an den Interviews war freiwillig. Die Kontaktaufnahme zu den potentiellen InterviewpartnerInnen erfolgte mit Hilfe der drei parteinahen politischen Organisationen *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* (SPD⁷²), *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung* (CDU) und *Friedrich Naumann Stiftung* (FDP), die vor Ort mit jungen

⁷² In Klammern wird die jeweilige deutsche Partei angegeben, der die Organisation nahesteht.

PolitikerInnen zusammenarbeiten und daher einen leichteren Zugang zu diesen haben. Der Versuch einer persönlichen Kontaktaufnahme ohne VermittlerInnen war zuvor gescheitert. Während des Forschungsaufenthaltes stand der Autorin ein kompetenter und forschungserfahrener Assistent zur Seite, der vor allem bei organisatorischen Herausforderungen helfen konnte. Zunächst war angedacht, dass er außerdem bei den Interviews als Dolmetscher anwesend sein sollte, um gute Englischkenntnisse der InterviewpartnerInnen nicht als Voraussetzung für die Interviewdurchführung geltend zu machen. Von dieser Herangehensweise wurde vor Ort von einer Mitarbeiterin einer der politischen Stiftungen, mit denen zusammengearbeitet wurde, allerdings abgeraten, da Politik ein heikles Thema darstellt, und die Anwesenheit eines tanzanischen Bürgers die Offenheit der InterviewpartnerInnen hätte einschränken können. Die Interviews wurden deshalb von der Autorin alleine mit den InterviewpartnerInnen durchgeführt. Der Interviewort war in neun von 12 Fällen das Büro der jeweiligen Person. Einmal wurde das Interview auf dem Universitätscampus (Ardhi University) durchgeführt, einmal im privaten Umfeld des Interviewpartners und einmal im Hotelzimmer der Autorin. Der Untersuchungszeitraum war politisch gesehen eine eher ruhige Zeit, wie auch durch die Studie verschiedener Tageszeitungen während des Forschungsaufenthalts bestätigt wurde. Es standen in näherer Zukunft keine nationalen Wahlen an, und auch die Parlamentssitzungen begannen erst wieder gegen Ende des Untersuchungszeitraumes.

8.2 Formale Charakteristika des Materials

Die mittels Laptop oder Diktiergerät aufgezeichneten Interviews wurden mit Unterstützung der Transkriptionssoftware F4 transkribiert. Dabei wurde der Text editiert und ins Schriftenglisch gebracht. Um die Interpretation der Interviews zu vereinfachen, wurden die Aussagen dort editiert, wo auf Grund von grammatischen oder anderen linguistischen Fehlern der Sinn eines Satzes für LeserInnen nicht sofort zu erfassen war. Dies macht Sinn, da es sich bei der vorliegenden Analyse um eine inhaltliche und nicht um eine linguistische handelt. Dabei ist zu betonen, dass inhaltlich keine Veränderungen vorgenommen wurden, die Ausbesserungen waren jedoch notwendig, da die Interviews auf Englisch durchgeführt wurden und keine/r der InterviewpartnerInnen dies als Muttersprache hat.

Relevante Besonderheiten beim Sprechen hingegen wurden mit nachfolgendem Schema erfasst, weil die hier erfasste Parasprache auch für die Interpretation der Aussagen relevant sein kann (adaptiert übernommen von Schütze/ Kallmeyer: 1976 zit. n. Mayring: 1999, S. 71 / vgl. Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson: 1974 zit. n. Bohnsack/Marotzki/Meuser: 2006, S. 160).

(1) = Pause in Sekunden

(,) = sehr kurze Pause (unter 1 Sek.)

hal- = abgebrochenes Wort

((lachen)) u.a. = Darstellung von nichtsprachlichen Elementen, die relevant sind

(?), (?) = Unverständlich

(Kommst du?) = Vermuteter Wortlaut, nicht mehr genau zu verstehen

⌊ = ins Wort fallen, gleichzeitiges Sprechen (mit genauer Kennzeichnung des Einsetzens)

Betont = betont gesprochen

8.3 Richtung der Analyse & theoriegeleitete Differenzierung der Fragestellung

Die vorliegende Arbeit ist sozialwissenschaftlich ausgerichtet. Es werden sowohl die emotionale und kognitive Ebene, als auch die Ebene der Handlungshintergründe thematisiert. Die Richtung der Analyse ist also durch den Text Aussagen über diese Ebenen zu bekommen, die die drei Bereiche des Erkenntnisinteresses der vorliegenden Arbeit widerspiegeln.

Interviewt wurden junge PolitikerInnen in Tanzania. Im Theorieteil dieser Arbeit wird der aktuelle Forschungsstand bezüglich der drei Ebenen des Erkenntnisinteresses dargestellt. Die Interviews werden ebenfalls in Bezug auf diese drei Ebenen und die daraus abgeleiteten Forschungsfragen gestellt. Da sich nicht alle der Forschungsfragen zufriedenstellend allein aus der Literatur beantworten lassen, wurden die Interviews mit dem Ziel geführt, vor allem zu den Bereichen persönlicher Hintergrund, Politikverständnis und Generationenverhältnis weiterführende Auskünfte zu erhalten. Die Frage nach Charakteristika von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern hingegen wird in den Interviews nicht direkt weiter thematisiert, da es hierzu ausreichend Material in der vorhandenen Literatur gibt. Die Fragen, die nun an das empirische Textmaterial gestellt werden, sind also die Forschungsfragen 1.2 – 3.2.

8.4 Bestimmung der Analyseeinheit & Auswertung soziodemografischer Struktur

Insgesamt wurden 12 persönliche Leitfadeninterviews durchgeführt und aufgezeichnet, die eine Länge von 50 bis 70 Minuten haben. Aus der Gesamtheit von 12 Interviews wird dabei eine Auswahl von 11 auszuwertenden Interviews getroffen, da eines der Interviews auf Grund von sprachlichen Verständigungsschwierigkeiten für die Untersuchung nicht geeignet ist.

Insgesamt wurden acht männliche Politiker interviewt und vier weibliche.

Abb. 31: Geschlechterverhältnisse in Empirie

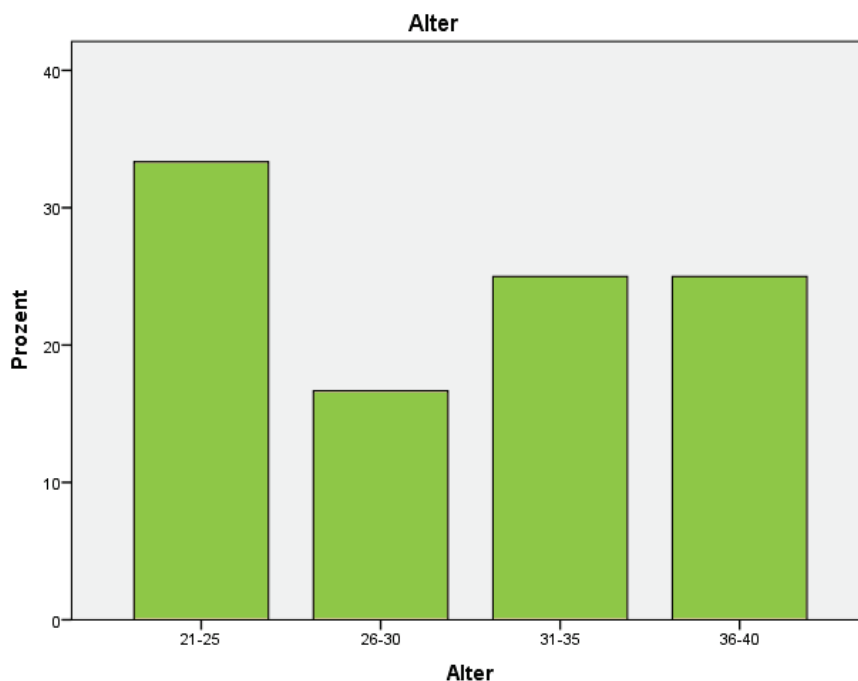
Geschlecht	Häufigkeit	Prozent
männlich	8	66,7
weiblich	4	33,3
Gesamt	12	100,0

n=12

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung

Die befragte Altersgruppe ist nach oben durch die in Kapitel 2.1 vorgenommene Abgrenzung bei 40 Jahren definiert. Die jüngste befragte Person ist zum Befragungszeitpunkt 23 Jahre alt und die älteste 38 Jahre. Das nachfolgende Diagramm stellt die Verhältnisse der Altersspannen der Befragten dar, die sich relativ ausgewogen gestaltet.

Abb. 32: Altersstruktur Empirie



n=12

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung

Bei der Interviewdurchführung wurde mit VertreterInnen der drei größten politischen Parteien des Landes gesprochen. So sind 33,3% der Befragten Mitglieder der CCM, 41,7% Mitglieder der CUF und 25% Mitglieder von CHADEMA. Damit sind die drei größten Parteien des Landes in der Untersuchung vertreten.

Trotzdem lassen sich zur politischen Orientierung der Befragten hier nur rudimentäre Aussagen machen, da das Verständnis der Frage zur politischen Orientierung auf dem Erhebungsbogen der soziodemografischen Daten⁷³ nach Einschätzung der Autorin nicht immer gegeben war⁷⁴. Bei Betrachtung der Häufigkeiten ergibt sich aber das folgende Ergebnis, das allerdings vor dem erwähnten Hintergrund mit Vorsicht zu genießen ist.

Abb. 33: Politische Orientierung Empirie

Pol. Orientierung	Häufigkeit	Prozent
Liberal	7	58,3
Konservativ	1	8,3
Sozialdemokratisch	3	25,0
Sozialistisch	1	8,3
Gesamt	12	100,0

n=12

Quelle: Eigene Darstellung

Der häufigste höchste Bildungsabschluss der Befragten ist der universitäre Abschluss. Elf der PolitikerInnen haben diesen oder einen vergleichbaren Abschluss (2 Personen mit College Abschluss).

Zur beruflichen Position, die die befragten PolitikerInnen inne haben, werden an dieser Stelle keine detaillierten Angaben gemacht, da dies die garantierte Anonymität der Interviews gefährden würde. Angemerkt sei aber, dass Personen von lokaler, wie nationaler Ebene befragt werden konnten, die entweder ehrenamtlich Parteiarbeit leisten oder bei der Partei angestellt sind.

⁷³ Siehe Anhang (Kapitel 12.4)

⁷⁴ Siehe hierzu Kapitel 8.6

8.5 Das Kategoriensystem

In der Folge wird das Kategoriensystem vorgestellt, welches der Analyse zu Grunde liegt. Dieses besteht aus Kategorien und teilweise zugehörigen Unterkategorien. Es ist jeweils eine kurze Beschreibung der Kategorie und ein Ankerbeispiel angeführt, um zu verdeutlichen welche Textstellen in die jeweilige Kategorie gehören. Das deduktiv erstellte Kategoriensystem dieser Arbeit wird durch die Kategorie *Hauptthemen* ergänzt, die Schwerpunkte herausfiltern soll, welche nicht direkt Thema der Arbeit sind, aber für die InterviewpartnerInnen offenbar große Relevanz besitzen.

1. Politikverständnis

Alle Aussagen, die beschreiben wie die Person Politik versteht (abstrakt und anhand von Beispielen aus dem eigenen Lebenskontext).

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

Äußerungen, die auf ein bestimmtes Politikverständnis schließen lassen. Davon abzugrenzen ist das Demokratieverständnis, das in Kategorie 2 gesondert abgefragt wird. Hier wird auch erfasst, warum die Mitgliedschaft in der jeweiligen Partei existiert, wenn die Beschreibung nicht in die Kategorie 4 (Motivation) passt.

- Ankerbeispiele:

„Because the aim of having oppositional political parties is to make people to have a better choice of the candidates, of the policies, which policies can develop their country.“ (Interview 1: #00:06:20-7#)

„I’m a liberal. If you say liberal, they want free and fair election, freedom of religion, respect of human rights and we can talk about (1) mass participation in decision.“ (Interview 3: #00:22.12#)

1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Lebensalltag (konkret)

Alle Aussagen, die beschreiben welchen Einfluss Politik auf den Alltag der Menschen hat bzw. wie Lebensrealitäten mit Politik vernetzt sind.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„So we from the CUF we organized a fundraising so that we can have a school because we had no primary school there. So I established the committee and we did fundraising and right now we have two schools and therefore people appreciate and since 1995 till now the city government is under CUF because of what we did that time. So, we were doing some good things, people now they trust us.“ (Interview 1: #00:25:43-4#)

2. Demokratie

Alle Äußerungen, die zum Thema Demokratie getätigt werden

2.1 Definition Demokratie

Alle Assoziationen mit dem Begriff Demokratie.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„To me democracy means freedom of a person to decide how he or she needs to live in this place.“ (Interview 1: #00:26:42-6#)

2.2 Skala Demokratie

Einschätzung der eigenen Demokratie auf einer Skala von 1 (nicht erreicht) bis 10 (erreicht) und die Einschätzung, wo ein moderner Staat stehen sollte, bzw. wo sie ihr Land in der Zukunft sehen. Außerdem werden hier Erklärungen zu der jeweiligen Einschätzung erfasst.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„I might range it at eight.“ (Interview 1: #00:27:52-1#)

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

Alle Informationen bezüglich politischen Hintergrunds in der Familie und zu ihrem Einfluss auf den politischen Werdegang der Befragten. Außerdem wird die Einstellung der Familie zur politischen Arbeit erfasst.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„Yes, he was a politician and my grandfather even became a member of the parliament.“ (Interview 1: #00:04:29-1#)

4. Motivation für Engagement

Alle Aussagen zur eigenen Motivation sich selbst zu engagieren (Sozialisation in der Schule, Unzufriedenheit etc.) und zu vermuteten Motiven junger PolitikerInnen generell. Außerdem werden Äußerungen erfasst, die sich auf die Motivation zur Auswahl der eigenen Partei beziehen.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„Because I saw the politics in Tanzania and I tried to see the policy of each of the parties in Tanzania, because we have 19 parties in Tanzania and I tried to see which policy is good and has the good faith to the society. One among the parties which I saw is the Civic United Front. [...] So I just took the card of the Civic United Front because I had the hope that one day I'm going to be a candidate. ((Lachen)).“ (Interview 4: #00:03:02#)

5. Attribute jung/alt

Alle Aussagen, bei denen es sich um die Beschreibung von Charakter- oder Verhaltenseigenschaften von speziell jungen oder speziell älteren PolitikerInnen handelt.

5.1 Attribute junger PolitikerInnen

Erfasst werden Eigenschaften, die jüngeren PolitikerInnen zugesprochen werden.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„[I]f you see in our current parliament, most of the members in our parliament are young generation and the ones who are transforming the parliament. Now it becomes so hot, discussing is very hot.“ (Interview 1: #00:47:26-6#)

5.2 Attribute älterer PolitikerInnen

Erfasst werden Eigenschaften, die älteren PolitikerInnen zugesprochen werden.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„You know, elders, most of them are slowly. Once you decide something they want first to sit at the table and discuss it (...)“ (Interview 2: #00:47:28-4#)

6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

Alle Aussagen, die sich auf Chancen und Grenzen der politischen Partizipation der jüngeren PolitikerInnen beziehen. Dies kann sowohl berufliche, wie auch ehrenamtliche Partizipation betreffen.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„So most of the people are very young and we are taking decision-making positions.“ (Interview 1: #00:48:12-0#)

7. Generationenverhältnis

Alle Äußerungen, die sich auf das Generationenverhältnis beziehen.

- Ankerbeispiel:

„Even in my party the elders are not happy to see me and other young politicians.“ (Interview 5 #00:30:51#)

8. Weitere Themen

Diese Kategorie identifiziert in jedem Interview bis zu drei weitere Themen, die von den InterviewpartnerInnen angesprochen werden und nicht einer der Kategorien zuzuordnen sind sowie dementsprechend keine Relevanz für die vorliegende Untersuchung besitzen.

Nach der Sichtung der ersten 5 Interviews wurden die herausgefilterten weiteren Themen gesichtet und entschieden, dass keines davon die Erstellung einer eigenen neuen Kategorie sinnvoll macht. Die Kategorie wird als eigenständige Kategorie weitergeführt, um bei der Auswertung jene Themen benennen zu können, die neben den für diese Untersuchung relevanten Aspekten zusätzlich dominant waren.

8.6 Auffälligkeiten bei der Untersuchung

Sehr offensichtlich hat sich gezeigt, dass es bei der Mehrheit der Befragten Probleme bei der Frage nach ihrer persönlichen politischen Orientierung gab. Mehrfach musste die Frage nach der *political position/orientation* auf dem Fragebogen der soziodemografischen Daten erklärt werden und die Ausprägungen *liberalism*, *conservatism*, *social democracy* und *socialism* mit Beispielen beschrieben werden. Dies spiegelt die in Kapitel 3.2.4 formulierte gering ausgeprägte Orientierung von Politik entlang politischer Programme wider. Auch wenn in Tanzania die ethnische Komponente eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt, orientiert sich Politik hier mehr daran, ob man in der Opposition oder der Regierungspartei ist. Ein Befragter entschied sich sogar dafür, seine persönliche Einstellung als *liberal* zu bezeichnen, während er seiner Partei *conservatism* bescheinigte. Eine andere Person sagte, dass ihre Orientierung nicht vertreten sei und der Liste politischer Orientierungen *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* zufügte, was wohl auch der Orientierung *socialism* entsprochen hätte. Daraus folgend kann man sagen, dass die Parteizugehörigkeit nicht automatisch auf eine bestimmte politische Orientierung schließen lässt.

Außerdem wurde während des gesamten Forschungsaufenthaltes politisches Misstrauen gegenüber Personen, die nicht zum unmittelbar persönlichen Umfeld gehören, deutlich, was aus der Willkürlichkeit und Intransparenz von politischen Prozessen herzuleiten ist. Auch deshalb wurden die Intervieworte möglichst im persönlichen Umfeld der InterviewpartnerInnen gewählt. Diese Auffälligkeit ist vor dem Hintergrund der in Kapitel 2.7 erläuterten Zusammenhänge zwischen Misstrauen und Entwicklung interessant.

8.7 Auswertung nach Kategorien

Die Transkripte, die sich im Anhang der Arbeit befinden, wurden durchgearbeitet und relevante Textstellen sind jeweils einer bestimmten Kategorie zugeordnet worden. Dann wurden die Textstellen paraphrasiert. Die Kategorien mit den dazugehörigen Paraphrasen finden sich ebenfalls im Anhang dieser Arbeit. In der Folge werden die Ergebnisse der Kategorien kurz dargestellt indem die Aussagen der InterviewpartnerInnen zusammengefasst werden. Im Kapitel 9 folgt dann die Interpretation dieser kombiniert mit dem aktuellen Forschungsstand im Hinblick auf die Forschungsfragen.

8.7.1 Auswertung Kategorie 1.1 (Politikverständnis)

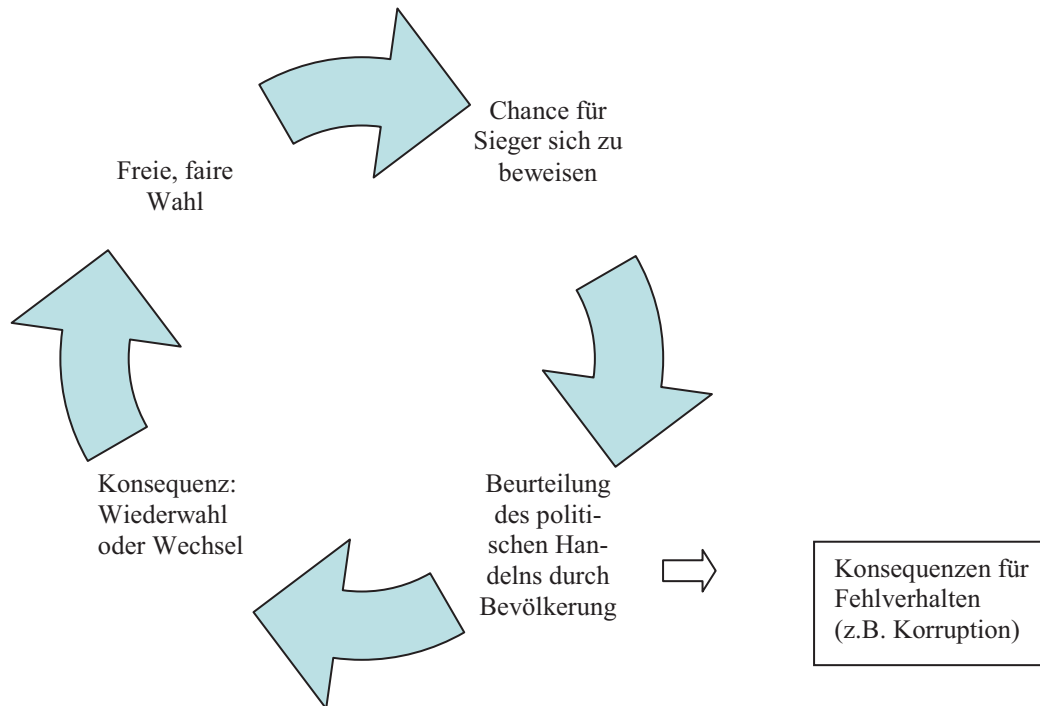
Insgesamt werden von den Befragten vergleichsweise wenig Aussagen getroffen, die direkt auf ein bestimmtes Politikverständnis schließen lassen. Jene Tendenzen, die sich abzeichnen, beziehen sich auf das Rollenverständnis von PolitikerInnen, Parteien und Politik allgemein.

Die Rolle der Parteien wird als *Watchdog-Function* umschrieben. Es geht um die Kontrolle der Umsetzung von Programmen durch die Regierung. Als eine der zentralen Aufgaben von Politik allgemein wird die politische Bildung der Bevölkerung genannt. Außerdem werden die Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen für die Jugend, Landwirtschaft, Infrastruktur, Erhöhung der Nachfrage und Entwicklung auf Gemeindeebene als Arbeitsbereiche der Politik umschrieben. Auf abstrakter Ebene geht es darum, dass PolitikerInnen der Bevölkerung dienen sollen und diese nicht vergessen dürfen, wenn sie erst wichtige politische Ämter innehaben. Dieses Problem wird von den Befragten aber empfunden.

Insgesamt wird als politische Orientierung nur die liberale wörtlich von den InterviewpartnerInnen genannt. Mit dieser Form von Politik verbinden die Befragten Demokratie, freie Marktwirtschaft, Menschenrechte, freie und faire Wahlen, Religionsfreiheit, Massenpartizipation bei Entscheidungen und Rule of Law. Es wird von einem Interviewpartner betont, dass wirtschaftliche Entwicklung vor politischer Entwicklung stattfinden soll. Während sich eine Person deutlich vom Kommunismus abgrenzt, gibt es immerhin zwei Befragte, die Prinzipien des Einparteienstaats und *Ujamaa* positiv hervorheben.

Politischer Stabilität wird eine wichtige Rolle zugeschrieben, weil sonst keine Entwicklung stattfinden kann. Die Aussagen diesbezüglich lassen sich zu einem Zyklus zusammenfassen:

Abb. 34: Politischer Zyklus Interviews



Quelle: Eigene Darstellung

Die Befragten sagen, dass dies der ideale politische Kreislauf sei, und dabei alle Beteiligten nur gewinnen könnten, weil durch die Einhaltung des Kreislaufs jeder die gleichen Chancen habe. Die Bedeutung der Gleichheit der Rechte für alle Menschen, die auch explizit genannt wird, wird hier also auch indirekt angesprochen. Dieser Zyklus wird von den befragten jungen PolitikerInnen jedoch eher als Zukunftsvision gesehen. Derzeit wird Politik eher als Spiel empfunden, in dem es mehr um Reden als Handeln gehe und oberstes Ziel Macht und nicht die eigentliche Funktion von PolitikerInnen, nämlich das Dienen der Bevölkerung, sei. Das Image von Politik/PolitikerInnen wird als beschädigt empfunden. Darum streben nahezu alle Befragten einen Wandel des politischen Systems an, wobei die Abschaffung von Korruption für alle zentral scheint. Mehrfach wird Korruption als *Krebsgeschwür* bezeichnet.

8.7.2 Auswertung Kategorie 1.2 (Zusammenhang Politik und Lebensalltag)

Grundsätzlich werden negative, wie auch positive Zusammenhänge zwischen Politik und Alltag genannt. Ganz allgemein wird von der Mehrzahl der Befragten angeführt, dass Politik jedenfalls Einfluss auf das Leben der Bevölkerung nimmt. Das Treffen von Entscheidungen auf verschiedensten Ebenen wird dabei am häufigsten als Weg der Einflussnahme genannt. „*Everything is decided politically*“ (Interview 2: #00:15:39-2#) ist eine Aussage, deren inhaltliche Bedeutung bei sieben befragten PolitikerInnen direkt ausgesprochen wird.

Medien haben zur Verbesserung der politischen Bildung und damit der politischen Kompetenz der Bevölkerung beigetragen. Dies wird auch historisch begründet, weil die Verbreitung und Freiheit von Medien seit *Ujamaa* stetig zugenommen hat. Eine klare Unterscheidung wird von den befragten PolitikerInnen hierbei aber zwischen der ländlichen und städtischen Bevölkerung gemacht. In ländlichen Regionen wird die geringere politische Bildung, die auch durch den Mangel an Informationsvermittlung über die Medien weiter gefestigt wird, ausgenutzt. PolitikerInnen versuchen die Armut und Unwissenheit der Bevölkerung auszunutzen, um ihre Macht zu sichern. Dies geschieht vor allem durch Korruption im Wahlkampf, die bei der armen Bevölkerung, die außerdem über wenig politische Bildung verfügt, effektiv eingesetzt werden kann. Während des Wahlkampfes kommt es außerdem oft zu Einschüchterung der WählerInnen bezüglich ihrer Stimmabgabe, so einige InterviewpartnerInnen.

Mehrfach wird von den befragten PolitikerInnen erwähnt, dass die Bereicherung einzelner PolitikerInnen am Nationalvermögen positive Effekte von Politik auf den Alltag der Menschen verhindert, und die Schere zwischen der Bevölkerung und den politischen Eliten weiter wächst. Dabei spielt auch Korruption scheinbar eine große Rolle, denn die Mehrzahl der Befragten betonen, wie unmöglich Entwicklung für die Bevölkerung sei, solange es Korruption gäbe. Die Verbreitung von Korruption durch alle Schichten hängt, so die Befragten, auch damit zusammen, dass PolitikerInnen als Vorbilder dienen und Bürger aus deren Korruption die Rechtfertigung für ihre Korruption ziehen. Auch bestehende Anti-Korruptionsmaßnahmen werden, wenn von den InterviewpartnerInnen erwähnt, durchwegs negativ beurteilt, weil sie nur bei den ‚kleinen Leuten‘ suchen und die *Big Men* außen vor lassen. Durch die beschriebene Situation ist die Bevölkerung zunehmend frustriert, eine befragte Person erklärt damit auch die geringe Wahlbeteiligung der Bevölkerung.

Es werden auch zahlreiche Beispiele dafür gebracht, wie die konkrete, persönliche, politische Arbeit das Leben der Bevölkerung verbessert und es wird betont, dass politische Bildung der Bevölkerung als Lösung der Probleme, die sich im Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag ergeben, gesehen wird. Maßnahmen hierzu werden vermehrt gesetzt und zeigen, laut der befragten Personen, erste Erfolge. Die Folge ist, dass sich die Bevölkerung zunehmend gegen Ausbeutung und Betrug wehrt. Ein/e PolitikerIn sagt außerdem, dass die Bevölkerung manchmal zu Veränderungen gezwungen werden muss, um das Land in der Entwicklung weiterzubringen (z.B. Kinder in die Schule schicken).

Drei befragte Personen leiten aus der eigenen Erfahrung einen persönlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag ab. Zwei Personen argumentieren, dass sich ihr eigener Horizont dank der politischen Arbeit erweitert hat. Interessanterweise betont ein/e befragte/r PolitikerIn der Regierungspartei die positiven Effekte als PolitikerIn in der Öffentlichkeit wahrgenommen zu werden, während zwei PolitikerInnen der Opposition betonen, dass es durchaus negative Effekte auf das Leben haben kann, politisch zu arbeiten (für Beispiele siehe Kapitel 8.7.9).

Für die Allgemeinheit sehen die befragten Personen auch die Möglichkeit, dass diese sich erhofft, durch die Politik an Arbeitsplätze zu kommen; also ganz konkret eine Hilfestellung für das eigene Leben zu erhalten. Andere hingegen sehen dies genau gegenteilig, da sie der Meinung sind, persönlicher Erfolg kann nur selbst gemacht werden und Aktivismus in anderen Lebensbereichen kann hierfür wesentlich förderlicher sein.

8.7.3 Auswertung Kategorie 2.1 (Definition Demokratie)

Demokratie bedeutet für die befragten PolitikerInnen in erster Linie Freiheit im Rahmen der gesetzlichen Regelungen, denn ohne Regeln würden zu leicht die Rechte anderer Menschen verletzt werden. Was unter Freiheit verstanden wird bleibt dabei bei fünf der befragten Personen offen. Konkret genannt werden aber von drei Personen Redefreiheit (2x), Versammlungsfreiheit (1x), Religionsfreiheit (1x) und Meinungsfreiheit (2x). Das Prinzip der Volkssouveränität wird zweimal direkt formuliert.

Wichtig sind auch der faire und respektvolle Umgang der Menschen miteinander und die Gleichberechtigung der Menschen, ohne die Ausgrenzung marginalisierter Gruppen. Zweimal wird konkret das Wort Menschenrechte benutzt.

Die elektorale Ebene wird von fünf Personen direkt angesprochen, indem Demokratie mit folgenden Voraussetzungen assoziiert wird: 1. Entscheidung der Mehrheit, 2. Massenpartizipation, 3. freie und faire Wahlen, 4. Wille der Bevölkerung setzt sich durch, 5. Bindung an Wahlen, 6. Nichtbeeinflussung der WählerInnen und 6. Wünsche der Bevölkerung werden von Regierung berücksichtigt. Dies ist für die befragten PolitikerInnen damit ebenfalls ein wichtiger Bereich von Demokratie.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen Demokratie und Entwicklung wird ebenfalls bei der Definition von Demokratie betont. Hierbei geht es vor allem darum, dass die Prinzipien von Demokratie (z.B. Meinungsfreiheit) von der Bevölkerung so eingesetzt werden sollen, dass das Land sich weiterentwickeln kann und Demokratie so der Motor für Entwicklung ist: „[D]emocracy is the freedom of using your brain to bring change to your society“. (Interview 2: #00:30:36-5#)

8.7.4 Auswertung Kategorie 2.2 (Skala Demokratie)

- Moderner Staat

Die Bedeutung von Demokratie für einen modernen Staat wird insgesamt als hoch eingeschätzt. Die Mehrheit der Personen, denen diese Frage gestellt wurde, gibt den Höchstwert zehn an. Alle geben zumindest mehr als fünf an, was belegt, dass Demokratie als wichtig erachtet wird.

- Tanzania

Die aktuelle Situation von Demokratie in Tanzania stellt sich konträr zu der allgemein empfundenen Bedeutung von Demokratie dar. Keine der befragten Personen gibt den Höchstwert 10 an. Fast alle geben einen Wert unter fünf an. Ausnahme davon sind zwei PolitikerInnen der Regierungspartei, die die Werte sechs und acht angeben.

Begründet wird die schlechte Bewertung des eigenen Landes auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise. Zusammenfassend sind es mehrheitlich Argumente, die auf Einschränkung und Missbrauch von Demokratie durch die regierende Partei abzielen (*tricky democracy*). Damit lassen sich mutmaßlich auch die höheren Werte der zwei PolitikerInnen der Regierungspartei erklären, die vermutlich der eigenen Partei nicht schaden wollen. Es werden jedoch nicht nur Argumentationen angeführt, warum die Bewertung eingeschränkt ist, sondern auch warum man zumindest einige Punkte gibt. Positiv wird hervorgehoben, dass Frieden herrscht und die Opposition stärker wird.

Interessant ist noch, dass bei einem/r der auf Zanzibar ansässigen PolitikerInnen deutlich zwischen dem Demokratiegrad der Insel und des Festlands unterschieden wird. Von dieser Person wird die Demokratie auf Zanzibar mit zehn bewertet und die des Festlands mit eins. Begründet wird dies mit dem friedlicheren Ablauf der Wahlen auf Zanzibar.

- Zukunft Tanzania

Interessanterweise wird die Zukunft der Demokratie in Tanzania durchwegs sehr positiv bewertet. Alle geben diese mit zehn an, weil sie davon überzeugt sind, dass ihr Land echte Demokratie erreichen kann. Voraussetzungen dafür sind für die befragten PolitikerInnen politischer Wille, eine anhaltende Verbesserung der Freiheit und Fairness von Wahlen, zunehmende politische Bildung der Bevölkerung und ein erfolgreicher Kampf gegen Missbrauch. Der Jugend wird ebenfalls eine wegbereitende Funktion hin zu demokratischem Wandel zugesprochen.

8.7.5 Auswertung Kategorie 3 (Familiärer Hintergrund)

In drei der elf ausgewerteten Interviews geben die Befragten an, dass ihre Eltern den Beruf der PolitikerIn ausgeübt haben.

In zwei dieser Fälle ist dies auch die Motivation für das eigene politische Engagement in der jeweiligen Partei. Die dritte Person hingegen engagiert sich in einer anderen Partei als es die Tradition der Familie war, was zunächst zu einem Konflikt mit der Familie geführt hatte.

Auch wenn die Mehrheit der Befragten keinen direkten familiären Hintergrund in der Politik hat, gibt nur eine Person an, aus einer Familie zu kommen, die kein Interesse an Politik hat. Bei neun Personen kann auf Grund der Aussagen angenommen werden, dass sie aus politisch interessierten Familien kommen.

Hervorstechend ist, dass die Mehrzahl der InterviewpartnerInnen von der eigenen Familie in der politischen Arbeit unterstützt wird. Auch jene drei Personen, die eine andere Partei wählen als die ihrer Eltern, haben diese entweder von der anderen Partei überzeugen können und ihren Parteiwechsel erreicht oder werden zumindest von der Familie trotz unterschiedlicher Parteizugehörigkeit unterstützt.

8.7.6 Auswertung Kategorie 4 (Motivation für Engagement)

Es werden von den befragten PolitikerInnen sowohl persönliche als auch allgemein angenommene Motive für politisches Engagement genannt.

Der Wandel vom Einparteienstaat zum Mehrparteiensystem ist in den 1990er Jahren grundsätzlich Motivator für jugendliches politisches Engagement gewesen, das an den Schulen Einzug hielt. *Wandel des politischen Systems* ist dabei nach wie vor zentrales Motiv des Engagements und wird von allen Befragten direkt oder indirekt genannt. Die aktuelle Situation des Landes wird als problematisch empfunden und eine Veränderung der politischen Struktur als potentielle Verbesserung dieser gesehen. PolitikerInnen der Oppositionsparteien argumentieren, dass dieser Wandel nur durch die Opposition geschehen kann, die eine andere Politik verfolgt als die Regierungspartei und damit mehr positive Entwicklung bringen wird. Die Annahme, dass Wandel nur durch die Opposition geschehen kann, ist nach Aussage der Befragten teilweise auch durch die Perspektivenlosigkeit der Jugendlichen zu erklären, die unter hoher Arbeitslosigkeit leiden.

Als weiterer zentraler Motor für das Engagement wird der Wille genannt, die Lebenssituation der Bevölkerung zu verbessern (Entwicklung bringen) und ihr zu dienen.

Alle befragten Personen waren schon während der Schulzeit bzw. auf der Universität politisch engagiert und einige wurden daraufhin von Kollegen zu weiterem Engagement motiviert, verspürten aus sich heraus das Verlangen aktiv Politik zu machen oder sahen eigenen Erfolg und strebten dann nach einer Parteikarriere. Die Hoffnung auf persönliche Karrierechancen lässt sich bei einigen Befragten deutlich heraushören – auch wenn insgesamt implizit und explizit betont wird, dass man dem Volk dienen will und eben keine persönlichen Motive verfolgt. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass diese Aussagen zu gewissen Teilen einer empfundenen sozialen Erwünschtheit geschuldet sind, da persönlicher Erfolg als Motiv für politisches Engagement von allen auf allgemeiner Ebene abgelehnt wird und sie betonen, dass dieses Phänomen zwar existiere, aber nicht auf ihre eigene Person zuträfe.

Generell sehen die befragten Personen die zwei Pole der Motivation für politisches Engagement. Einerseits gibt es jene jungen Menschen, die den oben genannten Wandel anstreben und dem Land/den Menschen dienen wollen. Zu dieser Gruppe zählen sich alle der befragten PolitikerInnen. Andererseits gibt es, ihrer Aussage nach, aber auch die Gruppe jener jungen Poli-

tikerInnen, die wesentlich weniger selbstlose Ziele verfolgt. Sie erhoffen sich durch die Arbeit in der Politik sozialen Aufstieg, Geld, Prestige und einen guten Job⁷⁵.

„We have our colleague in the ruling party and he told us ‘((verächtlicher Laut)) You are opposition party. You did not get anything from the opposition party because I have a luxurious car, I have a lot of money in the bag, I have- ((Lachen))’. When somebody tells you ‘I have that things and that things’, it gives you a feeling like ‘I’m here ((weinerlich gesprochen)). I’ve nothing’, but I’m here for freedom that’s the fight.“ (Interview 4: #00:51:26#)

Nur zwei der befragten Personen geben offen an, dass sowohl eine persönliche Karriere als auch das Dienen der Bevölkerung Motive seien, die nicht als unvereinbar empfunden würden. Der Einfluss von Führungspersönlichkeiten als Motiv ist nur marginal wahrnehmbar (1x genannt). Mehr wird der persönliche Wille als nötig empfunden, um in der Politik bestehen zu können. In Extremfällen wird das eigene Leben als unwichtig empfunden, weil der Wille zu Veränderung so groß ist, dass das eigene Leben bewusst geopfert wird:

„What I can say according to us, the young politicians, is most of the young politicians in this country they sacrifice their life to make this life to become a good life one day.“ (Interview 12 #00:26:07-5#)

„I don’t fear my whole life because I already sacrifice my life to die because I want to tell the truth.“ (Interview 12: #00:40:04-4#)

Diese extreme Sichtweise stellt allerdings eine Ausnahme dar.

Bei der Frage nach der Motivation der eigenen Partei beizutreten, wird mehrheitlich das Parteiprogramm bzw. die Parteistrategie und ihre Ziele genannt. Die genauen Inhalte bleiben allerdings oft sehr allgemein und werden nur selektiv als Beispiele gebracht. Einzig in der Regierungspartei ist das Gefühl von mehr Wirkung der Arbeit durch die Stärke der Partei als Motiv aufgetreten. In den Oppositionsparteien hingegen ist das Argument des ‚Opposition-Seins‘ für viele zumindest mit ausschlaggebend. An dieser Stelle sei auch daran erinnert, dass in Tanzania keine unabhängigen KandidatInnen bei Wahlen zugelassen sind.

⁷⁵ Hier spiegeln sich die in Kapitel 4.1 vorgestellten Motivationsgrundlagen auch empirisch wider.

8.7.7 Auswertung Kategorie 5.1 (Attribute junge PolitikerInnen)

Ein zentrales Attribut, das jungen PolitikerInnen zugesprochen wird, ist der Wille zum Wandel. Dies wird explizit von fünf befragten Personen gesagt. Eine weitere Eigenschaft, die von allen Personen angeführt wurde und deshalb hohe Relevanz besitzt, ist jene, die hier mit dem Begriff *Macher* umschrieben wird. Es handelt sich hierbei um die Einschätzung, dass junge PolitikerInnen in besonderer Weise aktiv und mit viel Energie konkrete Ziele verfolgen und dabei Entscheidungswille und Durchsetzungsvermögen besitzen. Dies wird oft in Verbindung mit ihrem jungen Alter und der damit einhergehenden mentalen, geistigen und körperlichen Fitness gebracht. Dadurch sind sie anpassungsfähig und flexibel und gut im Erstellen von Strategien. Einen wesentlichen Beitrag hierzu leistet auch die Tatsache, dass sie gut im Umgang mit Online Social Networks, Internet und anderen neuen Kommunikationskanälen sind, denn diese Kompetenz ermöglicht es ihnen sich in einer globalen Welt zurechtzufinden und Wandel für das Land zu bringen. Dies wird dadurch unterstützt, dass viele von ihnen gute Bildung erfahren haben und von höheren Schulen kommen, was sich auch in den soziodemografischen Daten der Befragten widerspiegelt. In der Schule haben sie auch viel über die Geschichte des Landes gelernt, was von zwei Befragten als wichtig erachtet wird.

Mehrfach betont wird auch die Solidarität unter den jungen PolitikerInnen und ihr guter Kontakt zu anderen Jugendlichen (*Peer to Peer-Funktion* in einer Peergroup). Sie gelten als gute Kommunikatoren und Sozialisationsinstanzen, die einen großen Einfluss auf die Gesellschaft haben, weil sie selbst dieser entstammen und den Kontakt zu den Menschen ihrer Gemeinden (*Grassroot*) halten.

Drei Befragte führen auch Ehrgeiz und Karrierebewusstsein als Attribute an. Junge PolitikerInnen gehen gelegentlich aber auch zu weit, wenn sie Gewalt als legitimes politisches Instrument ansehen, so eine Person. Außerdem wird die Gefahr formuliert, dass sich auch engagierte junge PolitikerInnen in negativer Weise entwickeln können, wenn sie erst eine gewisse Position erreicht haben:

„Because currently you find some politicians entered as young politicians, entered with that spirit of change to speed up development but when they enter then, they find the seatbacks. Not ‘We are the young ones and everything should go quickly’, no ‘slow down, slow down, slow down’.“ (Interview 7: #00:36:51-2#)

Dies sind die kritischen Töne, die im Zusammenhang mit den Eigenschaften junger PolitikerInnen genannt werden. Insgesamt überwiegen aber die positiven Attribute.

8.7.8 Auswertung Kategorie 5.2 (Attribute älterer PolitikerInnen)

Älteren PolitikerInnen werden weitaus weniger positive Attribute zugesprochen als den jungen PolitikerInnen. Das hängt wahrscheinlich mit der Altersstruktur der InterviewpartnerInnen zusammen, die selber zu den jungen PolitikerInnen gehören und in einem teilweise schwierigen Verhältnis zur älteren Generation der PolitikerInnen stehen (siehe Auswertung Kategorie 7). Wiederholt aufgetreten ist das Attribut der politischen Erfahrung, das es den älteren PolitikerInnen ermöglicht hat, die Regeln der Politik mitzubestimmen und politische Fähigkeiten zu entwickeln. Sie haben deshalb aber auch Angst um die Zukunft, in der sie nicht mehr aktiv in der Politik sein werden:

„Every elders are worrying in future of political parties because they know most of them they are not negligible, they are only working for politics.“ (Interview 3: #00:41:57#)

Mit dieser Besorgnis wird auch erklärt, warum ältere PolitikerInnen vorurteilsbehaftet gegenüber allem Neuen sind und Veränderungen scheuen. Sie werden außerdem als langsam beschrieben:

„You know, elders, most of them are slowly. Once you decide something they want first to sit at the table and discuss it.“ (Interview 2: #00:47:28-4#)

Nur eine Minderheit wird als flexibel und modern angesehen. Das Alter wird trotz der Kritik auch als Kapital der älteren PolitikerInnen gesehen: Durch die längere Lebensdauer haben sie mehr Zeit gehabt, Ressourcen und Besitztümer zu akkumulieren, und sie haben einen guten Zugang zu dem älteren Teil der Bevölkerung.

8.7.9 Auswertung Kategorie 6 (Chancen / Grenzen der Partizipation)

Es werden sowohl Chancen als auch Grenzen politischer Partizipation formuliert, wobei die Grenzen überwiegen.

Als Chance für den Grad politischer Partizipation wird von den InterviewpartnerInnen vermehrt angeführt, dass junge PolitikerInnen zunehmend als Teil der politischen Arena anerkannt und respektiert werden. Einige junge PolitikerInnen sind sogar EntscheidungsträgerInnen und/oder können an wichtigen Besprechungen teilnehmen. Das erhöht die Chancen für echte politische Partizipation. Dies kann, so ein/e InterviewpartnerIn, damit zusammenhängen, dass sich die Parteien zunehmend in Richtung Jugend transformieren wollen, weil diese Bevölkerungsgruppe durch ihre Größe an politischer Bedeutung gewinnt.

Auch die Rolle der neuen Kommunikationskanäle, wie *Twitter* oder *Facebook*, wird erwähnt, da diese dazu beitragen, dass sich die jungen PolitikerInnen besser koordinieren können und selbstständiger werden. Insgesamt betonen die befragten PolitikerInnen, dass sich das politische Klima für (kritische) Beiträge von Seiten junger PolitikerInnen etwas verbessert hat. Das Beispiel einer Anti-Korruption-Kampagne, die von jungen PolitikerInnen in der Regierungspartei initiiert wurde, wird von einer Person als Beispiel angeführt. Außerdem wird die Erwünschtheit eines offenen kritischen Umgangs in den Oppositionsparteien genannt, der von den befragten Personen als Chance wahrgenommen wird. Das erhöht, nach Meinung der befragten Personen, auch die Chancen für politische Partizipation. Dass sich diese Chancen weiter erhöhen desto länger man in der Politik aktiv ist, wird auch angemerkt.

Die Rolle von persönlichen Beziehungen in der Politik wird mehrfach betont. Dabei wird dies einerseits als Chance gesehen, weil man über Kontakte, durch die man wegen guter Arbeit gefördert wird, bessere Chancen zur Partizipation hat. Andererseits und überwiegend wird dies aber als Grenze der Partizipation für all jene gesehen, die eben nicht über diese hilfreichen persönlichen oder familiären Beziehungen verfügen.

Auch die anfangs erwähnte zunehmende Anerkennung junger PolitikerInnen muss eingeschränkt werden, wenn man die Aussagen der InterviewpartnerInnen zu den Grenzen der Partizipation einbezieht. So fühlt sich die Mehrheit der befragten Personen in der freien Meinungsäußerung zu Politik beeinträchtigt – teilweise auch innerhalb der eigenen Partei. Dies betrifft zwar nicht nur die jungen Menschen, aber da sie mehrheitlich besonders kritisch an die politische Praxis herantreten, wird ihrer Partizipation damit eine klare Grenze gesetzt. Ihr oft kritisches Engagement wird kontrolliert und oft unterbunden oder sanktioniert:

„They are seeing policies, they ban it. I got a meeting, they ban it, everything they ban, and they want everything you do (,) to ask them for permission. [...] If you ask for permission, they ban it. The reason for banning they say that according to our intelligence we find that there are some crimes going to happen there. ((verächtlicher Laut)) Which kind of crimes? ((verächtlicher Laut, Auflachen)) Interviewerin: So, it's just to find any reason to stop you. [...] Befragte/r: Yeah, to stop you and obvious they say that it is the national security. National security, always they come with that reason that the rally you are going to do is against the national security. So, they won't allow it. ((kurzes verächtliches Lachen))“ (Interview 2: #00:45:15-0#)

Dieses Unterbinden findet nach Aussage der Befragten nicht immer offen statt. Mechanismen wie Einschüchterung werden ebenfalls eingesetzt, um junge Menschen aus der Politik zu

drängen. Auf die Geschichte von Amina Chifupa angesprochen, wird erklärt, dass ihre negativen Erfahrungen viele junge Menschen entmutigt haben in die Politik zu gehen. Außerdem helfen sich die herrschenden Eliten gegenseitig dabei ihre Macht zu konservieren, was beispielsweise durch Wahlbetrug erreicht wird. Dabei werden potentiell junge PolitikerInnen künstlich von ihrem politischen Aufstieg abgehalten.

Als bedeutende Grenze wird auch gesehen, dass die meisten ArbeitgeberInnen nicht möchten, dass ihre Angestellten politisch aktiv sind. Das begrenzt ehrenamtliches Engagement und drängt viele junge Menschen aus der Politik, die auf einen Arbeitsplatz angewiesen sind, um ihr Leben zu bestreiten. Dieses Argument wird immerhin von vier InterviewpartnerInnen angeführt. Frauen haben es nach Aussage einer befragten Person insgesamt schwerer, weil sie auch sexuellen Korruptionsversuchen ausgesetzt sind.

Die Bestechung von jungen PolitikerInnen durch die Eliten wird ebenfalls von einigen Befragten als potentielle Begrenzung der Partizipation identifiziert. Junge Menschen haben oft wenig Besitz und sind daher häufig Ziel von Bestechungsversuchen, denen nicht alle widerstehen. Die Tatsache, dass junge PolitikerInnen oft über wenig persönliche materielle Ressourcen verfügen, begrenzt sie aber auch in ihrer politischen Partizipation in Wahlkämpfen, wo sie ohne Ressourcen von UnterstützerInnen abhängig sind, um Erfolg zu haben:

„Interviewerin: Okay, especially when you are a young one you need someone that supports you, if you have no one that supports you at the time. Befragte/r: Yeah, because now the problem is funding during elections. The ones who have can do much more than the ones who don't have. I had one friend of mine who completed university last year and imagined to be MP in some area. So, he has the potential (?) but eventually he commented that 'if I could have money, I believe I could have won the post'.“
(Interview 7: #00:49:00-1#)

Die Gruppe der jungen PolitikerInnen darf letztendlich aber nicht als vollends harmonisch und homogen gesehen werden, denn es wird von zumindest drei Person auch angemerkt, dass auch der Konkurrenzkampf innerhalb der Gruppe der jungen PolitikerInnen zunimmt und dies die Chancen auf Partizipation verringern kann.

Das geringere Alter an sich wird von zwei Befragten auch als Begrenzung des Grads der Partizipation angesehen, weil junge Menschen einfach noch Training brauchen und Erfahrung sammeln müssen, um in der politischen Arena bestehen zu können, wo man viel persönliche Stärke braucht.

8.7.10 Auswertung Kategorie 7 (Generationenverhältnis)

Das Verhältnis zwischen der jüngeren und der älteren PolitikerInnengeneration ist zwiespältig. Einerseits können junge PolitikerInnen von älteren abhängig sein, wenn diese ihnen politische Ämter verschaffen und sie bei ihrer Arbeit finanziell unterstützen, weil sie mehr Ressourcen haben. Andererseits sind zunehmend auch die älteren PolitikerInnen von den jüngeren abhängig, weil diese wachsenden Einfluss auf die Bevölkerung haben.

„And I'm encouraging the youth to go and take the elders posts.“ (Interview 8: #00:51:47-8#)

Dieser Wandel im Generationenverhältnis macht den älteren PolitikerInnen nach Aussage aller befragten Personen Angst. Es handelt sich um eine grundsätzliche Angst vor Wandel und vor Machtverlust, auch weil sie nicht wissen, was nach ihrer politischen Karriere kommt. Auf Grund dieser Ängste versuchen die älteren PolitikerInnen die jüngeren klein zu halten, indem sie beispielsweise behaupten, dass sie für Politik zu jung seien und erst noch Training bräuchten und Erfahrungen sammeln müssten, so drei der Befragten.

Dass junge PolitikerInnen aber mutiger werden und zunehmend mit ihrer kritischen Herangehensweise an Politik Gehör finden, wird zum Problem für die Älteren, weil diese selbstständig ihr Können demonstrieren und sich zu selbstständigen Autoritäten entwickeln könnten. Darum versuchen die älteren PolitikerInnen jüngere PolitikerInnen zunehmend im eigenen Sinne in die politische Arbeit einzubeziehen. Zwei Personen betonen, dass die meisten Jugendlichen grundsätzlich den Regeln der Partei folgen und darauf hören, was die AnführerInnen ihnen sagen. Dies hängt mit der Einbeziehung durch die Älteren zusammen, weil sie dadurch weniger kritisch sind und eher akzeptieren, was die Älteren sagen, denn sie fühlen sich ihnen gegenüber zu Loyalität verpflichtet. So gelingt es den Parteien die jungen PolitikerInnen mehrheitlich zu kontrollieren, wenngleich diese immer kritischer werden.

Gleichzeitig merken vier Personen an, dass die älteren Politiker aktiv versuchen die jungen PolitikerInnen auszunutzen und zu bestechen, um beispielsweise an Wählerstimmen zu kommen. Dabei kommt den älteren zugute, dass sie mehr Ressourcen haben, mit denen sie Einfluss erkaufen können, während die jüngeren PolitikerInnen meist nur über wenig finanzielle Ressourcen verfügen. Lässt man sich nicht auf diese Form der Kooperation ein, so eine befragte Person, dann gibt es eine Schmutzkampagne gegen die jeweilige Person. Im Wahlkampf setzen ältere PolitikerInnen die finanziellen Ressourcen auch für Korruption ein, demgegenüber stehen junge PolitikerInnen, die versuchen mit Worten zu überzeugen, so

eine/r der InterviewpartnerInnen. Allerdings merkt eine befragte Person auch an, dass es zwar mehrheitlich ältere PolitikerInnen seien, die Korruption betriebe, aber es selbstverständlich auch junge PolitikerInnen gäbe, die korrupt seien. Genauso wird auch erwähnt, dass es ebenfalls Ausnutzung von älteren PolitikerInnen durch junge gäbe, wenn diese nämlich an politischen Positionen interessiert seien.

Die Frage nach der Qualität der Arbeit im Vergleich der Generationen wird von den Befragten deutlich beantwortet. Während sich gerade die Älteren vorrangig selbst bereichern und wenig Interesse am Wohle der Bevölkerung haben und in dem vergleichsweise kurzen restlichen Leben gut leben können, haben die jungen PolitikerInnen noch ein langes Leben vor sich und müssen daher mehr darauf achten, dass sie im Sinne der Bevölkerung und des Landes handeln. Schließlich soll es die Generation ihrer Kinder gut haben und sie persönlich möchten noch viele Male wiedergewählt werden, so einige der InterviewpartnerInnen. Eine Person betont, dass die ältere Generation außerdem den Bezug zur Bevölkerung schon verloren habe, während die jüngere diesen noch habe und näher am Geschehen seien, was sich positiv auf ihre Arbeit auswirke.

Außerdem werden junge KandidatInnen gerade im Wahlkampf oft auf Grund ihres Alters stigmatisiert. Die älteren Menschen trauen jüngeren oft nicht zu, dass sie gute politische Arbeit leisten können. Die jüngeren PolitikerInnen haben dabei keinen guten Zugang zu den älteren WählerInnen. Diese Ablehnung gilt allerdings auch in die entgegengesetzte Richtung. Der Zugang zu jungen WählerInnen ist für junge PolitikerInnen einfacher als für ältere PolitikerInnen. Diese Problematik zeigt sich deutlich in den Interviews: *„For me as a young person doing the contest of election it is easy to meet my fellow young people in campaigning. It is easier compared to elders. Elders always don't understand me.“* (Interview 5: #00:20:05#)

Auf der Ebene der Attribute werden junge PolitikerInnen von den Befragten als fähiger dargestellt, als die älteren PolitikerInnen. Sie treffen schneller Entscheidungen, haben mehr Energie, sind denkfähiger und den Älteren intellektuell überlegen, können besser mit Komplexität umgehen und handeln schneller, während die älteren PolitikerInnen in alten Politikformen feststecken und so keine positive Entwicklung bringen.

Eine Unterscheidung wird zwischen den Generationen von einer Person auch bei der Parteizugehörigkeit gemacht. Der Regierungspartei CCM werden eher die älteren PolitikerInnen zugeordnet, während die jüngeren sich in den Oppositionsparteien befinden.

Interessant ist, dass einige der befragten Personen sich selbst – trotz aller Kritik am Generationenverhältnis und der wachsenden Schere zwischen den Generationen generell – ernstgenommen und respektiert fühlen von den älteren PolitikerInnen ihrer Partei und sich über Hilfestellungen von diesen freuen: „*Dr. Slaa is supporting me very much. He surely advised me ‘Look, do this, do this’.*“ (Interview 11: #00:30:17-1#) Das deutet darauf hin, dass die oft pauschal formulierte Kritik an älteren PolitikerInnen vor allem ein allgemein empfundenes Generationenverhältnis ausdrückt und nicht immer dem real empfundenen persönlichen Verhältnis entspricht.

Insgesamt wird das Generationenverhältnis eher als beschädigt und problembehaftet beschrieben. Die wachsende politische Macht der jungen PolitikerInnen vor dem Hintergrund patriarchaler Strukturen ist dabei zentral.

Lediglich zwei Personen – beide Mitglieder der Regierungspartei CCM – betonen, dass auch beide Generationen voneinander profitieren können. Eine Person beschreibt dies mit einem nötigen Mix von älteren und jüngeren PolitikerInnen, um gute Politik machen zu können, weil die Generationen sich in ihren Fähigkeiten zum Wohle der Nation ergänzen. Die andere Person argumentiert, dass die Älteren durch ihre Erfahrung wertvolle Tipps für die Gestaltung politischer Strategien für die Zukunft geben können und junge PolitikerInnen inspirieren. Dabei dürfen sie aber nur beratend tätig sein, Anweisungen bezüglich der Jugendarbeit muss nicht Folge geleistet werden, wenn man diese nicht für richtig hält.

Für die Zukunft wird argumentiert, dass man später anders mit der nachfolgenden Generation umgehen wolle, weil man wisse, dass es wichtig sei, die Jugend in politische Prozesse einzubeziehen. Es gibt also eine gute Prognose für das Generationenverhältnis in der Zukunft:

„Even if I will be the president maybe, the youth that will become politicians, I will support them, because I know where the changing is coming from. You can’t change the country when you are children or old.“ (Interview 12: #00:36:47-2#)

8.7.11 Auswertung Kategorie 8 (Weitere Themen)

Das am häufigsten zusätzlich angesprochene Thema ist das Verhältnis zwischen Opposition und Regierungspartei. Außerdem fällt auf, dass die politische Verbindung zum Festland-Tanzania bei den Interviews auf Zanzibar eine sehr dominante Rolle spielt, und zumindest zwei der drei befragten Frauen die Rolle der Frau in der Politik auch explizit thematisieren.

Da die zusätzlich angesprochenen Themen keinen Bezug zum Erkenntnisinteresse der vorliegenden Arbeit haben, werden sie in der Analyse nicht weiter berücksichtigt.

9. Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen

In diesem Kapitel nun kommt es zu der Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen, die in Kapitel 1.2.2 aus dem Erkenntnisinteresse abgeleitet werden. Zur Erinnerung: Das Erkenntnisinteresse der Diplomarbeit lässt sich auf drei Ebenen definieren:

1. Charakteristika von Politik und das Demokratieverständnis im afrikanischen Kontext.
2. Die Rolle, die junge PolitikerInnen in den gegebenen politischen Strukturen einnehmen und ihre Möglichkeiten/Grenzen der politischen Einflussnahme und Partizipation.
3. Das Generationenverhältnis zwischen jungen PolitikerInnen und den herrschenden Eliten und die Rolle eines potentiellen Generationenkonfliktes.

Alle drei Ebenen werden aus dem aktuellen Forschungsstand heraus und empirisch am Fallbeispiel Tanzania reflektiert, indem nun folgend die zugehörigen Forschungsfragen beantwortet werden. Dabei muss betont werden, dass die Ergebnisse der eigenen empirischen Untersuchung auf Grund der geringen Stichprobe selbstverständlich nicht repräsentativ sind. Da es sich um eine qualitative Forschung handelt, die Repräsentativität auch nicht zum Ziel hat⁷⁶, stellt dies grundsätzlich kein Problem dar. Gleichzeitig gilt es aber die verallgemeinerten Schlussfolgerungen vor dem Hintergrund, dass es sich um eine explorative Studie handelt, zu betrachten.

⁷⁶ Siehe Kapitel 7.1

9.1 Forschungsfrage 1.1

Was sind Charakteristika von Politik im afrikanischen Kontext und welchen Einfluss auf die politische Praxis nehmen diese?

„African leaders, they are under their one umbrella. I mean, I'm from Tanzania, this is from Kenya, this from Zimbabwe and we all know that if I have to win an election, I have to use some technic and I come to you, I bring my good, 'How can you help me to win the election?' and we meet all of us and discuss. For example first of all they have to make sure they use all their state organs: Police, army, even judge (1) by any means they have to support them so that they can win. So you think 'Where can you go?' If you go to court, the judge will disappoint you but you can't fight with the police and army.“ (Interview 3: #00:31:54#)

Die im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs über Politik in afrikanischen Ländern am häufigsten thematisierten und als wichtig erachteten Charakteristika von Politik werden in Kapitel 3.2 ausführlich dargestellt. Es handelt sich um das *Big Man Rule Prinzip*, *Neopatrimonialismus* bzw. *Patron-Client-Systeme*, *Korruption* und die *Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeit*. All diese Phänomene beschreiben Probleme, die einen großen Einfluss auf die politische Praxis eines Landes haben. Auch die InterviewpartnerInnen thematisieren diese Phänomene (bis auf die Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeit, die in Tanzania nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt) implizit und explizit, was ihre Gültigkeit unterstreicht.

Gerade in den Interviews wird aber auch deutlich, dass die positiven Entwicklungen, die in Kapitel 3.2 nur kurz angerissen werden, zumindest in Ländern wie Tanzania, nicht zu unterschätzen sind. Die InterviewpartnerInnen formulieren beispielsweise die zunehmende Freiheit der Medien oder die wachsende Bedeutung der Opposition als positive Entwicklungen der letzten Jahre:

„[T]he situation now is a cake compared to that time.“ (Interview 5: #00:02:56#)

„The environment is quite different [...] and the freedom of media is increasing day after day.“ (Interview 6: #00:53:36-4#)

Insgesamt überwiegen aber auch für die InterviewpartnerInnen die negativen Charakteristika von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern gegenüber den zaghaften positiven Entwicklungen, die sich in einigen Ländern wie Tanzania zunehmend abzeichnen. Damit ist auch der Einfluss, den diese Charakteristika auf die politische Praxis nehmen, ein vorrangig negativer, der sich darin äußert, dass Politik willkürlich und intransparent ist.

Die Charakteristika der Politik in Afrika haben zudem bisher eine erstaunliche Überlebensdauer bewiesen. Dies kann damit zusammenhängen, dass die AkteurInnen der politischen Systeme selbst nie gänzlich neu aufgestellt wurden und die Strukturen dementsprechend weitervererbt werden – auch wenn vereinzelt neue AkteurInnen die politische Arena betreten. Diese haben sich nämlich vermutlich schon auf dieses System der Gegenseitigkeiten eingelassen, um überhaupt an die jeweilige Position zu kommen. Das System selber schafft wiederum neue Unsicherheiten, welche Nährboden für *Patron-Client Systeme* und andere beschriebene Charakteristika sind. Um einen wirklichen Bruch mit den Charakteristika zu erreichen, muss es einen breiten Wechsel in der Elite geben – wie es beispielsweise bei einem Generationenwechsel der Fall sein kann, wenn die Mehrheit der neuen Generation gemeinschaftlich gegen die Probleme angeht.

Ein weiteres wichtiges Charakteristikum ist die geringe Verteilung der Macht, was dazu führt, dass besonders oppositionelle PolitikerInnen/Parteien oft weniger Chancen auf gleichberechtigte Behandlung haben. Durch die genannten problematischen Charakteristika ist es den MachthaberInnen leichter dieses Ungleichgewicht zu erhalten und ihre Vormachtstellung zu manifestieren. Durch diese Manifestation von ungleichen Machtverhältnissen sind die Chancen einer echten Demokratisierung stark eingeschränkt, weil die breite Verteilung von Macht als zentrale Voraussetzung von Demokratie gesehen wird (siehe Kapitel 3.3). Ein Effekt dieser Manifestation ist allerdings auch, dass der Unmut und damit der Widerstand in der Bevölkerung wachsen. Dies kann zur Stärkung der Opposition beitragen und so dabei helfen, die Monopolstellung der Mächtigen zu brechen. Tendenzen dieser Art zeichnen sich auch für das Fallbeispiel Tanzania ab.

Sollte es nun zu einem Machtwechsel in Tanzania kommen bzw. kommt es generell zu einem Machtwechsel in einem afrikanischen Land, bleibt immer abzuwarten, wie die neuen MachthaberInnen dann die politische Praxis gestalten. Denn wie in Kapitel 3.2.2 argumentiert wurde, stehen MachthaberInnen, die einen pro-demokratischen Politikwechsel anstreben, vor der schwierigen Aufgabe einerseits die eigene Macht sichern zu müssen und andererseits demokratische Strukturen zu etablieren. Diese Kombination von Reformwillen und Machterhalt ist im Kontext der schwachen Institutionalisierung neopatrimonialer Systeme nur sehr schwer vereinbar. Nur zu leicht rutschen die Beteiligten da in die gängigen Muster politischer Praxis zurück.

„So, if we don't have a stable government, if we don't have a stable democracy, we do not manage to have development in the country.“ (Interview 1: #00:33:07-2#)

Ein besonderes Charakteristikum, das in diesem Zitat angesprochen wird, ist auch die besondere Beziehung zwischen Politik und Entwicklung, die sowohl im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs Thema ist⁷⁷, als auch von den InterviewpartnerInnen angesprochen wird. Auf wissenschaftlicher Ebene gibt es keine Einigkeit darüber, ob Entwicklung Voraussetzung für Demokratie oder Folge demokratischer Entwicklung ist. Dass es grundsätzlich einen Zusammenhang gibt, darüber ist man sich aber einig. Die befragten PolitikerInnen sehen diesen Zusammenhang auch. Für sie gehen Politik und Entwicklung Hand in Hand. Dass Entwicklung Voraussetzung für Demokratie ist, wird nicht so gesehen. Vielmehr formulieren sie Entwicklung als Motivation für ihre politischen Bemühungen, was auch die Auswertung von Kategorie 4 gezeigt hat: *„I think for any politician there is a development issue.“* (Interview 5: #00:01:34#)

Sie sind mehrheitlich der Meinung, dass Entwicklung nur möglich ist, wenn die Politik stabil ist. Das heißt, für sie ist Entwicklung eher als die Folge von politischen Fortschritten, denn als Voraussetzung für diese zu sehen (siehe beispielsweise Interview 1 und 4).

Insgesamt sind die Charakteristika, die seit vielen Jahrzehnten die Politik in afrikanischen Ländern prägen, mehrheitlich negativer Form, auch wenn Ansätze positiver Entwicklung in den letzten Jahren zunehmend festgestellt werden können. Sie haben so auch einen überwiegend negativen Einfluss auf die politische Praxis, die willkürlich und intransparent bleibt. Zur Überwindung der negativen Charakteristika braucht es starke PolitikerInnen, die Reformwillen und Machterhalt durchsetzen können, ohne dabei in alte Muster zurückzufallen. Hilfreich ist dabei sicher eine breitere Machtverteilung auf allen Ebenen der Gesellschaft. Gelingt dies, ist auch Entwicklung als Folge von Politikveränderung wahrscheinlicher.

Als Hypothesen lassen sich aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 1.1 ableiten:

1. Wenn die Politik eines afrikanischen Landes von einem oder mehreren der negativen Charakteristika von Politik dominiert wird, dann bedeutet dies immer Willkür und Intransparenz der politischen Praxis.
2. Wenn die Politik eines afrikanischen Landes von einem oder mehreren der negativen Charakteristika von Politik dominiert wird, dann bedeutet dies immer die Eingrenzung von Partizipation der Bevölkerung und der politischen Opposition.

⁷⁷ siehe Kapitel 3.3

3. Je mehr die beschriebenen Charakteristika von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern in der politischen Praxis eines Landes verankert sind, desto schwieriger ist es einen pro-demokratischen Wandel durchzusetzen.
4. Je weiter die politische Entwicklung in Richtung Demokratie in einem afrikanischen Land fortgeschritten ist, desto wahrscheinlicher ist auch wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung.
5. Wenn Macht in einem Land möglichst breit verteilt ist, dann kommt es eher zu pro-demokratischen Entwicklungen, als wenn Macht zentriert ist.

9.2 Forschungsfrage 1.2

Welches Politikverständnis vertreten junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen und welche politischen Ideologien verbergen sich dahinter?

Im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs findet bisher kaum eine Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Frage statt. Deshalb wird diese Frage allein aus dem empirischen Teil der vorliegenden Arbeit beantwortet und kann daher maximal am Beispiel Tanzanias einen Input zu dieser Frage liefern. Bei der Abfrage der soziodemografischen Daten wurden die PolitikerInnen unter anderem nach ihrer politischen Orientierung gefragt. Es geben knapp 60% (sieben Personen) an liberal zu sein, 25% (drei Personen) bezeichnen sich selbst als sozialdemokratisch und jeweils eine Person bezeichnet sich als sozialistisch und als konservativ. In Anlehnung an die Ausführungen zu politischen Ideologien in Kapitel 2.3, in dem zwischen den drei großen Ideologien Sozialismus, Liberalismus und Konservatismus unterschieden wird, ergibt sich daraus als dominierende politische Ideologie der Liberalismus, gefolgt vom Sozialismus (3x Sozialdemokratie plus 1x Sozialismus), während der Konservatismus als Ideologie vernachlässigt werden kann. Damit könnte die Frage nach der politischen Ideologie als beantwortet gelten, wäre nicht bei der Untersuchung aufgefallen, dass die meisten befragten PolitikerInnen mit den einzelnen Begriffen politischer Ideologien kaum Inhalte verbinden. Alle Begriffe mussten in der überwiegenden Zahl der Interviews kurz erklärt werden.

Daher lohnt sich zusätzlich sicher ein Blick auf die Auswertung der Kategorie 1.1, weil hier das Politikverständnis erfasst wird, welches sich aus der Gesamtheit der Interviews ergibt – ohne dass explizit danach gefragt wurde. In den Interviews selbst bezeichnen sich zwei Personen selbst als liberal und zwei weitere Personen heben Eigenschaften des afrikanischen Sozialismus positiv hervor, dies sind die Stellen, wo eine politische Orientierung direkt abge-

leitet werden kann. Der politische Zyklus, der bei der Auswertung der Kategorie 1.1 aus den Aussagen der InterviewpartnerInnen als erstrebenswertes politisches System abgeleitet wurde, lässt ebenfalls auf ein eher liberales Verständnis schließen. Es wird hier das demokratische Prinzip der Volkssouveränität ausgedrückt und betont, dass der Staat dem Volk dienen muss. Außerdem werden mit Demokratie überwiegend liberale Freiheitsrechte assoziiert, was ebenfalls für den Liberalismus als politische Ideologie spricht⁷⁸.

Sozialistische Ideen, vor allem gemäßigte im Sinne der Sozialdemokratie, sind aber auch stark vertreten. So wird das Dienen des Staates eher auf die Gemeinschaft als auf Individuen bezogen, und sozialistische Grundprinzipien wie Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit in der Gemeinschaft werden in den Interviews oft betont. Ein Beispiel für die Koexistenz der liberalen und der sozialistischen Ideen ist die Annahme, dass die liberalen Freiheitsrechte (z.B. Meinungsfreiheit) von der Bevölkerung so eingesetzt werden sollen, dass die Gemeinschaft sich weiterentwickeln kann. Das nachfolgende Zitat verdeutlicht ebenfalls die Koexistenz zwischen liberalen und sozialistischen bzw. sozialdemokratischen Idealen:

„For me democracy is a state. First of all, it's a state where (2) I read the point, I will do my things (2) without breaking the law of my country and when I'm doing my things I should not meet in a kind of interference because the law allows me to do it (1) then something should not appear to block me. You see? And through my doings I should bring the positive change to my country. That's the democracy. So, also if no one blocks me to do my things but still I'm useless, still I don't bring any positive change, I'm useless and I'm not a democrat. Better to bring someone to monitor me because I've failed to use my brain, I failed to use my democracy. So, if I'm actually bringing change to my country and my country enjoys to have a person like me in the country, then I'm a democrat because democracy is the freedom of using your brain to bring change to your society.“ (Interview 2: #00:30:36-5#)

Der größte Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und dem Alltag der Menschen wird im Treffen von Entscheidungen, die den Alltag der Menschen bestimmen gesehen: *„Everything is decided politically“* (Interview 2: #00:15:39-2#). Dies unterstreicht, dass radikalere Formen des Sozialismus (Marxistische Ideen) nicht vertreten werden. Keine/r der InterviewpartnerInnen stellt die Funktion des Staates als Herrschaftsapparat in Frage.

Insgesamt dominiert also sowohl in der Auswertung der soziodemografischen Daten, als auch in der Auswertung des Politikverständnisses, welches in den Interviews vermittelt wird, eine Kombination aus Prinzipien liberaler und sozialistischer politischer Ideologie. Während die

⁷⁸ Siehe hierzu auch Forschungsfrage 1.3

Betonung der sozialistischen Grundprinzipien ein Erbe der eigenen sozialistischen Vergangenheit des Landes darstellen könnte, ist es ebenso möglich, dass liberale Prinzipien deshalb bei den InterviewpartnerInnen stark vertreten sind, weil dies die Leitideologie der westlichen Länder ist und durch die Zusammenarbeit der PolitikerInnen mit westlichen politischen Stiftungen⁷⁹ vermehrt vermittelt wird. Wenn man diese Einflussfaktoren abstrahiert, kommt man zu der These, dass das Politikverständnis junger PolitikerInnen in Afrika zwei Referenzrahmen haben kann: Die politische Vergangenheit des eigenen Landes und die Leitideologien der Neuzeit, die durch den zunehmenden Zugang zu globalen Kommunikationsnetzwerken und Medien vermehrt Einzug in die Köpfe junger PolitikerInnen finden. Diese These gilt allerdings nicht nur für junge PolitikerInnen in afrikanischen Ländern, sondern lässt sich auf alle jungen PolitikerInnen anwenden. In der Wissenschaft ist anerkannt, dass es vielfache Sozialisationsinstanzen⁸⁰ gibt, die das eigene Weltbild prägen – so auch das politische.

Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Forschungsfrage ist außerdem interessant, dass die OppositionspolitikerInnen besonders betonen, dass sie sich bei der Parteiwahl bewusst für eine Oppositionspartei entschieden haben und dies teilweise sogar die Hauptmotivation für den Parteibeitritt war. Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass das Politikverständnis sich stark an den Polen Regierung vs. Opposition orientiert. Das wird auch dadurch bestätigt, dass das in Kategorie 8 herausgearbeitete wichtigste „weitere Hauptthema“ genau jenes zum Verhältnis zwischen Opposition und Regierung ist.

Neben politischen Ideologien kann deshalb die Entscheidung, ob man Teil der Regierungspartei sein möchte, oder aber bewusst Oppositionsarbeit leisten möchte, ein weiterer wichtiger Einflussfaktor dabei sein, für welche Parteizugehörigkeit man sich entscheidet. Es wird angenommen, dass dies in vielen afrikanischen Staaten eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielt. In Tanzania kommt hinzu, dass unabhängige KandidatInnen nicht zu Wahlen zugelassen werden. Dies sollte auch überdacht werden, wenn man den jungen Menschen selbstbestimmtes politisches Engagement ermöglichen will.

⁷⁹ Da die Kontaktaufnahme mit den PolitikerInnen mit Hilfe politischer Stiftungen stattfand, ist davon auszugehen, dass die Gruppe der befragten Personen mit diesen Stiftungen auch in einem inhaltlichen Austausch steht. Dafür spricht, dass einige der befragten Personen schon Weiterbildungsmaßnahmen in Deutschland oder den USA besucht haben.

⁸⁰ Siehe hierzu Kapitel 2.2

Es lassen sich aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 1.2 folgende Hypothesen ableiten:

1. Allgemein: Das Politikverständnis und die politische Ideologie, der man sich zugehörig fühlt, sind bei jungen PolitikerInnen immer abhängig von der Sozialisation, die sie in ihrem Lebenskontext erfahren.
→ Für Afrika: Die politische Ideologie, die junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen entwickeln, ist geprägt durch die politische Vergangenheit des eigenen Landes und westlichen Ideen, die sie im Rahmen zunehmender Globalisierung annehmen.
2. Wenn sich eine Person in einem afrikanischen Land entscheidet einer politischen Partei beizutreten, dann ist die Entscheidungsgrundlage in der überwiegenden Anzahl der Fälle die Entscheidung zwischen Opposition und Regierung und weniger die Orientierung an politischen Ideologien, für die eine Partei steht.

9.3 Forschungsfrage 1.3

Welches Demokratieverständnis dominiert in afrikanischen Ländern generell und wie definieren junge PolitikerInnen eine funktionierende Demokratie?

Die im Rahmen dieser Diplomarbeit befragten PolitikerInnen können alle spontan beschreiben, was Demokratie für sie bedeutet. Es handelt sich ausschließlich um positive Zuschreibungen. Sie verbinden Demokratie vor allem mit dem Begriff *Freiheit*. Eine Freiheit, die im Rahmen gesetzlicher Regeln für alle Menschen gleichermaßen gelten soll. Während diese Freiheit bei einigen Befragten nur allgemein angeführt wird, werden die Redefreiheit, Versammlungsfreiheit, Religionsfreiheit und Meinungsfreiheit direkt angesprochen. Gleichzeitig sollen diese Freiheiten aber unter *Rule of Law* gestellt werden und die Bevölkerung hat auch die Verantwortung diese Freiheiten im Sinne des Landes einzusetzen und so Entwicklung voranzubringen. Es werden also nicht nur Rechte, sondern auch Pflichten mit Demokratie assoziiert.

Ebenfalls zentral für die Definition von Demokratie sind für die befragten PolitikerInnen freie und faire Wahlen. Die Volkssouveränität und die aktive Einbeziehung/Information der Bevölkerung gehören außerdem zum Demokratieverständnis der befragten Personen. Wichtig ist ihnen zusätzlich der Zusammenhang zwischen Demokratie, Entwicklung und Good Governance.

Die nachfolgende Grafik zeigt die Ergebnisse im Vergleich zu der wesentlich breiter und größer angelegten Untersuchung von Bratton et al, die das Demokratieverständnis aus Bevölke-

rungsperspektive untersucht hat und in Kapitel 2.5 ausführlich vorgestellt wird. Dazu wurden die Aussagen bezüglich Demokratie aus der eigenen Untersuchung der jeweiligen Kategorie aus der Studie von Bratton et al zugeordnet. Natürlich lässt sich zwischen den Untersuchungen nur ein sehr oberflächlicher Vergleich ziehen, da beide unterschiedliche Zielgruppen haben, mit unterschiedlichen Verfahren gearbeitet wird und die jeweils sehr unterschiedliche Stichprobengröße keinen tiefgehenden Vergleich erlaubt. Gleichzeitig ist es aber durch die tabellarische Gegenüberstellung möglich, darzustellen, ob und welche Dimensionen bei beiden Untersuchungen in welcher Gewichtung genannt wurden. Wo sich also Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede tendenziell abzeichnen.

Abb. 35: Vergleich Demokratieverständnis Bratton et al/Herlinghaus⁸¹ (in %)

	Bratton et al	Herlinghaus
Allgemein	Überwiegend positive Assoziationen	Nur positive Assoziationen
Civil Liberties	28	55
Popular Participation	15	36
Political Rights	9	55
Peace and Unity	7	0
Equality & Justice (social, legal)	5	36
Socioeconomic Development	3	46
Good Governance	2	55
Other positive Attributes	4	0
Neutral Meanings	4	0
Negative Meanings	1	0
Don't know etc.	22	0

Quelle: eigene Darstellung, Schema und teilweise Inhalte übernommen von Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 68

Wie deutlich wird unterscheiden sich die Umfragen in der Spannweite der Antworten. So nannten die befragten PolitikerInnen ausschließlich positive Assoziationen und konnten alle grundsätzlich mit dem Begriff etwas anfangen. Bei der Umfrage von Bratton et al sind es allein 22% die mit dem Begriff nichts anfangen können.

Innerhalb der positiven Assoziationen zeichnet sich ab, dass in der Untersuchung dieser Arbeit die *Civil Liberties*, die *Political Rights* und *Good Governance* gleichstark mit Demokratie assoziiert werden. Gleich danach folgt *Socioeconomic Development* und an dritter Stelle

⁸¹ Die vergleichbar niedrigeren Prozentzahlen bei der Studie von Bratton et al ergeben sich aus der vielfältigeren Antwortspanne.

Popular Participation und *Equality & Justice*. Bei Bratton et al hingegen sind die *Civil Liberties* mit Abstand die wichtigsten Assoziationen mit Demokratie und die anderen Dimensionen folgen erst mit 13% Abstand, dafür dann aber nahe beieinander. Die Häufigkeit der Nennung ist also in der Untersuchung dieser Arbeit wesentlich ausgewogener als bei der Studie von Bratton et al, was allerdings mit der wesentlich kleineren Stichprobe zusammenhängen kann und damit, dass eine sehr spezifische Zielgruppe in lediglich einem Land befragt wurde. Interessant ist auch, dass der einzige Assoziationsbereich der Studie, der von den im Rahmen dieser Arbeit befragten PolitikerInnen nicht angeführt wurde, *Peace and Unity* ist, was wahrscheinlich darauf zurückzuführen ist, dass Tanzania in diesem Bereich vergleichsweise weit fortgeschritten ist.

Sowohl die Ergebnisse der afrikaweiten Studie von Bratton et al als auch die durchgeführten Interviews zeigen ein Demokratieverständnis, welches sich mit dem allgemeinen Politikverständnis, das im vorangegangenen Kapitel thematisiert wurde, deckt. Damit schlägt sich das allgemeine liberale und sozialdemokratische Politikverständnis bzw. die eigene politische Ideologie auch im Demokratieverständnis nieder.

Das Demokratieverständnis wird so auch nur in Teilen in dem in Kapitel 2.4 beschriebenen liberalen Demokratiekonzept der *embedded democracy* wiedergespiegelt. Zwar findet sich das Demokratieverständnis, das sich auch den Studien ergibt, in den drei Dimensionen des *embedded democracy-Konzepts* wieder, aber die Bereiche *Socioeconomic Development*, *Popular Participation* und *Peace and Unity* werden nur unzureichend erfasst. Das sind genau jene Bereiche, in denen sich der sozialistische Teil des Politikverständnisses verbirgt. Geeigneter wäre also ein Demokratiekonzept, welches sowohl die sozialistischen als auch die liberalen Vorstellungen vereint. Die in Kapitel 2.4 formulierte Vermutung, dass eine am Allgemeinwohl orientierte Regierungsform besser in den afrikanischen Kontext passen könnte als abstrakte politische Regelungen, wie sie in westlichen Demokratien üblich sind, spiegelt sich in den Ergebnissen wider. Deutlich wird also, dass die in Kapitel 2.4 bereits vorgestellten Voraussetzungen für Demokratie in afrikanischen Ländern, die Claude Ake aufstellt, zentral sind:

1. Die Bevölkerung muss tatsächlich die Macht haben auf Entscheidungsfindungen Einfluss zu nehmen. Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass es eine starke Legislative, Dezentralisierung der Macht und Institutionalisierung von Interessen gibt.

2. Es muss eine soziale Demokratie sein, die ganz konkrete politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Rechte betont. Liberale Demokratien betonen hingegen eher abstrakte politische Rechte.
3. Kollektive Rechte müssen auf gleicher Höhe mit individuellen Rechten stehen.
4. Es muss eine integrative Demokratie sein, die keine Minderheiten ausschließt.

Insgesamt wird Demokratie von den Befragten der vorliegenden Arbeit als sehr wichtig für moderne Staaten eingestuft, was ein positives Signal für Demokratie darstellt, denn ein breiter Rückhalt für Demokratie in der Bevölkerung ist hilfreich, da dieser politische Prozesse beeinflussen kann⁸². Die Demokratie des eigenen Landes wird jedoch als nicht zufriedenstellend empfunden (sowohl im Rahmen der eigenen Befragung als auch im Rahmen der Studie von Bratton et al), was sich mit den Ergebnissen der verschiedenen Demokratiemessinstrumente aus Kapitel 6.2 in Bezug auf Tanzania deckt. Für die Zukunft des Landes wird allerdings sowohl in der Studie von Bratton et al⁸³, als auch von allen befragten PolitikerInnen angegeben, dass umfassende Demokratie möglich sei, wenn gewisse Voraussetzungen erfüllt würden. Die Rolle junger Menschen wird dabei betont.

Es lassen sich folgende Hypothesen aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 1.3 ableiten:

1. Wenn das generelle Politikverständnis junger PolitikerInnen ein liberal sozialistisches bzw. sozialdemokratisches ist, dann prägt dieses auch das jeweilige Demokratieverständnis.
2. Wenn junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen Demokratie definieren, dann zeigt diese Definition große Parallelen zum Demokratieverständnis der Bevölkerung.
3. Wenn junge PolitikerInnen Demokratie als legitime Regierungsform sehen, dann prognostizieren sie auch, dass diese sich in ihrem Land durchsetzen wird.

⁸² Wie in Kapitel 2.4 formuliert wurde

⁸³ Siehe Kapitel 6.2

9.4 Forschungsfrage 2.1

Welche Formen politischen Engagements für junge Menschen in Afrika gibt es und wodurch werden sie zu diesem motiviert?

Für junge Menschen gibt es vielfältige Möglichkeiten des politischen Engagements, die in Kapitel 4 ausführlich vorgestellt wurden. Dabei sind grundsätzlich die Bereiche parteipolitisches Engagement, zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement (Organisationen und Populärkulturen) und Engagement als WählerInnen zu nennen.

Die Motivation zu politischem Engagement generell, aber vor allem zu parteipolitischem Engagement, kann sich dabei auf zwei Ebenen abspielen. Dies wurde in Kapitel 4.1 theoretisch aus der Literatur abgeleitet und hat sich auch in den durchgeführten Interviews bestätigt (siehe Auswertung Kategorie 4). Politisches Engagement kann aus der Unzufriedenheit mit der vorherrschenden politischen Praxis und – daraus resultierend – der eigenen Situation entstehen. Dies sind jene jungen Menschen, die politisch aktiv werden, um die Lebenssituation der Bevölkerung zu verbessern. In den Interviews wurde der Wechsel vom Einparteiensystem zum Mehrparteiensystem ebenfalls als Motivation beschrieben sich zu engagieren. Es gibt aber auch jene jungen Menschen, die von persönlichem Streben nach Macht, Geld und/oder Reputation motiviert sind – dies ist vor allem eine Motivation für parteipolitisches Engagement, weil dieses Ziel hier am ehesten zu erreichen ist.

Je nach Motivationsgrundlage und persönlicher Sozialisation fällt dann die Entscheidung für eine der Formen politischen Engagements. Im Zentrum dieser Arbeit stehen jene jungen Menschen, die sich für die Parteipolitik entscheiden.

Interessanterweise zählen sich alle interviewten jungen PolitikerInnen zu der Gruppe, die aus ideologischen Gründen in die Politik geht und nicht wegen des Wunsches nach persönlicher Karriere. Nur von zwei Personen wird offen ausgesprochen, dass auch der Wunsch nach einer Karriere Motivation für ihre Arbeit ist. Auch wenn selbstlose Motive für das Engagement junger PolitikerInnen wesentlich betont werden, geben alle InterviewpartnerInnen auf Nachfrage hin an, dass es auch jene Gruppe junger PolitikerInnen gibt, die persönliche Ziele, wie Geld, Macht und Karriere, verfolgen. Damit werden die beiden Motive zu politischem Engagement, die in Kapitel 4.1 beschrieben werden, auch in der Empirie bestätigt. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass diese Aussagen zu gewissen Teilen einer empfundenen sozialen

Erwünschtheit geschuldet sind⁸⁴, da persönlicher Erfolg als Motiv für politisches Engagement von allen auf allgemeiner Ebene abgelehnt wird. Allgemein betont wird aber, dass dieses Phänomen existiere, aber nicht auf ihre eigene Person zuträfe. Man scheint sich auf der Ebene der Motivation von der derzeitigen Führungsriege abgrenzen zu wollen:

„I think I want to be different; I want to be different from those who became a leader in my constituency [...] But the problem here is, I think, the self-interest of many elected leaders. They are not there for the people. They are there in their own interest. So I will try to solve this problem for myself to be not a self-interested leader but to be a social interested leader that is, I think, the only solution.“ (Interview 5: #00:09:13#)

Dies gilt für alle Befragten gleichermaßen – auch jene der Regierungspartei.

Interessant ist auch, dass alle befragten PolitikerInnen vor ihrer parteipolitischen Karriere an der Schule, dem College oder der Universität bereits politisch aktiv waren und dort zu einer parteipolitischen Karriere motiviert wurden.

Es lassen sich folgende Hypothesen aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 2.1 ableiten:

1. Wenn junge PolitikerInnen politisch aktiv werden, dann ist die Hauptmotivation überwiegend, dass sie positiven Wandel für ihr Land bringen wollen und nicht persönliche Karrierebestrebungen.
2. Wenn junge Menschen sich für den Beruf PolitikerIn entscheiden, dann haben sie vorab schon einschlägig positive Erfahrungen als politische AktivistInnen gemacht.

9.5 Forschungsfrage 2.2

Welche Rolle nehmen junge Menschen in afrikanischen Ländern auf gesellschaftlicher und politischer Ebene ein, und wo zeigen sich in diesem Zusammenhang Chancen und Grenzen der politischen Partizipation für junge PolitikerInnen?

Junge Menschen in afrikanischen Ländern wachsen in Gesellschaften auf, die mehrheitlich patrimonial und gerontokratisch geprägt sind, wenngleich sich diese Strukturen, vor allem seit der nachkolonialen Phase, zunehmend aufweichen. Ihre Bedeutung ist aber noch so groß, dass die oft größte Bevölkerungsgruppe eines Landes – die jungen Menschen – zu den am meisten marginalisierten Gruppen gehört. Sie gelten oftmals als ‚noch nicht fertig‘ und deshalb als ungeeignet verantwortungsvolle Aufgaben zu übernehmen.

⁸⁴ Wie bereits in der Auswertung der Kategorie 4 betont wurde.

Die junge Generation des 21. Jahrhunderts vermag diese sozialen Traditionen phasenweise aufzubrechen, wie sich für das Beispielland Tanzania zeigt. Hier gibt es die *kizazi kipya* (new generation), die selbstbewusster auftritt und auch die befragten PolitikerInnen formulieren, dass sie heute eher als ernstzunehmende Menschen anerkannt werden, als es noch während *Ujamaa* der Fall war, wenngleich sie noch immer mit den Folgen dieser Marginalisierung junger Menschen in der Politik zu kämpfen haben:

„But immediately after independence there was the distortion of young people because they told them ‘You are not ready to engage in politics. Politics is a danger for you. Politics is not easy.’ Such kind of words. So it is very difficult now to mobilize these young people again in democracy because they grow with the idea that politics is the work of our elders, not young people.“ (Interview 5: #00:28:35#)

Außerdem ist diese junge Generation von heute jene, die sich zunehmend auch in der globalen Welt zurechtfindet, sowie mit den neuen Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten im Internet zurechtkommt und dies als ihr spezifisches Kapital versteht. Dies unterscheidet sie von der älteren Generation, da sie in diesem Bereich mehr Erfahrung haben – das ist eine besondere Situation und eine Chance für Partizipation:

„I think this youth they have much advantage to make changes; more than the previous one because now if we decide to work through Facebook or Twitter or any other social network, we can communicate at any time and they can’t control it. The government can’t control it.“ (Interview 3: #00:38:15#)

Die junge Generation gewinnt dadurch an Selbstvertrauen, was die durchgeführten Interviews deutlich zeigen:

„So what you see happened with youth in Egypt is going to happen to anywhere now because the youth now they know ‘Oh, if youth can do, we can do that. Why are we at the back? If we can raise pressure for two or three days, the people will go or will make changing’.“ (Interview 3: #00:38:15#)

„Young politicians are full of energy, still young and the worlds’ faith and when I say they are full of energy, they are full of energy in terms of mental energy, in terms of thinking capacity, in terms of physical energy. They can run here and there without being tired, they can think faster. So, it is an asset and they go according to today’s world. You know, today this is the globalization world, it’s not a conservative society anymore, it’s a liberal society, it’s a democratic society and this young generation are the ones who can match with the today’s world, that’s why I’m saying it’s an asset.“ (Interview 9: #00:01:43-6#)

Trotz dieser Fortschritte, die als große Chance für Partizipation gesehen werden, ist Stigmatisierung auf Grund von Alter weiterhin in der Bevölkerung verbreitet und in einem verantwortungsvollen Bereich, wie der Politik, zeigt sich dies ebenfalls deutlich, wie die Erfahrungen der InterviewpartnerInnen zeigen und in Kapitel 3.4 dargestellt wird. Auch hier wird beschrieben, dass die Ausgrenzung von jungen Menschen aus der Politik vor allem kurz nach der Unabhängigkeit der Staaten zunehmend Verbreitung fand und in vielen Ländern bis heute anhält. Dort wo diese Strategie nicht länger funktioniert, weil die jungen PolitikerInnen mutiger werden und mehr Unterstützung aus der Bevölkerung erhalten, die ebenfalls ein junges Durchschnittsalter hat, versucht man die jungen PolitikerInnen im eigenen Sinne heranzuziehen. Dies bestätigt sich auch für das Beispielland Tanzania: *„Some of the elders, not all, they dislike youth who are independent. They like someone to follow in their shoes.“* (Interview 8: #00:38:09-5#)

Vor dem Hintergrund einer selbstbewusster werdenden Generation junger PolitikerInnen könnte dies allerdings zunehmend schwieriger gestalten.

Die Auswertung der Interviews hat außerdem ergeben⁸⁵, dass die Befragten das Ausnutzen der jungen PolitikerInnen durch die älteren PolitikerInnen als Problem und große Hürde für echte politische Partizipation sehen. Wie diese Form der Ausnutzung aussehen kann wird auch in Kapitel 2 und 4 dargestellt. Außerdem zeigen die in Kapitel 5 vorgestellten Biografien von Joseph Mboya und Amina Chifupa ganz konkret, wie versucht wird, die Partizipation junger PolitikerInnen zu kontrollieren. Dieser Begrenzung der Partizipation ist nur schwer beizukommen, weil die jungen PolitikerInnen oft über wenige finanzielle Mittel verfügen und damit von der Unterstützung älterer Person abhängig sind, wenn sie beispielsweise Wahlkampf betreiben wollen. So geraten sie leicht in ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis und können nicht mehr selbstbestimmt agieren. Auch Korruption/Bestechung wird hier als Problem genannt, da viele mittellose junge PolitikerInnen der Verlockung von Geld nicht widerstehen können und dafür die eigenen politische Arbeit aufgeben oder in den Dienst einer älteren Person stellen:

„When you want to compete with them they come to tell you, even to give you money to- (2) [...] and we have that problem, you see, that the young leaders they are a small group of people who come and develop, but a lot of young leaders they are not developing to come in the position because of this problem. [...] I mean that happened in Tanzania, I can remember. Someone was given a car (1) because they were going

⁸⁵ Siehe zu der detaillierten Darstellung der Auswertung von Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation der Interviews Kapitel 8.7.9

for primary election [...]. So he offered a car, he offered money about five million, 3000 US Dollar, and then you step down and then when the day of election was he said 'I decided to remove myself'. That is how it is going.“ (Interview 4: #00:54:16#)

Der Mangel an Ressourcen und die Stigmatisierung auf Grund von Alter stellen also eindeutige Grenzen der politischen Partizipation für junge Menschen dar. Wie auch in Kapitel 3.4 mit einigen Beispielen belegt, bleibt die Rolle junger PolitikerInnen so oft eine unterstützende, die wenig bis keine echte Partizipation bedeutet. Die Mehrheit der InterviewpartnerInnen fühlt sich dementsprechend auch in der freien Meinungsäußerung zu Politik eingeschränkt – teilweise auch in der eigenen Partei.

Als Grenze wird aber auch empfunden, dass ehrenamtliches politisches Engagement oft schwer mit einem Brotberuf vereinbar ist, weil die meisten ArbeitgeberInnen politisches Engagement ihrer Angestellten nicht dulden.

Eine weitere Grenze der politischen Partizipation für junge PolitikerInnen stellt die Rolle von persönlichen Beziehungen in der Politik dar. Wenn man nicht über diese Beziehungen verfügt, dann ist man in der Partizipation eingeschränkt.

In Kapitel 3.4 wird im Zusammenhang mit den Grenzen der Partizipation der Begriff *exit without voice* benutzt, da es für junge Menschen wesentlich einfacher ist sich aus der Politik auszuklinken, als aktiv etwas verändern zu wollen – vor allem, wenn die Elite nicht bereit ist selbstständiges jugendliches Engagement zu fördern, ohne sich dabei lediglich eigene Vorteile zu verschaffen. Viele junge Menschen engagieren sich deshalb eher außerhalb politischer Strukturen. Eine/r der befragten InterviewpartnerInnen sieht dies ähnlich:

„So, I believe I can be a leader but not a political leader actually. I can make development even if I am not a political leader. So, I think I was motivated but then I was discouraged by the situation that I came to see when I came to university and started to evaluate things more than when I was a young at secondary school and I believed it's the time of being a MP and being minister of a certain ministry in my country and be president, you know? But then coming to see the real situation and how people are doing there; you can be a MP, but then you can't do anything to your people. So, I said 'No, I have to be much more in nongovernmental organization in the country rather than political.' But that does not prohibit me to discuss political issues.“ (Interview 6: #00:04:41-6#)

Die Gruppe der jungen PolitikerInnen darf letztendlich aber nicht als vollends harmonisch und homogen gesehen werden, denn es wird von zumindest drei Personen angemerkt, dass auch der Konkurrenzkampf innerhalb der Gruppe der jungen PolitikerInnen zunimmt und dies

die Chancen auf Partizipation verringern kann. Wie in Kapitel 3.4 angedeutet, aber auch in den Interviews deutlich wurde, gibt es außerdem in der Gruppe der jungen PolitikerInnen „schwarze Schafe“, die nur wegen Prestige und Geld in die Politik gehen und nicht, weil sie politische Ziele verfolgen (siehe Auswertung Kategorie 4). Dies muss im Zusammenhang mit der Heterogenität der Gruppe junger PolitikerInnen ebenfalls betont werden.

Insgesamt ist die Rolle junger Menschen in afrikanischen Ländern, die oft neopatrimonial und gerontokratisch geprägt sind, eine eher unterstützende. Selbstbestimmtes Handeln wird gerade in der politischen Arena, die vornehmlich von älteren Eliten dominiert ist, eher versucht zu unterbinden, als zu fördern. Daraus entstehen zahlreiche Grenzen der politischen Partizipation. Diesen gegenüber steht aber auch eine langsam wachsende Zahl von Chancen, die sich in den letzten Jahren zunehmend abzeichnen und zu einer Erstarkung der Position junger PolitikerInnen führen können.

Aus der Beantwortung dieser Forschungsfrage lassen sich folgende Hypothesen ableiten:

1. Wenn junge Menschen politisch aktiv werden, dann sehen sie sich immer mit Begrenzungen der politischen Partizipation konfrontiert, welche ihr Alter, ihren Stand in der Gesellschaft und ihr unzureichendes finanzielles Kapital betreffen.
2. Wenn junge PolitikerInnen in Afrika politische oder finanzielle Unterstützung von dritten Personen erhalten, dann geht das in der überwiegenden Anzahl der Fälle mit einer Einschränkung der selbstbestimmten Partizipation einher.
3. Je mehr zeitliche Distanz zu der nachkolonialen Zeit besteht, in der junge Menschen besonders stark aus der politischen Arena verdrängt wurden, desto eher haben junge PolitikerInnen die Chance auf selbstbestimmte politische Partizipation.
4. Wenn mächtige PolitikerInnen die Arbeit junger PolitikerInnen unterstützen, dann verfolgen sie dabei überwiegend eigene Interessen der Machtsicherung und Kontrolle.
5. Je mehr Neopatrimonialismus und Gerontokratie in einer Gesellschaft verankert ist, desto schwieriger ist es für junge PolitikerInnen in der parteipolitischen Arena Fuß zu fassen.

9.6 Forschungsfrage 2.3

Zeichnet sich ein Zusammenhang zwischen den biografischen Hintergründen junger afrikanischer PolitikerInnen und ihren Möglichkeiten zur Partizipation und Einflussnahme ab? Wenn ja, welcher?

Ein Zusammenhang zwischen den biografischen Hintergründen junger PolitikerInnen und ihren Möglichkeiten der Partizipation zeichnet sich definitiv ab. Was von vielen PolitikerInnen in den Interviews betont und auch im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs so dargestellt wird⁸⁶ ist die Tatsache, dass persönliche Beziehungen die politische Partizipation vereinfachen bzw. erst ermöglichen können. Dies hängt auch damit zusammen, dass die derzeitigen Eliten sehr sorgsam auswählen, wer sie beerbt, um sicherzugehen, dass Politik in ihrem Sinne fortgesetzt wird:

„If they don't have background, familiar background. Maybe I can mention a few, we have leaders, for instance president Jakaja Kikwete, his son is holding a very big position in the UVCCM, the youth of CCM. So, we have very many that we can mention, their fathers maybe are ministers, they are MPs or the father used to be a minister or prime minister, today two of them are in parliament, for instance Rashid Kawawa, two of his sons are in the parliament. [...] So, if you don't have that background that the outgoing leaders will have faith on you that you will serve their interest, they will never give you a chance because they know if you get there, you can harass them easily, you will get to know the way they have stolen the money and you can challenge them. [...] They are trying to make a certain kind of their industry. So, that people who are getting into power can easily safeguard what they did. It's because of their security I think.“ (Interview 11: #00:29:26-9#)

Allerdings muss diese Beziehung kein direkt familiärer Hintergrund sein. So hat die Auswertung der durchgeführten Interviews ergeben, dass nur drei Personen einen direkten familiären Hintergrund dahingehend haben, dass ein Elternteil PolitikerIn ist oder war. Vielmehr hat die Auswertung von Kategorie 6 gezeigt, dass persönliche Beziehungen auf den verschiedensten Ebenen wichtig sein können. Es kann sich hierbei beispielweise also auch um MentorInnen aus der eigenen Partei handeln:

„So, we have some youth who got the national position and maybe they have been pushed or they have been helped by other strong politicians to get where they are 'cause I believe you cannot get where you are if no one else helps you to be there where you are.“ (Interview 6: #01:03:41-0#)

⁸⁶ Siehe auch Kapitel 3 & 4.1

Schlussendlich ist der Einfluss biografischer Hintergründe auf den Grad an Partizipation als hoch einzustufen: Es ist einerseits eine Chance für mehr Partizipation für alle, die sie haben – wobei zu hinterfragen wäre wie selbstbestimmt diese Partizipation aussieht. Andererseits ist es eine Grenze für mehr Partizipation für alle, die diese persönlichen Beziehungen nicht besitzen.

Aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 2.3 lässt sich folgende Hypothese ableiten:

1. Wenn junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen über persönliche Beziehungen zu EntscheidungsträgerInnen verfügen, dann erhöht dies grundsätzlich ihre Chancen auf politische Partizipation.

9.7 Forschungsfrage 3.1

Wie nehmen junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen ihre Beziehung zu älteren PolitikerInnen wahr? Wie beschreiben sie ihre eigene Rolle in diesem Verhältnis?

Wie in Kapitel 2.2 dargestellt, können Generationenverhältnisse überall auf der Welt von Spannungen geprägt sein. In afrikanischen Ländern, wo *age-systems* oft traditioneller Bestandteil einer sozialen Ordnung sind oder waren, haben Generationenverhältnisse deshalb eine besondere Bedeutung. Zwar werden diese *age-systems* vielerorts aufgebrochen, aber die Marginalisierung und politische Exklusion der jungen Bevölkerungsgruppe ist immer noch ein weit verbreitetes Phänomen. Gleichzeitig drängen aber junge Menschen vermehrt darauf, als selbstständige AkteurInnen wahrgenommen zu werden. Dass es Spannungen zwischen den Generationen gibt, ist somit leicht nachzuvollziehen. Junge Menschen scheuen heute die Konfrontation mit den älteren PolitikerInnen zunehmend weniger und beginnen die patrimonialen und gerontokratischen Strukturen aufzuweichen. Dies gelingt in der politischen Arena bisher nur in Teilen. Wie in Kapitel 3.4 argumentiert wurde, ist die ältere Generation der PolitikerInnen stark darum bemüht, die nachrückende jüngere Generation im eigenen Sinne heranzuziehen und das selbstbestimmte Handeln eher einzuschränken als zu fördern. Da die Bevölkerungsstruktur in vielen afrikanischen Ländern sehr jung ist, werden junge PolitikerInnen oft als Verjüngungsstrategie von den Parteien benutzt – inhaltliche Mitarbeit bleibt ihnen aber oft verwehrt und kritisches Engagement ist unerwünscht. Dies hat auch das Fallbeispiel der Politikerin Amina Chifupa (Kapitel 5.3) gezeigt. Eine Folge ist, dass sich viele junge Menschen außerhalb parteipolitischer Strukturen engagieren, um selbstbestimmt handeln zu können. Hierzu wurden einige Beispiele angeführt. Mit *exit without voice* wird ein weiteres

Phänomen beschrieben: Es ist leichter sich aus der Politik komplett rauszuhalten, als aktiv etwas verändern zu wollen. Viele junge Menschen, die grundsätzlich gerne aktiv werden würden, sind dieser Argumentation folgend von den vielen Hürden auf dem Weg zu echter Partizipation so abgeschreckt, dass sie das Engagement aufgeben. Hier wäre es wichtig, dass die ältere Generation ihrer Verantwortung zur Einbindung aller Bevölkerungsgruppen nachkommt und junge Menschen ermutigt politisch aktiv zu werden.

Hinzu kommt, dass beide Generationen in völlig unterschiedlichen Lebenskontexten sozialisiert wurden – das ist eine Besonderheit des Generationenverhältnisses zwischen den derzeit jungen und derzeit älteren Menschen. Die junge Generation ist in einer postkolonialen Welt sozialisiert und wächst in einem zunehmend globalen Weltverständnis auf, während die ältere Generation ihre Machtlegitimation oft allein aus der Befreiung von den Kolonialherrschern zieht. Die junge Generation stellt deshalb aus ihrer Sichtweise neue Anforderungen an Politik – *Change* ist das Stichwort.

Aus dem im Theorieteil beschriebenen Generationenverhältnis lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass das Verhältnis zwischen den Generationen junger und älterer PolitikerInnen angespannt ist. Dies ist auch eine These der Arbeit insgesamt. Es wird angenommen, dass das Generationenverhältnis der derzeit jungen und älteren Generation erstmals ein Stadium erreicht hat, wo die jüngere Generation in einer Position ist, in der sie zumindest phasenweise Einfluss nehmen kann und zunehmend auch von Seiten der älteren Generation als ernstzunehmende AkteurInnen in der politischen Arena anerkannt werden müssen. In den durchgeführten Interviews hat sich diese Sichtweise bestätigt.

„To have young politicians in Africa, in Tanzania, is an asset because the leaders who are not young are going to become resigned because of their age and what we are going to stand with is to develop, to give politics education to young and to grow with the politics and because, as you know in Tanzania, all the young, who develop to this politics are going to change. You see that there is some sort of change compared with this aged persons.“ (Interview 4: #00:46:06#)

Insgesamt wird das Generationenverhältnis, wie die Auswertung der Kategorie 7 gezeigt hat, auch in den Interviews eher als beschädigt und problembehaftet beschrieben. Die wachsende politische Macht der jungen PolitikerInnen vor dem Hintergrund patriarchaler Strukturen ist dabei zentraler Konfliktpunkt. Einerseits können jüngere PolitikerInnen von älteren abhängig sein, weil diese sie in ihrer politischen Arbeit finanziell oder argumentativ unterstützen und andererseits können zunehmend auch ältere PolitikerInnen von den jüngeren abhängig sein,

weil diese einen wachsenden Einfluss auf die Bevölkerung haben. Diese ist zunehmend von der gleichbleibend schlechten Situation des Landes unter der langjährigen Herrschaft einer kleinen Gruppe von PolitikerInnen und einer Partei enttäuscht und somit empfänglicher für alternative Ideen und Personen.

Die zweite Seite des Verhältnisses stellt eine Entwicklung dar, die den älteren Eliten zunehmend Angst macht, das betonen alle befragten PolitikerInnen. Dies ist ein Indiz dafür, dass die junge Generation mutiger wird und sich zunehmend zu selbstständigen Autoritäten entwickelt, die der älteren Generation kritisch und fordernd gegenübertritt. Hierfür spricht auch, dass sich die befragten Personen in ihrer Partei generell ernstgenommen und respektiert fühlen. Bei der Auswertung der Kategorien 5.1 und 5.2 hat sich gezeigt, dass die jungen PolitikerInnen sich selber als jene Gruppe sehen, die politischen Wandel bringen wird. Der Wille zum Wandel ist das am häufigsten angesprochene Attribut, wenn die jungen PolitikerInnen ihre eigene Rolle in der politischen Arena ansprechen. Dieses wird dadurch unterstrichen, dass die jungen PolitikerInnen sich selbst als Macher beschreiben, die intellektuell, geistig und körperlich fähiger und moderner sind als die ältere Generation, die in alten Strukturen feststeckt und so keine Entwicklung für das Land bringt. Die Erfahrung und das Mehr an Ressourcen werden aber als Kapital der älteren Generation anerkannt.

Der politische Wandel, den die jungen PolitikerInnen bringen wollen, wird vor allem mit einem Wandel der Motivation zu politischem Engagement argumentiert. So werden die älteren PolitikerInnen mehrheitlich als korrupt und nur an sich selbst interessiert dargestellt, während die jungen PolitikerInnen mehrheitlich dem Land dienen und Entwicklung bringen wollen⁸⁷.

Aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 3.1 lassen sich folgende Hypothesen ableiten:

1. Je mehr zeitliche Distanz zur Kolonialzeit besteht, desto eher haben junge PolitikerInnen die Chance auf politische Partizipation, da die Machtlegitimation der Älteren schwächer wird.
2. Je jünger die Bevölkerungsstruktur insgesamt, desto größer ist der Einfluss junger PolitikerInnen des 21. Jahrhunderts, da diese die Bedürfnisse junger Menschen in einer zunehmend globalisierten Lebenswelt teilen.
3. Je mehr Einfluss junge PolitikerInnen bekommen, desto konfliktreicher wird das Verhältnis zur älteren Generation von PolitikerInnen.

⁸⁷ zu den unterschiedlichen Motivationsgrundlagen, die es tatsächlich gibt, siehe Forschungsfrage 2.1

4. Wenn das Verhältnis zwischen zwei Generationen in der Politik als konfliktreich identifiziert wird, dann handelt es sich in erster Linie um einen Konflikt um Macht.
5. Wenn junge PolitikerInnen die eigene Rolle in der politischen Arena beschreiben, dann bezeichnen sie sich selbst als „Macher“ und formulieren „Wandel“ als ihr Ziel.

9.8 Forschungsfrage 3.2

Welche Chancen/Risiken im Hinblick auf demokratischen Politikwandel können grundsätzlich einem Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene zugesprochen werden?

Die Beantwortung dieser Frage lässt sich vor allem aus einem Weiter- und Zusammendenken der bisherigen Ergebnisse tätigen. Chancen beziehen sich vor allem darauf, dass die thematisierten problematischen Charakteristika von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern aufgebrochen und im Idealfall abgeschafft werden können. Diese Arbeit hat ergeben, dass junge PolitikerInnen heutiger Tage insbesondere die Möglichkeit haben das Generationenverhältnis, welches Jahrzehnte durch die Marginalisierung und Exklusion junger Menschen gekennzeichnet war, aufzubrechen, weil sie wachsenden Rückhalt in der Bevölkerung erfahren und zunehmend Möglichkeiten der Partizipation bekommen. Im Verhältnis zu der älteren Generation haben sie einen besseren Zugang zu neuen Medien und Kommunikationsformen und fühlen ihre Sozialisation in einer moderneren, globalisierten Welt als Vorteil. Die befragten jungen PolitikerInnen betonen, dass sie mehrheitlich durch die anhaltend schlechten Lebensbedingungen der Bevölkerung motiviert seien positiven Wandel zu bringen. Da der Politik ein sehr großer Einfluss auf den Alltag der Menschen zugesprochen wird⁸⁸ sehen sie die Politik als jenen Bereich an, in dem dieser positive Wandel eingeläutet werden kann. Wie sie konkret Wandel bringen wollen, bleibt allerdings meist oberflächlich. Damit kommt man schon zu einem ersten Risiko. Die inhaltliche Struktur der Konzepte, mit denen Wandel gebracht werden soll, sind in den Interviews kaum von den InterviewpartnerInnen thematisiert worden. Bei der Frage danach, was die Befragten verändern würden, wenn sie das Land regierten, wurden vor allem pauschale Schlagworte genannt, ohne darauf einzugehen, wie diese Ideen realisiert werden sollen. Die Gefahr, welche allerdings in der Politik immer und überall existiert, ist also, dass konkretere Umsetzungsmaßnahmen scheitern, weil sie vorab nicht umfassend durchdacht und reflektiert sind.

⁸⁸ Siehe Auswertung Kategorie 1.2

Risiken beziehen sich im Kontext afrikanischer Länder außerdem vor allem auf das potentielle Angleichen des Verhaltens junger PolitikerInnen an festsitzende Charakteristika, was sicherlich den einfacheren Weg darstellt als tatsächlichen Wandel zu forcieren. Wie schon argumentiert, kann es selbst bei einem prodemokratischen Machtwechsel schwer sein, diesen Wandel durchzusetzen, weil die Kombination von Reformwillen und Machterhalt im Kontext der schwachen Institutionalisierung neopatrimonialer Systeme nur sehr schwer vereinbar ist. Dieses Problem identifizieren auch die InterviewpartnerInnen:

„Because currently you find some politicians entered as young politicians, entered with that spirit of change to speed up development but when they enter then, they find the seatbacks. Not ‘We are the young ones and everything should go quickly’, no ‘slow down, slow down, slow down’.“ (Interview 7: #00:36:51-2#)

Die individuelle Persönlichkeit junger PolitikerInnen und ihre Motivationsgrundlage für politisches Engagement können ebenfalls beeinflussen, ob der Generationenwechsel eine Chance oder ein Risiko für Demokratie ist. Jenen jungen Menschen, die ihrem Land dienen und Entwicklung bringen wollen, stehen jene gegenüber, die nur persönliche Ziele verfolgen. Diese unterschiedlichen Motivationsgrundlagen, die selbstverständlich auch koexistieren können, beeinflussen den konkreten politischen Alltag.

Außerdem gibt es Einflussfaktoren, die von der heutigen Elite ausgehen. So ist davon auszugehen, dass diese bemüht sein werden, bei ihrem Abtreten NachfolgerInnen zu bestimmen, die ihre Politik weiterführen.

Insgesamt wird nach Abwägen aller Chancen und Risiken geschlussfolgert, dass die derzeitige Generation junger PolitikerInnen jene seit der Unabhängigkeit ist, die das größte Potential zu positiver politischer Veränderung hat. In allen Bereichen von Politik lassen sich Tendenzen ausmachen, die auf eine steigende Bedeutung und wachsenden Einfluss dieser Gruppe schließen lassen. Gleichzeitig gibt es viele Risikofaktoren, die trotz Generationenwechsel dazu führen können, dass Politik weiterhin durch die beschriebenen Charakteristika von Politik in Afrika geprägt bleibt. Es hängt also von den jeweiligen Personen ab, die als VertreterInnen der jungen Generation die Machtpositionen von der älteren Generation übernehmen, ob sich die Chancen oder die Risiken durchsetzen.

Es lassen sich aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfrage 3.2 folgende Hypothesen ableiten:

1. Wenn es zu einem weitreichenden Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene in afrikanischen Ländern kommt und die VertreterInnen der jungen Generation Wandel bringen wollen, dann führt dies in der Mehrheit der Fälle zu einem Politikwechsel hin zu mehr Demokratie.
2. Wenn es zu einem weitreichenden Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene in afrikanischen Ländern kommt und die VertreterInnen der jungen Generation aus persönlichen Motiven handeln und/oder die Politik der VorgängerInnen weiterverfolgen, dann führt dies in der Mehrheit der Fälle nicht zu einem Politikwechsel hin zu mehr Demokratie.

9.9 Hypothesen

Aus der Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen wurden direkt Hypothesen abgeleitet, die nach jeder Forschungsfrage nachzulesen sind. An dieser Stelle werden nun die zentralsten Hypothesen, die aus der vorliegenden Arbeit generiert werden, zusammenfassend dargestellt.

1. Wenn die Politik eines afrikanischen Landes von einem oder mehreren der negativen Charakteristika von Politik dominiert wird, dann bedeutet dies immer Willkür und Intransparenz der politischen Praxis, sowie Eingrenzung der Partizipation (Bevölkerung & politische Opposition).
2. Je mehr Neopatrimonialismus und Gerontokratie in einer Gesellschaft verankert sind und je weniger Macht breit in der Gesellschaft angelegt ist, desto schwieriger ist es für junge PolitikerInnen in der parteipolitischen Arena Fuß zu fassen.
3. Wenn junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen ihr Politikverständnis beschreiben, dann ist dieses geprägt durch die politische Vergangenheit des eigenen Landes und liberale Ideen, die sich im Rahmen zunehmender Globalisierung in Afrika vermehrt durchsetzen.
4. Wenn junge Menschen in Afrika politisch aktiv werden, dann sehen sie sich immer mit Begrenzungen der politischen Partizipation konfrontiert, welche ihr Alter, ihren Stand in der Gesellschaft und/oder ihr unzureichendes finanzielles Kapital betreffen.

5. Je mehr zeitliche Distanz zu der nachkolonialen Zeit besteht, in der junge Menschen besonders stark aus der politischen Arena verdrängt wurden und aus der die älteren Eliten bis heute ihre Macht legitimieren, desto eher haben junge PolitikerInnen die Chance auf selbstbestimmte politische Partizipation.
6. Wenn junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen über persönliche Beziehungen zu EntscheidungsträgerInnen verfügen, dann erhöht dies grundsätzlich ihre Chancen auf politische Partizipation und Ämter.
7. Wenn junge PolitikerInnen in Afrika politische oder finanzielle Unterstützung von anderen Personen (meist mächtige PolitikerInnen) erhalten, dann geht das in der überwiegenden Anzahl der Fälle mit einer Einschränkung der selbstbestimmten Partizipation einher und dient vor allem dem Interesse nach Machtsicherung und Kontrolle der anderen Person.
8. Je jünger die Bevölkerungsstruktur insgesamt, desto größer ist der Einfluss junger PolitikerInnen des 21. Jahrhunderts, da diese die Bedürfnisse junger Menschen in der Bevölkerung in einer zunehmend globalisierten Lebenswelt teilen.
9. Wenn junge afrikanische PolitikerInnen die eigene politische Rolle beschreiben, dann bezeichnen sie sich selbst als *Macher* und formulieren *Wandel* als ihr Ziel.
10. Je mehr Einfluss junge PolitikerInnen bekommen, desto konfliktreicher wird das Verhältnis zur älteren Generation von PolitikerInnen, wobei sich der Konflikt zwischen den Generationen vor allem um Machtverhältnisse dreht.
11. Wenn es zu einem weitreichenden Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene in afrikanischen Ländern kommt und die VertreterInnen der jungen Generation den Willen zum Wandel haben, dann führt dies in der Mehrheit der Fälle zu einem Politikwechsel hin zu mehr Demokratie.
12. Wenn es zu einem weitreichenden Generationenwechsel auf politischer Ebene in afrikanischen Ländern kommt und die VertreterInnen der jungen Generation aus persönlichen Motiven handeln und/oder die Politik der VorgängerInnen weiterverfolgen, dann führt dies in der Mehrheit der Fälle nicht zu einem Politikwechsel hin zu mehr Demokratie.

10. Conclusio & Ausblick

„To have young politicians in Africa, in Tanzania, is an asset because the leaders who are not young are going to become resigned because of their age. And what we are going to stand with is to develop, to give political education to young and to grow with the politics. As you know, in Tanzania all the young people, who develop to this politics are going to bring change. You see that there is some sort of change compared with this aged persons.“ (Interview 4: #00:46:06#)

Die dritte afrikanische Demokratisierungswelle der 1990er Jahre brachte mit der weitläufigen Einführung von Mehrparteiensystemen und Wahlen in afrikanischen Ländern lediglich *virtual democracies*, die zwar eine Aura von Demokratie schafften, aber keine demokratische Praxis folgen ließen. Viele für Afrika typische Phänomene – vor allem Big Man Rule, Neopatrimonialismus, Korruption und die Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeiten⁸⁹ – bleiben bis heute wichtiger Bestandteil der politischen Systeme. Sie zeigen eine scheinbar unüberbrückbare Hartnäckigkeit. Nun befindet sich der afrikanische Kontinent, so die Annahme dieser Arbeit, in der vierten Welle bezüglich Demokratisierung, die ihren vorläufigen Höhepunkt in den Protesten und Regimestürzen einiger nordafrikanischer Länder hat. Durch die Auswertung zeigt sich, dass die Strukturen und die Unzufriedenheit, vor allem der jüngeren Bevölkerung, auch in den afrikanischen Ländern südlich der Sahara vorhanden sind und somit das Potential, dass die Entwicklungen in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft auch dort in irgendeiner Form zur Transformation in der Politik führen können.

Wie diese Transformation genau aussehen kann, ist umstritten. Diese Arbeit legt den Fokus auf junge PolitikerInnen und untersucht ihre Rolle in der politischen Arena hinsichtlich eines potentiellen Politikwechsels. Diese Rolle junger PolitikerInnen in afrikanischen Ländern ist derzeit de facto noch eine eher unterstützende. Selbstbestimmtes und kritisches Handeln wird gerade in der politischen Arena, die vornehmlich von älteren Eliten dominiert ist, eher versucht zu unterbinden oder zu kanalisieren, als zu fördern. Gleichzeitig wächst aber der Rückhalt in der Bevölkerung und junge PolitikerInnen drängen vermehrt in die politische Arena. Es zeichnet sich daraus folgend sowohl nach Analyse des aktuellen Forschungsstandes als auch nach der Auswertung der Fallstudie ab, dass das Generationenverhältnis auf politischer Ebene angespannt ist. Die wachsende politische Macht der jungen PolitikerInnen vor dem Hintergrund patriarchaler Strukturen ist dabei zentraler Konfliktpunkt. Dies ist auch eine The-

⁸⁹ Neopatrimonialismus und Korruption sind jene Charakteristika, die im Rahmen der empirischen Untersuchung dieser Arbeit insbesondere auch für Tanzania gezeigt werden konnten. Orientierung entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeit und Big Man Rule spielen in diesem Land nur eine marginale Rolle.

se der Arbeit insgesamt. Es wird angenommen, dass das Generationenverhältnis der derzeit jungen und älteren Generation erstmals ein Stadium erreicht hat, wo die jüngere Generation in einer Position ist, in der sie zumindest partiell Einfluss nehmen kann und zunehmend auch von Seiten der älteren Generation als ernstzunehmende AkteurInnen in der politischen Arena anerkannt werden müssen.

„*The youth are the leader of tomorrow.*” (Interview 3: #00:49:11#)

Was heißt es nun aber, wenn diese Generation junger PolitikerInnen als *leader of tomorrow* an politischer Macht dazugewinnt? Welche Veränderungen für Politik kann dies bedeuten?

Die Selbstwahrnehmung junger PolitikerInnen hat sich diesbezüglich am Fallbeispiel Tanzania sehr deutlich und parteiübergreifend gezeigt: Sie sehen sich selber als jene Gruppe, die politischen Wandel bringen wird. Der Wille zum Wandel ist das am häufigsten angesprochene Attribut, wenn die jungen PolitikerInnen ihre eigene Rolle in der politischen Arena ansprechen. Dieses wird dadurch unterstrichen, dass die jungen PolitikerInnen sich selbst als ‚Macher‘ beschreiben, die intellektuell, geistig und körperlich fähiger und moderner sind als die ältere Generation, die in alten Strukturen feststeckt und so keine Entwicklung für das Land bringt. Die Erfahrung und das Mehr an Ressourcen werden aber als Kapital der älteren Generation anerkannt, wenngleich die befragten jungen PolitikerInnen betonen, dass diese ihr Kapital oft einsetzt, um die eigene Macht zu festigen und nicht, um dem Land Fortschritt zu ermöglichen. Der politische Wandel, den die jungen PolitikerInnen bringen wollen, wird deshalb vor allem mit einem Wandel der Motivation zu politischem Engagement argumentiert. So werden die älteren PolitikerInnen mehrheitlich als korrupt und nur an sich selbst interessiert dargestellt, während die jungen PolitikerInnen mehrheitlich dem Land dienen und Entwicklung bringen wollen.

Wie diese Entwicklung aussehen kann, wird von dem jeweiligen Politikverständnis einer Gruppe geprägt. Deshalb wurde am Fallbeispiel Tanzania auch das Politik- und Demokratieverständnis junger PolitikerInnen untersucht. Dabei hat sich gezeigt, dass ihr Politikverständnis zwei Referenzrahmen hat: Die politische Vergangenheit des eigenen Landes und die Leitideologien der Neuzeit, die durch den zunehmenden Zugang zu globalen Kommunikationsnetzwerken und Medien vermehrt Einzug in die Köpfe junger PolitikerInnen finden⁹⁰. Für

⁹⁰ Diese These gilt allerdings nicht nur für junge PolitikerInnen in afrikanischen Ländern, sondern lässt sich weltweit anwenden.

die Fallstudie Tanzania ergibt sich nach der Auswertung eine Kombination aus Prinzipien liberaler und sozialistischer politischer Ideologie. Das schlägt sich auch im Demokratieverständnis nieder. Neben politischen Ideologien kann die Entscheidung, ob man Teil der Regierungspartei sein möchte, oder aber bewusst Oppositionsarbeit leisten möchte, ein weiterer wichtiger Einflussfaktor dabei sein, für welche Parteizugehörigkeit man sich entscheidet – was die Untersuchung in Tanzania gezeigt hat. Es wird angenommen, dass dies in vielen afrikanischen Staaten eine sehr wichtige Rolle spielt. Gerade junge Menschen engagieren sich vermehrt in Oppositionsparteien, weil sie mit der Politik der Regierungen unzufrieden sind und politischen Wandel bringen wollen. Bei allem allgemeinen Reformwillen, hat sich aber im empirischen Teil dieser Arbeit auch gezeigt, dass die konkreten Ideen für Wandel in der Praxis noch nicht ausgereift sind. So werden bei der Frage nach Veränderungen bei Machterhalt überwiegend allgemeine Schlagworte, wie Arbeitsplätze schaffen, genannt, aber wenig konkrete Strategien wie diese Ziele erreicht werden können.

Zentrale Erkenntnis der vorliegenden Arbeit ist auch, dass es unterschiedliche Motivationen zu politischem Engagement gibt und diese auch unterschiedliche politische Praxis bedeuten. Dies zeigen die Fallbeispiele junger PolitikerInnen für die Praxis und wird auch im empirischen Teil der Arbeit bestätigt. Es hängt also auch maßgeblich von den jeweiligen Persönlichkeiten ab, die als VertreterInnen der jungen Generation Machtpositionen von der älteren Generation übernehmen, ob sich die Chancen oder die Risiken eines Generationenwechsels auf politischer Ebene durchsetzen. Vor dem Hintergrund der Tatsache, dass die ältere Generation darauf bedacht ist als NachfolgerInnen Personen auszuwählen, die Politik in ihrem Sinne weiterführen, grenzt dies die Hoffnungen auf prodemokratischen Politikwandel etwas ein.

Insgesamt zeigt die Diplomarbeit auf, dass junge PolitikerInnen vermehrt motiviert sind Politik aktiv mitzugestalten und als politische AkteurInnen zunehmend anerkannt werden, dabei aber gleichzeitig mit zahlreichen schwerwiegenden Grenzen der Partizipation konfrontiert sind. Jene jungen PolitikerInnen, die es trotzdem schaffen wichtige politische Ämter zu übernehmen, tragen eine große Verantwortung hinsichtlich eines Politikwechsels im Zusammenhang mit dem anstehenden Generationenwechsel. Da es neben den herausgearbeiteten Grenzen unterschiedliche – eben auch egoistische – Motivationen zu politischem Engagement gibt und die ältere Generation versucht NachfolgerInnen zu finden, die in ihre Fußstapfen treten, ist davon auszugehen, dass der Generationenwechsel in der Politik nicht automatisch einen umfassenden Politikwechsel hin zu mehr Demokratie bedeuten wird, auch wenn das

Politik- und Demokratieverständnis, das im empirischen Teil für Tanzania gezeigt wurde, dies vermuten lassen würde. Vielmehr bleibt abzuwarten, welche Persönlichkeiten mit welchem Politikverständnis und welcher Motivation die wichtigsten Machtpositionen erlangen werden, und inwieweit es ihnen dann gelingt, den Kampf gegen die negativen Charakteristika mit dem eigenen Machterhalt in Einklang zu bringen. Zur Überwindung der negativen Charakteristika von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern braucht es deshalb starke PolitikerInnen, die Reformwillen und Machterhalt durchsetzen können, ohne dabei in alte Muster zurückzufallen. Hilfreich dabei, die Grenzen zu überwinden, ist sicher eine breitere Machtverteilung auf allen Ebenen der Gesellschaft. Gelingt dies, ist auch Entwicklung als Folge von Politikveränderung wahrscheinlicher.

In einer weiterführenden Forschung wäre es interessant herauszuarbeiten, welche Rolle Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im Kontext der herausgearbeiteten negativen Charakteristika von Politik spielt. Die These, dass ein Mehr an Entwicklungshilfe nur die Selbsthilfe bremst, wird immer lauter vorgetragen. Besonders auf politischer Ebene ist die Funktion von Hilfe in Form von Geld nicht unumstritten. So bereichern sich die Eliten hiermit oft noch mehr und die negativen Charakteristika von Politik festigen sich, während die eigentlich wichtigen Investitionen – beispielweise in demokratische Strukturen – ausbleiben.

Auch wäre es interessant, die Rolle moderner Kommunikationsmittel im Bezug auf den wachsenden Einfluss junger PolitikerInnen in der Politik näher zu betrachten. Wie sich in der Untersuchung am Fallbeispiel Tanzania gezeigt hat, sehen junge PolitikerInnen ihre Fähigkeiten im Umgang mit Online Social Networks, wie *Facebook* und *Twitter*, und dem Internet allgemein als wichtiges Kapital gegenüber der älteren Generation. Vor dem Hintergrund der zunehmenden Verbreitung dieser Kommunikations- und Informationsmöglichkeiten, kann angenommen werden, dass die nähere Untersuchung der konkreten Zusammenhänge interessante Ergebnisse bringen würde.

Last but not least, wäre es insbesondere wichtig, die in dieser Arbeit aufgezeigten Zusammenhänge in einer breiter angelegten Studie vertiefend zu erforschen. Da der Generationenwechsel bereits eingesetzt hat und sich die politische Zukunft Afrikas potentiell neu gestalten ließe, muss die Rolle junger PolitikerInnen unbedingt intensiver in den Forschungsfokus gerückt werden. Die vorliegende Arbeit liefert hierzu einen ersten explorativen Beitrag und zeigt verschiedene Tendenzen und potentielle Entwicklungen auf, die es unbedingt wert sind näher untersucht zu werden.

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12. Anhang

12.1 Freedom House Africa

Country	Freedom Status	Bürger-freiheiten	Politische Rechte	Trend Arrow
Angola	Not free	6	5	
Burkina Faso	Partly free	5	3	
Burundi	Partly free	5 ▼	5	
Cameroon	Not free	6	6	
Central African Republic	Partly free	5	5	
Chad	Not free	7	6	
Congo (Brazzaville)	Not free	6	5	
Congo (Kinshasa)	Not free	6	6	
Cote d'Ivoire	Not free	7 ▼	6 ▼	
Ethiopia	Not Free ▼	6 ▼	6 ▼	
Ghana	Free	1	2	
Guinea	Partly Free ▲	5 ▲	5 ▲	
Guinea-Bissau	Partly Free	4	4	↓
Kenya	Partly Free	4	3 ▲	
Madagascar	Partly Free	6	4	↓
Malawi	Partly Free	3	4	
Mali	Free	2	3	
Mozambique	Partly Free	4	3	
Namibia	Free	2	2	
Niger	Partly Free	5	4	
Nigeria	Partly Free	4 ▲	4	
Rwanda	Not Free	6	5	↓
Senegal	Partly Free	3	3	
Sierra Leone	Partly Free	3	3	
South Africa	Free	2	2	

Tanzania ⁹¹	Partly Free	3 ▲	3	
Uganda	Partly Free	5	4	
Zambia	Partly Free	3	4	↓
Zimbabwe	Not Free	6	6	

Quelle: Auszug aus Freedom House (2011): Freedom in the World 2011
http://www.freedomhouse.org/images/File/fiw/Tables%2C%20Graphs%2C%20etc%2C%20FIW%202011_Revised%2011_11.pdf

12.2 Funktionen Demokratie (Studie Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi)

Essentielle Funktionen von Demokratie aus Sicht der Bevölkerung

(Percentage saying "essential")

	Bot	Les	Mwi	Mali	Nam	Nig	Saf	Tan	Zam	Zim	Afro Mean
Political Procedures											
Majority rule	47	41	66	46	42	48	38	29	47	67	47
Freedom to criticize the government	41	39	58	39	26	46	35	45	40	60	43
Regular elections	46	32	47	46	37	45	37	30	36	61	42
At least two parties competing	45	35	45	33	22	53	29	38	38	58	40
Socioecon Substance											
Everyone has access to basic necessities	52	60	77	60	51	70	67	71	57	69	64
Jobs for everyone	49	64	55	63	53	73	73	54	45	67	60
Equal access to education	51	56	68	65	56	74	66	72	44	62	62
A small rich-poor income gap	34	37	50	50	26	57	35	47	29	51	42
Mean, Political Procedures	45	37	54	41	32	48	35	36	40	62	43
Mean, Socioecon Substance	47	54	63	65	47	69	60	61	44	62	57
Procedural – Substantive Gap	-2	-17	-9	-24	-15	-21	-25	-25	-4	-	-14

Question: "People associate democracy with many diverse meanings. In order for a society to be called democratic, how important is each of these?"
 Note: This question was not asked in Ghana or Uganda.

Quelle: Bratton/Mattes/Gyimah-Boadi: 2005, S. 88

⁹¹ „Tanzania’s political rights rating improved from 4 to 3 due to the more open and competitive nature of national elections held in October 2010” (Freedom House: 2011)

12.3 Interviewleitfaden

Introduction

1. Please explain how you personally entered the political scene.
 - Inquire about the role of his/her private background
 - Why did you join the party? What caught your interest? Leader, program, orientation of the party?
2. Which role do politics play for everyday life?
 - What is the main function of politics? What are the key objectives?
 - What do you think is the main role of a member of parliament? Please, describe a typical day of a parliamentarian.
 - How does your work influence everyday life? Examples?
3. Democracy. What does this word mean to you personally?
 - Please, characterize democracy and its meaning to you.
 - In a range from 1 (not important) to 10 (very important) – How important is democracy for a modern state?
 - How would you define a best practice democracy?
4. Would you please describe what politics are like in Tanzania?
 - Which role is allocated to democratization?
 - In which ways is democracy being pushed forward? (Are there concrete examples of pushing democracy forward?)
 - What weaknesses do you perceive in Tanzanian politics?
 - Goran Hyden (Professor at the department of political science at the University of Florida) said 2006 in regard to Africa: “Being part of the political opposition is a losing strategy”. Can you agree with this sentence?
5. What do you think are your particular assets as a young member of the parliament?
 - Have you ever had issues with the elder members of your party because of your age?
 - Are the elder members of your party taking you seriously? If so, how can you tell? Example?
 - Do you remember Amina Chifupa? She was also a young member of the parliament and she was trying to challenge established forms of authority held by the elders of the CCP. What do you think about her?
 - What is your opinion on how elder members see young politicians? Is there a particular role the elder members assign to young politicians in parliament?
 - Which particular assets do elder members have?

12.4 Fragebogen Soziodemografische Daten



Sociodemographic Data

- Sex: m f

- Age: _____

- Marital status: single married divorced widowed others: _____

- Highest educational attainment: Primary School Secondary School University

- Current profession : _____

- How many people are regularly living in your household? _____

- Political position/orientation: liberalism conservatism social democracy
 socialism others: _____

- If at all, member of which party? CCM CHADEMA CUF others: _____

12.5 Paraphrasierungen nach Interviews

Auswertung Interview 1

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

So, if you are in the opposition, you were seen like the people who needed to see violence in the country and unpeaceful living in the country, but currently the situation has changed. Most of the people they are now joining the oppositions and they are appreciating the work of the opposition. [...] They are the people who are identifying different things which are not in a good manner. (Interview 1 #00:09:32-1#)	Generelle Meinung, dass Opposition Gewalt bringt → aber wandelt sich
people they should have democracy, so that they can decide how they need to live, how they need to organize their things, how they need the constitution to be, how they need to develop. So, we are liberal and if you see, for example, we have had the "Ujamaa na Kujitegemea". For the ruling party CCM "Ujamaa" means it is like a communism. So, (,) if you start politics those countries like China that time they were following the system of communism, they have lost somewhere and now they are no longer following Ujamaa. So, we are liberals and liberals who have some (?), we are sure that you can achieve development. For example, to have a free democracy, to have a rule of law, to have free market economy where the market can be determined <u>only</u> according to the need of the people, not the government decides maybe the price. So, people can be able to buy and sale their goods and not to plan the price of everything. So, if we have a free democracy, we need a free market economy. [...] we are living in a global village and if you don't allow free market economy, it means you are escaping from where the world is now going. (Interview 1 #00:15:05-7#)	Liberal: - Demokratie - Freie Marktwirtschaft! - Rule of law → Deutliche Abgrenzung vom Kommunismus
The role of political parties. First of all they are supposed to work as a, let me say, watchdog function to the government. Because the government they are responsible to make sure that they deliver development in the public before they are collecting money from different angles; from the businessmen, from workers, from wherever in the country. (Interview 1 #00:20:18-2#) So, to help the government to implement their program [...] Whatever programs arrive in different areas we are used to be as the spokesperson of the public to the government so that they can implement what the public demands. (Interview 1 #00:22:48-0#)	Rolle Parteien: - Watchdog für Regierung - Regierung bei Umsetzung von Programmen helfen
So, if we don't have a stable government, if we don't have a stable democracy, we do not manage to have development in the country and if we have a clear and stable government, it means people what they will say their government will work to solve the problems of the public therefore no one will complain, therefore people will be free in their country. (Interview 1 #00:33:07-2#)	Keine stabile Regierung & Demokratie => keine Entwicklung!
So, it is important to have a stable leadership. (Interview 1 #00:36:14-9#)	Stabile Führung wichtig
So, as we said, we are liberal and if we are in power, we will see the first priority for us is how we can transform the public from our poor Tanzanians to the better life. (Interview 1 #00:54:58-4#)	Liberal, erste Priorität Lebenssituation für Bevölkerung verbessern

1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

most of the things they were not clearly known through the public from the parliament before. We have at least many members of parliament who are of the opposition and like now, for example, the national television and some few independent TVs. The people see now live from the parliament what is discussed, they see the emotions, they see how people contribute in the parliament. Therefore now people they understand the importance of being in the opposition camp in the parliament. (Interview 1 #00:11:54-4#) So, media, the access for media and what is happening in the world it helps people to see because before or during Ujamaa it was difficult to know what is happening in Mwanza though it is in Tanzania, it was difficult to know what is happening in Arusha though it is in Tanzania unless the government needs the people to know what was going on there. (Interview 1 #00:52:05-4#) They see in the TV, they are aware of what is written in the newspapers, but if you go to the villages where is no electricity, no roads, people are very poor there, they use the poverty of the people to (be in the political position?) [...] So, CCM they are using the poverty of the people as their way to be in power. [...] lack of civic education (Interview 1 #00:45:24-5#)	Medien haben zum besseren Politikverständnis der Bevölkerung beigetragen - Geschichtlicher Aspekt: Nach Ujamaa bessere Informationsmöglichkeiten → aber in ländlichen Gegenden noch nicht Dort wird Armut ausgenutzt, um durch Korruption an der Macht zu bleiben - Politische Bildung ist hier zu schwach
for example we have a market here where people use to come and sell and buy goods. The market was established before quite some times and it was controlled by the ruling party by that time; it was not the public. The taxes were collected there and it was taken directly to the party and our party played a role and said "This is the public place where people are coming to sell their goods and buy their goods. The collection of the funds here should be used for the public interest and not the party interest". So, we organized a meeting, we had some public (rallies?) and we told people that it is not correct to send the money for the party and we managed to establish a special committee for the market there. Right now the market is now used for the public and the funds collected there are not going to the party	Beispiel: Markt & Straße → tun gute Dinge für die Bevölkerung => sie werden gewählt

directly. [...] in my street where I am living I became a chairperson in 1999. I was the youngest chairperson in Dar es Salaam by that time. So, we from the CUF, we organized a fundraising, so that we can have a school because we had no primary school there. So, I established the committee and we did fundraising and right now we have two schools and therefore people appreciate and since 1995 till now the city government is under CUF because of what we did that time. So, we were doing some good things, people now they trust us. #00:25:43-4# (Interview 1 #00:25:43-4#)	
So, if this money can be used by few people who are in the government, people they see this and the gap between the rich and the poor it becomes broader. So, people they are not happy to see this kind of difference between the rich and the poor. So, they are complaining for the wealth of the country to be needed to divide the cake of the country for the consumption of the public of Tanzania. (Interview 1 #00:33:07-2#)	Schere zwischen reich und arm wächst, weil Bereicherung einzelner
Money? Yes, this is one of the biggest weaknesses we are facing. [...] So, it is no democracy size because if you buy people, if you compete because of your money, then you don't expect people they can have a clear choice of who they need to be their leader. [...] if people decide to support you because of your policy, then we can work together with the public, but if they support you because of your money I don't expect to have development in Tanzania. (Interview 1 #00:43:27-6#)	Korruption ist Problem, das Demokratie unmöglich macht und Entwicklung für Menschen behindert

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

To me democracy means freedom of a person to decide how he or she needs to live in this place. So, if there are no barriers or restriction for a person to decide; apart from knowing that there are some regulations from the laws which restrict people to do some other things that are not wanted. But democracy means just a rule of law where people are free to decide of how they need to live in their community. To me that is democracy. Interviewerin: So, you have a liberal view on democracy? Befragte/r: Yes, it is a liberal view. And as you said in a broader sense of democracy (1), Julius Nyerere our first president in Tanzania- We said democracy is the rule of the people by the people for the people. So, it means if you have a rule of the people and it is made by the people aiming to save the people. (Interview 1 #00:27:18-1#)	- Freiheit einer Person selber über Leben zu entscheiden - unter Rule of Law - Liberale Sichtweise - von, durch und für die Menschen
Yes, for the modern state democracy is good because it gives the people a freedom to believe, freedom to associate, freedom to speak, freedom to give opinions of what he thinks is wrong (?). So, in modern states democracy is very good, because if you don't have democracy, you don't have development. Because development and democracy it goes hand in hand; yeah, no development, no democracy. (Interview 1 #00:29:44-6#)	- Redefreiheit - Versammlungsfreiheit - Meinungsfreiheit - Demokratie = Entwicklung
So, leadership and democracy goes hand in hand. (Interview 1 #00:33:07-2#)	Führung und Demokratie hängen eng zusammen. Wenn gute Führung, dann auch gute Demokratie

2.2 Skala Demokratie

For a modern state? [...] I might range it at eight. (Interview 1 #00:27:52-1#)	Moderner Staat: 8
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3. Familiärer Hintergrund

most of my family, my father, my mother and my grandfather are doing politics since then. [...] So, I was from a family they were doing politics. Interviewerin: So, you were used to politics and interested because of your family. Befragte/r: Yeah, yeah. (Interview 1 #00:04:15-3#)	Kommt aus Politikerfamilie → deshalb politisch interessiert
Yes, he [Anm. his father] was a politician and my grandfather he even became a member of the parliament. #00:04:29-1#	Vater und Großvater waren Politiker
Though we had some sort of conflict because they needed me to be in the ruling party. So, once I jumped from the ruling party, I was not a member of the ruling party since then. But escaping from the ruling party and joining the opposition political party (1) somehow they were worried because according to the system of the country and the nature of politics it is that once you become in the opposition it seems like you are opposing everything. (Interview 1 #00:05:39-7#) so they said "If you like politics and what we are doing, so why can't you work in the ruling party? Why do you jump in the opposition?" Then I said "Because the aim of having oppositional political party is to make people to have a better choice of the candidates, of the policies, which policies can develop their country". (Interview 1 #00:06:20-7#)	Konflikt mit Familie, weil Befragte/r zur Opposition ging → Familie ist CCM
In fact I received much assistance from my family. (Interview 1 #00:06:57-7#)	Familie unterstützt Befragte/n

4. Motivation für Engagement

I started politics when I was in the secondary school. It was in 1993 that I started politics, almost one year after establishment of multiparty system in our country, and we had movements in our schools. Most of the students were trying to see how they can engage in the political arena (Interview 1 #00:00:54-2#)	Persönlich & allgemein: Beginn Mehrparteiensystem → viele junge Leute wollten politisch aktiv werden
so they said "If you like politics and what we are doing, so why can't you work in the ruling party? Why do you jump in the opposition?" Then I said "Because the aim of having oppositional political party is to make people to have a better choice of the candidates, of the policies, which policies can develop their country". [...] So, I decided to join the oppositional party. I can have a critical mind, know how I can criticize. Those are the wrong thinks from the ruling party so that we can have a better country, a better leadership in our country. (Interview 1 #00:06:20-7#)	Persönlich: Motivation in Opposition zu gehen: - Menschen haben bessere Wahl zwischen Kandidaten/Parteien - Kritik möglich - will bessere Führung
But, as you know, in most of the countries young people they are losing jobs, they have no jobs most of the young people. So, they find to join the politics maybe it can help them after changing of the new system of the government that they can help them to get an employment somehow. So, they are joining the politics of opposition because of lack of an employment. (Interview 1 #00:10:59-1#)	Allgemein: Junge Menschen arbeitslos → deshalb Engagement in Opposition
Because I have studied the constitution of the CUF and I have seen the constitutions of other political parties and I've seen the policy of the CUF and its constitution it can bring development to our country. (Interview 1 #00:15:05-7#) so the mixture of the capacity of our leaders plus the constitution and the policies of the party plus <u>how</u> we are, because we are in the grassroots. (Interview 1 #00:19:22-6#)	Persönlich: warum CUF: - Parteiprogramm - Führer - Verankerung in der Basis (grassroot)

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

If you see in our current parliament- Most of the members in our parliament are young generation and the ones who are transforming the parliament. (Interview 1 #00:47:26-6#)	Wollen Wandel und setzen diesen auch durch
The most of the young generation which are growing now they are aware of what happened during Ujamaa in 1996/97 ((meint wahrscheinlich 80er?)) (Interview 1 #00:49:31-7#)	Meisten kennen Geschichte
So, we need to come together as young politicians to see how we can make sure that the public resources or country national resources can be used for the betterment of the national and even international vibes. (Interview 1 #01:01:57-2#)	Junge müssen sich miteinander als Gruppe solidarisieren, um Entwicklung für Land zu bringen

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

So, it was so difficult and the most of the people they were told that to join in the opposition it means you are aiming to introduce violence in the country, there will be no peace and especially elders, they are saying so. (Interview 1 #00:09:32-1#)	Ältere haben Vorurteile gegenüber Opposition
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6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

I had been employed in the national radio; my profession is journalism. I was employed there. In 2005, while I was working there, my boss, my director told me "I have heard that you are a member of the opposition political party, so give me the truth whether it is true or not true". Then I said "It is true. I am working in the CUF, I am a leader there and currently I am a candidate in my wad." So, she told me you have to decide whether to leave politics and work here or to leave working here and then go and join the politics. (Interview 1 #00:08:18-2#)	Arbeitgeber wollen nicht, dass Angestellte politisch aktiv sind
If you see, apart from our chairperson and the director of the finance and maybe secretary general, the rest they are below 40 years. [...] I myself I've 33 years, we have a director for information and publicity she is 32 years or have our deputy secretary general Julius Mtatiro, he is 29 of age. So, most of the people are very young and we are taking decision making position. (Interview 1 #00:48:12-0#)	Junge haben Positionen, in denen sie Entscheidungsträger sind
Because in the ruling party it is very difficult to stand and say what you believe. (Interview 1 #00:58:51-2#)	Grenze: In CCM kann man nicht frei sprechen

7. Generationenverhältnis

then our chairman Prof. Ibrahim Lumpumba appointed me to be a director of organisation and election political affairs - the position I am now heading. (Interview 1 #00:02:42-8#)	Ältere verhelfen jüngeren zu Job
if you go through the political system in our country, you can find that most of the young people are the ones who join the opposition and most of the elders are the ones who remain	Jüngere: Opposition Ältere: CCM

in the ruling party. [...]And right now you can see some few elders now they are jumping from the ruling to the opposition. (Interview 1 #00:10:59-1#)	→ langsam Wandel: auch ältere in Opposition
Interviewerin: Do you think that maybe one can say that despite the fact that the other ones are wise persons because of their age that maybe they are not used to change their mind and not- You know the new times, that they don't want to change what they have learned their whole life and now there is something new and the young ones are coming up and maybe they are a little bit afraid of losing power? Befragte/r: Yes, what is happening there in the government is because of being afraid to lose power. [...]So, the government is afraid of losing the power because they don't know what will happen after that. (Interview 1 #00:54:58-4#)	Ältere haben Angst Macht zu verlieren, weil sie nicht wissen was dann kommt
They are saying "Kujifua magamba" to remove or to have a new skin and it has been publicized by the director of publicity of CCM Nape Nnauye. So, this is- CCM they know there are some few people who are very rich in the country, they are using the wealth of the country for their benefit and even in the CCM they are not ready to be outside the (,) they need to control the CCM and most of the CCM members they are not okay, they are not (?) of what they are doing. So, they are trying how they can remove their old skin so that they can have a new skin. It means that they need much young people to be in the decision making bodies in the CCM. Interviewerin: So, but as you said, the elders want some young one growing up in their mind; like they want to have them. Befragte/r: Yeah. (Interview 1 #00:56:50-1#)	CCM versucht mit jungen Leuten neues Image aufzubauen, aber diese sollen ihnen folgen
Though the days anyone can die at any time, but for the young people they have long time to exist in comparison to the elderly people, according to the nature, I mean. [...] Because there is today, there will be tomorrow and tomorrow after. So, they need to make sure that they serve the public for their achievement of the other generation which will come later after them. So, they need to come together despite of their political differences. [...] because this old people they've used most of their life and they used the products and the service of the country for their life, but they still they have a long time to exist. (Interview 1 #01:01:57-2#)	Junge haben noch eine längere Zeit vor sich als ältere → darum müssen sie mehr darauf achten was sie tun

8. Weitere Themen

1. Opposition vs. Regierungspartei (Verhältnis)

Auswertung Interview 2

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

Among the big role of our politicians or a political party like this is to educate people about politics, about their right, about what is going on in the government, about what is going on in the country. (Interview 2 #00:20:47-3#)	Aufgabe der Politik: politische Bildung der Bevölkerung verbessern
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1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

But for me joining politics I have seen a lot of change in my mind because I have recognized a lot of things in the country, in the political arena, in life, so I can see a lot of things. For example, before deciding to join in political activities (,) when I looked at life, I saw life is like me and my two friends or my five relatives, but coming to politics I saw that my life is about me and the majority of people out there; people in need, people who are suffering; that's how I came to define life. So, I come to understand life is me with the majority, apart from thinking the life I have is about me and some few minority friends and families and so on. (Interview 2 #00:06:24-4#)	Durch politisches Engagement erweitert sich der eigene Horizont
The CCM is the party which has got the bad history, the bad perception because it has people we call "mapizadi". People who, I mean, are thieves of the- How can I tell you? (,) People who grab the property of the people, I mean the public income, I mean what they do- (,) They benefit themselves from the public income. [...] But the minority of Tanzanians is suffering. (Interview 2 #00:11:27-9#)	PolitikerInnen bereichern sich an Nationalvermögen, während die Mehrheit der Menschen leidet.
I believe politicians monitor the life of people. [...] Politics is the one which controls the nation. Everything is decided politically. We meet that even this intellectuals, professionals are ignored but politicians - the view of politicians will be accepted while those from, I mean deserts parties, will be ignored. So, it becomes our daily life is driven by politicians. (Interview 2 #00:15:39-2#)	- PolitikerInnen regeln Leben - PolitikerInnen kontrollieren Leben- Alle Entscheidungen werden politisch getroffen- Sichtweise von PolitikerInnen steht über ExpertInnen
So, it depends to which areas of Tanzania you look, but because most of Tanzanians are in the village we can say that a half of Tanzanians are political aware and a half is still not going to be aware. But the speed of awareness, political awareness in Tanzania, I see that it is moving fast as politics also move fast. Change in our nation is very fast. At least we get hope that one day we will see that most of the Tanzanian are aware of political activities and they	Politische Bildung ist in Städten besser als auf dem Land → aber Wandel

can criticize the politics activities for their life. (Interview 2 #00:18:31-9#)	
When you go to elections around the towns areas, you can defeat them, but when you go to the village there where people don't know each and everything, they don't know A, B, C, D [...] So, then what they are going to sell is t-shirt, is money, is caps. So, they collect a group of people, they provide some t-shirts; they say "This is a t-shirt for you. You are wearing, so you have to select me. I'm your leader. You see that I'm carrying because I've given you a t-shirt" ((Auflachen)). [...] But for us, we go with words. ((Auflachen)). That is a very hard task. [...] They have got money and we have got words. So, what we do is like we try to block their money through our words. So, what we do is like we try to block their money through our words. We tell people "If they come with the t-shirt, take it and wear it, when they come with money take it and go on to eat, buy your family some goods, when they bring you some sugar take it and go drink tea but the vote, vote for me". Because when you take that maybe money and sugar once the day comes you ask him for a development he will tell you that "No, I've given you money, I've given you a t-shirt and so what kind of development do you want?" So, people try to understand "Okay, this people try to rob me through money, through -" (Interview 2 #00:22:02-2#)	Korruption im Wahlkampf funktioniert nur in ländlichen Gegenden Strategie dagegen: Worte
Among the things which have totally no democracy in our country are the elections. [...] you see evidence is the only you can believe in but if you don't see an evidence, you can't believe it. But actually that is what is happening and it has given us a headache. When you hear that in a certain constitutional election there is blood, people have fought, people have struggled, the police shoot people, it's because of this kind. People they see that we have won because even us we've got the pretender making the sum of all results. And through all results we know that we have won. But ((verächtlicher Laut)) the leader becomes vice-versa and we've not won. When you ask how ((auflachen)) (Interview 2 #00:40:10-7#)	Wahlbetrug
At least we have got the chance of giving awareness to people. And no one (?) this is a time where there exist a crash with the government but at least when they take the (?), they decide to leave, to leave you to do what you are doing and through rigging people and educating people about what they should do and what the reality is, I think the people they open up. They see that "okay, now you were given the registration notice" and know what you are supposed to do and it rig the time that the government is giving you the chance to do so. It's because if you don't-. If you-. (?) If the government is blocking you from reaching your goals, people are there. You tell people, people decide what to do. If they decide to fight with the police, if they decide to fight with the government, that's because you are doing for them. I feel if they want to rig the point where they are fighting for their rights, it means that we won't move at all. (Interview 2 #00:44:08-8#)	Durch Bildung der Bevölkerung kann man was gegen Betrug machen → diese wehrt sich zunehmend!
So, at least this freedom of speech we have been given through media, through what, even I will care. I mean the political parties are giving the chance to possess these newspapers, to possess media. At least it has given us the chance to move ahead with our matters and what we want to do and the access of reaching people-. You know this "msenge"; I mean in English we call it some kind of blogs. We call it in Swahili msenge, some kind of blogs, blog, blogs of freaking people has been registered. Especially when Kikwete started as president, he opened the door as he increased the chance to access. Apart from the late other presidents that blocked this opposition parties to access the place. (Interview 2 #00: 44:08-8#)	Seit Kikwete mehr Zugang zu Medien, Blogs etc., um Menschen zu bilden/erreichen
Will grow. And if the gap grows, it puts the country in a risk (1) of fighting. I think we have seen this in a lot of countries; the source of war, most of them is one person's right is taken by another person, or the gap between the poor and the rich increases and the poor witness the rich eating, without him eating. We'll take the government (off?) and come and grab your money ((verächtlicher Laut)) at the end I tell you to fight (?). (Interview 2 #00:57:05-5#)	Schere zwischen arm und reich wächst, weil Rechte eingeschränkt werden → kann zu Kampf mit Regierung führen

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

For me democracy is a state. First of all, it's a state where (2) I read the point, I will do my things (2) without breaking the law of my country and when I'm doing my things I should not meet in a kind of interference because the law allows me to do it (1) then something should not appear to block me. You see? And through my doings I should bring the positive change to my country. That's the democracy. So, also if no one blocks me to do my things but still I'm useless, still I don't bring any positive change, I'm useless and I'm not a democrat. Better to bring someone to monitor me because I've failed to use my brain, I failed to use my democracy. So, if I'm actually bringing change to my country and my country enjoys to have a person like me in the country, then I'm a democrat because democracy is the freedom of using your brain to bring change to your society. (Interview 2 #00:30:36-5#) Yeah, the rule of law, you should also follow the rule of law. Not doing everything because	- Freiheit zu handeln wie man will → dabei Rule of Law! - weil wenn man das nicht hat, dann kann man leicht die Rechte anderer durch das eigene Handeln verletzen - positiven Wandel für Land bringen → sonst nutzlos und kein Demokrat - Freiheit das Gehirn zu nutzen und positiven Wandel für Land zu bringen
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you are free. No, no, no. Because ((Auflachen)) if I can do anything, then there will be the time when I will block the right of others. So, that's also not a democracy. That is something else where- It's like fuju, in Swahili we call to fuju, violence. (Interview 2 #00:31:33-0#)	
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

The importance of democracy for me ((kurzes Auflachen)). It's ten. [...] Democracy should be ten. [...] I'm saying that democracy should be ten because the rule of democracy is to the life of every person. You see? Democracy should be- A person should be given a fully democracy. Not that of a colorful Ujanja Ujanja. Ujanja, ujanja is when you give a tricky democracy. You give the right in this way; you take it in another way. That is a tricky democracy. Ujanja, ujanja in Swahili we say. (Interview 2 #00:33:20-2#)	Moderner Staat: 10 Weil: Jeder Mensch sollte echte Demokratie bekommen, nicht Scheindemokratie
But in our country ((kurzes Auflachen)), the democracy we see in our country is like (1) - I can give like 50 percent. It's a democracy and sometimes it's not a real democracy. There are lots of tricky things happening here in our country and these things are the one we are fighting with. Because they tell that we have given you democracy to do things, but you make that up to rig the democracy you have been promised. There are lots of barriers out there to rig that democracy and you see that there is another way which you can go straight to your democracy without those some kinds of breaks and those breaks have been put simply because there are people who want to benefit in your journey to democracy. There are people who want to benefit from that. (Interview 2 #00:34:28-7#) So, you see that we have got a democracy which actually is not a real democracy. It's democracy with some kind of some big boss who want to benefit from our democracy. (Interview 2 #00:36:23-6#)	Tanzania: 5 Ist tricky democracy. → Offiziell Demokratie, aber viele Begrenzungen und Einschränkungen, weil einige wenige sich Bereichern wollen

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

No, my parents are no politicians ((kurzes Auflachen)). [...] My parents, my relatives are not politicians at all and they don't like politics. [...] All the time they tell me "You guy why have you decided to go in politics?" (Interview 2 #00:04:53-0#)	Keine PolitikerInnen in Familie Familie mag Politik nicht
They totally don't want politics. They are religious people and religion and politics sometimes are (,) two different things. (Interview 2 #00:06:24-4#)	Familie religiös – darum keine Politik

4. Motivation für Engagement

I mean it's something to defend my country. I was much interested to defend my citizens, my fellow Tanzanians. (Interview 2 #00:01:19-0#)	Persönlich: Land/Menschen verteidigen
fortunately when I came there to the party, I became close in the Civic United Front, CUF. It's the one I came much closer than the other parties because by that time the party which was much stronger of the opposition parties was CUF and myself I was totally opposing the ruling government, it's matters and what it was doing to the citizens. So, I was opting the opposition parties and the opposition party I saw by that time was CUF (1) and up to now I see the party which has got some muscles, the real muscles for the struggle for the citizens is the Civic United Front. (Interview 2 #00:03:52-8#) Since when I was entering the party, as I said, it was the only leading opposition party in Tanzania, that's one. Two, it is the party which moves systematically, it got some kind of system which is not- I mean the power of the party is not from a group of people, single person or someone else, but the power of the party is from people (,) is from majority of the people. [...] So, that shows some kind of seriousness (Interview 2 #00:08:17-5#)	Persönlich, warum CUF: - starke Opposition - hat genug Kraft für die Menschen zu kämpfen - einzige Möglichkeit oppositionellen Engagements - System der Partei, wird nicht nur durch einige wenige kontrolliert → seriös!
doing I tell them that I'm okay and I am comfortable working here because this is the way I'm playing my part to serve my fellow Tanzanians because through a party like this I can stick for various people, for the majority of Tanzanians out there. (Interview 2 #00:04:53-0#)	Persönlich: - will Mehrheit der Tanzanier dienen
They want to become politically simply because they want money, they want cash. [...] We have got those kind of- I was a ((kurzes Auflachen)) because I (?) from my university, I got my fellow leaders in our organization, student association. They said it clearly and openly. You know we had the time for discussing in the rooms and they said "When I become a leader ((kurzes Auflachen)) and I want you to see, in our nation if you want good money, if you want a good job, be politician." They said it clearly ((empörte Aussprache)). [...] Especially politicians from universities they believe if you want money, (1) be a politician. [...] Because the kind of politicians we have now are the politicians of money seeker. [...] So, they think like "wow if this person did nothing but simply became a leader, he became a political leader, he is owning such kind of car." So, they see now business in the politics. Just go, become an MP, you have a car and things will go and we have seen a lot of them. (Interview 2 #00:53:28-4#)	Allgemein: Gibt welche, die in die Politik gehen, weil sie Geld/guten Job wollen - dort werden sie verdorben und sind schlechtes Vorbild für nachkommende junge Menschen → Folge: Politik = Geschäft

<p>Youths want money. [...] Most of the people want money. So, youths come from university and (?) see there and who pay you something like (?) but then it passes like five years, you don't buy me a car (?). But we have got also the ones who were accept (?) and force him to fight, force him to join the politics for the interest of the people, that they believe through this way I can serve my fellow Tanzanians. #00:55:43-2# (Interview 2 #00:55:05-9#)</p>	<p>Allgemein: alle wollen Geld, aber gibt auch jene, die Land dienen wollen</p>
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5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

<p>I can say for the political for five years back in our nation (,) young people played the critical role (,) bring sense in this country. As you know, for years young-. Mostly we need change, we don't want the bla bla bla. If you try to bring bla bla bla we turn you out. So, when the politics give chances to youth, then this young people use the opportunity. (Interview 2 #00:26:04-1#)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kritisch - wollen Wandel/kein bla bla - nutzen Gelegenheiten
<p>But nowadays people look which kind of person youth supports, and youth has got also influence in the society. [...] And of course youth nowadays they are good organized. They organize themselves and they organize other people to vote for a certain person. [...] If you put youths in your hands, you have got good supporters who will find other voters. #00:26:04-1#</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Einfluss in Gesellschaft - gut organisiert - gute Unterstützer
<p>The election of last year, youths were the one who brought change. Youths, maybe especially those who are at the university, all the time they are in their facebook or in their blogs. They promote a certain party, this party, this person this kind of president should be. (Interview 2 #00:27:39-8#)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bringen Wandel - nutzen OSN
<p>We are good communicators, we are good socializers and that is one of the big facts. You know, youths are socializers ((Auflachen)). If you get, for example, one youth as your agent, I'm sure that out of five days he will come with other members. (Interview 2 #00:28:57-1#)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gute Kommunikatoren - Gute Sozializers
<p>fortunately by the time when youths are not afraid of anything we've got those youths (Interview 2 #00:47:28-4#)</p>	<p>Furchtlos</p>
<p>youths always don't look on time. What they say they want is the one thing to be done. (Interview 2 #00:47:28-4#)</p>	<p>Handeln schnell</p>
<p>The youths we have are the one who want to see impact; most interested in impact. (Interview 2 #00:49:09-0#)</p>	<p>wollen Effekte sehen</p>
<p>most of youths enjoy to see other youths in political arena and they invite them "Welcome". Because those of us who are in the politics want to see others come. We want them to come and assist us to move ahead. So, we need assistance and that's why we don't see that fighting to each other because we need the assistance and support from youths. (Interview 2 #01:05:52-9#)</p>	<p>Wünschen sich noch mehr junge Menschen in der Politik</p>
<p>So, when the politics give chances to youth, then this young people use the opportunity. (Interview 2 #00:26:04-1#)</p>	<p>Chance: Wenn Chance, dann nutzen sie diese</p>

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

<p>You know, elders, most of them are slowly. Once you decide something they want first to sit at the table and discuss it (Interview 2 #00:47:28-4#)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Langsam -wollen alles erst diskutieren
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6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

<p>I was in the PR department and it was like a committee for among Mr. Mtatiro for himself. [...] then later the party was in need of a PR. They wanted to employ a PR. So, that was an opportunity because there were people in the party who knew "there is a guy, we worked with and we know his ability, he could fight to do this work". Then I joined there. (Interview 2 #00:02:29-6#)</p>	<p>Chance: Durch ehrenamtliches Engagement erhöht sich Chance auf Job</p>
<p>They are seeing policies they ban it. I got a meeting, they ban it, everything they ban and they want everything you do (,) to ask them for permission. [...] If you ask for permission, they ban it. The reason for banning they say that according to our intelligence we find that there are some crimes going to happen there. ((Verächtlicher Laut)) Which kind of crimes? ((verächtlicher Laut, Auflachen)) Interviewerin: So, it's just to find any reason to stop you. ((Auflachen)) Befragte/r: Yeah, to stop you and obvious they say that it is the national security. National security, always they come with that reason that the rally you are going to do is against the national security. So, they won't allow it. ((kurzes verächtliches Lachen)) Interviewerin: ((kurzes Lachen)) So, that makes work hard, hm? Befragte/r: It's very hard. It's really the time to force it. The police they say that "no, you should not do it" but for us we say we will do it. So, you prepare yourself to fight with the government. Simply because they block, they decided to block the democracy. (Interview 2 #00:45:15-0#)</p>	<p>Grenze: Alles kritische politische Engagement wird unterbunden</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mit Argument der Nationalen Sicherheit - macht politische Arbeit schwer <p>=> manchmal wird Gewalt eingesetzt, um trotzdem tun zu können</p>
<p>We are a young party and we decided to transform it that way because as the country goes the politics is in move in our country. Youths, it's their time now. Most of political parties now they want to opt for youths. So, if you remain with the elders, elder, elders- (Interview</p>	<p>Chance: Parteien wollen sich in Richtung Jugend transformieren</p>

2 #00:49:53-2#)	
"You, you are trying to oppose me? You know that I'm the ruling party so you'll miss your school, you'll miss each and everything." So, they go back. So, if you are terrifying in that way, you threat him that if you enter in the politics, you enter in the opposition parties, you'll lose your schools, you'll get nothing and your life will be (?) in work. Most of youths they decided to go back, they are afraid, they know that- (Interview 2 #00:58:29-3#)	Grenze: Einschüchterung von jungen Menschen, die sich in Opposition engagieren wollen → viele haben Angst und ziehen sich zurück
But nowadays people are speaking loudly, speaking openly, they can speak quite orderly but by the time when you speak about the tendency you write an article about the trade and you talk maybe in a negative way (1) the next morning you hear the door knocking [...] Someone says that maybe he is a police "I've heard that you have got a bangi in your room". You know bangi? [...]Bangi is mariuhana. "You have mariuhana in your room"[...] I've never seen marijuana and he says "You have it". So, when you allow him to enter inside; He has got- I mean a police comes with marijuana in his pocket he puts in your house and says "This is yours". So, people decide, youths say "No, this is not police". (Interview 2 #01:01:16-0#)	Grenze: Wenn man offen spricht und kritisiert, dann kommt Polizei und schiebt einem etwas unter
So, when once another young person comes with the great abilities and terrifying him that he is also qualified to get that position. Oh, some kind of conflicts can happen there, conflict of interest. Maybe you can channel it in another way "Can you leave that for me?" or what. This kind is present especially when people are trying there for their interests. (Interview 2 #01:07:09-5#) those who are (3) who don't have politics in blood; when those kind of crisis happens either decided to leave politics, go somewhere else, being employed, maybe open a business, either move ahead with like for those who are politically ended. They wait or they shifted to another position or another party where they see that there they can survive and reach more. (Interview 2 #01:08:24-7#)	Grenze: Gibt auch Konflikte um Positionen unter den jungen PolitikerInnen Kann sein, dass pol. Karriere dann vorbei oder Wechsel in andere Partei

7. Generationenverhältnis

So, even older politician recognize that if you want votes in our country, now you have to find the youths. If you leave them, it means you will go out. Even CCM now they will recognize that because there was much brain with these elders, but they see that the chance now has changed too, has moved to youths. (Interview 2 #00:26:04-1#)	Erfolg auch für ältere nur noch mit Unterstützung jüngerer
Youth are visible because we are not afraid. I can carry a picture of a leader, a movement in town with it, but an old person cannot do that because first of all he is afraid. (Interview 2 #00:27:39-8#)	Junge haben keine Angst, ältere schon
So, once we want to go to some other places we make sure that in every place we go, we got some youths we are working with and fortunately we have got many of them out there who support us and who are working with us and actually are the ones who have made us much successful in the activities because there are things which-. One would say that our elders they can't make that. You know, elders, most of them are slowly. Once you decide something they want first to sit at the table and discuss it and make this while time is moving but once you get youths, youths always don't look on time. What they say they want is the one thing to be done. So, when those elders are discussing their matters, youths are moving ahead, performing activities which should be performed. (Interview 2 #00:47:28-4#)	Es gibt Dinge, die jüngere besser können als Ältere: Sie treffen schneller Entscheidungen und handeln schneller
So, if you decide rather to sit down and discuss something, if you do too late, they can do it by themselves. So, the system where you can monitor them, when you give some reason they can understand you, if they see that your reasons are not satisfying, they will leave you with your discussions and they go ahead doing their things. But actually we have managed to monitor our youths. At least they follow what the party rules want them to do and at least what the leaders say, at least they are obeying. [...] We have no youths who can rid the times. Though that happens, most of them are the ones who follow the rules of the party and what leaders say and want them to do and actually you can see that even our leaders they have tried to go with the conditions of youths, what youths want and how they want it to be, at least they try to follow it. (Interview 2 #00:49:09-0#)	Partei hat es geschafft Jugend zu zügeln

8. Weitere Themen

- Opposition vs. CCM (Behinderung der Arbeit)

Auswertung Interview 3

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

<u>We</u> do believe, because politics in Tanzania we say “politics first, then economics“, but we say “No“. We believe the economical first and then the politics follow. (Interview 3 #00:08:44#)	Wirtschaft vor Politik → liberal
So they are taking the umbrella of <u>Tanzania</u> to <u>separate</u> Zanzibar. (Interview 3 #00:20:19#)	Zanzibar wird benachteiligt
I’m a <u>liberal</u> . If you say liberal, they want free and fair election, freedom of religion, respect of human rights and we can talk about (1) mass participation in decision; (Interview 3 #00:22.12#)	Liberal: -freie, faire Wahlen - Menschenrechte - Religionsfreiheit - Massenpartizipation bei Entscheidungen
they can give the opposition party and then they have to look if they really can fulfill or this is only words and then will decide “we go back to that side because we are not (satisfied?)” (Interview 3 #00:39:48#)	Politischer Zyklus: Wahl- Performance- Bewertung-Konsequenz
We can <u>work</u> with the people from <u>grassroot</u> because they are the people who are <u>daunt</u> , they are just only known during the voting time but when you come in the parliament you just sit there, the minister you know (only are there for?) few people and you don’t care about the changing or dawn. (Interview 3 #00:10.56#)	Bezug zur Bevölkerung wichtig, ist bei Regierungspartei nicht vorhanden

1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

The ruling party is looking for only supporting them, so many people were disappointed “We are not employed because we are supporting the opposition. “ So there is much problem between us and the ruling party, they were desperate and some of them they loosed the hope that they can be employed. (Interview 3 #00:17:21#)	Nachteile im Leben durch Engagement in Opposition
We have the saying that they are only working for the small fish like Sadim, but they are leaving the <u>sharks</u> and worse, the biggest one. So they come and catch you as a teacher or an accountant to take corruption for maybe 100.000 but those few who are corruptive seriously they are leaving. (Interview 3 #00:26.16#)	Korruption: Es werden nur die kleinen Fische geangelt
I said “ <u>Every election in Zanzibar</u> you’ll see, apart from this last one, you’ll see there is army tanks <u>passing</u> through the way, you see people with the bazookas and army with the guns; there is no <u>war</u> but this makes fear for the people not to go to vote and make discardment and during the election people were beaten, were hurt, were killed and so many things were happening. But then in 2005 they motivated groups from Maska, they call Selox, from some area and they know these are supporters and said “When we finish election we will employ you. What we you want to do: You will be taken to a camp, you’ll be trained, we give you some domestic weapon like machetes and some hammer and we say that today you go somewhere, there is a strong opposition, go and beat them.” [...]I mean, they teach them <u>how</u> to rig the election, okay? [...]There is <u>so</u> many <u>technic</u> . (Interview 3 #00:31:54#)	- Angstmache während der Wahlen schüchtert Wähler ein - junge Menschen werden im Wahlkampf trainiert Menschen einzuschüchtern

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

That’s a very wide terminology. (1) [...] I mean Democracy is a decision of the people which is decided by the majority about what they want for their future or for development of their country or whatever desired but we should respect each other, we should be working together and we should be in terms of free and fair. I mean people must be binding by law and this is not by word but by action and the democracy should be exercise and people they <u>have</u> to decide on their own who they want and not by forcing by any other political organs or governmental organs or whatever interference of other things and that’s how I can explain that. [...] I’m a <u>liberal</u> . If you say liberal, they want free and fair election, freedom of religion, respect of human rights and we can talk about (1) mass participation in decision; But all things are free. So, at the end of the day, it does not go beyond the boundary. People should have right, exercise their power according to the law. And no one has more rights than the others. (Interview 3 #00:22.12#)	- weite Begrifflichkeit - Entscheidung der Mehrheit über Entwicklung und Zukunft/ gegenseitiger Respekt/frei und fair Zusammenarbeiten/kein Zwang/Rule of law Liberal: Gleiche Rechte für alle/Menschenrechte/Massenpartizipation bei Entscheidungen/ Religionsfreiheit/freie, faire Wahlen
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

Well, I can say there are different changings. I mean every day we are improving but from what decision we made last year to form government of national union or national unity it can help because now we see the difference. There is a <u>peace</u> in our country. Before that when you finish election you will not see anybody here. People were taken to the jails, people were beaten, people who work for opposition were kicked out from the office, <u>even students</u> were sucked, but now there is at least peace for the first time, one. But two, being some of the members from opposition party, being <u>ministers</u> . So it helped to calm the	Tanzania: 3 Positiv: Es herrscht Frieden, einige Oppositionelle im Parlament
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situation; <u>even</u> in the terms of negotiation problems they can sit down and talk. And then I think there will be changing but now you can say if we are <u>one</u> and we are going to <u>ten</u> , I think we are at least at three. (Interview 3 #00:34:55#)	
Interviewerin: So, you think that ten should be what a modern state, a democratic state needs. Befragte/r: Yes, I believe that but the thing is, I can say that I believe it can be <u>ten</u> and it can be <u>changing</u> , but only if it depends on political. If there is <u>good will</u> , we can reach ten, there is nothing that can stop us	Moderner Staat: 10 Zukunft Tanzania: 10, wenn politischer Wille da!

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

In my family actually there was no historical background for politics, my father just worked in government press. (Interview 3 #00:05:30#)	Keine PolitikerInnen in Familie
So, he was a technician and my mother (,) you can say housewife, she was doing her own work, selling machines, making clothes. So even though when I started to involve in the politics they were supporting me. I mean they did not say anything bad. I mean they are members of CUF and they are hearing CUF. (Interview 3 #00:07:00#)	- Familie unterstützt - Familie ist in selber Partei

4. Motivation für Engagement

I haven't planned before to come in the politics arena but coincidence with my friends who was in the politics. I don't think if you know (Saladu?). [...] He was a friend of me and he asked me to come to work with him in the department of foreign affair. And when I joint here in 2004, then I started to work in the politics, but before that as a young (1) I've been party activist. (Interview 3 #00:00:53#)	Persönlich: Nicht geplant beruflich in Politik zu gehen, aber von Freunden motiviert - vorher Aktivist
By the time I was finishing my first degree in university. It was during election 1995, that was the first general election, and because (,) that was the first multiple general election in Zanzibar and all the younger ones were more motivated by changing of politics especially because it came from single party to multi party; [...]So, I have been here for this politics changing politics. (Interview 3 #00:02:42#)	Allgemein & persönlich: → Wechsel Einparteiensstaat zu Mehrparteiensstaat → Wollen politische Wandel
So, I came in politics in that way because the changing of political background in Zanzibar is influenced in the one way (,) whether we go for the opposition party or for the ruling party. Then I decided to join into the political opposition party because I was looking for the new changing. (Interview 3 #00:05:01#)	Allgemein & persönlich: Gibt nur Wahl zwischen Regierung und Opposition → Opposition = Wandel
First of all, I think the motivation which makes me to join this party is because people who are tired with the ruling party which is long the way we have been coming to that way; [...] So, you see, <u>most of us</u> we support the CUF because of the Union; because we are defending for our right and as we said before, we need the union of free government union and not the two governments. So, you see, all people that are supporting this, the young people, you may see we struggle in this union, we do not benefit and this is the only way and we support it. So, it is not only for him but it's a CUF policy, free union government, which is motivation most of people supporting that. Apart from that, because the ruling party has been working for so long since 1964 to 1995- there has nothing they have done for us, there is no changing. So <u>we believe</u> if the new party is coming, (,) we can make a change. (Interview 3 #00:08:44#)	Persönlich- warum CUF: - gegen Regierungspartei (hat keinen Wandel gebracht) - Union, fühlen sich unfair behandelt → Ist policy der Partei

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

So I think this youth they have much advantage to make changes; more than the previous one because <u>now</u> if we decide to work through Facebook or Twitter or any other social network, we can communicate at any time and they can't control it. (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Können Wandel bringen, da Kontrolle nicht mehr möglich
work through Facebook or Twitter (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Nutzen neue Kommunikationskanäle
, so youth is everywhere and you can organize <u>all</u> . So the youth they can do a changing; (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Organisieren sich, bringen Wandel
But youth themselves now they can make it because they can decide. (Interview 3 #00:39:48#)	Stark, Entscheidungsmacht
the <u>youth</u> are supporting the <u>youth</u> (Interview 3 #00:44:50#)	Unterstützen sich gegenseitig
many of the youth they have a good opportunity to get higher education, they have the opportunity to get training, they can learn quickly, their brain is working very fast. Interviewerin: Yeah, and they are used to all this internet, Facebook- Befragte/r: Yeah, they have got access. (Interview 3 #00:46:42#)	- viele haben Chance auf gute Bildung - Chance auf Training - lernen schnell - Gehirn arbeitet schnell - Zugang zu Internet etc.

as a president to the others let us consider youth can <u>do</u> it and once they are united as the youth together they can expose more than that and they can do something, they can make changing (Interview 3 #00:49:11#)	- can do it - wenn vereint als Junge, dann noch mehr zeigen - können Wandel bringen
they are good speaker, they are good challengers challengers and form the ruling party and from the opposition party. (Interview 3 #00:49:11#)	-gute Sprecher - Gute Herausforderer → von allen Parteien
So what you see happened with youth in Egypt is gone happen to anywhere now because the youth now they know “Oh, if youth can do, we can do that. Why are we at the back? If we can raise pressure for two or three days, the people will <u>go</u> or will make changing”. (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Chance: Jugend glaubt an sich und Veränderung
The youth are the leader of tomorrow. (Interview 3 #00:49:11#)	Führer von morgen

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

Every elders are worrying in future of political parties because they know most of them they are not negligible, they are only working for politics. (Interview 3 #00:41:57#)	- Haben Angst um Zukunft politischer Parteien - haben nichts außer Politik
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6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

The ruling party is looking for only supporting them, so many people were disappointed “We are not employed because we are supporting the opposition. “ So there is much problem between us and the ruling party, they were desperate and some of them they loosed the hope that they can be employed. (Interview 3 #00:17:21#)	Grenze: Nachteile im Leben durch Engagement in Opposition
African leaders, they are under their one umbrella. I mean, I’m from Tanzania, this is from Kenya, this from Zimbabwe and we all know that <u>if</u> I have to win an election, I have to use some technic and I come to you, I bring my good, “How can you help me to win the election?” and we meet all of us and discuss. For example first of all they have to make sure they use all their state organs: Police, army, <u>even</u> judge (1) by <u>any means</u> they have to support them so that they can win. So you think “Where can you go?” ?” If you go to court, the judge will disappoint you but you can’t fight with the police and army. (Interview 3 #00:31:54)	Grenze: Problem mit afrikanischen Herrschern: Nutzen Tricks um an Macht zu bleiben → helfen sich gegenseitig => kann man sich als Normalbürger nicht gegen wehren
And for the case of Zanzibar the registration was very difficult because they say that you must have the Zanzibar Identity Card to be registered but how do you get the Zanzibar Identity Card? You have to go to the local leader. But this person is the one who knows your political background and if you are in the opposition, he is not giving you the permission. [...] And that’s why you see about 6000 people <u>youth</u> in Zanzibar haven’t voted this time because of this technique (Interview 3 #00:33:34#)	Grenze: Wahlen – keine ID Card, wenn Opposition => kann nicht wählen - viele Junge können nicht an Wahl teilnehmen
some people are so selfish and they want to remain in power because they are political problems like the corruption or they think they are the only men who can benefit from that and they don’t want to see changing. (Interview 3 #00:36:00#)	Grenze: Mächtige wollen Macht behalten, darum behindern sie Wandel
So what you see happened with youth in Egypt is gone happen to anywhere now because the youth now they know “Oh, if youth can do, we can do that. Why are we at the back? If we can raise pressure for two or three days, the people will <u>go</u> or will make changing”. (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Chance: Jugend glaubt an sich und Veränderung
So I think this youth they have much advantage to make changes; more than the previous one because <u>now</u> if we decide to work through Facebook or Twitter or any other social network, we can communicate at any time and they can’t control it. The government can’t control it. (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Chance: Durch neue Medien mehr Chancen auf Wandel als vorher, weil Regierung Jugend nicht mehr kontrollieren kann
Maybe they [Anm: youth] need to get brainwashed or need some sort of training and know how to perform the strategy. I mean it needs some organisation to perform this issue. (Interview 3 #00:38:15#)	Chance/Grenze: Jugend braucht Training bevor erfolgreich sein können
<u>In our party</u> the <u>youth</u> community is a member of what they call executive committee of the party. You talk about secretary, he goes straight in that meeting, he is a member of that, but <u>again</u> in the governing council, which is the <u>highest</u> decision making, it is the <u>chairman</u> of youth and the secretary are also members of this. So, they get the chance to <u>represent</u> the youth (Interview 3 #00:45:37#)	Chance: Vertreter der Jugend können an wichtigen Meetings teilnehmen
It is good on one side when you are as she was serious to make challenge and she tried to expose about this drugs issue and maybe corruption but what <u>happened</u> , we don’t know. It’s very contradictive. We <u>can’t say</u> there is a hand from (.) state organ or it’s a superstition or whatever the case. But this could discourage other youth (.) because Amina she was starting to express her serious issue for youth and when you talk about the <u>drugs</u> (.) about 80 percent	Grenze: Wenn man kritisch ist, Gefahr, dass etwas passiert → Entmutigt viele junge

of the drug smellers or whatever are <u>youth</u> . The older are the dealers who are selling it but not using. The users are <u>youth</u> and when you are expressing that issue and then unfortunately happen this other disease to you, people they say it was because she was saying that and this country, they have got their own mafia they can do this things. So definitely some youth they have been discouraged. (Interview 3 #00:49:11#)	Menschen, wenn sie sehen was mit Amina Chifupa passiert ist
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7. Generationenverhältnis

You see how the elders fear the youth because they know they are coming to take our chance and at the end of the day even in the <u>meeting</u> they were saying that youth cannot do it; but look now. This is what the youth of who they say they can't do it now they have been done more than you and he approved that and that and that. And what you see, the gap, we see it in the election results; this youth they can make a difference in You Tube. (Interview 3 #00:41.57#)	Ältere haben Angst vor jüngeren - weil diese ihnen Chancen nehmen - Ältere behaupten, dass Jüngere nichts können
we had what we call primary election, which is before to go to the national election within the party itself. So there were the youth and <u>this</u> youth were taking number one or some of them number two and then the governing council had a problem with that and the youth are standing and say "No, no, no. We are the youth, we have to get this opportunity". (Interview 3 #00:44:50#)	Wenn Jüngere politischen Erfolg haben, haben Ältere Problem damit
but I don't want to say "I <u>have</u> to support the youth". I have to support somebody who is <u>capable</u> for that, <u>that's</u> my view. But they can motivate people to the other of them but if you know there is an older one who proofs to be very good, I can support and when the youth one <u>proof</u> earlier, why do not support? (Interview 3 #00:44:50#)	Wahlentscheidung sollte von Persönlichkeit abhängen und nicht von Alter
But they still are feared we know that because like in mainland there is one- I don't know if he is still youth but when he became a director he was still <u>youth</u> . So, they know that at the end of this there will be changing <u>within</u> the party and in the government itself and there was fear everywhere. (Interview 3 #00:46.22#)	Angst, weil es auch innerhalb der Parteien Wandel geben wird

8. Weitere Themen

- Union (Zanzibar vs. Mainland)
- Korruption/ Missbrauch von pol. Macht

Auswertung Interview 4

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

I'm going to bring changes to the education and create <u>employment</u> opportunity to the society because when I'm going to create this and to create the education center for the society, I mean there is no anything which can give me the error to be a candidate. Interviewerin: So, you said education and employment for youth. So, would you put some kind focus on youth because it's such a large group in the country? Befragte/r: Yes, this is the priority in the country. Then I'm going to see maybe agricultural activities because we have in our country and also we are going to see the infrastructure. Because, as you know, the infrastructure is very poor even if we are going to develop ((Lachen)). Yes, but I'm going to create such things like that. But also to see the opportunities to the society, maybe the community organisation, maybe to create other things which can help them and also to see another thing which is important to our country is to <u>increase</u> the economical <u>demand</u> because, as you know, most of the citizens in the country try to <u>blame</u> about the fluctuation of the prize. When I'm going to bring a lot of economy activity <u>center</u> I mean that the <u>prize</u> will be a competition, the businessmen will be a lot in our country and the prize will be reduced. So the (combination?) of our country will be everyone can get his or her demand. Maybe when I bring this, (,) everything will work. (Interview 4 #00:12:38#)	Prioritäten in der Politik: - Bildung und Jobmöglichkeiten für Jugend - Landwirtschaft -Infrastruktur - Entwicklung auf Gemeindeebene - Wirtschaftliche Nachfrage erhöhen
Yeah, as you know, in our country there are lots of people who live in low standard and also there is the middle class which most of the time they want their demand but they want the higher lever but they are middle class. And also we have a <u>small</u> group of people who maintain, who manage <u>everything</u> . So I want to <u>connect</u> this and I want everyone to see that this is the right of <u>everyone</u> and everyone to get the demand is <u>important</u> and we not maybe differentiate between the people; who is the middle, lower and higher class. (Interview 4 #00:14:01#)	Gleichheit der Rechte aller Menschen
If one group is not satisfied with you, the violence will come, the demonstration and your leadership will not be a <u>stable</u> to the country. So I'm going to see, if I'm <u>winner</u> to that <u>election</u> , I'm going to give my hand, I'm going to shake my hand, and if I will be a looser. [...] I'm going to tell them that we are looser but we are not looser. <u>All we are winner</u> . So we	Verständnis von Sieg/Verlieren: Man ist immer ein Gewinner

are going to stay until the further election and I will give elaboration about that and will give education to this. So this will bring changes of democracy in the whole maybe Africa and maybe another country in Europe, I don't know. ((Lachen)) (Interview 4 #00:17.11#)	
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1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

As you know in Africa, in general, the citizens, even the leaders <u>most</u> of them they don't understand democracy (Interview 4 #00:17:11#)	Es fehlt politische Bildung in der Bevölkerung
The politics influence is good because, as you know, all citizens see that the <u>party</u> will <u>change</u> their life [...] The people get <u>hope</u> that "Oh, our life will come" ((Lachen)), "Our good life will come" but some of them they saw that politics is not going to change their life. The change of the life is going how my effort will be, some of the people. And some of the people will see that all of the changes are brought by the democracy and the whole party which is elected. (Interview 4 #00:24.46#)	Unterschiedliche Sichtweise der Menschen was Politik bringt: - Gutes Leben durch Politik - Gutes Leben durch Mühe, Anstrengung
The society <u>now</u> knows everything, <u>everything</u> they know, and here, until the previous election, some of the problem was caused by the soldiers and the violence <u>before</u> was also caused by this. The citizen tried to <u>elect</u> the leaders who they want. And that <u>person</u> who is elected by the society and the society <u>knows</u> that there is someone, for example Said Sharif Hamad, now he is the vice president. He is the one who among our leaders who brings changes to us and we are going to elect this someone to <u>lead</u> us but the soldiers, <u>army</u> and other state organs; all the state organs try to make the air in order to make the ruling party to be a leader to this country and <u>not</u> the <u>decision</u> of the society (Interview 4 #00:30.56#)	Bevölkerung ist heute besser gebildet Versuch der Einflussnahme von Regierungsseite bei Wahlen
In Africa in general I think- Because as I told you the people didn't understand, until now they <u>didn't understand</u> the word democracy and the whole general activities doing in the democracy. (Interview 4 #00:43:15#)	Mangel politischer Bildung der Bevölkerung
They <u>understand</u> and <u>now</u> when you go to the youth they understand the ruling party uses youth as tools only and not otherwise. So they come and they want to meet with me, everyone now they <u>call</u> me "We have our group here, we want to meet with you, we understand that the <u>ruling party</u> they use us as tools, we want to meet with you and to talk with you in order to know that our <u>benefit are</u> the <u>youth</u> ". They understand and now we have a group of youth they understand even if not all of them maybe will get employment, other they will create themselves. [...] They want to understand their <u>right</u> , they want to understand their <u>benefit</u> . (Interview 4 #00:36:20#)	Junge Menschen erkennen Ausnutzen und suchen jetzt andere Wege der Partizipation
Because the ruling party uses a lot of money to give the individual person <u>as a corruption</u> , you know? "Take this", maybe 5000 "and just elect me" ((Lachen)). Yeah, vote for me. (Interview 4 #00:38:50#)	Korruption im Wahlkampf

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

democracy is one among the things which give the willingness of the citizens (Interview 4 #00:17:11#)	Wille der Bevölkerung, Bindung an Wahlen
Interviewerin: So one can say that for <u>you</u> democracy is about <u>fairness</u> in election and stability of politics? Befragter: Yeah, yeah, because without stability to the country no anything will develop. (Interview 4 #00:18:25#)	Fairness Stabile Politik Voraussetzung für Entwicklung

2.2 Skala Demokratie

Befragte/r: It's one ((Lachen)). Yeah, because you know it ranges. When we say in Zanzibar, not the whole Tanzania, in Zanzibar we can say that we are going to <u>ten</u> . (Interview 4 #00:19:45#)	Tanzania: 1 Zanzibar: 10
So in Zanzibar we are going to stay ten, but when we take the whole Tanzania it's one because in Tanzania mainland the elections have been closed with a lot of demonstration. (Interview 4 #00:20:53#)	Tanzania 1, weil bei Wahlen Demonstrationen
the <u>winner</u> is going to maybe shake with someone and the whole society and citizens is going to satisfy with. In Zanzibar the previous election, all citizens <u>won</u> and all the parties <u>won</u> . (Interview 4 #00:20:53#)	Zanzibar 10, weil bei Wahlen alles funktioniert hat und Wahlergebnis angenommen wurde

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

Yeah, and also my parents. They tried to be in the party; not directly to take a position, but my parents are also in the party. [...] And they try to facilitate me every now and then “Oh Abdul ⁹² , try your level best to be at the higher level.” (Interview 4 #00:07.25#)	Keine PolitikerIn in Familie, aber politisch interessiert & in selber Partei - Unterstützung durch Familie
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4. Motivation für Engagement

Because I saw the politics in Tanzania and I tried to see the policy of each of the parties in Tanzania because we have 19 parties in Tanzania and I tried to see which policy is good and has the good <u>faith</u> to the society. One among the parties which I saw is the Civic United Front (Interview 4 #00:03:02#)	Persönlich: Hat Angebot angeschaut und sich für CUF entschieden
So I just took the card of the Civic United Front because I had the hope that one day I'm going to be a candidate. ((Lachen)). (Interview 4 #00:03:02#) Because my hope was to be at the higher level, I tried to compete with my colleague again when the election came to the constituency to be the director of planning and election. Because my satisfaction was to go at the higher level then when the election came, I tried to go to the district level to be the person to go to the national meeting, member of national meeting, and every level I competed with my colleague my colleagues gave me the will to come into this level. (Interview 4 #00:05:30#)	Persönlich: Hoffen auf Karriere
My aim of this party is to bring the services to the society and myself one day to be a leader of this country. With the next elections I'm going to start with maybe MP or to the House of Representatives for the following months and then, because I'm going one step by another, I'm going to see I will <u>bring</u> to the society and the society will be satisfied with me. <u>If</u> the society will satisfy that Mr. Abdul ⁹³ is <u>very</u> creative, Mr. Abdul is <u>willing</u> to us and the society, when they get the hope to me, I'm going to compete with our powers ((lachend gesprochen)) to be one among the president candidate to the country ((Lachen)). (Interview 4 #00:09:38#)	- will Gesellschaft dienen - will Karriere machen
this policy [Anm. von CUF] tries to <u>elaborate</u> the services of the society and also tries to give <u>hope</u> when the party maybe wins a election, one thing is to promote the youth and also to create a lot of employment opportunity and also to build the infrastructure in our country; also education and other things which are important to our country. (Interview 4 #00:03:02#)	Warum CUF: Policy: Verbesserung des Service, Hoffnung, dass bei Wahl→ Schwerpunkte: - Jugend - Arbeitsplätze schaffen - Infrastruktur ausbauen - Bildung
Because in the opposition party (.) this opportunity of getting lot <u>money</u> is not there. We are <u>here</u> for the benefit of the <u>whole</u> country and individual benefit as Abdul ⁹⁴ (.) and this is my interest is to bring changes to <u>all</u> and not benefit for me and that's why I try to select the <u>opposition</u> party because I'm going to bring <u>changes</u> to the country and not for myself. (Interview 4 #00:49:58#)	Allgemein & persönlich: - nicht Geld/ nicht eigene Karriere - Menschen helfen/Wandel bringen
Some of them ((lachen)) Some of them they are going for <u>money</u> and some of them they are going there for the <u>freedom</u> . (Interview 4 #00:50:30#)	Allgemein: - Geld und Freiheit → beide Motive möglich
We have our colleague in the ruling party and he told us “((verächtlicher Laut)) You are opposition party. You did not get anything from the opposition party because I have a <u>luxurious</u> car, I have a lot of money in the bag, I have- ((Lachen))”. When somebody tells you “I have that things and that things, it gives you a <u>feeling</u> like “I'm here ((weinerlich gesprochen)). I've nothing”, but I'm here for freedom that's the fight (Interview 4 #00:51:26#)	Persönliche Motive können sehr unterschiedlich sein → am eigenen Leib erfahren
If I will be there and this would be my position, I would <u>try</u> my level best to challenge the leaders that this is one among the things you are doing wrong. Amina Chifupa is the one among the youth who <u>struggle</u> (.) and I try to be like <u>her</u> , to challenge a lot of things, to make a research, to conduct a research to see that this is the wrong and to reveal to the society. This is my will. (Interview 4 #00:56:33#)	Persönlich: Vorbild Amina Chifupa

⁹² Abdul ist ein Pseudonym, um die Identität des befragten Politikers nicht offenzulegen.

⁹³ Abdul ist ein Pseudonym, um die Identität des befragten Politikers nicht offenzulegen.

⁹⁴ Abdul ist ein Pseudonym, um die Identität der befragten Person nicht offenzulegen.

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

I mean, changes have come through the youth. (Interview 4 #00:33:25#)	Bringen Wandel
There is <u>youth</u> themselves reveal their interest that “we want to be this and we want to implement this”. (Interview 4 #00:48:28#)	Bestehen auf eigene Interessen, Ideen
In Tanzanian politics most of <u>youth</u> who come to the politics are the one who are motivated or have just been grouped by university or higher institution. (Interview 4 #01.07.06#)	Meisten kommen von der Uni/Höheren Schulen

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

I can say that the elders, the <u>aged</u> , have the <u>asset</u> because they started a lot of time ago in the politics. (Interview 4 #00:58:09#)	Erfahrung in Politik
. But sometime they have got their properties, houses, farms and so, but they are willing to sell at the time they know “we are older”, willing to sell this so that we can spend that money in politics. [...] So the other thing they can use, as the <u>elders</u> , they can go and <u>convince</u> some family members. And then the <u>elder</u> people in the society come to you and talk to you. That is another <u>asset</u> they can use for them, for the elders. (Interview 4 #1.00.57#)	- Haben Besitztümer - haben besseren Zugang zu anderen Älteren und können diese überzeugen → die kommen dann in ihrer Familie zu den jungen und nehmen Einfluss

6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

But <u>now</u> , because of the education, and also their <u>parents</u> and also the creativeness of our leaders, the society understands, the <u>youth</u> understands even if there is a <u>hope</u> here when we are going to win- because this is not the previous election, the <u>whole</u> elections they give the youth hope that I’m going to do something but they use them and then they neglect. There is no <u>anything</u> to be happening to them. (Interview 4 #00:33.25#)	Grenze: Auch wenn Glaube, dass man etwas verändern kann → werden nur benutzt
When you want to compete with them they come to tell you, even to give you <u>money</u> to- (2) [...] and we have that problem, you see, that the young leaders they are a small group of people who come and develop but a lot of young leaders they are not developing to come in the position because of this problem. [...] I mean that happened in Tanzania, I can remember. Someone was given a <u>car</u> (1) because they were going for primary election, they are not (?). So he offered a car, he offered money about five million, 3000 US Dollar, and then you step down and then when the day of election was he said “I decided to remove myself”. That is how it is <u>going</u> . (Interview 4 #00:54.16#)	Grenze: Viele junge PolitikerInnen kommen nicht weit in Arena → lassen sich durch Geld von der Politik abhalten
.But sometime they have got their properties, houses, farms and so, but they are willing to sell at the time they know “we are older”, willing to sell this so that we can spend that money in politics. Which we youth we don’t have, we started from the beginning, we started the long way. (Interview 4 #1.00.57#)	Grenze: Ältere haben mehr Besitztümer als Junge und können dieses Kapital für Politik nutzen

7. Generationenverhältnis

Before, as I told you, youth is the one among the tools which maybe the ruling party use them and then they try to give hope “When we are going to win, I will give you the employment”, you know? And some of them they try to force their mind to <u>vote</u> for the ruling party, even if they don’t want. (Interview 4 #00:33:25#)	Versuch von Älteren durch Versprechen Einfluss auf Junge zu nehmen Ausnutzen von Jungen durch Ältere
the money is a problem of the youth because, as you know, our <u>parents</u> started a lot of time earlier and they have their <u>investment</u> , but different for youth because we are starting. We create things to be our youth and the society; just to be a <u>hope</u> and not to use a lot of money to them. (Interview 4 #00:38:50#)	Junge haben Geldproblem, deshalb können sie keine Korruption betreiben / Ältere schon
To have young politicians in Africa, in Tanzania, is an asset because the leaders who are not young are going to become resigned because of their age and what we are going to stand with is to develop, to give politics education to young and to grow with the politics and because, as you know in Tanzania, all the young, who develop to this politics are going to change. You see that there is some sort of change compared with this aged persons. (Interview 4 #00:46:06#)	Man braucht junge PolitikerInnen, weil Ältere irgendwann wegsterben - diese bringen dann Wandel, den Ältere nicht schaffen
Young politicians, take for example from Tanzania mainland, all the problem, the problem of corruption, the problem of aged person leaders at the mainland, are revealed by the young and young <u>stand</u> and they say that this is one among the problem done by someone and this is the second problem done by someone. We have a lot of big sharks in corruption in Tanzania mainland and here in Zanzibar because the interest of youth is to be <u>seen</u> of the politics now and this interest no one talks to that interest. There is <u>youth</u> themselves reveal their interest that “we want to be this and we want to implement this”. Even if aged persons try to say that “this is wrong, just wait, the time is not now” but we are going to stick with this because it is our interest and we are going to develop with this until it will be	Jungen decken alle Probleme der Älteren auf (Korruption etc.) Junge bestehen auf Interessen, auch wenn Ältere sich wehren

implemented by the government. (Interview 4 #00:48.28#)	
Interviewerin: So, what do you think about the other side, the elders, what is their feeling about youth and young politicians, especially young politicians? Do you think that maybe they are a little bit afraid of them because they think “Oh, this young politicians they are coming and catch my job and catch my money and what should I do when they catch my position as a leader?” Befragte/r: This is the situation we have. ((kurzes Lachen)) This is the situation we have. The elders, one among the problems they have, is that situation. When you want to compete with them they come to tell you, even to give you <u>money</u> to- (2) [...] But if they see that you are going to compete with <u>them</u> and that you have a <u>large</u> group of people behind you, they get shocked ((kurzes Auflachen)). (Interview 4 #00:53.43#) <u>And if you stand to compete with the aged, there is a bad campaign to you. #54.33#</u>	Ältere haben Angst vor Jüngeren - besonders zu Wahlzeiten, da versuchen sie sie sogar mit Geld zu bestechen, dass sie nicht antreten - wenn man standhaft bleibt, gibt es eine Schmutzkampagne
I don't have money to use luxurious cars like them, I don't have. But the promise will make me able to compete with the elders, to compete with the aged, but not other way. (Interview 4 #00:58:09#) Only promise to the young but some of the elders use a lot of money, they use the <u>young</u> . (Interview 4 #00:59:58#)	Jungen haben nicht so viel Geld, wie Alten, aber Wettkampf : Geld gegen Versprechen
.But sometime they have got their properties, houses, farms and so, but they are willing to sell at the time they know “we are older”, willing to sell this so that we can spend that money in politics. Which we youth we don't have, we started from the beginning, we started the long way. (Interview 4 #1.00.57#)	Ältere haben mehr Besitztümer als Junge und können dieses Kapital für Politik nutzen
We have the case here where parents are politicians, like Hassan (Nasonomoi?), and then they bring their sons and children to become in the politician in the future. (Interview 4 #01.07.52#)	Gibt Ältere, die Position nutzen, um eigene Kinder zu fördern

8. Weitere Themen

- Union
- eigene Karriere

Auswertung Interview 5

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

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1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

If you go in many constituencies, not only my constituency, you can see there is a big gap between those who are leaders and those who are ordinary citizens. [...]But the problem here is, I think, the self interest of <u>many</u> elected leaders. <u>They are not there for the people</u> . They are there in their own interest. (Interview 5 #00:09:13#)	Große Schere zwischen Führern und Bevölkerung - Problem: Viele Führer sind nicht für Menschen da, nur an eigenem Profit interessiert
Politics influence the daily life because poverty here is politics. If you mean to get breakfast, this is politics and that is <u>true</u> because we elect you with a lot of reasons that you <u>promise</u> us. So it depends on your facilities. So you can't differentiate between the daily life and politics. <u>Politics is their bread</u> . (Interview 5 #00:10.22#)	Politik ist Leben
Most of us in Zanzibar, especially the one who maybe just finished the degree, they believe the government will employ them to support their daily life. (Interview 5 #00:12:15#)	Hoffnung auf Anstellung durch Regierung vieler Menschen
My personal life, I think, is influencing the society because I have never been employed by government. My life has engaged on activism, I'm a young activist. So I believe in independent life, not depending on the government employment. [...] I'm different from those who believe the government will provide resources to them or kind of employment. So since I completed my A level education in 2000 I tried to organize myself to establish youth organization. Through this youth organization, we plan different projects and we implement and we get a lot of resources from different organizations, internationally or internally. And through that we get some opportunity to support our life. So, I think such kind of activities has influence on my society. (Interview 5 #00:12.15#)	Persönlich: hat nicht obengenannte Hoffnung, setzt mehr auf Aktivismus, um Menschen im täglichen Leben zu helfen => Aktivismus hat mehr Effekt als Politik

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

For me democracy is just to allow people to participate in electing those leaders who they believe that will make changes to their social development. That is how I believe democracy is. (Interview 5 #00:14.33#)	Menschen erlauben die Führer zu wählen, die sie möchten. →elektoral
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

Democracy is very important in the modern world. Particularly in this kind of life that we live now because, you know, there is a <u>prevailing</u> of changes, particularly in the Middle East, Tunisia, Libya. So I think <u>that change is happening because people like that change to be happening</u> . So, democracy is a decision of the people. So, I think democracy is number ten. (Interview 5 #00:16.34#)	Moderner Staat: 10 Weil: Wandel durch Wille der Menschen demokratisch zu leben
I think is number five. (Interview 5 #00:16.45#)	Tanzania: 5
In terms of full democracy I think the next election will be (1) better compared to those we had before. [...], to some extent 2015 election will be <u>free</u> and <u>fair</u> , to large extent compared to those we had before. (Interview 5 #00:18:04#)	Zukunft Tanzania: wird besser, Wahlen freier und fairer

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

It is my spiritual; it's not my family. You know, in Zanzibar there is a wide gap between those who believe in Civic United Front and those who believe in CCM. Unfortunately until when I decided to <u>contest</u> in 2010 a large number belonging to my family was CCMs. So it was my decision, not the family. If I would have decided to take advice from my family, it would not have been easy for me to decide to go to Civic United Front. It was my decision. I was the <u>only first person</u> in my family who decided to join CUF. (Interview 5 #00:04.31#)	Keine PolitikerIn in Familie - nicht selbe Partei, sondern CCM!
They didn't understand, now they are understanding because a large number of communities now understand why we decided to establish CUF, why CUF is existing and what we expect through CUF, so people now understand. (Interview 5 #00:05.09#)	Verstand Engagement in Opposition zunächst nicht - heute schon
No, no, they [Anm brothers] are not interested in politics. They are normal persons, they engage in economic activities. Most of them are civil servants. So it's not easy to show in directly in politics. #05.58#	Brüder sind nicht politisch interessiert → im ökonomischen Bereich tätig

4. Motivation für Engagement

Okay, I became a politician because, as you know, in Zanzibar we have a lot of historical matters concerning our country, there is the existence of Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. So for me I think this ongoing Union is not fair at all. There is some <u>change</u> we need to see before we are going to (?) for the benefit of our social, society. So this is my first reason, because I want to see <u>changes</u> in particular Union matters and I think for any politician there is a development issue. (Interview 5 #00:01:34#)	Persönlich: - Union nicht fair - Entwicklung
I think I want to be different; I want to be different from those who became a leader in my constituency [...] But the problem here is, I think, the self interest of <u>many</u> elected leaders. <u>They are not there for the people</u> . They are there in their own interest. So I will try to solve this problem for myself to be not a self interested leader but to be a social interested leader that is, I think, the only solution. (Interview 5 #00:09.13#)	Persönlich: - Anders sein als die anderen Führer - Für Menschen arbeiten, sozial interessiert sein und nicht Selbstbereicherung
So, it's not the more liberal orientation of the CUF that catches your interest, it's more that you are in the opposition and have the chance to be different from the ruling party Befragte/r: Yeah. (Interview 5 #00:09.30#)	Persönlich: Nicht politische Orientierung der Partei → einfach nur nicht Regierungspartei
So, to participate well there is a need of mobilization. We are mobilized by the situation and we mobilize our fellow young people to participate. So, I think after five or ten years the situation of politics, particularly for young people, will be good. (Interview 5 #00:28.35#)	Allgemein & persönlich: - aktive Mobilisierung zur Partizipation - Situation
We have a case study of the House of Representatives of an earlier election, Salum Saba was the first candidate to contest for CUF in Stone Town constituency but he was not a strong young person. He had such challenges- [...] He was manipulated working together with the ruling party, we don't know what happened, (?) so he destroyed the <u>image</u> of the young by that time. (Interview 5 #00:38:10#) Because many politicians in this era are there because they want to <u>gain</u> something, not support people. So, it is very easy for them to take something. (Interview 5 #00:40.12#)	Allgemein: Nicht alle sind stark, lassen sich bestechen → Motivation Geld

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

there is a normal habit that most of young people believe. Most of young people believe to their fellow young candidates because young people act as a <u>peer</u> to young people. So they understand themselves, they understand their requirement, they understand their believes. (Interview 5 #00:20:05#)	Peer to Peer: haben besseren Zugang zu anderen jungen Menschen - Verstehen Sorgen, Nöte anderer junger Menschen
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I think their <u>age</u> is an asset. Because it is not normal in Tanzania for young people to be candidate in general election. So, if you are a young person and you decide to contest, that is your asset, your age is your asset, that is the first one. But the second one is you have <u>energy</u> to struggle for election. Because you have energy, not resources, but, as I told you, your age is an asset, so this is an asset too. Even though you have not enough resource but you have resource because of your age. (Interview 5 #00:21.37#)	- Alter - Energie - Keine Ressourcen
Okay, we live in a globalized world but for the case of Zanzibar globalization is just a word, not a practice. So we still use the historical communication system because not many young people are engaged in globalization issues, particularly in social networks, internet. If you go around in Zanzibar and you have the opportunity to meet with a graduate person, I mean first degree, a person who just finished first degree, for most of them, maybe 80 percent of this young people who just finished the undergraduate education, it is very difficult for them if you ask them question to tell you something about globalization and the social networking story. #23.45#	Zanzibar: - nicht viele können mit Globalisierung etwas anfangen - nicht viele haben Zugang zu Internet/Sozialen Medien
Those young people who decide to engage in politics, I think they need capacity building (Interview 5 #00:43:53#)	AnfängerInnen brauchen Capacity Building

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

The age. I mean resources; many, many elders have a lot of resources because before contesting they were ministers, they were directors. (Interview 5 #00:41.21#)	Alter: dadurch mehr Zeit Ressourcen zu sammeln → Ressourcen
Elders already have capacities (Interview 5 #00:43:53#)	Fähigkeiten

6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

I think it is since 2002 when I was at school, I was still young. But at that time it was not easy for me to engage in politics directly because I was a student and the political situation in Zanzibar was a difficult. I think you know. [...] The situation now is a cake compared to that time. (Interview 5 #00:02:56#)	Grenze: Politische Situation kann Partizipation erschweren
They are normal persons, they engage in economic activities. Most of them are civil servants. So it's not easy to show in directly in politics. (Interview 5 #00:05:58#)	Grenze: Wenn Beamte/r => schwierig sich politisch zu engagieren
I think I will go more far than Amina Chifupa did because Amina Chifupa was beginning; beginning is very difficult because now we talk of a different situation. The situation during the time of Amina Chifupa was <u>very</u> difficult compared this time. Time now is better compared to Amina Chifupas era. So we hope to go more far than Amina Chifupa. (Interview 5 #00:33.20#)	Chance: Zeiten bessern sich für kritisches politisches Engagement
Yeah, that is a big challenge for me but it was a big challenge earlier when I did not start one step. But for this time the challenge is not big for me because I know the people in the party and I know their technique, just bla bla, but you go through. (Interview 5 #00:34.21#)	Chance: Wenn man ein bisschen durchhält in Politik, hat man Durchblick und kann mehr erreichen Grenze: Wenn man neu ist, Gefahr einschüchtern zu lassen
He was challenging the minister, can you imagine? He is just youth. The minister is rich, he is poor. The minister can use influence of the government, he has nothing. The minister came from the ruling party, he is from just opposition. So you see the difference? And the <u>minister</u> was a member of parliament for the same constituency before. So you see this difference. You can notice now how youth can be <u>accepted</u> in that area. Who is the minister? He is older than him but why could he have all these incentive instead of him, challenging him. And if could be free and fair election, more could have won. (Interview 5 #00:39.17#)	Chance: Beispiel für Herausforderung eines jungen Politiklers, der älteren Minister in Wahl besiegte => Chancen für Akzeptanz Jüngerer in Bevölkerung nimmt zu und erhöht politische Chancen
Those young people who decide to engage in politics, I think they need capacity building because if you decide to be a young politician, of course you decide to combat with the elders. Elders already have capacities, so you need <u>capacity</u> as young people. So, I think, capacity is obtained through trainings or other kind of trainings, or other exposures. (Interview 5 #00:43.53#)	Grenze: Jüngere brauchen Training, um gegen Ältere antreten zu können, da sie Fähigkeiten noch aufbauen müssen, die Ältere schon haben

7. Generationenverhältnis

For me as a young person doing the contest of election it is easy to meet my fellow young people in campaigning. It is easier compared to elders. Elders always don't understand me. Interviewerin: And for the elders it's maybe more difficult to get in contact with the young ones. Befragte/r: Yeah, yeah. (Interview 5 #00:20:11#)	- Junge können junge besser erreichen - Ältere können ältere besser erreichen
But immediately after independence there was the distortion of young people because they	Nach Unabhängigkeit: Junge

told them "You are not ready to engage in politics. Politics is a danger for you. Politics is not easy." Such kind of words. So it is very difficult now to mobilize these young people again in democracy because they grow with the idea that politics is the work of our elders, not young people. (Interview 5 #00:28:35#)	nicht reif genug für Politik, ist was für Ältere => heute schwer junge für Politik zu motivieren
Yes, exactly; even myself in the process of contesting. I think you know we start with the lower grassroots of nomination process. So there are many elders there who stigmatized me because of my age. So, it was very difficult. Even during the campaign it was very difficult for me to get support from elders. They believed I'm <u>not the right person to candidate against the CCM candidate because I'm still young</u> . I don't have <u>power</u> . But the result after election was good. Interviewerin: And what did they say then? Befragte/r: They are happy and the idea of age is no longer there now in the level of my constituency, I don't know other constituencies. (Interview 5 #00:30.08#)	Persönliche Erfahrung: - Stigmatisierung wegen Alter durch Ältere im Wahlkampf - schwer während Wahlkampf Unterstützung von Älteren zu bekommen - nachdem Wahl gewonnen akzeptieren Ältere Befragte/n trotz Alter
That is <u>right</u> . The elder they are <u>afraid</u> particularly of their position. Even in my party, the elders are not happy to see me and other young politicians, yeah. (Interview 5 #00:30.51#) Let me give you an example, the man that came in here ((kurz zuvor hat Person kurz den Kopf zur Tür reingesteckt)), for the first time now he became a member of representatives, but he is in the political party since it has been started 1992, but now become a public enemy within the party because they know him, he has come to take the post of power from them. So all elder people don't like him and now he is deputy secretary general of the party. <u>Whatever</u> he has done a lot for the party but they are still feared of him (Interview 5 #00:31:30#)	Ältere haben Angst vor Jüngeren, die Positionen wegschnappen können
He sent a lot of messengers to me to try to bride me. He promised me a lot of millions of money. <u>That is true</u> . (Interview 5 #00:39.17#)	In Wahl versuchen Ältere Jüngere durch Bestechung aus dem Rennen zu drängen
I mean this is a very technical question because tendency shows that this people have been living in corruption for long time but <u>doesn't stop</u> the <u>younger</u> one to take corruption because even the younger one think this is a opportunity now. And maybe this tendency is because they think "our elders do it, why don't we do that?" But this question is defined on individual basis. But if you take in general, of course you can say that the elders are more corrupted than the younger. (Interview 5 #00:42.15#)	Ältere sind korrupter als Jüngere → aber grundsätzlich individuelle Beurteilung, da auch Junge korrupt
Those young people who decide to engage in politics, I think they need capacity building because if you decide to be a young politician, of course you decide to combat with the elders. Elders already have capacities, so you need <u>capacity</u> as young people. So, I think, capacity is obtained through trainings or other kind of trainings, or other exposures. (Interview 5 #00:43.53#)	Jüngere brauchen Training, um gegen Ältere antreten zu können, da sie Fähigkeiten noch aufbauen müssen, die Ältere schon haben

8. Weitere Themen

1. Union

Auswertung Interview 6

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

- Actually, you know, politics is a game, we call it a game. So, whenever you speak something that <u>touches</u> people (,) everyone will follow you. [...] But <u>saying</u> is one thing, <u>doing</u> is another thing. (Interview 6 #00:13:27-9#)	Politik ist ein Spiel (Beeinflussung durch Emotionen.) Betonung des Unterschiedes zwischen Versprechen und Handeln.
- but the road to politics is rough because every person who can deliver more to people are the one who feel like "I cannot be in politics" because politics involve dirty games, politics involve lies, politics involve bla bla bla. So, people associate politics with bad things not knowing that I am a political being by nature and social by create. So, even if I decide, like yesterday I decided to come to talk to you, that is politics, I make decision. So, people do not know that because they got a bad experience of politics, they got a wrong definition of politics. What is politics (1) is defined differently from what is the meaning, the original meaning, of what is politics. So, every person is saying "I hate politics. I don't want politics, I don't want-" (Interview 6 #01:08:02-4#)	Politik ist ein "schmutziges Spiel", deshalb wollen geeignete Menschen nicht in die Politik. Das ist aber eine falsche Einschätzung, denn jeder Mensch ist politisch. Die Menschen definieren Politik falsch/nicht nach dem ursprünglichen Sinn von Politik.
So as they said the first objective was the political party is to get <u>power</u> , to get into power, and other things follow and as they said MP, Member of Parliament, their major role is to	An die Macht zu kommen ist das oberste Ziel der Parteien,

<p>speaking out for the people not doing for the people. (Interview 6 #00:04:41-6#)</p>	<p>MPs sprechen mehr, als dass sie handeln.</p>
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1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

<p>Making decision for a community that is the biggest thing because everything, every decision from the national level to the local level is made through the political arena. Like in the parliament, in the cabinet and all that. So, that is how they affect people directly. (Interview 6 #00:20:58-0#)</p>	<p>Alle Entscheidungen auf allen Ebenen werden politisch getroffen und das ist der direkte Effekt von Politik auf die Menschen.</p>
<p>[...] when we are in the campaign for election and you are telling the people about the civic education. This is like a socialization process; you have to make people understand what is a good leader, what is going on if I choose an MP, what is the role of an MP; If I'm choosing a chairperson of the ward or whatever, what is the role of that chairperson in my community? What if she or he does not believe on what I'm supposed to do and all that. But we always sing this song when we are approaching two month to the election and at the end of the time people are confused about what is a good leader and what is a personality of a person. I can be a good person, I can be good looking and a good speaker, but not a good doer, I'm not a good follower of what I'm doing. So, that is the challenge. (Interview 6 #00:24:54-0#)</p>	<p>Politische Bildung muss immer stattfinden, nicht nur während des Wahlkampfes, denn das verwirrt die Leute nur.</p>
<p>- As you said, money can influence a lot of things. If I'm putting 5000 here and someone says "Don't take it." while your kids, your family doesn't have anything to eat from morning [...] You educate people on how they can make movement in their own community, starting from them then to the leader. I believe then we end the process of money related thing on the election, the corruption issue. But if we do not educate people and they are suffering of hunger and all that and you come to tell the people "Don't take the money" this is far impossible. (Interview 6 #00:26:39-0#)</p>	<p>Korruption kann nur durch Bildung bekämpft werden, weil Menschen dann nicht mehr arm sind. Solange arm, immer Korruption.</p>
<p>- So, there are those things and cause dealing with people's emotions and all that can drive them more crazy than dealing with the mental issues. So, sometimes people vote for the religious issues or sometimes use tribal affairs, it happens. (Interview 6 #00:32:25-4#)</p>	<p>Wahlentscheidungen werden auch auf emotionaler Basis getroffen.</p>
<p>- So, right now we need a leader who stands for the people who makes sure that we move from where we are to where do people want to be, to were the community want to be, were do we want our community to be. So sometimes we have to use force to make people study, like you know we have this culture like a woman cannot study, the issue of women inequality, gender inequality and all that. [...] Sometimes I have to force you to take your children to school [...] So, sometimes it is not about your decision to do what you want, what you think is right for the community or what you think is right for yourself and your family but is much more of the state because if I tolerate what you are doing then we could not reach what we want to. It's not your decision in the family, it is at first the national. (Interview 6 #00:38:24-8#)</p>	<p>Tanzania braucht Führer, der Land voranbringt. Dabei kann nicht alles durch den Willen der Bevölkerung geschehen, manchmal muss man sie auch von staatlicher Seite zu etwas zwingen, um das Land insgesamt voranzubringen.</p>
<p>- At the first time when we had the parliament thing it was all about being in the parliament. We don't know and we wait for the media to come and tell us "Mr. Blablabla has said that in the parliament" but right now we have a live show from the parliament. We see "I elected you and I see if there is anything what you-" (Interview 6 #00:53:36-4#)</p>	<p>Live-Übertragungen im TV aus dem Parlament ermöglichen bessere Beurteilung der Arbeit von PolitikerInnen.</p>
<p>- And I understand politics in my country is the one which runs all the programs, social, economic and all that. (Interview 6 #00:01:29-3#)</p>	<p>Politik bestimmt alle Ebenen des Lebens</p>
<p>- Maybe we have a free but we don't have a fair election. [...] To me fair election is that people have a clear education and they understand what is in democracy, what is a good leader, what is in the whole process of election to the process of being in the parliament for five years, being in the power for five years and all this. (Interview 6 #00:24:54-0#)</p>	<p>Freie Wahlen, aber keine fairen Wahlen, weil Menschen keine ausreichende politische Bildung haben.</p>

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

<p>- Okay, democracy to me it means, as Abraham says, of the people by, the people and for the people. That by, for and of means a lot. I have to come to the people and ask for vote and after asking for vote, you people decide if you choose me without any influential thing like money, religious, all that, but seeing that I can serve you. So, there comes the issue of civic education. You understand that I have more focusing on development affairs, so you see that this person can serve you. And then it's about me going to the process and stand for my people. It's not like other MPs, member of parliament, in Tanzania who work for almost five years, they did not come to people, they make decision and suggestion in the parliament without getting back to the people. There is this decision that they will be mad in the coming parliament message then I get back to my people that it's A, B, C, D, this is advantage, this is disadvantage, I get expert and I talk to my people in this thing that is A, B, C, D. So when</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Von & für die Menschen - Menschen bei Wahlentscheidung nicht beeinflussen - Politische Bildung als Voraussetzung - Als Politiker den Kontakt zu Wählern nicht verlieren/für sie zu arbeiten/ Menschen zuhören
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<p>you choose A, you cannot get B, C, D and maybe the community will be (?) that it is not about the political party anymore, it's about the people now. So telling the people the right thing and you listen to people "Do you want this A or do you want this B or C?" When I get to the parliament then, I stand for the people. And then I say "No, my people are saying C because I understand my community doesn't have A, B, C, D. Because for the community development I studied sociology, we studied about community development theme. So, we believe that people themselves know what they want. So, you get into the parliament and you tell the parliament "I'm standing for C because this is what my people want." And then it's not just saying standing for C to be achieved, that is democracy to me. (Interview 6 #00:34:52-6#)</p>	
<p>Things affect the state, so sometimes I think we need democracy as the larger part because democracy is the best thing. If my country will have 50 percent of the people educated I could say we need democracy rather than the state. But right now we have very few percent of people who have gone to school, very few percent, less than 10 who got a university education. So, it's still much more of the state first, then we can take the democracy. We need democracy 60 percent because democracy is one of the things that can help us develop as well but then sometimes most of the decision, due to facts like I said before we need to force them to do most of the development issues for the success of the family, for the success of the national. (Interview 6 #00:38:24-8#)</p>	<p>Demokratie kann bei Entwicklung helfen, aber erst muss Staat noch regulieren, weil Bildungsgrad in Bevölkerung zu gering</p>

2.2 Skala Demokratie

<p>For the modern state I think democracy- for the young and developing countries I can give six. Why do I give six and take out four? Because we still have this religious thing, we have tribal things, though not too much in Tanzania but still we have that, we have the groups of who have, who have not, we have the group of educated, not educated, we have class of workers and (?), we are too much divided by the nature itself. (Interview 6 #00:38:24-8#)</p>	<p>Junge Entwicklungsländer / Tanzania aktuell: 6 (weil Land noch zu heterogen ist)</p>
<p>For the future I will give ten because if people understand, civil educated, that it is not about them. It's not about you making decisions for us, it's about us making decision for the community. [...] I believe we'll need ten. (Interview 6 #00:39:49-4#)</p>	<p>Tanzania Zukunft: 10 (wenn Menschen besser gebildet und verstehen, dass es nicht nur um das Individuum geht)</p>

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

<p>- Okay, actually I'm born in a family of single parents. By then my mum was a politician. She was once one of the local district leaders in my community. So, she was the first person who motivated me to be among the politicians and because I saw her doing a lot of things for the people, rather than for herself and the family, that made me to think of people first and then <u>me</u> and all that. [...] So, I was much more interested in the first time seeing my mum doing that things and then I said "Okay, it's a good thing doing things for the people" and then I started to be a leader in my secondary school education. (Interview 6 #00:01:29-3#)</p>	<p>Mutter war Politikerin und motivierte durch ihr selbstloses Handeln auch Befragte/n sich politisch zu engagieren.</p>
<p>- So, you can see. I think my mum motivated me to do more rather than to talk more, so I felt at the first time to be a political leader later but then when I went to university I understood that I'm not too much in politics but rather much in community development issues. (Interview 6 #00:04:41-6#)</p>	<p>Mutter motivierte zu Handeln und nicht nur Sprechen, in der Schule ließ familiärer Einfluss nach.</p>
<p>- As I said, my mum was a member of CCM. So, I started like CCM before I like CHADEMA or CUF or other parties. (Interview 6 #00:17:39-0#)</p>	<p>Mitgliedschaft in CCM, da Partei der Mutter</p>

4. Motivation für Engagement

<p>- In my second year at university I started taking community development <u>more</u> than the political arena issues because this was the first time I saw what politics is like and it was not what I <u>saw</u> when I grew up. When my mum was the court chairman of the wad I saw her doing a <u>lot</u> for the people and then I saw the people were happy for her; they were happy for her leadership. [...] I got older and I went to university and I saw the situation quite different because at this time I was able to evaluate more things and then I came to understand most of my political leaders including from the wad to the national, from the local to the national, are much more <u>struggling</u> rather than doing. The people who are <u>doing</u> much are the one who are engaged in the community development issues, nongovernmental issues, rather than political parties. (Interview 6 #00:04:41-6#)</p>	<p>Universität: Entwicklungsarbeit wurde wichtiger als politische Arbeit, weil aus eigener Sicht Politik besser durchschaut wurde. Politik ist mehr Kampf als Handeln und diejenigen, die mehr Handeln sind die Nichtregierungsorganisationen.</p>
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<p>So, I believe I can be a leader but <u>not</u> a political leader actually. I can make development even if I am not a political leader. So, I think I was motivated but then I was <u>discouraged</u> by the situation that I came to see when I came to university and started to evaluate things more than when I was a young at secondary school and I believed it's the time of being an MP and being minister of a certain ministry in my country <u>and be president, you know?</u> But then coming to see the real situation and how people are doing there; you can be an MP but then you can't do anything to your people. So, I said "No, I have to be much more in nongovernmental organization in the country rather than political." <u>But that does not prohibit me to discuss political issues.</u> (Interview 6 #00:04:41-6#)</p>	<p>Wollte kein/e politischer FührerIn mehr sein, weil dort weniger Handlungsspielraum und Möglichkeiten als im nichtstaatlichen Entwicklungsbereich. Aber weiter aktiv an politischer Diskussion beteiligt.</p>
<p>I think I was interested at the first time because it's the biggest party and all that. When I came to university and people were saying "Why are you a member of CCM while you understand CCM has a lot of weaknesses." And my answer was "Give me another political party that does <u>not have</u> this kind of weaknesses, so that I can go to another political party." So I'm still in the CCM cause I don't see another political party which is <u>stronger</u>. (Interview 6 #00:17:39-0#)</p>	<p>Motivation Mitglied CCM zu werden zunächst, weil diese die Größte ist. Außerdem sieht Befragte/r keine andere Partei, die nicht dieselben Schwächen hat und stärker ist.</p>
<p>So, to me I think <u>still</u> I'm in CCM because there is no other party that I have ever seen that that can more to people than CCM. So the weaknesses in CCM are also in other parties and that is the problem. (Interview 6 #00:17:39-0#)</p>	<p>Motiv für bleiben in CCM: Keine andere Partei kann so viel für Menschen tun & Probleme gibt es auch in anderen Parteien</p>
<p>- So, I'm a member of CCM cause I want to make some decision and I believe changes start with one person. So maybe I will say "<u>No</u>" and another person will say "<u>No</u>" and another person will say "<u>No</u>". And then we could reach to the state, so it's a long process. (Interview 6 #00:18:09-0#)</p>	<p>Motivation für Mitgliedschaft CCM: Will Entscheidungen mittragen, Wandel beginnt beim einzelnen.</p>
<p>And then when I was at secondary school my mum passed away and then from there was "Okay, it's you, Alime⁹⁵, you have to do everything for yourself to make sure you reach where other people are. At least you get the university education." And so I started being in this youth movement, young movement, I was in Girl Guides Association and being in Girl Guides Association I came to be in student movement like (?) movement or of bla bla doing with other schools and all that. And there I started being active like "Okay, you can do that. I can do this, I can do that." By then I still felt like if the process that I've been walking through so I get here was a rough road (1). I don't want other people to feel the same thing. (Interview 6 #00:50:52-1#)</p>	<p>Motivation für Engagement allgemein: Auf sich allein gestellt, wollte was erreichen und will andere Menschen vor dem schweren Weg bewahren, den sie gehen musste.</p>

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

<p>Actually if you are looking at the political system right now, looking at the parliament right now, you can see that the active members of parliament are the youth, the young people who are in the parliament. Those are the active ones. The one who are talking, the one who can make decision, the one who can get back to the people, the one who can do that and that and that are the young politicians. (Interview 6 #00:41:22-2#)</p> <p>So, actually the young people are the one who are making the parliament active and they are very active in the parliament themselves. (Interview 6 #00:44:21-0#)</p>	<p>Aktiv, haben Bezug zu Menschen, treffen Entscheidungen</p>
<p>So, I think the issue is because they are from the community. (Interview 6 #00:44:21-0#)</p>	<p>Kommen aus Gemeinschaft (grassroot)</p>
<p>But it's not the thing of that Member of Parliament itself but also believing that I won't be just a member of parliament. Maybe I will be minister, I will be president, I think it's all about the dreams, the visions that people have, this young people have to the community, to the later years that influence their decisions in the parliament. It influences what they are doing in the parliament. (Interview 6 #00:44:21-0#)</p>	<p>Haben Visionen/Träume bezüglich eigener Karriere/ihrer Gemeinschaft</p>
<p>For instance there is someone like Kapula who is 20 something, I don't know if he is 25, he is younger than 25 years, 26 I think and he is the youngest politician in Tanzania and maybe he was born under Ujamaa but when he grew up and started having an active mind, knowing what is going on he was not in Ujamaa, he was in another system that we have right now. So, it's about reading the history, understanding the history (Interview 6 #00:50:52-1#)</p>	<p>Geschichte des Landes muss von jungen PolitikerInnen verstanden werden, dann Erfolg.</p>

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

<p>Their strongest thing is that they have been in the system for a long period of time. [...] So the old politician, the only stronger thing that I see to them is having more experience or</p>	<p>Haben lange Erfahrung im politischen System/der</p>
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⁹⁵ Dies ist ein Pseudonym, um die Anonymität des Interviews zu gewährleisten.

having more time in the party compared to the younger ones. (Interview 6 #01:01:520#)	jeweiligen Partei.
For instance others have been in the party for a long period of time and at the same time the policy and other things in the party have been made, the structure and all that have been made by them. (Interview 6 #01:01:52-0#)	Haben Regeln der Politik mitbestimmt

6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

- It's more to a party, then a person comes later after a party. For instance people entering into CCM and CUF and CHADEMA because they believe "If I'm in CHADEMA and this constituency, I will win; If I'm in the CUF in this constituency I won't win. So I'm not going to CUF (Interview 6 #00:14:08-8#) (Gefragt wurde, wonach bei der Wahl entschieden wird: Person oder Partei?)	Gewählt wird nach Partei, weniger nach Qualität der Person. Kandidaten sind dabei berechnend und gehen in die Partei, wo sie mehr Chancen auf Sieg haben.
So they know the party more than you do though you understand the party has A, B, C, D and the people will choose the party because it has A, B, C, D and they can deliver A, B, C, D but they won't choose you because your experience in the party is very minimum compared to them. (Interview 6 #01:01:52-0#)	Weniger Erfahrung in der Politik bedeutet weniger Chancen gewählt zu werden.
But if people engage themselves to be a member of CHADEMA and being leaders it is because they know right now CHADEMA is one of the parties that is developing every day, is getting more followers every day, is competitive to CCM and all that. So, maybe on 2015, if I contest for CHADEMA, people vote for me more than the one contesting for CCM. So, it's all about getting to power rather than serving the people. (Interview 6 #00:13:27-9#)	Berechnendes politisches Engagement, nicht nach Überzeugung. Es geht nur um Macht, wer nach Überzeugung handelt kann leichter scheitern.
But the competition in one country, the youth competition in one country, in one party and other party is different. In the CCM there is a <u>high</u> competition and I believe CHADEMA now is almost to CCM, the competition is getting greater and greater. But to CUF I'm not so sure because if you are looking at the CUF many people associate CUF with religious movement and all that. So even if a person- For instance the guy- I don't know he is the secretary something, he was one of the leaders of the university, he was known by people that he was very brilliant, he can do things, people believed in him, <u>but</u> he got a chance to be a member of CUF, he contested for MP, people did not vote for him because of the <u>party he is in</u> . (Interview 6 #00:13:27-9#)	Wettkampf unter jungen PolitikerInnen groß und wenn Kandidat für falsche Partei = scheitern.
- Yes, you know there is this multiparty system then what about people in the same party? Like in CCM right now people want to kill one another because of positions, because of the coming election in 2015. So, every person is going to the media, every person wants to make people feel like he is good, they want fame, they want that and would want that. So, when it comes to 2015 I'm famous and if I go in front of the people they say "Okay, that's Alime ⁹⁶ , I will choose him" or "I will choose her". (1) It's not about that, it's about feeling the consequence and then serving and people feel the country first and then you. (Interview 6 #00:56:04-9#)	Innerparteiliche Kämpfe um Positionen wird in Öffentlichkeit ausgetragen, um auf eigene Person aufmerksam zu machen und gewählt zu werden. Darum sollte es aber eigentlich nicht gehen, wenn man sich raushält = scheitern?
So, it's quite a long way to go. If you don't have someone to push you from up, then you cannot reach there unless you use ((kurzes Auflachen)) even your single (penny?). (Interview 6 #00:59:38-7#) So, we have some youth who got the national position and maybe they have been pushed or they have been helped by other strong politicians to get where they are cause I believe you cannot get where you are if no one else helps you to be there where you are. But the other thing is even them, few of them who got the position, do not want to have the other youth. That is the problem. (Interview 6 #01:03:41-0#)	Man braucht eine/n MentorIn, um Erfolg haben zu können. Junge PolitikerInnen wollen andere junge PolitikerInnen nicht (keine Solidarität zwischen jungen PolitikerInnen)

7. Generationenverhältnis

They feel like they will leave more in the community rather than the older one. You know, even though I do not know when I will die. When will I die? But with that feeling "I'm young" I can say more rather than a person who is older than me. I think this is one of the things and because they want to be more in this political, I believe that "I'm not only here five years, or for ten year. I will be here for maybe 20 years in this political arena." Then I want to serve for the people, I want to do so that the next time when I go to people they vote for me, the next time I go to people they vote for me, the next time I go to people they vote for me. (Interview 6 #00:44:21-0#)	Junge haben mehr Bezug zur Gemeinschaft. Haben noch viele Jahre vor sich, wollen noch viele Male wiedergewählt werden und daher mehr Anspruch der Gemeinschaft zu dienen.
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⁹⁶ Dies ist ein Pseudonym, um die Anonymität des Interviews zu gewährleisten.

<p>So, when I got a leader I saw different things. I saw- And that's what hurts me - I saw how young people are corrupted by the highest level, the political leader in the national level. They corrupt them maybe to vote for them when they come to contest for presidential post or sometimes when some <u>decisions</u> are made in the political party so they can't be on the one side rather than other side. So most of the people for instance I've been with the leader, almost <u>A</u> leader (,) and then I can say almost six - I know because I was closed to them - They are on this person because this person has promised him or her "When you get out of university I will find for you employment" and all that. So, this people have been submissive to this political leaders because they know they need employment after finishing the study, I will need money after finishing the study. As you know youth is one of the marginalized groups in Tanzania. So, they are fighting, always fighting to get <u>position</u>, always fighting to get <u>employment</u>, always fighting to get <u>money</u> and all that. (Interview 6 #00:08:31-9#)</p>	<p>Junge Politiker werden von älteren Bestochen indem gute Zukunft in Politik versprochen wird. Diese willigen ein, weil sie nach Ausbildung einen Job brauchen.</p>
<p>So, even the members of parliament themselves most of them are coming from the poor, but then when you are used to have money and you are used of being in the middle class and that for a long period of time, you are starting to forget the lower class, you know? So, this young people still have the feeling of "Oh my god, I was starting in this situation, to other situation, to other situation. I can know people being in this situation any more. (Interview 6 #00:50:52-1#)</p>	<p>Ältere haben vergessen wo sie herkommen/die ärmere Bevölkerung. Jüngere sind noch näher dran und haben noch nicht vergessen wo sie herkommen.</p>
<p>Interviewerin: So, do you think that the elders now in the politics are also a little bit afraid of the young politicians getting stronger? #00:56:16-0# Befragte/r: Sure. And that's why they are using them too much. As I said earlier, this elder politicians are the one using money cause the youth, the younger politicians, do not have money, so "I'm giving you money, I'm giving you employment, I'm giving you a nice car, I'm giving you a nice bla bla, I'm giving you trips to Europe, trips to America, trips to somewhere". So, you feel like "Okay, I have to be submissive to this person because it is my life." So, it's not about - People feel like it's an opportunity but to youth it's not an opportunity the first time they are moralizing you (1) so he can exploit you more because he knows that you are stronger. If a person comes to you and gives you all that, it's because he believes you are stronger. He will not go to a weak person. (Interview 6 #57:11-7#)</p>	<p>Ältere haben Angst vor jüngeren PolitikerInnen. darum versuchen sie sie zu bestechen. Ältere haben mehr Ressourcen/ Jüngere nicht, darum sind diese empfänglich für Bestechung und geraten in ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu älteren</p>
<p>But even the young person can go and deliver more than that person who has the experience for 15 years because he or she does understand what is going on in the community right now and what can make even the company grew better and better because the ruler say the customers, the major consumers of the services in the country are youth. So he knows, he understands and all that. (Interview 6 #01:01:52-0#)</p>	<p>Ältere haben Erfahrung, aber jüngere PolitikerInnen sind näher am Geschehen/ Wissen was aktuell in der Gemeinschaft los ist.</p>

8. Weitere Themen

1. Women
2. Politik (Bedeutung)
3. Einfluss von Religion

Auswertung Interview 7

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

<p>So, the politicians, I believe, they are there to lead the people, they are there to represent the people in the parliament, to distribute the national cake into- I mean first of all the MP, to know what are the needs of the people where they come from, to look for them then, but not to be there and forget about the people (Interview 7 #00:12:04-1#)</p>	<p>Funktion von Politikern ist Menschen zu repräsentieren und auf deren Bedürfnisse einzugehen / sie nicht zu vergessen, wenn sie erst MP sind.</p>
<p>I mean the party, I want to see the best of it, not for the party but for the whole country because it's ruling of the whole people. So, I believe in change, first of all. To change the system because we want development, we are a developing country and we have a lot (resources?), why can't we grow? So, I mean, if you have good leadership that has ethics, no corruption, everyone knows (this is the rule?), (1) being functional, then I believe we can whip away this corruption thing, extreme poverty, death and all that. (Interview 7 #00:29:59-1#)</p>	<p>Durch Wandel des Systems (guteFührung, moralische Führung, keine Korruption) kommt Entwicklung</p>
<p>So, they make people to see that "Okay, we chose this party this time and they did not deliver the promises they were saying. So, next time we go that other one." If this one good, okay they come back to it. So, that actually brings the change towards development but we have never seen change for 50 years now. So, well, I love my party, I want to see it growing for the better, for the change and I would love also to see the equal competition between the parties. (Interview 7 #00:31:18-6#)</p>	<p>Wettbewerb zwischen den Parteien ist gewünscht, auch wenn das bedeutet, dass eigene Partei Macht verliert</p>

So, I believe also if I wear the same shoes, seeing someone is doing something wrong and it's a minister. Well you have to speak it loudly because you are representing the people and your people need to know. (Interview 7 #00:52:18-0#)	Aufklärung der Öffentlichkeit wichtig
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1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

Actually politics have a very huge role in everyone's life because the politicians are the one deciding out of everything, economy, school, mining. Everything that everyone wants do for a living, they are all regulated by the politician. (Interview 7 #00:07:49-2#)	Entscheidungen auf allen Ebenen werden von Politik getroffen, Politik reguliert Leben der Menschen
Yeah, actually they [Anm.: die Menschen] are affected from the politicians who decide most of the things in our life but yet they are not the one affected by their life because the difference, the gap between them and us, is quite huge. (Interview 7 #00:10:22-0#)	Schere zwischen normalen Bürgern und Politikern ist groß
Okay, the major big problem why people don't go to vote but they are registered, there are two major important things. First of all, people register to get the card, the identity card. [...]So, one can have that [card] and don't do the voting because due to this corruption trend one says "Okay, even if I go to vote there's (?)". [...]So, this demoralized the people to go and vote. (Interview 7 #00:17:33-4#)	Zwei Ursachen für geringe Wahlbeteiligung: 1. Wollen ID, 2. erwarten durch Korruption eh keinen Einfluss ihrer Stimme
That's truly difficult because the corruption, for us it has grown in all levels, form the high level to the lower level, no one feels responsible for not taking the corruption or giving corruption. And even if someone doing it maybe (?). Actually the roots of corruption have grown big and the leaders who maybe could be the ones to make sure this things are stopped, to give example, maybe make those who were in corruption trends or sort of contracts make them be responsible, they don't do that. So, everyone says "Okay, if they are doing then why others cannot do?" So, actually we are having a very huge problem and defending the ones maybe there are some politicians who are against the corruption. But you find them facing a lot of challenges in the system itself, like you are banned out of (?), the way to shut you down. (?) So, that's a big problem. (Interview 7 #00:19:36-1#)	Korruption: Da Korruption auf höchster pol. Ebene weit verbreitet, denken Bürger, dass sie das auch machen können. Mächtige Politiker unternehmen nichts dagegen.
So, someone is not having good foot, someone is needing goods, so when you give him like 50.000. Wow, it's huge for a person. So, despite of being aware and in need of change, that money we will give to him makes him to forget everything. So, that's one of the major reasons. [...] And secondly for what they give, for instance when they are doing the campaigns they give caps, t-shirts, kangas, we call them. So, many women like that to be given those things. And the other thing, for the government I've seen, is during the campaign maybe the person who was a member of parliament for that constituency, you find during campaign or early before campaign, starting to give donations to the citizens like maybe the football giving football balls for disable to give maybe the (vote for another one?). So, this is in one way another a strategy, why could they not do this in the last five years? (Interview 7 #00:23:36-9#)	Korruption während des Wahlkampfes ist groß/ wird strategisch eingesetzt, wenn

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

This is naturally everyone being treated fairly. It means in all levels, all angles maybe. Politics, economy, social, environment- everyone should be treated equal. [...] I mean, everyone knowing that (2) everything is treated equally, maybe the election that come fairly. (Interview 7 #00:13:33-0#)	Demokratie = Alle Menschen werden gleich/fair behandelt
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

For a modern state I can say (1) <u>six</u> . (Interview 7 #00:14:17-4#)	Moderner Staat: 6
(2) Maybe form one to ten, I can say we are in eight. (Interview 7 #00:14:30-0#) Yeah, but the matter (is corruption?). We have democracy, people are understanding, their awareness is high. For normal citizens to understand politics, how it is involved in the (little life?) that eventually what they are expressing is corned out by corruption. So, that is a little bit bad, not to assure fully democracy. (Interview 7 #00:14:58-3#)	Tanzania: 8, Einschränkung wegen Korruption

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

Well, first of all I was interested in politics. Initially I was just so much inspired by my dad. My dad was member of parliament. [...]being with him, living with him, knowing he is doing to the political arena, just observing, I got interested. #00:00:21-8#	Vater war Politiker & hat inspiriert
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Actually for us we believe in like you inherit something from family, not everyone in the family but someone can inherit what maybe your father was doing, you work as engineer or something like that. So, I believe so much that I inherited something for me, some people are born leaders. So, my father being a leader and I got interested and I believe automatically was developing to his inherit. (Interview 7 #00:04:23-5#)	Talent wurde geerbt, Befragte/r ist geborene/r Anführer
Interviewerin: So, your father must be very proud of you. Befragte/r: Wow, actually he is and initially I didn't think he expected a lot of me because I'm a woman, being at home with the kids. Actually you are doing more you surprised him all the time. So, actually he learned that I was very potential in leadership and not stay at home. (Interview 7 #00:04:48-3#)	Familie hat nicht viel von Befragter erwartet, da Frau, aber jetzt stolz.
Actually I can say my father was also a member of CCM. So, obviously he influenced me in it. And actually he got a card of membership for me when I just actually finished my Highschool and back then I didn't have much of the choice to know that maybe there is something else more than my dad's party; though actually (acknowledging?) the lots of challenges for this party and the other growing opposition party. (Interview 7 #00:06:47-2#)	Vater hat entschieden in welcher Partei Tochter Mitglied ist, hatte keine Wahl selbst zu entscheiden

4. Motivation für Engagement

So, I started to run for the member of parliament of my class, then I won the post and I started joining the student politics. Then I said "Okay, now I'm done with the students government. Why can I not enter into party politics?" ((kurzes Auflachen)) (Interview 7 #00:03:41-7#)	War erfolgreich auf studentischer Ebene und strebte nach mehr.
Actually I have to supply, I think, into leadership; arrive a member of parliament actually. But first I have graduated from school, actually this year, and I want to still do my studies because I believe in entering politics the career way or doing it fully for the people. So, I want to finish my studies, that actually for the next year I will be doing the law school, then I want to presume my father's plans. So, for the next- Up to 2015 I think I will be done with this, then I have the background into the party politics and then I can involve politics fully. (Interview 7 #00:05:39-9#)	Klare Karriereabsichten genau geplant, Vater als Vorbild

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

we are young politicians, we are educated and we want the best for the country (Interview 7 #00:29:59-1#)	Gebildet, wollen das Beste für ihr Land
Interviewerin: So, do you think there is some kind of special asset that the young politicians have? #00:31:48-5# Befragte/r: Yeah, actually the growth of potential in this young politicians because we have visions and the modest way of ruling the people. [...] So, at least the young politicians have a lot of potential, have a lot of courage and have a lot of vision to our country development. (Interview 7 #00:33:39-9#)	Wachsendes Potential, da Visionen und eine passende Art des Regierens. Bringen Entwicklung.
Not all are focused on the people but they are focused to be in a party associating them, then they could help them back to be in a political position. (Interview 7 #00:35:43-4#)	Neben engagierten, die für die Menschen arbeiten, gibt es jene, die politische Positionen anstreben.
you find many young people want to have big positions, they want to grow (Interview 7 #00:43:30-9#)	Wollen wichtige Positionen, wollen wachsen
But actually young ones are very active and they want to know everything "Why are you having this (?)? I can know it". (Interview 7 #00:44:33-5#)	Aktiv, Wissbegierig
Because currently you find some politicians entered as young politicians, entered with that spirit of change to speed up development but when they enter then, they find the seatbacks. Not "We are the young ones and everything should go quickly", no "slow down, slow down, slow down". (Interview 7 #00:36:51-2#)	Wenn man Position erreicht hat, gibt es die Gefahr, dass man seinen „Spirit of Change“ verliert.

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

experience is the best teacher, let's say. So, they have a long time experience and they have experienced the change from back in the years when we had single party to that we have the growing of democracy and opposition parties. So, they could be the one saying how they see the change and how we can modify it to a better change towards development. (Interview 7 #00:44:33-5#)	Erfahrung, (Können vergleichen zwischen Einparteienstaat und jetzt)
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6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

So, it's like the last year general election most people were involved in party elections. Because for the general election we have party elections to know who will be the candidate. So, many youth, young politicians were involved within this early process and many of them were shaded out, even if they have the potential (?). So, they forget that the people should be the ones serving but actually they forget that. (Interview 7 #00:38:44-8#)	In Vorwahlen wurden viele junge aussortiert, obwohl sie Potential hatten.
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I felt I was respected, first of all. I chaired meetings and people were listening carefully, I got that attention that I was supposed to get not just people thinking I'm very young for it; that they saw maybe (this?) and I was (for this?) and they see the action. Because I was called dada- Big figures maybe I can say invited me to other ceremony. (Interview 7 #00:45:17-0#)	Junge PolitikerIn wird respektiert und ernstgenommen.
Interviewerin: Okay, especially when you are a young one you need someone that supports you if you have no one that supports you. #00:47:59-0# Befragte/r: Yeah, because now the problem is funding during elections. The ones who have can do much more than the ones who don't have. I had one friend of mine who completed university last year and imagined to be MP in some area. So, he has the potential (?) but eventually he commented that "if I could have money, I believe I could have won the post." So, I mean this thing from this now to make sure to have more than five million. (Interview 7 #00:49:00-1#)	Möglichkeiten stark beschränkt, wenn keine Ressourcen zur Finanzierung von Wahlkampf etc.
I'm inspired by the young politicians who could do more to bring change in the party because currently they have the campaign of "Kujumbua mzamba". It means changing from the old to a new system. Actually they are against corrupt leaders, they are campaigning for those who know you can do corruption (to reach in a position?). And this campaign was initiated by the young politician and actually it worked because there was one minister actually who seemed to be very corruptive and he resigned from the party, he had the position as an MP. So, it's working but it takes a lot of time. (Interview 7 #00:54:49-1#)	Junge Politiker versuchen aktiv System zu verändern, Chance für Kampf gegen Korruption
Okay, what I would say also to the young politicians issue as a woman. To enter into the system there is also sexual corruption. Because you want to be associated with someone and this someone is maybe is a male politician. So, in one way or another they want to help you but you have to (?) another thing (?). So, this naturally damages the whole image. They can question "Do you really become a minister without having sex with someone who pulled you up". So, it's quite challenging for us women. So, you need to know where your limit is and if you have attribute, I believe people can vote for who you are not because someone was there to help you being there. (Interview 7 #00:56:58-1#)	Frauen haben es schwieriger, weil sie sexueller Korruption ausgesetzt sind und ihr Erfolg in Frage gestellt wird.

7. Generationenverhältnis

Yeah, not the politics towards the individual because we see now many people want to enter politics but the find the party is huge, there are those for many years, they still want to maintain the profession since they are still young. So, within the party we find the gap between the older people and the young ones. (Interview 7 #00:31:42-7#)	Die älteren Mitglieder einer Partei sind schon länger da und wollen sich nicht von jüngeren vertreiben lassen.
because the former politicians have their oldest modes of way of ruling the people, not toward the dept current development that worldwide is happening. Because I can reflect some new members of parliament that are interested and are very young and they are actually speeding up in development in their constituency and their mode of ruling [...]They become so more open informing the people "I was in this committee today and discussed about that". So, people get to know and be aware, not like the old ones. (Interview 7 #00:33:39-9#)	Ältere PolitikerInnen haben auch alte Regierungsformen, die nicht mehr der Zeit entsprechen und keine Entwicklung bringen / junge PolitikerInnen hingegen sind moderner und tragen damit zur Entwicklung bei.
So, the most important think I see is the young ones want to be pushed directly to the big one in the party, who are the main (?) and want to impress to them, be close to them and eventually thinking to get something in return, maybe appointed a district commissioner, appointed a member of CCM party for a region. They have expectations in that. (Interview 7 #00:35:43-4#)	Junge PolitikerInnen suchen Kontakt zu älteren, um an Positionen zu kommen.
they [Anm: ältere PolitikerInnen] are afraid because many young politicians are majors from university and these from universities are actually intellectuals that can reason why this and why that. So, they are afraid that like all this young politicians in the whole system (could develop a lot of change?). So, they say "Okay, let's start observing them" (Interview 7 #00:38:44-8#)	Ältere Politiker haben Angst vor den jüngeren, weil diese oft intellektuell überlegen sind.
Okay, there are two ways. There are the ones of the older politicians who use the young ones to win their vote but when they are won, they are gone. But there are others that want to stand with the young politicians and they use the influence of the young voters to vote for them. [...]So, this is what actually the Ubungo constituency experienced. The CCM had two competitors within the party; the young one and the old woman. So, the party chose the woman to be the member of parliament though the members wanted the younger one, you see? So, when they took this woman, the opposition passed to the young one, you see? So, the party missed that many voters are the youth. So, they were the ones who (?). So, actually you see that the youth can support them to make sure. (Interview 7 #00:41:13-8#)	Zwei Arten wie ältere PolitikerInnen die jüngeren ausnutzen: 1. Nur während der Wahlen, 2. auch danach, um Einfluss auf junge Wähler zu halten. & Bsp
I remember in one time I was in an internal meeting and the one who brought to us the young leaders, the young politicians, was a big one. So, everyone who was in that meeting	Junge PolitikerInnen haben Hemmungen sich gegen jene

was supporting him, not like "why can't we challenge and see things through not only what he was supposed on us?". So, we were all supposed to be in that direction. So, I felt the other way and I thought like I'm speaking out of the point. The others did not want to see the different picture but actually in the end it helped to compromise and make them understand you are the (?). So, not to be each other in different perspective because what I actually see is the young ones being involved do accept everything the older ones are saying. (Interview 7 #00:46:37-8#)	älteren PolitikerInnen zu stellen, die sie unterstützen - sind weniger kritisch/akzeptieren alles, was die älteren sagen
And you know what is happening now is just the big figures they have their people involved in the system, for instance the ones who have the vision in being maybe the president in 2015, and they start creating the group right now. So, from this early of 2011 you find some youth who have the vision of win in the next election, they see "Okay, which group can I involve myself to get the support?". (Interview 7 #00:47:41-5#)	Bindung von jungen PolitikerInnen an ältere, um Wahlen zu gewinnen
They [Anm: Die jungen PolitikerInnen] are already associated by the big politicians. [...] Interviewerin: Okay, so the people engaging in the youth league expect somehow maybe a good job or something like this. #00:55:38-9# Befragte/r: Yeah, actually the job. (Interview 7 #00:55:40-0#)	CCM Youth League: Mitglieder sind schon von älteren abhängig

8. Weitere Themen

1. Women
2. Corruption

Auswertung Interview 8

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

we focus on poverty evaluations and of course good governance. It was well done during single party because the party and the government were able to check each other, check and balance, but when we entered into multiparty system and the issue of check and balance got complicated. (Interview 8 #00:07:09-5#)	Positive Betonung des Einparteiensstaates
At a political party you end up being only, you know, instruct the government to do. The issue how, you know, we make more accountable that's still to be done. (Interview 8 #00:07:09-5#)	Will Regierung mehr haftbar machen

1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

(3) Tanzanians have very much rightness in political atmosphere of our country and if you read the newspaper, most of the covers is about politics. So, there is a lot of influence on daily life of Tanzanians and since most of the social and economical developments are, you know, structured or stimulated by politicians. So, it's almost politics become center of everything. (Interview 8 #00:13:12-6#)	Einfluss von Politik auf alle Bereiche des Lebens
So, you need a dynamic strategy thinking to influence the new generation and of course you have to see and to capitalize on what is happening globally in terms of social economic issues, what is happening globally in terms of political issues? We try to make comparison because even if they went to secondary schools but they are well informed about global issues through the media. (Interview 8 #00:32:53-0#)	Politische Strategien müssen sich an globalisiertere Welt anpassen, um junge Menschen erreichen zu können.
And even if you go to social settings, like you go to church or you go to marriage ceremonies, if you go as a politician, normally the gathering the tends to recognize your presence. "Oh, we have a honorable-" ((Auflachen)) (Interview 8 #00:14:28-3#)	Persönliche Ebene, als PolitikerIn aufzutreten hat besondere Wirkung
Those who are living in urban areas they are well informed about politics because of the media. They wake up in the morning, before even they go out they check the TV, they know what's happening around. So, they know what is happening around in Dar es Salaam, in Libya, South Africa, UK in Europe, in US, so those who live in the urban areas are well informed compared to those who live in the rural villages. #00:22:46-8#	Urbane Gegenden, die Zugang zu TV etc. haben sind wesentlich besser über Politik informiert als die ländlichen Regionen.
If you go there [Anm.: local areas], the best methodology is to listen to them. What are their needs (1) because even if you say that this is a good political party because of the historical background, because of the personalities in terms of leadership, because of the system we have, because of the, you know, all the good memories about that party, at the end they need to hear to what extend are you addressing their problems, at that village level. One, probably they want to see or they want to hear about "We are interested to play football or (?). How are you going to help us to get that kind of stuff, sports facility?" We have to be connected to that kind of small, small stuff and of course even if you talk about "Oh, I know you need a lot. We are going to conserve a road from Dar es Salaam to Zanzibar. So, that you can transport your products." Okay, people say "That's too general". ((kurzes Auflachen)) "Not for only us but	Technik im Wahlkampf. Hinweis auf Korruption, wird aber später bestritten

also for others they can even use. For us we need, you know, the sports facilities so that we can play. That's our happiness." (Interview 8 #00:25:10-0#)	
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2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

Democracy is (2) the desire of the people to be respected, the will of the people to be guaranteed, the freedom of the people to be guaranteed the protection of the human rights and of course the issue, you know, creating an environment even for the marginalized to have a space to engage [...] in the social and economic (game?) in political life. (Interview 8 #00:18:19-4#)	Menschen werden respektiert/ es ist der Wille der Menschen, der sich durchsetzt/Schutz der Menschenrechte/ Nicht-Ausgrenzung der Marginalisierten
Democracy is very important because once you give people space everything you decide is an aspect of ownership, is also become part of social, economic and political life. Because even if you have good stuff, if people are not involved, there is no democracy. They haven't even contributed in terms of ideas. It's difficult to say "Oh, we have this road. How can we use this road? Can we bring our products from Arusha to Dar es Salaam?" because there is a big market in Dar es Salaam. They were not part of their wish because what is their first priority in that place?, is it a road?, is it electricity?, it is water? That's democracy because they have to decide what is the priority. So, democracy is very important. Actually it's the first and foremost if you want development. (Interview 8 #00:20:32-0#)	Wünsche/Prioritäten der Menschen müssen in Entscheidungen der Regierung einbezogen werden Demokratie sehr wichtig für Entwicklung
in terms of democracy what's the most important is your argument. If you put forward a logical, more constructive argument, you become different to many people who are contributing to that debate and discussions. (Interview 8 #00:39:21-0#)	Wichtigkeit des guten Arguments

2.2 Skala Demokratie

Probably we are landing at around four. (Interview 8 #00:18:46-9#)	Tanzania: 4
Okay, so you would say you want to reach ten? Befragte/r: Yes. (Interview 8 #00:20:36-6#)	Für die Zukunft: 10

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

My parents, my dad and my mother, were just primary school teachers. So, they were not really active in politics but of course they were connected with political leaders like councilors, local leaders like village leaders. And my grandparents were also not active in politics but they were acting as a chief at a certain locality. (Interview 8 #00:02:22-8#)	Keine PolitikerInnen in der Familie.
Yeah, it [Ann.: why join the CCM] is because of the historical background of my family because my family were just primary school teachers but they were associated with Chama Cha Mapinduzi. (Interview 8 #00: 03:45#)	Familie ist aber mit Partei verbunden

4. Motivation für Engagement

I joined politics when I was at secondary school and it was during that time when Tanzania was entering multiparty system in 1992, 1993. We were, you know, discussing at the schools about the political scene, where we come from, where we are and where we want to move and is the period where I was inspired to join politics and I decided to join Chama Cha Mapinduzi as my political party. (Interview 8 #00:01:21-7#)	Persönlich: Politischer Umbruch motivierte zu Engagement
Because I believe since I already spent a lot of my brain, a lot of my energy and my background in this party, if I have something to change, I think I can make it within the party. Rather than joining another political party, finding a new system, a new structure, new leaders. You know, it's difficult to establish your- (2) Interviewerin: Own career. Befragte/r: Yes, yeah. (Interview 8 #00:04:46-6#)	Persönlich: Eigene Karriere als Motivator in Partei zu bleiben
For instance, for me I was inspired by some politicians when I was in secondary school, at university. (Interview 8 #00:40:53-0#)	Persönlich: Andere PolitikerInnen haben inspiriert
Yeah, there are different scenarios why youths join political parties. So, because some do join because of, you know, career. They want jobs, they think like if you opt for politics, it's easy to get a job and they are really not motivated by the political issues and political activities. They are more or less motivated by to whom and how can I get connected to good jobs and that's all. So, if he or she fails to get within like two, three, four, five years, it's difficult to see that person is really interested in politics. So, we have those kinds of people. Particularly those who are studying, they do join politics because they are like at a bridge between being a student and being a, you know, someone somewhere. So, they try to look the greener pasture is to move for a job. Some they decide for politics and some they decide for politics but to look for a job and to look for opportunity. (Interview 8 #00:49:06-2#)	Allgemein: Es gibt auch junge PolitikerInnen, die nur einen Job haben und Karriere machen wollen.

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

One is energy, the most powerful asset for the youth. It's difficult to get tired easily, you can, you know, start working from morning to 12pm or 12am. So, one is energy, two is about brains and talent. For the youth it's easy to develop tactics and strategies during the process because you said this strategy, you go to implement it, you see there is a lot of dynamics compact. (Interview 8 #00:30:24-3#)	Energie, Verstand und Talent Können einfach Strategien entwickeln Haben viel Dynamik
So, those are the two important assets but third for the youth it's easier to network because we share a lot of engagements, in sports, in Bongo Flavas ((lachen)) and schools. So, because this is a group of people, at school it's easier to find in one (city?), like you go to university you find all of them at one, thousand, thousand, so it's easy to get connected and capitalize on that setting, compared to other generation, they are at home or they are at work. (Interview 8 #00:30:24-3#)	Sind gute Networker

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

Some of the elders, not all, they dislike youth who are independent. They like someone to follow in their shoes. (Interview 8 #00:38:09-5#)	Ältere mögen keine selbstständigen jungen PolitikerInnen
Their special asset is about wisdom. [...] Two, is about their experience. Because then the party is better in those kind of activity, those kind of elections like five, six, seven times. So, they know a lot of issues, a lot of strategies. You can use a strategy but they used in the 2000 election. They say "Oh, this is this strategy was developed in 2000 and it didn't work well because of one, two, three. (Interview 8 #00:45:33-1#)	Weisheit und Erfahrung in der Politik

6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

Ah, we do it this way. We convene a meeting here in the office because we have some structure organs which we made. So, the small one we hold it here but if we have a big one, we have to hire a conference which bring youth from all over the country to discuss about how are we moving, to what extend the youth league is, you know, appealing to the youth problems; to what extend the youth league of Chama Cha Mapinduzi is influencing the government about the youth challenges. So, once we make the decision then we forward this to the president. We do it through party meeting because we are part of the party meeting, we participate in those meetings, that's one. Two, we do it through writing to the president, copy to the prime minister and of course to the specific ministry. Third, because you do it that way it's difficult for the youth in (Luqua?), in Dodoma, in Zanzibar to know that you discussed this matter and you forwarded it to the minister, so we go to those places, we say "We have already instructed the government to make sure that one, two, three, four is done." So, the youth, you know, are informed but also the media is informed. So, those are some of the strategy we also use. But the other strategy we use is we organize like demonstration. (Interview 8 #00:09:35-7#)	Chance: Möglichkeiten der Jugendorganisation Einfluss auf die Regierung zu nehmen
Do you think this is necessary to have those standing up, for example in the parliament, and be very critical? Befragte/r: Yeah, yeah, it's very important. Very, very important. Interviewerin: But would you do the same if you would have one issue that is very important for yourself- Befragte/r: Absolutely. I do. That's how I am actually. ((Lachen)) [...] I don't compromise easily. I need to be convinced and I need to heard, to be listened. Sometimes if we debate in the mother party we spend like one or two hours discussing. (?) Interviewerin: Yeah, and you have a big group, the youth, behind you. Befragte/r: Absolutely, yeah. Interviewerin: And you with your youth wing you can influence the whole national politics. Befragte/r: Absolutely. (Interview 8 #00:51:40-0#)	Chance: Junge PolitikerInnen sollen ruhig kritisch sein und können als Jugendflügel auch Einfluss nehmen, weil große Gruppe

7. Generationenverhältnis

So, for the youth it's easy to swim around this kind of complexity, so that this complexity is easily managed compared to, you know, other generations. (Interview 8 #00:30:24-3#)	Jüngere können mit Komplexität besser umgehen
Of course they know that normally youth are the political engineers. They can engineer certain political agenda to a certain direction and (2) also if they try to explain their background when they were youth; they fail to capture the reality because these are two different settings. That was a single party, you had only 30 media, you had only one party, you had no civil society, you know, you had trade unions which were co-opted by the state, co-opted by the party. So, now, all this not youths are completely different, you had only one university which was also, you know, part of the government system. So, now it's completely different and that's where we debate in the mother party when we meet for a meeting. We say "Okay, we need to look at the real problems which the youth are facing" and try to address there because we can't explain the current problems vis a vis your problems during your time as youth. And say "Oh, we were very smart. You are not smart."	Die Jugend & die Situation von Jugendlichen zwischen älteren und den jetzt jungen PolitikerInnen kann man nicht vergleichen.

No, this is a quite different period of time. (Interview 8 #00:35:31-4#)	
Do you think that the elders are afraid of the younger ones making careers now and pushing them out of their good jobs? Befragte/r: ((Lachen)) Absolutely, yes. They are afraid, they know you have come very fast, you know, slow, slow, slow ((Lachen)) #00:37:25-9#	Ältere PolitikerInnen haben Angst vor jüngeren.
To follow them where they want, what they want, what kind of arguments they are putting. Then you forward this kind of perspective, that kind of line. So, if you try to be an independent figure, they fear you because you are creating your own way. And then you are, you know, you are demonstrating your competence, your capabilities, sometimes you are becoming like an authority because in terms of democracy what's the most important is your argument. If you put forward a logical, more constructive argument, you become different to many people who are contributing to that debate and discussions. So, if you become that way and you are youth, some of the ((kurzes verstehendes Lachen)) elders they say "Oh, this- ((Lachen))" [...] "We have to be careful" (Interview 8 #00:39:21-0#)	Ältere wollen, dass junge folgen und nicht selbstständig sind. Wenn diese das doch tun, haben sie Angst, weil Können demonstriert wird und junge zu Autoritäten werden können.
For instance, for me I was inspired by some politicians when I was in secondary school, at university. So, when you are expert you get, you know, interested to be connected so that you can learn more about how he or she thinks, about how he or she acts in different issues. Like this issue, how does he or she behave? In that a setting also is like a (subplot?) because you are inspired, also he or she is inspired by you. Then you create a symbiosis. (Interview 8 #00:40:53-0#)	Ältere und jüngere PolitikerInnen können auch eine Symbiose eingehen, von der beide profitieren.
They say "Oh, this is this strategy was developed in 2000 and it didn't work well because of one, two, three. So, if you want to develop it, make sure that you have this as part of this strategy." So, we involve them when we make plans and we get a lot of advice on how we can move forward. (Interview 8 #00:45:33-1#)	Ältere Politiker werden von jüngeren wegen ihrer Erfahrung in der Politik beratend hinzugezogen
And if you think about yourself, just imagine for the future, when you think about yourself maybe being a minister or even president of the country, do you think that you will - then being one of the elder ones - also be afraid of the younger ones coming after you? Befragte/r: No. Because I'm coming from the youth league, so I know the youth league. So, I can't be afraid but I have to engage more, more, more and more and more. Because once you create a vacuum, you don't give them space to engage with the elders, they tend to act like in a type of war. You know, they are not given a space, no one is listening, no one is caring. So, because I'm of the youth, so I know that the youth need to be listened to, need to be engaged. #00:46:55-5#	Heutige junge PolitikerInnen werden anders mit Jugend umgehen als dies derzeit von Seiten der Älteren geschieht, weil sie wissen, dass man der Jugend zuhören muss, sonst kann es Konflikte geben.
And I'm encouraging the youth to go and take the elders posts. (Interview 8 #00:51:47-8#)	Konkurrenzkampf wird bewusst angeheizt
We really respect each other because we act in our own framework and the mother party, if they want to give us some instructions, they have to do it in a system where we are part of that system, where we listen and we provide our opinions. So, if the party makes that decision, then they can give us those directives or those instructions and of course because this is the youth league of the mother party - it's not an independent organization - we have to implement it. But it's not other way around that someone somewhere, like this morning we got a letter from the secretary general saying "Oh, from tomorrow the youth league should do this and this and this" which is contrary to the youth league documents. We say "No, we can't do this". ((kurzes Lachen)) (Interview 8 #00:53:19-8#)	Der Jugendflügel kann sich gegen Einflussnahme der Mutterpartei in einigen Bereichen wehren und ist Anweisungen nicht einfach ausliefert.

8. Weitere Themen

1. Die politische Arbeit / Mechanismen dieser

Auswertung Interview 9

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

Serving the nation, serving the people, national interests. Now there are few people who can really contest out of that because you really need to have that readiness to people, it is not an easy task. But who does that? Contesting in order to be closer to people, in order to serve your nation and your people? Once you are there sometimes you forget all what you promised to people when you were contesting. You are even forgetting that in five years time you will be having another election. Now if you haven't fulfilled, what will you do? At the end of the day you find that once you remain with one year that's when you start running up and down. Trying to fulfill those things. People got forsake we really need to be there for people, with all your heart. (Interview 9 #00:11:37-9#)	Ziel von PolitikerInnen sollte es sein der Nation/Menschen zu dienen Problem: Wenn man erst drinnen ist, dann vergisst man das oft Kurz vor den Wahlen erinnert man sich und versucht etwas zu tun, um das nächste mal wiedergewählt zu werden
Corruption is a problem, not only in Tanzania, all over the world. When you talk of corruption it is a problem and it is a major problem and that's cancer, it's a cancer disease in	Korruption ist weltweites Problem und sensibles

the (?). So, it's a problem and it's a delicate issue. Because you are touching somebody's heart when it comes to corruption people- It's a problem, major problem. (Interview 9 #00:21:42-9#)	Thema, weil es Menschen berührt.
In fact politics is not a dirty game, politicians are the ones who make it look dirty but politics as the politics is a very good thing, you serve people, you serve your nation diligently. It's not a dirty game but politicians are the ones who make it to look a dirty game. (Interview 9 #00:25:55-2#)	Politik ist gut, aber einige PolitikerInnen haben Image zerstört.

1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

because a country like ours whereby it's a third world country, LDC, when you talk of corruption people still live in very disastrous conditions. People are poor and you are talking of corruption. Are we going to reach anywhere? We are still curling, so everything is possible provided we get the full support from the government, full support from politicians as a political will and each one of us should be patriotic in the fight against corruption. It is possible. This is what I believe. The only thing is, we should organize ourselves properly. Interviewerin: You know this is what I was thinking that it might be very difficult to fight against corruption because of those lot of people living in very poor circumstances and when I imagine I would be really poor and someone would come to me and give me money for whatever I should do- Befragte/r: That is why I mentioned the well strategies. It has all to do with the strategies. (Interview 9 #00:24:10-8#)	Zusammenhang Korruption und Armut: Man braucht gute Strategien, um trotz Armut gegen Korruption vorgehen zu können, wie diese aussehen sollen bleibt offen
So many people say politics is a dirty game. So, it's time for us to change. To change the image because sometimes it may be speaking very, very, very logical things and people say "Ah, don't bring a politic here. You talk like a politician." The image is already bad, people think politicians are people who just talk with no action; that's very bad. (Interview 9 #00:25:55-2#)	Menschen denken, dass Politik schmutziges Spiel ist/ Image soll geändert werden, weil Menschen nicht mehr gut auf PolitikerInnen zu sprechen sind
That is not easy to change. Now if it's a long time mindset among the society and one, two, three you want to reform which is good, provided it's for betterment, it's fine. But you can't just do it rapidly, there are some stages you need to do. For instance, you need to sensitize people first. Why is it important to wear like this? Try to sensitize people, to educate people, to sensitize them psychologically, to prepare them psychologically. So, that by the time when they see dressing like that or in a different way, they should not be shocked because already they will be prepared psychologically to accept those changes. You get my point? It's very important. This is something people do forget, especially in our country. People are not being prepared psychologically according to the changes, any changes. (Interview 9 #00:19:08-5#)	Wandel muss immer vorbereitet werden und kann nicht schnell und ohne diese stattfinden: Bevölkerung muss vorab sensibilisiert und psychisch vorbereitet werden

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

Democracy is freedom of expression. That's democracy. Freedom of expression without being harmed. Provided you talk things that are not harmful to others, thinks that are constructive for the nation, for the betterment of the nation, for the betterment of people. But some people misuse this democracy because democracy as democracy is the freedom of expression but some people do misuse this democracy to evil things instead of good things. This is something that we don't want, so we should utilize the democracy appropriately. (Interview 9 #00:32:01-6#)	Meinungsfreiheit/Redefreiheit ohne dabei geschädigt zu werden, wenn man anderen selbst auch nicht schadet und zur Verbesserung aller beiträgt Wird manchmal ausgenutzt
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

Oh, in terms of democracy I would say Tanzania is really improving. It's improving. I'm not saying that simply because I'm from the ruling party, no. We have seen Tanzania has been having this ruling party for ages, yeah? But newer days we have multiple (1), multi parties. You find that they go to stages, they talk anything they want, they talk all the shit they want and no one harasses them. The ruling party is the one who is controlling the government but they don't do anything, that is democracy. [...]But democracy is here, democracy in Tanzania is taking place. I wouldn't say it is with ten, I wouldn't say it's one but I would say it is seven. (Interview 9 #00:34:10-6#)	Tanzania: 7 Demokratie ist da (BSP: Regierungspartei lässt Opposition angeblich frei sprechen)
Firstly I would say we have got free expression of media, we have got free election, (1) we have got free expression from the public. These are the kind of things that will make us to reach ten. But again, I emphasize, I insist, again in this democracy here in our country sometimes it's been exploited. Why? (.) Even the media, we are saying "Okay, freedom of expression for media." But it's been exploited because sometimes they write things that are worse, things that are not beneficial to the nation, writing things to damage somebody's reputation. [...] And you call it freedom of expression of media, why do you go beyond the	Um 10 zu erreichen muss nur die angebliche Missbrauch von Demokratie (von PolitikerInnen und durch die Medien) verhindert werden / nicht weitere Aspekte von Demokratie einführen.

ethics of your professionalism? I don't think that is good and if we keep on doing that, we will never reach ten. And these are the obstacles. If we keep on doing that, we will never reach ten because we keep on saying "Democracy" while we were exploiting democracy, we are doing things that are exploiting, that are of harmful to the public. Instead of educating the public, entertaining the public, informing the public, informing the public things that are constructive, not things that are destructive. This is the thing. Even if you are a politician, you can't stand on the stage and telling people destructive issues. Tell them about your policies, how are you going to serve them? Because you are a politician you are elected. Tell them how you are going to serve them. Tell them your policies, how are you going to bring water to them, how are you going to bring peace to them, how are you going to bring (?) to them or to build schools to them, or to build roads to them. Don't stand there on the stage and start insulting other fellow leaders or colleagues just simply because your ideologies are different or simply because you hate one another. We don't go that way (Interview 9 #00:00:00-0#)	
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3. Familiärer Hintergrund

But here it came a very big challenge for me. I've lost my job, I've lost my parliamentary seat, I've lost everything. How will I start, where do I go? And I have a family to look after. (Interview 9 #00:22:08-4#)	Hat Familie, d.h. Misserfolge betreffen nicht nur PolitikerIn selber
Interviewerin: And do you have some kind of familiar background in politics? Your parents for example, have they been politicians too? Befragte/r: No, no, no. Interviewerin: But they were interested in? Befragte/r: Of course, especially my mum. Of course my mum, very much supportive and (artifact?) apparently she is no longer alive but she wanted to contest as a member of parliament. They have asked her to contest because she was highly accepted into the society by everybody. [...] so it's like I have taken over from her. Interviewerin: Okay, so the whole family has tradition in the party and- Befragte/r: The whole family, yeah. (Interview 9 #00:30:51-6#)	Keine PolitikerInnen in Familie, aber Mutter war politisch engagiert und unterstützte Befragte/n. Mutter Vorbild
And the background of the family is sort of like a (achieved?) family, so it's administrators family. It has got achieved a status family, those days for Africans, yeah. (Interview 9 #00:30:51-6#)	Familie hat lange Verbindung zu CCM Kommt aus gesellschaftlich besser gestellter Familie

4. Motivation für Engagement

I was employed as a liaison manager for a mining company and you know when you talk of politics it has to be in you. You don't just erupt and say "I want to become a politician." You need to have a will. So, with me I used to like politics since when I was very, very young, since I was a child actually. I was even participating in this thing we call "Chipkizi" in our language, in Swahili, but Chipkizi in artifact is for the age that is around maybe five years up to ten, 12, pupils, kids who are still at the primary level school. So, we used to have this "Halike", we call it "Halike" to sing, we were been groomed politically with patriotism since when we were doing our primary school education. So, I grew that way and I was strong to that way and of course this was sometimes bad. So, somebody the talent might be hidden but when the right time has come it will explode by itself. So, I had that thing in my mind since when I was a child and then when I was working, you know, still in the community work. (Interview 9 #00:14:07-8#)	.Politik muss aus einem selbst raus kommen, man braucht den Willen Wurde in Kindheit auf Patriotismus getrimmt und hat das seither
By that time, as I said, I was working as a liaison manager to the very reputable mining firm and I decided one, two, three (.) to contest. Though, prior to that, I had this various positions in my party, not big positions of course but I was mingling with people various positions, junior and middle positions, in my party; (1) just to make me make support people. But one, two, three I told myself "Look here, I think I have a will. I need to serve my people, I need to serve my country. (.) Not just the party. I need to be very closed to my people entirely (Interview 9 #00:14:07-8#)	Trotz gutem Job für Politik entschieden, da Wille vorhanden & der Bevölkerung dienen will
So, on this side I was practicing my profession as an employer and on the other side I was practicing my political career (.) to be very close to people and to serve them. (Interview 9 #00:28:24-3#)	Pol. Engagement neben Job, um Menschen nah zu sein und zu helfen
Now people do contest due to various reasons, that's why I'm saying it has all to do with individuals here. So, me people do contest out of prestige (1), some people do contest out of power, some people do contest out of having it as an umbrella, as a coverage, they want to do their own other things and once they are there they know no one will touch them because politics is the one that drives the country or even drives the world. Some people do contest simply because they want to be closer to people, they want to serve the nation and the people. So, this last point is the one that is most important than everything. It's the most important thing that is better for everyone, the democratic society. Serving the nation, serving the people, national interests. (Interview 9 #00:11:37-9#)	Allgemein: Verschiedene Gründe PolitikerIn werden zu wollen: - Prestige - Macht - Schutz für eigene Tätigkeiten - Menschen/Nation dienen (am wichtigsten)

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

In today's world young politicians are coming up with this multipartism and (1) young politicians, you know, are vigorous. (Interview 9 #00:29:55-0#)	Stark und aufwachsen im Mehrparteiensystem
Young politicians, I would say, they have a special asset to beginning. (.) Why am I saying that? (.) Young politicians are full of energy, still young and the worlds' faith and when I say they are full of energy, they are full of energy in terms of mental energy, in terms of thinking capacity, in terms of physical energy. They can run here and there without being tired, they can think faster. So, it is an asset and they go according to today's world. You know, today this is the globalization world, it's not a conservative society anymore, it's a liberal society, it's a democratic society and this young generation are the ones who can match with the today's world, that's why I'm saying it's an asset. (Interview 9 #00:01:43-6#)	Haben mentale, geistige und körperliche Energie. Denken schnell und werden nicht müde Können sich in der globalen Welt zurechtfinden
I like the young leader, not just very young, young like me because I can compare. Because I could see Ujamaa, the way my mum, my dad were living and compare with today. It's easy for me to compare not because I'm young (1), fit mentally and physical and I go according to today's world, then it becomes easy for me to be adjustable and flexible and forget this business of being conservative. (Interview 9 #00:02:49-8#)	Können dadurch zwischen Vergangenheit und heute vergleichen Anpassungsfähig und flexibel
Young leaders actually are big assets to this nation because they are the ones who can easily bring changes according to this liberal and democratic world. (Interview 9 #00:03:00-6#)	Können leicht Wandel in einer liberalen und demokratischen Welt bringen
The motivation? It's just to encourage themselves, instead of discouraging themselves because they are also human being- We need young politicians in today's world. (Interview 9 #00:05:26-6#)	Junge unterstützen sich selbst
No, they want to change of course. (Interview 9 #00:07:21-5#)	Wollen Wandel
Because this young, you know, are (athletic?) and when they want something, they can run and they can make the challenge, they can speak out issues, they can play with people's psychology, issues, talk about issues, you see? So, this are the ones people want because they want people start looking like "Ah, we have been doing the same matters in the same song every day, now we want change." And when they say "We want change." there the young generation comes in. Now the youngsters, when they come in, they should also prove to those people that indeed they never made a mistake by electing them, they should also show those changes that they have been saying. They should not look like they were just trying to impress them. No, if we say young generation can make a great change, let it be. (Interview 9 #00:07:21-5#)	Wenn sie etwas wollen, kämpfen sie dafür. Menschen wollen sie, weil sie Wandel versprechen Müssen aber auf Versprechungen auch Taten folgen lassen
some youngsters are also not good because you find that they become violent	Manche: gehe zu weit, Gewalt

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

Most of them will find that they are rigid. They don't want to accept changes which is very wrong. (Interview 9 #00:05:09-8#)	Unbeweglich, starr, wollen keine Veränderung
There are some older politicians who are okay, they are very much flexible with the situation, they are very much adjustable to the situation though of course the percentage is very small. The majority are not like that, minority are the ones who are like that, who can easily accept the youngsters. (Interview 9 #00:08:15-9#) And those are the ones that can be very much flexible and adjustable to live according to this world because they do easily accept the young politicians as they are. And say "No, no, no, these are the changes and we have to live with changes." (Interview 9 #00:09:14-0#)	Manche sind "okay", aber Minderheit: Flexibel, gut im Umgang mit jungen Akzeptieren, dass Wandel normal
Because this older ones do have an asset themselves as older. They have got wisdom, they have got experience	Weisheit, Erfahrung

6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

prior to going to contest, you know, my employer, a huge mining firm, when I took my last day he told me, my boss, my employer, I remember he was a British guy, he said "Look here Mary, we don't entertain politics in our policy and I know that you are going to contest for a parliamentary seat. Chose between the two, politics or work." [...] I decided to think over and over again. I said there is no way, I had the will, I made the promise and it is in <u>me</u> . Tomorrow when I get back to the office, though I have been given time to think about, I'm going to give out, I'm going to run out that 24 hours. And this is exactly what happened. The next day I went back to the office, I said "Look here sir" this is what I have decided. I'm quitting my wealthy job for politics and (1) that's it. (Interview 9 #00:14:07-8#)	Arbeitgeber wollen keine PolitikerInnen im Unternehmen – entweder Job oder Politik
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<p>I got a call from I would say my current employer. I got a call to say "Look here, Mary, we need you and we think this particular position will be very suitable for you." I told them "Look here, first of all, I'm still studying. I have not yet finished my studies." [...] <u>Secondly I'm a politician</u>, now I was telling them like <u>that</u> through my previous experience that normally most of this employer's don't want to mix up politics and professional job. So, I had to tell them from the beginning "Look, I'm a politician. I don't want to start working for you guys and one, two, three once you realize I'm a politician, you turf me out." They said "No, you are the kind of a person that we want for this particular position" (Interview 9 #00:22:08-4#)</p>	<p>Die meisten Arbeitgeber wollen Mix von Politik und Job nicht, aber es gibt Ausnahmen</p>
<p>So, they didn't care, they didn't mind if I'm a politician and because in the type of job I was supposed to work very close with the government, so they said "You are the type of a person we need for this particular". (Interview 9 #00:22:08-4#)</p>	<p>Ausnahme: Da Mitglied der Regierungspartei und im Job Zusammenarbeit mit Regierung</p>
<p>It needs to have a will, it needs to have a determination and in life never give up. And politics have got a lot of rocks, ups and downs, obstacles. So, you really need to be cautioned, you need to be tolerate, you need to be strong and all those kind of things in order to accomplish your dream. (Interview 9 #00:28:52-5#)</p>	<p>Politik ist ein steiniger Weg, der ohne gewisse persönliche Stärken nicht zu schaffen ist.</p>

7. Generationenverhältnis

<p>In today's world young politicians are coming up with this multipartism and (1) young politicians, you know, are vigorous. You know? Very different from old politicians but still we need to have at least a mix up because you can't just leave old politicians alone or you can't just leave young politicians alone. If you leave young politicians alone, there could be war. If you leave old politicians alone there could be too conservative things may not be moving. So, we really need a mix up of atmosphere in order for the things to go according to today's world. (Interview 9 #00:29:55-0#)</p>	<p>In der Politik ist ein Mix von jungen und alten PolitikerInnen nötig, um angemessen handeln zu können.</p>
<p>Interviewerin: And do you think that by now the young politicians are taken serious? By the elders? Befragte/r: I think it's in terms of an individual person. It's not a question of a group issue. Here it's a question of an individual. (Interview 9 #00:08:15-9#)</p>	<p>Taken serious? – hängt vom Individuum ab</p>
<p>I wouldn't say they are scared of young politicians. It's only that because this are old politicians, it's like they are saying "Ah, you know this young politicians", in most cases you find that they say they have got no manners. [...] They are not used to running, they are used to walking, that's one. They are used to analog, they are not used to digital. One, two, three this young generation is coming up with freedom of expression, you know, with modern globalization issues and this old politicians are like "Ah ((verächtlich gesprochen)), look, this young ones have got no good manners. Where are they coming from? They plan to change our system, we haven't been doing like that and one, two, three they want us to turn the world and turn the country and start to doing things that have never been happening before." They are forgetting that things are changing, today's world is different from yesterday's world. Most of them will find that they are rigid. They don't want to accept changes which is very wrong. I think they should also learn to be flexible and adjustable in order to match or to balance with today's world. And if you can be flexible and adjustable to match with today's world, you can also be easily matching with the young generation leaders because you will be very much understanding. (Interview 9 #00:05:09-8#)</p>	<p>Ältere haben keine Angst vor jungen PolitikerInnen, aber wollen keinen Wandel – die jungen hingegen schon. Ältere sagen über jüngere, dass diese keine guten Manieren haben Ältere vergessen, dass Welt sich laufend verändert Ältere sollen flexibler werden, dann können sie auch mit den jungen besser umgehen</p>
<p>They want to change and that's why I'm saying there is a gap between old politicians and young politicians, that's one. And secondly, because of this liberalization and with democrat society definitely things won't be the same, definitely there will be a gap, somewhere, somehow and these are kind of things that at the end of the day the old ones do(?) to the young ones. Of course even the question of saying they are coming up to take up their positions because even the people are also working hard. (Interview 9 #00:07:21-5#)</p>	<p>Schere zwischen alt und jung</p>
<p>You put an old man here, you put a youngster here. When we talk of energy, obviously, certainly yes the youngsters have more energy than the old man. Even the thinking capacity of a youngster is very different because he's more energetic, physically and mentally. [...] You can't leave youngsters alone otherwise there will be a war, just like I said and you can't leave old politicians alone otherwise the society will be too conservative. Because this older ones do have an asset themselves as older. They have got wisdom, they have got experience whereby they can transfer onto the youngsters. The wisdom they have and the experience they have, they can transfer onto the youngsters and the youngsters can receive from the older the experience as well as the wisdom and this youngsters can be send by this old men and they can run to implement things that have been told. So, things can be balanced. Even the youngsters can also be able to tell the old ones things that are according to today's world. So, they share the debate, at the end of the day they come up to the final concluded issue that is constructive for the benefit of all parties. (Interview 9 #00:14:26-5#)</p>	<p>Jüngere haben mehr Energie und Denkfähigkeit als ältere Man braucht aber auch die älteren in der Politik wegen Weisheit. Beide können voneinander profitieren! Davon profitiert wiederum die ganze Nation.</p>

8. Weitere Themen

1. Persönliche Laufbahn/Karriere (Ich-bezogen)

Auswertung Interview 11

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

If you stand for what the majority stands for, then you are on the safe side. If you stand for your personal interest and your personal things, you get very big problems. So, we are always trying to stand on the side of what people want. (Interview 11 #00:31:13-8#)	Allgemeinwohl vor persönlichem Wohl als politische Strategie
My party always believes on <u>changing</u> , on <u>democracy</u> . If you are voted out, you go. If you are voted in, then you exude what you are given to do. (Interview 11 #00:33:59-2#)	Politikverständnis: Wandel und Demokratie
So, that's why I say upbringing of young politicians will affect them very much in future thinking. (Interview 11 #00:35:15-1#)	Wie man aufwächst/erzogen wird beeinflusst das spätere Denken als PolitikerIn
The task of a politician to do is just to see the problem of <u>his</u> people, to represent <u>his</u> people. You know, in politics, mostly in Tanzania here, people are <u>elected</u> . So, if you are elected, you have to look after your people. You have to take their problems; you have to face their challenges which are directly affecting your people. So, I think the day to day life of the people is very much the <u>work</u> of a politician. (Interview 11 #00:05:58-8#)	Aufgabe eines/r PolitikerIn ist es den Alltag der Wähler ernst zu nehmen und sich um die alltäglichen Probleme dieser zu kümmern.

1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

<u>here</u> politicians are the <u>most</u> people who make <u>decisions</u> (.) concerning the <u>life</u> of people. If you go to the parliament, the parliamentarians are the people who make decisions on how the day to day life is going to be conducted. They are the people who are going to make decisions on how much people should be paid, the salaries, they are the people to make <u>laws</u> of the country. So, I think, myself, politics is <u>life</u> because it is directly concerning the life of people in day to day basis and even to decision on how people should <u>go</u> . So, I think politics affect the life of people very, very much. (Interview 11 #00:05:16-3#)	Politik trifft Entscheidungen, die das Leben aller beeinflussen → Politik ist das Leben, weil es Alltag durch Entscheidungen beeinflusst
The ruling party or the most leaders from the ruling party who are the ministers, even the president, <u>they are very corrupt</u> . They got the chance, they were elected through corruption, they <u>bribed</u> people giving them t-shirts, giving them <u>scarves</u> , <u>money</u> . You know, our people are very poor, so they use that to <u>trick</u> people so that they vote for them and when they get into power, they go direct and become very corrupt people. (Interview 11 #00:13:24-3#)	Korruption: Die meisten pol. Führer sind korrupt, um Wähler zu gewinnen - funktioniert, weil Bevölkerung arm ist
The situation was very <u>bad</u> in 1992 when democracy or multipartism was starting but <u>now</u> very many people are trying to understand that we are there not to <u>fight</u> the <u>government</u> but <u>we</u> are there to <u>awake</u> the government, to do our tasks to tell the government "Look, people want this and this" and now people are understanding that we are representing people too. So, in those days, because of ignorance, the government uses to <u>cheat</u> people, that this people, multipartism, try to bring chaos in the country, they are willing to bring civil wars but now we are moving on, people are understanding. So, that's why they are <u>voting</u> us. Even our secretary general, when he competed for the presidents last year election, we managed to get a lot of votes, 26 percent from six percent. So, we are moving on. (Interview 11 #00:11:11-8#)	Wandel in der Gesellschaft, die zunehmend versteht was Opposition will
But here in CHADEMA, or I myself, if I get into power and a person (?) is stealing government resources, he will face a very (?) punishment, very (?) that we will teach other people (?) "No, we should not do this." Because human beings always learn. If you run out of what happened to the other, he or she will never repeat the same mistake but if you always think that you can steal and you can put it under the carpet and over, then people will keep on stealing and everybody will fight to get into power so that he can steal for his family. You know, human being is always (grading?), he wants to have good things. If there is no law, everybody will like to have a very good house, good car, without even following the channels of getting those things. We have to set principles to guide people, not to do always the same mistake that others did. (Interview 11 #00:44:07-9#)	Korruption: Muss bekämpft werden, um Teufelskreis zu durchbrechen → Menschen sollen lernen, dass es Folgen hat => Regeln helfen Menschen bei Orientierung was ist gut/schlecht. So wird verhindert, dass sich Fehler wiederholen.

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

Very many people have been defining democracy but to me democracy is just to give people freedom to choose what they want. They chose what they want but they don't break the law of the nation. (Interview 11 #00:07:42-3#)	Entscheidungsfreiheit für die Bevölkerung, solange diese die Gesetze nicht brechen.
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

But we are facing, particularly in Tanzania we are facing, very many problems on democracy itself, how it is conducted, you know? There are very many problems that we are facing. You know, our country is just recently entered into multipartism. Before 1992 we used to have only one party state. So, it is still- The ruling party is in power for 50 years, so they still think that we are still under one party system. So, here, parties like ours, we are facing very many problems, capital harassment from the police, from the leaders who are <u>mostly</u> coming from the ruling party. So, those are the challenges we are facing. (Interview 11 #00:07:42-3#)	Probleme der Demokratie in TZ: Oppositionsparteien leiden unter Polizei und werden monetär benachteiligt
No, not half. Let's say two to three. #00:11:27-6#	Tanzania: 2-3
We will fully reach democracy because <u>now</u> the <u>youths</u> are <u>fighting</u> to <u>change</u> the <u>system</u> . When we get a new system which understands what democracy is, there is no problem, even tomorrow we can reach the very high level of democracy. (Interview 11 #00:12:03-3#)	Zukunft: 10, weil Jugend für Wandel des Systems kämpft, das demokratisch ist.

3. Familiärer Hintergrund

Yeah, back in those days my grandfather used to be a leader (,) but, you know, there was no election. So, they were just chosen by the senior leaders. So, my grandfather used to be but in recent days my dad has never been in politics and my mother has never been in politics. (Interview 11 #00:01:52-5#)	Großvater war Politiker, aber Eltern nicht
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4. Motivation für Engagement

I entered the politics because first politics is life, you know, politicians are doing big decisions concerning the life of people. So, I tried to enter here, so that I can be part of doing good decisions for the <u>benefit</u> of our people at large. So, that is first, secondly, when I was in College, I think, I was a leader and I practiced well and many people told me "You can be a good leader even in politics". So, from there on I was trying to see how politics is going and I decided to enter into politics. (Interview 11 #00:01:07-6#)	Persönlich: Politik ist Leben/ Trifft wichtige Entscheidungen für das Leben - will sich dabei zum Nutzen der Menschen einbringen - Wurde College von anderen motiviert, weil Führungspersönlichkeit
First of all it's because of our ideology, the political ideology is the ideology I like the most. And of course because of the leaders of CHADEMA and how CHADEMA has been doing, CHADEMA has been fighting for the <u>benefit</u> of the <u>majority</u> of the people, have been fighting to make sure that people are changing their life, politics have been <u>fighting</u> to stimulate the government, try to awake the government, so that it can do to help people. So, that's why I decided to chose CHADEMA because I think CHADEMA is the most effective party with good leaders, with good foundation, which is growing state by state, so I know CHADEMA here I can do well. Another thing is, in CHADEMA, if you are capable, you are given a <u>chance</u> (Interview 11 #00:03:11-8#)	Persönlich: CHADEMA, weil: - Ideologie - Führer - Performance der Partei (Kämpft für die Mehrheit der Leute, rüttelt Regierung wach) - effektivste Partei - wachsende Partei - persönliche Aufstiegschancen
The social medias, <u>they</u> see how other countries are doing; they see the development of other countries through this social media and this all. They see that it is true democracy that you can <u>attain</u> development; it is true democracy that you can <u>attain</u> justice. People here have been ruled very much, have been beat by the police, they are harassed, so when they see in others countries the government in power is not doing that problems which we are facing here. So, they learn very much. That's why they are entering into politics, because they see "Yeah, it can be done". There are other countries doing this, so we can do it <u>here</u> , at home. (Interview 11 #00:16:46-1#)	Allgemein: Durch neue Medien etc. sehen junge Menschen wie Demokratie aussehen kann (am Beispiel anderer Länder) und engagieren sich deshalb im eigenen Land, um Wandel zu bringen
I think they [Anm. young people] are motivated by their problems. The problems of their families, the problems of their uncles, they see we need change, so that we can help this generation, we can help our country. The country is there for 50 years, people are <u>dying</u> here of cholera and you can see people are still dying of malaria, what is <u>very</u> bad. We are living in a very, very rich country; rich of resources of different kinds. [...] Minerals, wildlife, big bodies of water, but here in Dar es Salaam we don't have water, you can see the roads we are using here. So, those are the problems which are motivating the people to enter into politics. (Interview 11 #00:18:49-9#)	Allgemein: Motiviert durch: - Ihre Probleme/Probleme der Familie - Sehen, dass Wandel nötig!
There are some because they can just copy from the regime which is there; their families and themselves are living a <u>very</u> expensive life, they have been treated in <u>abroad</u> . So, maybe people can think that "Oh, if we get into politics, we can also easily go to be treated abroad when we are sic. Our family can drive the big cars, we can live in a very good house." So, maybe there are some but I think <u>most</u> young politicians who have been to colleges, to	Allgemein: Es gibt einige, die durch Geld, Job, Status motiviert sind in die Politik zu gehen

universities and secondary schools; there are <u>very</u> many coming to CHADEMA <u>because</u> they are motivated by their problems.	Aber die meisten, die College, Uni oder secondary school besucht haben sind durch Probleme motiviert, die sie sehen.
a number of young politicians going to CCM. If their families are not <u>attached</u> to the leaders, they are <u>ignorant</u> . If it is not because of ignorance, it is because they think they can easily attain jobs or whatever favors from CCM. Out of that, an understanding person cannot go to CCM because they know they cannot change. (Interview 11 #00:20:51-2#)	Allgemein: Wenn junge PolitikerInnen zur CCM gehen, dann motiviert durch Familie oder weil sie sich einen Job erhoffen
So, if you want change, you have to go to one of the opposition parties. Befragte/r: Yeah. (Interview 11 #00:20:56-7#)	Persönlich: Wandel nur durch Oppositionsparteien

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

There are very many older politicians who have experience of steering government resources, so they don't want to change, so you see. (Interview 11 #00:32:54-2#)	- Viele haben Erfahrung auch in negative Dingen, nicht rein positives Attribut - Wollen keinen Wandel
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6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

in CHADEMA, if you are capable, you are given a <u>chance</u> ; different from other parties, even the ruling party. If you don't have family background there, you will never get a big chance like this one. (Interview 11 #00:03:11-8#)	Grenze: Nicht in allen Parteien bekommt man eine Chance, wenn man keinen familiären Hintergrund hat
She [Anm. Amina Chifupa] was a a person who wanted to see the country moving on, wanted to see <u>justice</u> . But because of the <u>rigidity</u> that I told you about the ruling party and the leaders they never wanted a person from their party to challenge them. So, she faced difficulties. I know, we have some good leaders, even into CCM, but because of the system, the whole system of CCM, it is not easily changing. They are <u>attached</u> to corruption; the <u>leaders in power</u> have in one year or another stolen the resources of the poor, of the citizens. So, they are directly attached to those. So, if you are <u>inside</u> there, if you want to reveal those challenges facing the ruling party <u>inside</u> themselves, they can easily delete you. ((kurzes aufgebendes Lachen)) (Interview 11 #00:22:27-9#)	Grenze: Innerhalb der CCM ist Kritik nicht erwünscht Wenn man diese erhebt, wird man ausgelöscht Ursache: System von Regierungspartei, Korruption Wandel von innen nicht möglich
The ideology of our party is <u>transparence</u> , so even here we are challenging the problems we see <u>inside</u> our party. We can talk them directly and we are not even threatened. So that's our habit here and that's what we like the most here, that we have the freedom to say anything. We see we have freedom inside when we are in the meeting, even outside to address the problems of the party and- So, I think we are growing people, we are a growing young generation in CHADEMA to talk the problems directly. Even if we get into power, we will do the same. If we are leading the government, we will say "No, we were elected by people to come and represent them here." So, we are saying this because our people sent us into parliament to talk about their problems. (Interview 11 #00:24:18-7#)	Chance: In CHADEMA ist Transparenz teil der Ideologie, Kritik in den eigenen Reihen ist möglich und erwünscht.
I'm representing the youth of CHADEMA which are very many, they are constructing the large number of people in our party. [...] So, I'm entering the central committee of the party which is the very high meeting of the party; I'm entering even to NEC, national executive council. I'm in all of the meetings we have of course (?). But I have been taken very serious and our party, of course, is taking all people serious because we know me and you and others can join our ideas together and get a good thing. So, I always talk free, give my (representation?) free and they take them whenever necessary. #00:25:53-1#	Chance: Jugend wird ernst genommen, weil große Gruppe in Partei
If you are not from one of the families which have a big name in the party, you cannot save it through. A person like me without any background of politics could never reach the chance I have now in CHADEMA. (Interview 11 #00:27:55-4#)	Grenze: familiärer Background in CCM wichtig / Chance: In CHADEMA auch ohne Background möglich etwas zu erreichen
If they don't have background, familiar background. Maybe I can mention a few, we have leaders, for instance president Jakaja Kikwete, his son is holding a <u>very</u> big position in the UVCCM, the youth of CCM. So, we have very many that we can mention, their fathers maybe are ministers, they are MPs or the father used to be a minister or prime minister, today two of them are in parliament, for instance Rashid Kawawa, two of his sons are in the parliament. I can mention very many of them. So, if you don't have that background that the outgoing leaders will have faith on you that you will serve their interest, they will never give	CCM: Nur Chance, wenn familiärer Background Wenn Generationenwechsel stattfindet, sorgen die alten dafür, dass ihr Erbe weitergetragen wird – indem

you a chance because they know if you get there, you can harass them easily, you will get to know the way they have stolen the money and you can challenge them. So, they make sure that they are bringing up their- They are trying to make a certain kind of their industry. So, that people who are getting into power can easily safeguard what they did. It's because of their security I think. (Interview 11 #00:29:26-9#)	sie eine Industrie der Vererbung an die Kinder aufbauen → Keine Chance von außen hineinzukommen
Young politicians have been faced by challenges that we didn't have before. You know everything you want to do, you must invest the capital. To reach people, you must have the machines to travel, the PR system to address the rallies and this and this or the books to make people read. That's the challenge we are facing most that we, as an opposition party and as youth, we are facing problem of <u>capital</u> . So, we are facing those challenges of that kind. (Interview 11 #00:45:08-4#)	Grenze: Junge PolitikerInnen scheitern oft daran, dass sie kein Kapital haben

7. Generationenverhältnis

Some of the leaders are there [Anm: in the CCM] since independence, 1961, so they are very (reached?), they don't want to change. They think that we brought independence, so we are the ones supposed to rule this country, <u>forever</u> . They think about that but I see that now youths are trying to be (concertized?), to know that politics is about life, now they are entering into politics very much.	Viele alte in der Regierungspartei sind seit Unabhängigkeit dabei und wollten keinen Wandel/für immer an Macht bleiben Junge kommen jetzt vermehrt in die Politik, um das zu ändern
If they come here to CHADEMA, for instance, our MPs, some of them are <u>very</u> young, 23, 24, 25, they are doing a <u>very</u> good job in the parliament compared to the elders. #00:17:38-0#	CHADEMAs junge MPs sind besser als ältere
elders <u>always</u> are afraid of the young leaders. They want to keep their positions. Especially in Africa generally you can see a person being into power for 40 years. So, it's a challenge of course. We have very many countries; Paul Biya in Cameroon for 28 years into power, Gaddafi has been in power for 40 years. So, you can see leaders in Africa, even though they can do good things, but it reaches a point that people are tired of you. You get out and give other people chances. So, even here in Tanzania, I told you, there are some of the leaders who have been into power since independence 1961. They've been into power in different chances, they are getting maybe MP, today maybe (1) holding very big Minister, ministerial position. So, they are always afraid of young leaders and that's why in CCM, especially, <u>young politicians get a very difficult time to say it out</u> . (Interview 11 #00:27:55-4#)	Ältere haben vor jüngeren Angst, weil sie ihre Position behalten wollen → deshalb haben es jüngere in CCM oft schwer
Maybe I can mention a few, we have leaders, for instance president Jakaja Kikwete, his son is holding a <u>very</u> big position in the UVCCM, the youth of CCM. So, we have very many that we can mention, their fathers maybe are ministers, they are MPs or the father used to be a minister or prime minister, today two of them are in parliament, for instance Rashid Kawawa, two of his sons are in the parliament. I can mention very many of them. So, if you don't have that background that the outgoing leaders will have faith on you that you will serve their interest, they will never give you a chance because they know if you get there, you can harass them easily, you will get to know the way they have stolen the money and you can challenge them. So, they make sure that they are bringing up their- They are trying to make a certain kind of their industry. So, that people who are getting into power can easily safeguard what they did. It's because of their security I think. (Interview 11 #00:29:26-9#)	Wenn Generationenwechsel stattfindet, sorgen die alten dafür, dass ihr Erbe weitergetragen wird – indem sie eine Industrie der Vererbung an die Kinder aufbauen Haben Angst, dass andere junge nachrückende PolitikerInnen sie für Taten öffentlich anklagen können → Vererbung bring Sicherheit
There are <u>young</u> politicians who are doing better than elders. There are even elders politicians who are doing better than young ones. So, you can't just weight because of their experience or whatever. There are very many older politicians who have experience of steeling government resources, so they don't want to change, so you see. We don't want this kind of experience of steeling or- #00:32:54-2#	Es gibt gute/schlechte alte und junge → kann man nicht verallgemeinern Erfahrung der Älteren ist kein rein positives Attribut, da dazu auch Korruption etc. gehört
Dr. Slaa is supporting me very much. He surely advised me "Look, do this, do this". You know, it's the first time I have been to this very big position where I have got very many challenges. So, sometimes, because of lacking of experience and huge pressure from outside, from my colleagues, sometimes you get frustrated but Dr. Slaa said "No, look this, do this". (Interview 11 #00:30:17-1#)	Ältere unterstützen jüngere bei Aufgaben
I think if young politicians are given a <u>chance</u> in Africa, they can turn easily this continent and even in Tanzania, if we are given a chance, we can easily change this country because we know we are going to leave more than elders, they are approaching their time but we know we have very big chance of leaving a lot, we have to bring up our children. So, we are	Junge können Wandel bringen, weil sie mehr gutes hinterlassen können als die älteren → Sie haben mehr

very much concerned about future. #00:33:29-4#	Interesse an der Zukunft, weil sie ihre Kinder in diesem Land aufziehen werden.
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8. Weitere Themen

1. Parteipolitik (Regierungspartei vs. Opposition)

Auswertung Interview 12

1. Politikverständnis

1.1 Politikverständnis (abstrakt)

When you look at the history, when you read the history, before the time when the CCM was with Mwalimu Nyerere and now Mwalimu Nyerere is not there it is two different things. Because now the CCM is the party of the- In the CCM we have the part of the, some people I say that they hold the CCM, but the rest they don't get anything according to that. (Interview 12 #00:09:44-3#)	Positive Darstellung Ujamaa
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1.2 Zusammenhang zwischen Politik und Alltag (Praxis)

I can say that there is influence on our life in the politics. Because, I believe, if you want to get, you are supposed to lose. [...] So, for example I told you that I am a teacher by profession but now I don't teach. I want first of all to join in politics, to make our country be sustainable for all the people in Tanzania to be a good life. So, let me say the influence of the CHADEMA maybe some people they have friends who are CCM, they can lose even their friends, lose even their relatives because they don't want the truth. Maybe they are in CCM because they get something, so if we tell the truth about CHADEMA they will be against you. So, for me I say this is no problem, but what I want is all Tanzanians to become the one according to the things we have. We have so many things in our country; we say that our country is poor, but this is not the truth. We have so many things in our country, we are all Tanzanian, we all Tanzanian we can live a good life, if things which god gave us to use for us, can use properly. So, the problem is who leads in Tanzania. (Interview 12 #00:12:14-5#)	Durch politisches Engagement kann man viel verlieren. Wenn gute Führung, könnten alle Tanzanier gut leben, weil Land reich ist.
I know so many things and I get more experience, I know so many things about the politicians. So, for me myself I can say that politics affect my life. (Interview 12 #00:15:01-2#)	Chance: -Eigenes Leben wird durch Wissen über Politik angereichert - Erfahrung

2. Demokratie

2.1 Definition Demokratie

Democracy is to be free, you can do anything, you can make anything without breaking the laws, that is about democracy. But here in Tanzania, this is how the CHADEMA is doing because it's a democracy party and democracy which means it is the truth. Because we have the truth in the democracy. (Interview 12 #00:16:31-7#)	- Freiheit alles zu tun, wenn Gesetze beachtet werden - Wahrheit
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2.2 Skala Demokratie

Befragte/r hat Frage nicht verstanden. Deshalb wird Antwort nicht ausgewertet.	
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3. Familiärer Hintergrund

We have seven children in my family, I'm the fifth among them and I'm the one who sacrifice my life, I want this country to be changed. [...] Because most of them, also my parents, they were members of the CCM, but now I have changed all the family, they have come to CHADEMA. (Interview 12 #00:06:54-4#)	Einziges Familienmitglied, dass aktiv in der Politik ist. Familie wurde durch Befragte/n beeinflusst und hat Partei gewechselt
So, the family also they changed and now they give me support, they say "Don't give up, the CCM is still there and is still talking there" and they say one day I must be a strong woman according to that system. (Interview 12 #00:07:33-8#)	Familie unterstützt Befragte/n

4. Motivation für Engagement

For me myself, the way I see, I was just seeing how the Tanzanians (?) for Tanzania, the youth now they are coming in politics more than long time ago. Because now it is that the Tanzania the way the CCM goes about; that situation now is really so bad. [...] So, most of the young politicians come to make our country to change. (Interview 12 #00:01:56-2#) And I have already told my family, my relatives, even my parents, I will die because of this country. Because now where the country is going, it is bad. [...] Even if you produce a child,	Persönlich & allgemein: Schlechte Situation des Landes motiviert zu Engagement Opfert Leben dem Wandel
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where will my child be (?)- So, I sacrifice my life and I have already told my parents "I will die because of the-" I want this country to change because if you want change, you are supposed to change yourself. So, I want to change. (Interview 12 #00:06:54-4#)	
CHADEMA doesn't give me money, doesn't give me a t-shirt, they combat, doesn't give me anything, but CHADEMA they tell me the truth. Nearby I believe CHADEMA because CHADEMA it tells me the truth what the country is and where the country is going. Interviewerin: So, it's the program of the CHADEMA that catches your interest? Befragte/r: Yeah, yeah. (Interview 12 #00:09:49-8#)	In Partei wegen Programm & sagen Wahrheit in CHADEMA
Okay, according to that the normal people- Because in Tanzania we have so many people. They say "If you are going to the politics, you lose your things" but for me I say "no" because I want one day to be somewhere, not me, even if any person, but what I want is my country to be somewhere. (Interview 12 #00:15:01-2#)	Persönlich: Will Land voranbringen, geht nicht um persönliche Karriere
I would even die because of this things. Because I don't have a child, I don't have a husband but even if I will die, the babies of my brothers, my sisters, my uncles will be told my history. "Our aunt or our young mother in law, she supported our country, she fought to the what and what" So, that is what I want, to read my history, even if I would die. (Interview 12 #00:08:17-7#) I don't fear my whole life because I already sacrifice my life to die because I want to tell the truth. (Interview 12 #00:40:04-4#)	Persönlich: Will Geschichte schreiben, eigenes Leben nicht wichtig Hat keine Angst, will nur Wahrheit
What I can say according to us, the young politicians, is most of the young politicians in this country they sacrifice their life to make this life to become a good life one day. (Interview 12 #00:26:07-5#)	Allgemein: Junge politische Menschen opfern sich, um Leben besser zu machen
You already said that they want change, but can you imagine that there are also young politicians that join politics because of a good job, big cars and lots of money? Befragte/r: Yeah. Interviewerin: You also have this kind of young politicians? Befragte/r: In our country yes, but not in CHADEMA. Interviewerin: It's in the other parties? Befragte/r: It's in the other. Most of the youth, even the women, for example, I can say the women of the CCM they don't go there because of they really love CCM. They go there because of the kangas, of the caps of the whatever. (Interview 12 #00:38:18-5#)	Allgemein: Gibt auch junge PolitikerInnen, die aus monetären Gründen in Politik gehen - allerdings nur in CCM

5. Attribute jung/alt

5.1 Attribute jungen PolitikerInnen

Interviewerin: Okay, so would you say that the energy and the power- Befragte/r: The power Interviewerin: -that young politicians have plays an role in their strength and what they can do and their influence. Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:27:04-0#	Energie, Power
even the speaker say the young politicians shake the parliament. So, me I say the CHADEMA they believe the young politicians they can lead the country. (Interview 12 #00:35:15-5#)	Mischen Parlament auf Können Land alleine führen
. If the youth is saying "No", it's really no. If the youth is saying "yes", it is really yes. If youth they say "We are going to fight against this", really they are going to fight, they are doing this. (Interview 12 #00:36:37-2#)	Sind Macher

5.2 Attribute ältere PolitikerInnen

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6. Chancen/Grenzen der Partizipation

If your father is becoming president, or is a minister of something of somewhere, is leading you or is building you. After five years or ten years you will also be a minister but even if I come from a poor family, maybe one day I will come to be a minister for something but because I'm coming from the fathers and maybe in my (?) I'm very sure that someone who is coming from the big families may get the chance, so my dream is broken there. (Interview 12 #00:05:40-1#)	Grenze/Chance: Familiärer Hintergrund erleichtert politische Karriere
Even if she [Anm. Amina Chifupa] was CCM, she liked to tell the truth and earlier I told that CCM they don't like the truth. If you are the truth and you are there, you lose your life immediately, they want to lie. (Interview 12 #00:39:34-6#)	Grenze: Die Wahrheit kann tödlich sein, wenn man in der falschen Partei ist

7. Generationenverhältnis

Befragte/r: And if you go and make more research, you see even the government they feel more the changes of the youth, more than any part of the country. (Interview 12 #00:27:32-0#)	In der Regierung ist das Streben nach Wandel der Jugend besonders deutlich spürbar.
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<p>Interviewerin: So, the elder members are afraid of the young politicians? Befragte/r: Yeah, young politicians. Interviewerin: Because they get strong- Befragte/r: Strong and have so many support of the other young people. Interviewerin: Okay, so you would say the elders are afraid of you? Befragte/r: Yeah. (Interview 12 #00:27:49-9#)</p>	<p>Ältere haben Angst vor Jüngeren, weil diese immer stärker werden und so eine große Gruppe dahintersteht</p>
<p>One day, I can say, I can give you a short story. Near the road called Service Road, we put our flag there, my street. Some of the fathers came there and removed that flag [...]. I said if you removed that flag, go and take and put it back there. I'm talking "I'm with the young, young leader, I'm just your children but the way I can bring you is bad. It's better for you to bring that flag back there because the authority of the flag, the flag to be there at the Service Road, is according to our law it is supposed to be there. It's not your symbol and not your blogs". So, he respected me because how I (?) and I was talking according to that because I know what I was talking and so many young came there, they gave me also the <u>support</u>. So, they were like "He, that young lady politicians stayed up and more of the young gentlemen came there". They brought the flag and in my street now they respect me. [...] And he did and from than that man respects me even if I look like his child. (Interview 12 #00:31:00-3#)</p>	<p>Konflikt mit älterer Person, junge hat gewonnen, weil viel Unterstützung von anderen jungen Menschen.</p> <p>→ Macht der jungen Leute vor Hintergrund patriarchaler Strukturen!</p>
<p>Yeah, they respect me (Interview 12 #00:33:15-4#)</p>	<p>Wird in eigener Partei auch von älteren respektiert</p>
<p>You cannot use the old men or the children to fight, no, you use the youth. So, the politicians- Even if I will be the president maybe, the youth that will become politicians, I will support them because I know where the changing is coming from. You can't change the country when you are children or old. (Interview 12 #00:36:47-2#)</p>	<p>Land lässt sich nicht durch Alte oder Kinder ändern, nur durch Jugend</p>

8. Weitere Themen

1. Parteipropaganda (CHADEMA vs. CCM)
2. Truth

12.6 Transkripte

Transkriptionsregeln

(1)	= Pause in Sekunden
(.)	= sehr kurze Pause (unter 1 Sek.)
hal-	= abgebrochenes Wort
((lachen)) u.a.	= Darstellung von nichtsprachlichen Elementen, die relevant sind
(?), (?)	= Unverständlich
(Kommst du?)	= Vermuteter Wortlaut, nicht mehr genau zu verstehen
└	= ins Wort fallen, gleichzeitiges Sprechen (mit genauer Kennzeichnung des Einsetzens)
<u>Betont</u>	= betont gesprochen

Interview 1

Interviewerin: Would you at the beginning please explain me how you personally entered the political scene? #00:00:02-1# **Befragte/r:** Okay, in fact I started politics when I was in the secondary school. It was in 1993 that I started politics, almost one year after establishment of multiparty system in our country, and we had movements in our schools. Most of the students were trying to see how they can engage in the political arena and therefore we started the politics and then I joined in the Civic United Front right there and since then I am a member of the CUF. #00:00:54-2# **Interviewerin:** Mhm. #00:00:54-2# **Befragte/r:** So, then I went on, when I finished my secondary school in 1995 then I joined the business education. I was taking advanced business and (access?) management and also I have been doing politics there, till I came to Dar es Salaam. By then I was studying in the southern corridor of Tanzania, Mtwara. Then I went on and I took the business education for one year, then I joined advanced secondary education at Ndanda Highschool. After finishing my studies I came to Dar es Salaam, I was working in an international trade fair (called Sawa?) here in Dar es Salaam. I went on doing politics and education. Then in 1997 I joined in one branch here in Dar es Salaam, then I became a wad secretary, then I joined in the district level, I became a district secretary. Until this time I am a secretary at the district and by then I became a member of national governing council because of my position as a secretary district. Then three years ago we had general assembly, then I took a position at the national governing council as a member, then our chairman Prof. Ibrahim Lumpumba appointed me to be a director of organisation and election political affairs - the position I am now heading. #00:02:42-8# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so a lot of years. #00:02:49-9# **Befragte/r:** Yes ((Lachen)), since 1993, it's a lot of years. #00:02:53-2# **Interviewerin:** And did I understand it right that you came to politics through school? You said you had this movement at school. #00:03:08-4# **Befragte/r:** Yes, we had some sort of movement. When we started the multiparty system in our country 1992 there was like some movement in different schools, most of the students who were aged about 17 to 20 years of age they liked to join the politics and our student committee in the school they championed. So, some students they joined the multiparty system in the opposition political parties, while a few of them they

remained in the ruling party, while most of the students they were neither in the ruling party nor the opposition political parties. So, because my family background - most of my family, my father, my mother and my grandfather are doing politics since then. #00:04:05-3# **Interviewerin:** Ah, okay. #00:04:05-3# **Befragte/r:** So, I was from a family they were doing politics. #00:04:10-3# **Interviewerin:** So, you were used to politics and interested because of your family. #00:04:15-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah. #00:04:15-3# **Interviewerin:** So, your father was also a politician? Or is? #00:04:21-3# **Befragte/r:** Yes, he was a politician and my grandfather he even became a member of the parliament. #00:04:29-1# **Interviewerin:** Ah, really? #00:04:29-1# **Befragte/r:** Yes, but it was back during the mono party. It was 1985 beyond. #00:04:39-5# **Interviewerin:** So, you have a long history in politics. They must be proud of you. #00:04:48-6# **Befragte/r:** Definitely ((Lachen)). #00:04:48-6# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, I can imagine. So, do you think that your familiar background has some kind of impact on your political career? #00:04:59-3# **Befragte/r:** Yes, somehow. Though we had some sort of conflict because they needed me to be in the ruling party. So, once I jumped from the ruling party, I was not a member of the ruling party since then. But escaping from the ruling party and joining the opposition political party (1) somehow they were worried because according to the system of the country and the nature of politics it is that once you become in the opposition it seems like you are opposing everything. #00:05:39-7# **Interviewerin:** Mhm. #00:05:39-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, so they said "If you like politics and what we are doing, so why can't you work in the ruling party? Why do you jump in the opposition?" Then I said "Because the aim of having oppositional political party is to make people to have a better choice of the candidates, of the policies, which policies can develop their country". So, if I decide to remain in the ruling party it means you- The submission of the oppositions means there will be no one who can join them. So, I decided to join the oppositional party. I can have a critical mind, know how I can criticize. Those are the wrong thinks from the ruling party so that we can have a better country, a better leadership in our country. #00:06:20-7# **Interviewerin:** And they understood this? #00:06:20-7# **Befragte/r:** Yes, they understood. In 1995, no, it was in 2005, I competed to be a member of the council, but unfortunately I lost it for almost about 19 votes. I became the second from the ruling party in my wad and in fact I received much assistance from my family. #00:06:57-7# **Interviewerin:** This is really nice that they support you. Do you think that maybe the fact in which party you believe is not that important like it was maybe 10 years ago? #00:07:16-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, currently the social is changing. In 1995- The first election was in 1995. By that time if somebody seems to be working in the opposition, you were seen like a threat in the country. I have a good example, I had been employed in the national radio; my profession is journalism. I was employed there. In 2005, while I was working there, my boss, my director told me "I have

heard that you are a member of the opposition political party, so give me the truth whether it is true or not true". Then I said "It is true. I am working in the CUF, I am a leader there and currently I am a candidate in my wad." So, she told me you have to decide whether to leave politics and work here or to leave working here and then go and join the politics. #00:08:18-2# **Interviewer:** Really? #00:08:18-2# **Befragte/r:** Yes, and she gave me two weeks to decide. After two weeks then she said that she needs an answer and then I said that I am leaving the work so that I can join the politics and I joined the politics since then. Until this time I am working here. So, it was so difficult and the most of the people they were told that to join in the opposition it means you are aiming to introduce violence in the country, there will be no peace and especially elders, they are saying so. So, if you are in the opposition, you were seen like the people who needed to see violence in the country and unpeaceful living in the country, but currently the situation has changed. Most of the people they are now joining the oppositions and they are appreciating the work of the opposition. So, if you see in the parliament in different councils, you can see some changes and these opposition guys there. They are the people who are identifying different things which are not in a good manner. #00:09:32-1# **Interviewer:** As you just said, the elders have more the feeling that politicians are not that good, not bringing good things for the country and the younger ones do. Is this a trend? Is this the change you mean? #00:09:53-0# **Befragte/r:** Yes, if you go through the political system in our country, you can find that most of the young people are the ones who join the opposition and most of the elders are the ones who remain in the ruling party. And this is because- I don't know whether because most of them are working in the government organisations, even non-governmental organisations but somehow they are (?) in the ruling party. So, they are ready to lose their jobs maybe because of the young democracy we are having. But, as you know, in most of the countries young people they are losing jobs, they have no jobs most of the young people. So, they find to join the politics maybe it can help them after changing of the new system of the government that they can help them to get an employment somehow. So, they are joining the politics of opposition because of lack of an employment. So, the trend it is like that. And right now you can see some few elders now they are jumping from the ruling to the opposition. #00:10:59-1# **Interviewer:** Really? **Befragte/r:** Yes, yeah. #00:10:59-0# **Interviewer:** So, they are changing their mind. #00:11:02-2# **Befragte/r:** Yes, now they are changing their mind. They are encouraging their family to join opposition now. #00:11:05-5# **Interviewer:** Especially maybe since the last election where the opposition got a lot of votes and got stronger in parliament. #00:11:15-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes, most of the things they were not clearly known through the public from the parliament before. We have at least many members of parliament who are of the opposition and like now, for example, the national television and some few independent TVs. The people see now live from the parliament what is discussed, they see the emotions, they see how people contribute in the parliament. Therefore now people they understand the importance of being in the opposition camp in the parliament. #00:11:54-4# **Interviewer:** You already

told me that you joined the CUF because you think that their program maybe brings a better future to the country. #00:12:05-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes. #00:12:05-5# **Interviewer:** Could you maybe specify this a little bit? What does the CUF have and the other parties do not? #00:12:05-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes, the first thing for me is, I believe to- Because our policy deals with making people free, democracy - people they should have democracy, so that they can decide how they need to live, how they need to organise their things, how they need the constitution to be, how they need to develop. So, we are liberal and if you see, for example, we have had the "Ujamaa na Kujitegemea". For the ruling party CCM "Ujamaa" means it is like a communism. So, (,) if you start politics those countries like China that time they were following the system of communism, they have lost somewhere and now they are no longer following Ujamaa. So, we are liberals and liberals who have some (?), we are sure that you can achieve development. For example, to have a free democracy, to have a rule of law, to have free market economy where the market can be determined only according to the need of the people, not the government decides maybe the price. So, people can be able to buy and sale their goods and not to plan the price of everything. So, if we have a free democracy, we need a free market economy. We need a free and pure democracy in the country, I'm sure everyone can develop according to his or her capacity and if the resources, we have human resources and other resources like minerals, (?). So, this policy - I have studied some constitutions of the other political parties, they are not doing this. They are not thinking of this. For example, the ruling party, they did not trust to have a free market economy. They say, the government, they control the economy of the country. Something that cannot be possible in this time because the world now is changing, we are living in a global village and if you don't allow free market economy, it means you are escaping from where the world is now going. So, this kind of things- Because I have studied the constitution of the CUF and I have seen the constitutions of other political parties and I've seen the policy of the CUF and its constitution it can bring development to our country. #00:15:05-7# **Interviewer:** I understand. Okay, are there also some leaders of your party that are some kind political fathers to you? Or is it only the constitution of the party? #00:15:36-9# **Befragte/r:** It is a mix of that. Even the capacity of our leadership. Our chairperson is professor of economy, Prof. Ibrahim Lumpumba. Right now he is (?) in America, he has been granted that to be for five month and he is doing research on how to eradicate poverty in Africa South of Sahara. So, he has a very big role to play in our country and I believe, if this person could be a president to our country, I am sure most of the problems of this area, especially this economic crisis we are facing, it can be eradicated in some percent because he has the capacity and he has been used in different countries in Kenya, in Uganda, he was adviser of economy in the president's office in Uganda and he has been working in the United Nations for quite some time now. So, I'm just thinking that these Tanzanians they don't see the importance of this guy to be the president of our country and I believe one day he will be a president. If not in 2015, then in 2020 he will be the president and I have been encouraging him, but he could not lose the

most (of the elections?), he already contested 3 or 4 times and so he don't wants to contest again in the presidential post. Then I have been telling him "Please, You are Tanzanian. They need you." Because the only thing we are now facing is that we have almost three basic problems. One: We don't have free and fair elections in our country since the introduction of multipartyism. The electoral commission is neither independent nor competent, let me say. So, we are now struggling to have a new constitution that allows to have a free and fair election, free electoral system in our country and I am sure if this things will come, we are going to have a free election, therefore Professor will be our president. So, the competence of our leaders, the Professor Ibrahim Lumpumba, the chairperson of our party, the competence of our secretary general, Sheif Sharif Hamad, and our deputy vice president, first vice president at Zanzibar and even the directors, for example for the deputy chairperson, Mr. Machano Khamis Ali, we have someone like Juma Duni Haji who is now a minister of health in Zanzibar. These guys, they are able to bring change, transform our country from where we are now to the better; so the mixture of the capacity of our leaders plus the constitution and the policies of the party plus how we are, because we are in the grassroots. If you go down to the people- Our party, we have lot of members and supporters of our party, but unfortunately here where the decision making is taking place, where people they can decide who becomes who if we change here, I'm sure our party will have much capacity to transform the country.

#00:19:22-6# **Interviewerin:** As you said grassroot- What kind of role do politics play for everyday life for the normal Tanzanian people? #00:19:35-1# **Befragte/r:** Of our party? Or all parties? The role #00:19:35-3# **Interviewerin:** In general. #00:19:38-1# **Befragte/r:** The role of political parties. First of all they are supposed to work as a, let me say, watchdog function to the government. Because the government they are responsible to make sure that they deliver development in the public before they are collecting money from different angles; from the businessmen, from workers, from wherever in the country. #00:20:18-2# **Interviewerin:** The ruling party? #00:20:18-2# **Befragte/r:** The government, let me say, the government comes from the ruling party. So, collection of these taxes in different areas it means that they are supposed to refer back development; infrastructure, roads, electricity. Yesterday the electricity was cut almost five times in Buguruni. So, as the political - Our responsibility is to make sure- We are trying to force the government to fulfill what they said from the ruling party during the campaign because everyone was promising if my party is elected, we will do one, two, three. If they failed to implement what they had said to the public, then the political parties are awake to tell them "You had promised to do this, therefore you have to do it because the people, the public elected you because of your promise and they believed you will fulfill these promises". So, if they fail to deliver it, then we are telling the public as our responsibility "This party or this guys they said they will do this. They failed because of one, two, three. If we were elected, we could have done one, two, three". It is like for reminding them of their responsibility to the public. One, but two, let's say to help them sometimes because we are dealing with many

people and most of them they trust in what we are saying. So, to help the government to implement their program- Because sometimes you can go- For example here the chairperson of this area he is from CUF and is not from the ruling party. So, for the ruling party it will be difficult to implement anything, if they work separate from the CUF. So, our responsible part is to make sure our representative they work together with the ruling party, so that they can implement the programs for the better of the public. And sometimes (?) to be used as the voice of the public. Whatever programs arrive in different areas we are used to be as the spokesperson of the public to the government so that they can implement what the public demands. #00:22:48-0# **Interviewerin:** So, your target is somehow also to serve the public. Could you give one example - maybe from your district - on how politics influences everyday life? Do you have a project about infrastructure where you had to handle the CUF man from here and the ruling party on the governmental level? #00:23:21-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes, for example we have a market here where people use to come and sell and buy goods. The market was established before quite some times and it was controlled by the ruling party by that time; it was not the public. The taxes were collected there and it was taken directly to the party and our party played a role and said "This is the public place where people are coming to sell their goods and buy their goods. The collection of the funds here should be used for the public interest and not the party interest". So, we organized a meeting, we had some public (rallies?) and we told people that it is not correct to send the money for the party and we managed to establish a special committee for the market there. Right now the market is now used for the public and the funds collected there are not going to the party directly. That's one, but secondary in my street where I am living I became a chairperson in 1999. I was the youngest chairperson in Dar es Salaam by that time. So, we from the CUF, we organized a fundraising, so that we can have a school because we had no primary school there. So, I established the committee and we did fundraising and right now we have two schools and therefore people appreciate and since 1995 till now the city government is under CUF because of what we did that time. So, we were doing some good things, people now they trust us. #00:25:43-4# **Interviewerin:** Ah, so that they elect you every time. #00:25:44-2# **Befragte/r:** Yes #00:25:47-3# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so let us come to a more general issue. Democracy, what does democracy mean to you personally? #00:25:58-6# **Befragte/r:** To me democracy means freedom of a person to decide how he or she needs to live in this place. So, if there are no barriers or restriction for a person to decide; apart from knowing that there are some regulations from the laws which restrict people to do some other things that are not wanted. But democracy means just a rule of law where people are free to decide of how they need to live in their community. To me that is democracy. #00:26:42-6# **Interviewerin:** So, you have a liberal view on democracy? #00:26:48-8# **Befragte/r:** Yes, it is a liberal view. And as you said in a broader sense of democracy (1), Julius Nyerere our first president in Tanzania- We said democracy is the rule of the people by the people for the people. So, it means if you have a rule of the people and it is made by the people aiming to save the people. #00:27:18-1# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so this is the form of

democracy you wish for your country. #00:27:24-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes ((lacht)) #00:27:24-5# **Interviewerin:** Through your party. #00:27:24-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes, through my party. #00:27:30-4# **Interviewerin:** Please imagine you have a scale from one to ten, where one stands for not important and ten for very important. How important is a good democracy for a modern state? #00:27:47-5# **Befragte/r:** For a modern state? #00:27:50-1# **Interviewerin:** Yes, from one to ten. #00:27:50-1# **Befragte/r:** I might range it at eight. #00:27:52-1# **Interviewerin:** Eight? #00:27:54-2# **Befragte/r:** Yes, for the modern state democracy is good because it gives the people a freedom to believe, freedom to associate, freedom to speak, freedom to give opinions of what he thinks is wrong (?). So, in modern states democracy is very good, because if you don't have democracy, you don't have development. Because development and democracy it goes hand in hand; yeah, no development, no democracy. Where whichever countries have development right now that is very clear line of democracy because people they are free. I was in the United States of America in 2009. I was there to see how democracy is working, how democracy is taking place. When I visited the White House I saw one thing which I couldn't believe to see. I saw some people from different countries they were coming there demonstrating almost near the wall of the White House and nobody did anything to harm them. So, that is because it was their democracy, it was there to show their feeling. So, if you stop them from showing what they think, it means they could go and fight against your decision and therefore the fighting takes place. We can see what happened 1994 in Rwanda and Burundi. There were mass-killings because of restricting democracy from people expressing their views and appendix. So, we need to have a clear line of democracy and the people who participate in what they think, they can. #00:29:44-6# **Interviewerin:** So, this is part of freedom to demonstrate as one important part of democracy. #00:30:00-7# **Befragte/r:** Yes. #00:30:00-7# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that stability is one thing that comes with democracy? Stability for the whole package of politics. Because the parties know what the people want and that they have to take care of what the people want and the people know that what they say maybe has some kind of influence on politics. #00:30:00-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, that's true. In 1995 and in 2000 there were two elections in Tanzania. Especially the election of 2000 was covered by very big violation in our country. Most people were killed especially in Zanzibar and Pemba, even some few in mainland, and that was because of the restriction of people to demonstrate. So, if we have a CUF government and if our leaders are transparent for what they are doing this kind of violence (,would have not here? Laute Nebengeräusche). But it has because they are using public things- Like people they are taking the wealth of the country for the benefit of a few people. So, people they are complaining. We have minerals, we have diamond, we have gold, we have many minerals in our country, we are rich of seas, we have Lake Tanganyika, Victoria and so on, we have mountain Kilimanjaro, we have a lot of things which can bring a lot of money in our country. #00:31:39-0# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. #00:31:39-0# **Befragte/r:** So, if this money can be used by few people who are in the government, people they see this and the gap between the rich and the poor it

becomes broader. So, people they are not happy to see this kind of difference between the rich and the poor. So, they are complaining for the wealth of the country to be needed to divide the cake of the country for the consumption of the public of Tanzania. So, if we don't have a stable government, if we don't have a stable democracy, we do not manage to have development in the country and if we have a clear and stable government, it means people what they will say their government will work to solve the problems of the public therefore no one will complain, therefore people will be free in their country. And let me say like what happened in Arusha between CHADEMA and the ruling party; they were fighting last year, no it was this year, it was the fighting during the formation of the leadership in the the Arusha (?) council. Not only there, in different areas there has been happening fighting between the ruling party and the opposition, between the ruling party and public demands also. It is because we have no stable leadership. So, leadership and democracy goes hand in hand. #00:33:07-2# **Interviewerin:** So, do you think that this not stable leadership has something to do with this theory of big man rule and neopatrimonialism? #00:33:24-1# **Befragte/r:** I don't know what (you?) say. But if you don't- Most African countries we don't have a stable government and we don't have stable government because we don't allow the decision of the many people. As I said, we are entering in the general election but the ground of the election is not fair, is not free. Therefore people they see the rigging of the vote. Let me show you one example: Before the last year's general election the national electoral commission said that the people who are registered in the permanent voters station were bound about 21 million (1) and I was among the people who said that this is not a correct figure because according to the census we are about 40 million people who are Tanzanians. It is impossible to have more than 50 percent of the people who are below 18 years of age. We expect to have under 18 years of age to be more than 51 percent. So, if you say about 21 million are registered as permanent voters it means either we are more than 40 million people or this data is not true. So, then after complaining we had some debate to the journalists, we did some rallies complaining about this, then the national electoral commission came with another figure of 19 million. So, it was some sort of quoting the figure so that they can rig the results of the election. And it aims to save the interests of the ruling party. So, that is why I said according to the system of the country the decision of the public are not reflecting the reality of what is in the (?) boxes and this is not only the case of Tanzania it is almost all African country and even the developing countries they are doing the same. So, this kind of things- You don't expect to have a stable leadership because the leaders who are given from this elections they are not from the winning of the, or decision of the public. They are involving themselves by using the government machine, policy force and the national electoral commission and some officials from the government make sure that the ruling party wins. So, it is important to have a stable leadership. #00:36:14-9# **Interviewerin:** But you had the European election observation in Tanzania that has a look on elections and said for Tanzania that it is more or less stable. Don't they have this inside view and can't see it? Or they don't want to

see it? #00:36:27-8# **Befragte/r**: In fact, if you compare from where we started in 1995, we are at least somehow better; some more political parties are involved in some discussions or not from the primary stage and the middle stage, you can be involved in, for example, the national electoral commission accept the appointed chairperson, the director and some other officials they are appointed by the president. For them to work independently it could have been a prude to the parliament. The parliament could have pruded to the national electoral commission, but they are responsible to the president's office and the president can decide whether the chairperson could continue or stop working. All what we suspect to this commission could be responsible direct the benefit of their president who is of the ruling party, that's one. So, what I can say from 1995 to currently, somehow we are better though we are not doing fine. We need some very big things to be changed. For example, we are only about nine delegates from the NEC who are appointed of the president the rest are- For example you can find the district director is one of the people who controls the election in his or her district but this is the mere of the ruling party, there will be no fairness in that area. So, we need to have a free electoral system from top to downwards. #00:38:21-8# **Interviewerin**: You think money plays a role too? Do they pay for getting votes? #00:38:36-0# **Befragte/r**: Money? Yes, this is one of the biggest weaknesses we are facing. We are competing with the ruling party whose capacity of finance is huge. For example, last week we had a by-election in Igunga, if you heard about it. #00:39:00-3# **Interviewerin**: Yes, Igunga. #00:39:00-3# **Befragte/r**: We had a by-election in Igunga. According to the regulation about the financial (appointment?) only eight million Tanzanian shillings were supposed to be used. But the ruling party system they used more than three billion Tanzanian shillings and I complained. You see, this one the regulation elections expenses act which is passed by the parliament. ((zeit Papier "Regulation election expenses act")) This one, Igunga, the amount of money used, you cannot exide more than eight million shillings, but the CCM they used more than three billion Tanzanian shillings and I complained to the director of register of the political parties and I said "We need your statement about the use the financial implication of the CCM what they did in Igunga". Since then till this time nothing has been done from the register of the political parties. So, we are competing, we are getting of the government service, it's a very little amount of money. We are getting about 100 million Tanzanian shillings per month and that kind of money could be grant for the daily activities of the party, for the-; at least we have some few workers, we have these vehicles, transport vehicles, few were transportation some good for people to establish the political party in the areas. But we have very little amount of money, while the ruling party is getting government services more than one billion per month. We are getting 100 million; they are getting more than 1 billion per month. So, competing in such kind is quite difficult, one. But secondly, when we are during the campaign for example the CCM they had more than 80 cars for the presidential rallies. But we had only three cars for our president. So, it is difficult to compete in that kind and even the rest of the money, CCM they are using to buy the voting cards from the people, they are using to buy to plight people to vote for

them. So, it is quite complex to compete in such kind and this kind of thing it happened in Igunga not only for CCM, even CHADEMA and we are wondering where CHADEMA got this money (,) because they are doing the same what the CCM is doing. We had some helicopter, used for the campaign- #00:41:55-8# **Interviewerin**: Ah, to go to the different places in the country. #00:41:57-3# **Befragte/r**: So, CHADEMA they used a Cobra for almost a week, CCM they used for almost a week, we used the helicopter for three days. At least to reach dependencies in the different areas but the amount of money used for this to jam the political parties the CCM and the CHADEMA it is extremely - We cannot explain where they got this money. So, this is how we make our democracy in our country. So, it is no democracy size because if you buy people, if you compete because of your money, then you don't expect people they can have a clear choice of who they need to be their leader. #00:42:39-0# **Interviewerin**: So, you think that maybe you are the only party that doesn't use money in a bad way. #00:42:51-4# **Befragte/r**: Yes, I was compiling my financial report because I am responsible for that. So, if you go through these reports and have some precise on how we spend our money, whoever needs to come and investigate he can see how we are using our money. For example, I have been traveling (other allowances?) and then the signature who took how much. So, we are using our money in a very transparent way and we believe, if people decide to support you because of your policy, then we can work together with the public, but if they support you because of your money I don't expect to have development in Tanzania. #00:43:27-6# **Interviewerin**: Yeah, and maybe since a lot of people are very poor especially not in the city, not in the rural areas, maybe they are not that used to politics and maybe they just don't know that much about the different parties. So, if then someone is coming and gives them money which is a lot and saves their income for maybe some days, maybe then they say "Yes, give me the money and I will vote for you". #00:43:56-6# **Befragte/r**: Yeah, that is true and CCM, the ruling party, they use the poverty of the people to succeed in the election and that's why the CCM in all big cities is now rejected. If you go to Dar es Salaam, if you go to Arusha, if you go to Kilimanjaro or if you go to Mwanza, you find most of the people are changing. Before they were- They see in the TV, they are aware of what is written in the newspapers, but if you go to the villages where is no electricity, no roads, people are very poor there, they use the poverty of the people to (be in the political position?) and for example we have some- Where we have been last week in this by-elections we have boma tribe, these are the pastoralists. You can find somebody who has about 200 cows or goats, but if you give him 5000 shillings, she or he feels like you have helped him a lot and he is a trustful for you. So, whatever you ask him to do then he will do for you because of only 5000, but he is forgetting he has a lot of cows - #00:45:14-4# **Interviewerin**: Yeah ((kurzes Lachen)). #00:45:14-4# **Befragte/r**: He can sell them. So, CCM they are using the poverty of the people as their way to be in power. #00:45:24-5# **Interviewerin**: And maybe to come to this young politicians part. Do you think maybe the young politicians are trying to change this system of using poverty of people to get votes or do we have to make a difference between the parties?

#00:45:41-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, in fact we are trying to transform this situation and we know that most of the people they have a lack of civic education. We are trying to educate them, to inform them their rights, their duties and how they are (?) to live in their country, how- we are trying to tell them what the sources of this poverty are and we are educating them and most of them now become aware and if you see in our current parliament, most of the members in our parliament are young generation and the ones who are transforming the parliament. Now it becomes so hot, discussing is very hot, most of the people are listening how the public resources can be used to solve or at least reduce the number of the poverty in our country and the people now they understand because for example CHADEMA they have about 43 members of parliament from the constituencies and from the special seats and we are having about 32 members of parliament from the constituencies and the special seats. So, we are about 90 members of parliament from the opposition. About 78 percent of the parliament are young people and they are young because people they now understand, if you go to campaign and if you express yourself of what you need to do, why you are in the politics, people understand you and they support you. So, if the democracy it comes, it's clear, I'm sure for the 2015, 2020 the situation will be changed. #00:47:26-6# **Interviewerin:** Yeah? #00:47:26-6# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, and most of the young people they will be in politics. If you see, apart from our chairperson and the director of the finance and maybe secretary general, the rest they are below 40 years. #00:47:43-6# **Interviewerin:** Yeah #00:47:43-6# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I myself I've 33 years, we have a director for information and publicity she is 32 years or have our deputy secretary general Julius Mtatiro, he is 29 of age. So, most of the people are very young and we are taking decision making position. #00:48:12-0# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the fact that you grew up in other circumstances than the elder ones - you grew up after Ujamaa and you- #00:48:20-5# **Befragte/r:** That's the biggest reason. We grew up after Ujamaa and we have been receiving reports, stories from our elders about how Ujamaa was and how we became poor because Ujamaa is one of the things which brought poverty of the people. To remove the people from the farms, from where they are living, from what they were growing and to take them together it means they left everything there. If you have been keeping cows, most of the cows were left there and they died or they died in the way because of hunger, because of the (draught?). So, we are now feeling our poverty is because of that system of taking our parents from where they are living to the villages of Ujamaa. So, we could have kicked them out, then we think this thing would have never happened. So, people now they are changing and Ujamaa is one of the factors which brought the poverty of the people and the most of the young generation which are growing now they are aware of what happened during Ujamaa in 1996/97 ((meint wahrscheinlich 80er?)) #00:49:31-7# **Interviewerin:** And do you also think that maybe the media for example brought some change in thinking about politics especially for the young ones? How does it come to the fact that you young people have a different view of the whole world, economics and stuff like this? #00:49:57-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I think media is like a tool to make people see what

is happening in an area of the world but these changes now it is because of the globalization. As I said before, the world now is a global village. It is very simple to see what is going on in Europe, it is very simple to see what is going on in America and several places. So, and even the access of people to travel from one point to another they see- As I said, I was in the United States of America, I was in Germany, I've seen what people are doing, how people they are living there. So, if you come from what you have seen there, now you are coming with a very new vision. What went wrong in our country till we are here? Then you see maybe it is because of the bad leadership we are having, it's because of people they don't know how they are supposed to behave, it's because of maybe education background. So, we see the barriers of (weakedy?) it was the cause for us to be where we are now. So, how can we remove these barriers? People now they are changing. So, media, the access for media and what is happening in the world it helps people to see because before or during Ujamaa it was difficult to know what is happening in Mwanza though it is in Tanzania, it was difficult to know what is happening in Arusha though it is in Tanzania unless the government needs the people to know what was going on there. They could have used maybe national radio to broadcast in the interest of the government. So, it was difficult for the people to challenge the bad of the government the failing of the government because nothing to compare with what the government was saying. But now if you say this, then few people they see reality in the TV, in the newspapers, somebody has gone. He was in Nairobi, he has seen what is happening there then he came with the new vision, with the new mind. Then we need to change this that we can be in this position, Yeah. #00:52:05-4# **Interviewerin:** And do you think- ((klopfen)) #00:52:07-1# **Befragte/r:** Let's go on. It's okay. **Interviewerin:** We are nearly at the end. Sorry that it takes so long, but it is so interesting with you. #00:52:14-0# **Befragte/r:** No problem. #00:52:14-0# **Interviewerin:** Do you think that maybe one can say that despite the fact that the other ones are wise persons because of their age that maybe they are not used to change their mind and not- You know the new times, that they don't want to change what they have learned their whole life and now there is something new and the young ones are coming up and maybe they are a little bit afraid of losing power? #00:52:37-3# **Befragte/r:** Yes, what is happening there in the government is because of being afraid to lose power. Yes, as I said, they are not doing their things in a transparent way. There are a lot of areas of cheating different things. So, they are afraid if CUF come in, if CHADEMA come in, it means they will see where we made things wrong and they are seeing what happens in other countries ((gemeint arabischer Frühling)). The last leadership they are taken to court maybe, they are taking their (wealth?) to the government because of the public service. So, the government they are in the same type, they are afraid to lose- Once they lose the power, not only losing the power, once they lose the power what will happen? That is what they are worrying about because if they were sure "I can lose my power and I can remain save", I think this kind of insurance (?). But they are sure, for example, during the leadership of Benjamin Mkapa there were mass-killing in Zanzibar and even mainland. So, he is afraid what if CUF came and could they take

these one to the court? Because of his bad leadership. So, he is ready to make sure that in whichever way, to make sure the ruling party should remain in power whether by guns or in whatever to make sure to remain in the ruling party. So, as we said, we are liberal and if we are in power, we will see the first priority for us is how we can transform the public from our poor Tanzanians to the better life. That is our first objective. The other thing is who did what; it will come later on, but the first thing is where we went wrong and how we can transform from that position to the better place where people will enjoy their life, that's our priority. So, the government is afraid of losing the power because they don't know what will happen after that. #00:54:58-4# **Interviewerin:** So, maybe like it just happened in North African states. #00:55:01-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:55:01-9# **Interviewerin:** With the leaders there. #00:55:04-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, and that's why I- If they are not aware of this, if they are not planning it well, I'm sure it will happen. Because we have seen in this by-election there was a lot of fighting and we have the clear date, three people died in Igunga, though only the constituency regards that only one person died there but the three people they lost their life. So, I'm looking on what will happen in 2015 and I'm very sorry for this state even within the ruling party there are some divisions. There are some- They have a new (?) They are saying "Kujifua magamba" to remove or to have a new skin and it has been publicized by the director of publicity of CCM Nape Nnauye. So, this is- CCM they know there are some few people who are very rich in the country, they are using the wealth of the country for their benefit and even in the CCM they are not ready to be outside the (,) they need to control the CCM and most of the CCM members they are not okay, they are not (?) of what they are doing. So, they are trying how they can remove their old skin so that they can have a new skin. It means that they need much young people to be in the decision making bodies in the CCM. So, the internal fighting of the CCM plus the failing of the government to deliver focusing the 2015, it is possible to have very big violence in the country. #00:56:35-6# **Interviewerin:** So, but as you said, the elders want some young one growing up in their mind; like they want to have them. #00:56:44-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:56:50-1# **Interviewerin:** So, what would you say about people like for example Amina Chifupa who was - #00:56:54-0# **Befragte/r:** Yes, she was a member of the parliament. I used to work together with her. #00:57:01-9# **Interviewerin:** At the radio? #00:57:01-9# **Befragte/r:** Yes, I was together with Amina Chifupa and (,) I cannot show the evidences of her death, but I'm sure her death was because of what she was standing for in the parliament. She was so fame though she was in the ruling party she was saying (,) the ruling party has failed to deliver one, two, three and we need- though we arm in the- because I'm not head the ruling party because of the (car?). No, it's because of what they are doing and even some people within the party there are good people there and they see the wealth of the country is going to the few people. So, Amina Chifupa was one of the few ladies in this country who stood fame and she was defending the wealth of the country and she didn't care whether the statement hurt the director, or minister, or president. She was saying what she believed was true and it was for the betterment of the public. #00:58:16-3# **Interviewerin:**

So, maybe she was one of the young ones that wanted to grow up in their own sense and then she somehow challenged the established forms of how they make politics. #00:58:25-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, Yeah. #00:58:32-2# **Interviewerin:** So, you on your own wouldn't go this way? ((Lachen)) #00:58:36-9# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) That's why we others decided to escape the ruling party and decided to join the opposition party that we (can have a ?) #00:58:46-0# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, Yeah. I understand. #00:58:46-0# **Befragte/r:** Because in the ruling party it is very difficult to stand and say what you believe. #00:58:51-2# **Interviewerin:** So, maybe you know him - Goran Hyden - Professor of Political Science in the USA. He said regarding Africa "Being part of the political opposition is a loosing strategy". You won't say this, right? ((Lachen)) #00:59:07-6# **Befragte/r:** ((lachen)) I don't really want that. Because this are the theories because you can have a political strategy whether you are in the ruling party or in the opposition. Political strategy depends on the vision of the people and the aim why they are doing what they are doing, how they can reach the success for the thing they can do. So, this kind of theory sometimes- ((lachen)) #00:59:33-1# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, occur. #00:59:35-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, ((lachen)). #00:59:35-1# **Interviewerin:** I know, I just thought that it is like this and I just wanted to ask, if I am right in thinking that this is not true. #00:59:47-6# **Befragte/r:** ((lachen)) #00:59:47-6# **Interviewerin:** So, to come to the last question, what would you say is the special asset of young politicians? If you would just name one or two things that are special functions of young politicians. #01:00:02-2# **Befragte/r:** There are special functions of the young politician. One, they should know (,) because they have- Though the days anyone can die at any time, but for the young people they have long time to exist in comparison to the elderly people, according to the nature, I mean. So, young politicians should understand and they should know that they are required to stand for the- Because there is today, there will be tomorrow and tomorrow after. So, they need to make sure that they serve the public for their achievement of the other generation which will come later after them. So, they need to come together despite of their political differences. I always believe in work with somebody who is a young politician from the ruling party, from the other opposition political parties, but we should have the common stand of how we can develop, how we can advance our country from where we are towards the better development because this old people they've used most of their life and they used the products and the service of the country for their life, but they still they have a long time to exist. So, we need to come together as young politicians to see how we can make sure that the public resources or country national resources can be used for the betterment of the national and even international vibes. #01:01:57-2# **Interviewerin:** Okay, I think this was a good last sentence ((Lachen)). #01:01:59-6# **Befragte/r:** Thank you ((Lachen)) #01:02:00-4# **Interviewerin:** Thank you very, very much for taking the time. It was very interesting what you told me. **Interview 2 Interviewerin:** Would you please explain how you personally entered the political scene? #00:00:07-4# **Befragte/r:** Okay, historically it's like (,) politics- I mean it's something to defend my country. I

was much interested to defend my citizens, my fellow Tanzanians. So, this movement started from when I was university student because I joined in these different organizations which were actually only for protecting the student interests at the universities. So, I started like that. From these activist groups from my university once I fortunately joined one politician, Mr. Julius Mtatiro, our deputy secretary. So, I joined with him. He was in fighting for Ubungu constituency. He was looking for being an MP. So, I joined the campaign. #00:01:19-0#

Interviewer: Okay. #00:01:19-0# **Befragte/r:** So, I was in the PR department and it was like a committee for among Mr. Mtatiro for himself. So, from that point, after we finished those activities of campaigning and after all that, then I continued the other activities. Myself I joined one NGO. So, I stayed there at that NGO like two months, then later the party was in need of a PR. They wanted to employ a PR. So, that was an opportunity because there were people in the party who knew "there is a guy, we worked with and we know his ability, he could fight to do this work". Then I joined there. So, I joined as a volunteer employed, as an employed volunteer for the party and up to now. So, I am chairing the PR for the party. #00:02:29-6#

Interviewer: So, your first contact with the party was on a personal level because you said that you were working in the campaign? This was your first step into the political arena (,) after the students activities. #00:02:50-4#

Befragte/r: Yeah, after political activity - Because this Mr. Mtatiro himself, I met him at university when he was the prime minister and I was a minister. #00:03:03-2#

Interviewer: Ah okay. #00:03:03-2# **Befragte/r:** So, it came to the party I knew- fortunately when I came there to the party, I became close in the Civic United Front, CUF. It's the one I came much closer than the other parties because by that time the party which was much stronger of the opposition parties was CUF and myself I was totally opposing the ruling government, it's matters and what it was doing to the citizens. So, I was opting the opposition parties and the opposition party I saw by that time was CUF (1) and up to now I see the party which has got some muscles, the real muscles for the struggle for the citizens is the Civic United Front. #00:03:52-8#

Interviewer: Mhm, so it is not (,) the fact that also your parents are politicians or something like that? #00:04:03-3#

Befragte/r: No, my parents are no politicians ((kurzes Auflachen)). #00:04:04-8#

Interviewer: No. So, it is not that you have this familiar background of politics. It came through the studies at university and - #00:04:04-8#

Befragte/r: I_ and they don't like I_ No, no, no.

Befragte/r: From school. My parents, my relatives are not politicians at all and they don't like politics. #00:04:24-8#

Interviewer: ((kurzes Auflachen)) #00:04:26-4#

Befragte/r: All the time they tell me "You guy why have you decided to go in politics?" But because I know what I am doing I tell them that I'm okay and I am comfortable working here because this is the way I'm playing my part to serve my fellow Tanzanians because through a party like this I can stick for various people, for the majority of Tanzanians out there. #00:04:53-0#

Interviewer: Yeah. And did that view on politics change since you entered the political scene? Maybe when you talk with them and you tell them something about your work and about the party, so that they think maybe it's not that bad. #00:05:11-6#

Befragte/r: Truly

they don't understand. #00:05:13-3#

Interviewer: Okay. #00:05:13-3# **Befragte/r:** Our politics- They totally don't want politics. They are religious people and religion and politics sometimes are (,) two different things. But for me joining politics I have seen a lot of change in my mind because I have recognized a lot of things in the country, in the political arena, in life, so I can see a lot of things. For example, before deciding to join in political activities (,) when I looked at life, I saw life is like me and my two friends or my five relatives, but coming to politics I saw that my life is about me and the majority of people out there; people in need, people who are suffering; that's how I came to define life. So, I come to understand life is me with the majority, apart from thinking the life I have is about me and some few minority friends and families and so on. #00:06:24-4#

Interviewer: Yeah. You got the bigger view- #00:06:26-9#

Befragte/r: Yeah, I got the bigger view about people to serve. #00:06:33-3#

Interviewer: Could you please explain why you choose the CUF as your party? What are the targets that caught your interest? #00:06:53-4#

Befragte/r: CUF compared to other, let me say other opposition parties because I have no option on the ruling party CCM,-. Since when I was entering the party, as I said, it was the only leading opposition party in Tanzania, that's one. Two, it is the party which moves systematically, it got some kind of system which is not- I mean the power of the party is not from a group of people, single person or someone else, but the power of the party is from people (,) is from majority of the people. This is the difference I see and (,) I can see the life of the party through that system compared with the other parties which we meet where a party stands because someone is there. The party maybe decides his or her matters because the group of people says that it should be done this or that. You see, that's different from this party. So, that shows some kind of seriousness. #00:08:17-5#

Interviewer: So, it is the program of the CUF that- #00:08:22-3#

Befragte/r:

I_ Yeah, yeah. We are the party within the system which at least it shows that it is serious and is not in the hands of people. In Tanzania we got parties which are in the hands of people. When they say something, the party should do what he says even if it is something wrong and people can believe that and in the end people are going to die in suffer because it's a little group of people or is some kind of person that says so. And the third reason is that it is the party which (,) for long times has been spread over Tanzania. #00:09:11-4#

Interviewer: Mhm. #00:09:11-4#

Befragte/r: Because when we talk about Tanzania we talk about Tanzania mainland, we talk about Unguja, we talk about Pemba. So, it is the party which has survived up to now in three parts of the country, the only party in Tanzania. When you take for example CCM, CCM belongs to mainland and Unguja, Pemba is not theirs because it has no representative at Pemba. When you take this CHADEMA, CHADEMA is surviving in mainland only, not at Pemba, not at Unguja, just in mainland. (1) So, when you see that picture, you see now which kind of party is spread over Tanzania. I mean the Tanzanians party, not the group- I mean the certain party. #00:10:15-2#

Interviewer: I_ of only one part. #00:10:15-2#

Befragte/r: That's one. Also within the system there is something which is hidden in our parties. (1) When for

example CCM started, I mean up to now, the CCM is the party which has got the bad history, the bad perception because it has people we call "mapizadi". People who, I mean, are thieves of the- How can I tell you? (.) People who grab the property of the people, I mean the public income, I mean what they do- (.) They benefit themselves from the public income. #00:11:05-1# **Interviewerin:** Okay, mhm. #00:11:05-1# **Befragte/r:** But the minority of Tanzanians is suffering. So, that party has got a lot of people of such kind. When we talk about CHADEMA (.), somehow I'm afraid. That is the party which is build up with one tribe of Tanzania. #00:11:27-9# **Interviewerin:** Ah, really? #00:11:27-9# **Befragte/r:** Chagga, Chagga tribe. So, it's origin is from Chagga land and even more than 70 percent of their leaders are Chagga people. So, I come to imagine if I've got my vision in this party and I'm not a Chagga, I think there will be a time when I will be blocked and I will be, I know it, because of my tribe. So, I imagine that. So, I came to say "no, let me join CUF". By the time I know what I should be, but I'm free to move anywhere in such kind of party. #00:12:10-3# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, I understand this. So, if you would say for the normal Tanzanian people, for everyday life, which role does politics play? In which way are they affected by politics? #00:12:21-7# **Befragte/r:** Hm, (?) for me I believe politicians monitor the life of people. Even in our country nowadays politics control the nation and that is something very, very different things that will happen to nearby years in our nation. Politics is the one which controls the nation. Everything is decided politically. We meet that even this intellectuals, professionals are ignored but politicians - the view of politicians will be accepted while those from, I mean deserts parties, will be ignored. So, it becomes our daily life is driven by politicians. Because, for example, (.) in our hostels maybe experts can advice, but you see this hostels which we have build up - I mean, I can give a case study of this schools. We have lot of secondary schools by now. We have build up lot of secondary schools but some expert advised initially that we should not have got lot of buildings. What we should do, we should maybe select a few of the one which are existing and provide them a lot of maybe tools of work, teachers, qualified teachers and improve the whole system. But politicians they said "no, what we want, we want the vote". So, if I build a single school and I leave another village, another village will not vote for me. So, I should build all this schools in every part of the country and for the future it means that we have got a lot of buildings, a lot of schools with no teachers, with no libraries, with no each and everything which is to satisfy the students. So, you see that even our- For example, this- At recent we had a petrol crisis, you see the petrol crisis (.) it came back this year. I mean (?) the patrol station owners decided that we are going to rise up the prize, you see? But politicians cried out "No, no, no, if you rise up the prize we will go on the road. We will make a demonstration on the roads." So, the government became terrified and said that "okay, I will make sure that these people will not rise up their prize" and so on. But if could not be the politicians the government would raise up and things could be as normal, people who do suffer and what. #00:15:39-2# **Interviewerin:** And people would not be allowed to demonstrate maybe. #00:15:41-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, but because of politicians now the

government is afraid of these politicians, especially of us the opposition politicians. So, they might be afraid of us. When they decide something, they want to hear first what this opposition says "Ah, they say this today", then they put it that way ((Auflachen)). #00:16:01-5# **Interviewerin:** ((Auflachen)) Ah, okay. #00:16:02-9# **Befragte/r:** So, at least the citizens are affected that way. #00:16:06-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay, but do you think that all citizens also in the villages are aware of politics and how political life is going? How decisions are made? #00:16:24-3# **Befragte/r:** Actually not. (.) What I can say, I've moved around to some Tanzanian areas. The place where there (?) the function of this politics and the political function at the areas, are the areas at towns. Towns areas where they hear radios, they read newspapers, they hear and I mean they state what their leaders, political leaders, are doing. So, they imitate what the political leaders are doing. So, when you go to village where there is no media, there is no electricity, they have been blocked being single, a single area where there is no access to information. They live their life where their fathers, their grandfathers and their grandmothers lived by that type. So, they imitate the life from their grandmothers and grandfathers which is a life where citizens cannot fight for their right, cannot question, but when you come to towns areas people question because they see their MPs questioning the government. They see maybe their representative question the government and the government gives answers and they criticize. So, they also learn how to criticize, how to ask, how to-. So, it depends to which areas of Tanzania you look, but because most of Tanzanians are in the village we can say that a half of Tanzanians are political aware and a half is still not going to be aware. But the speed of awareness, political awareness in Tanzania, I see that it is moving fast as politics also move fast. Change in our nation is very fast. At least we get hope that one day we will see that most of the Tanzanian are aware of political activities and they can criticize the politics activities for their life. #00:18:31-9# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. So, when you go to these villages where people are not aware of political work, do you see this as a task for yourself to tell them about? Or what are you doing there? #00:18:48-4# **Befragte/r:** Among the big role of our politicians or a political party like this is to educate people about politics, about their right, about what is going on in the government, about what is going on in the country. So, what we do and obvious when we go to the area and we meet people who don't know about politics, they don't know about reality, about what is going on in our nation, that is our first role to get him know about and we make sure that he has understood and ((Auflachen)) through this understanding he has caught, he is going to make something for his life and for his area (.) because we have recognized that people who understand, all those are our members. For this country people who understand the political activities, most of them are opposition party members, but people who don't know anything what happens in this country they belong to CCM. And that's why CCM always tried to use that advantage to win ((Auflachen)). When you go to elections around the towns areas, you can defeat them, but when you go to the village there where people don't know each and everything, they don't know A, B, C, D and don't know what, here they win because they go there and especially

in elections when you sell your agenda, your promise to the citizen, what you are going to do for the citizen. So, then what they are going to sell is t-shirt, is money, is caps. So, they collect a group of people, they provide some t-shirts; they say "This is a t-shirt for you. You are wearing, so you have to select me. I'm your leader. You see that I'm carrying because I've given you a t-shirt" ((Auflachen)). #00:20:47-3# **Interviewerin:** Yeah ((Auflachen)) #00:20:47-3# **Befragte/r:** But for us, we go with words. ((Auflachen)). That is a very hard task. #00:20:53-5# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, maybe it's also because you have less money during the campaign then the ruling party, the CCM, and when they go there they can give them money and give them t-shirts and this stuff. #00:21:05-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah, yeah, so but what we are doing for that-. They have got money and we have got words. So, what we do is like we try to block their money through our words. We tell people "If they come with the t-shirt, take it and wear it, when they come with money take it and go on to eat, buy your family some goods, when they bring you some sugar take it and go drink tea but the vote, vote for me". Because when you take that maybe money and sugar once the day comes you ask him for a development he will tell you that "No, I've given you money, I've given you a t-shirt and so what kind of development do you want?" So, people try to understand "Okay, this people try to rob me through money, through -" So, they understand and where they understand it's where we win then. #00:22:02-2# **Interviewerin:** So, maybe last year's elections were a first sign because the opposition is growing up and getting stronger. So, maybe in four years- #00:22:16-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, we are going to- Obviously we are going to take (the country?), That's what I can say because as people are going to understand more, the more people they understand the more they give the possibility for us for position to take the country. But if people ((Auflachen)) will be, but I don't believe so, that people will (believe?) the time where they see money is a (diversion for wads?), that things is going to rush out. #00:22:49-6# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that this maybe is the success of young politicians? That they grew up in different circumstances than the elders did and grew up in a globalized world and after Ujamaa and that they now have a different understanding of politics and they want people to be educated in political things. Is this something that the younger politicians promote more than the elders? #00:23:19-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, actually young people-. I can say for the political for five years back in our nation (,) young people played the critical role (,) bring sense in this country. As you know, for years young-. Mostly we need change, we don't want the bla bla bla. If you try to bring bla bla bla we turn you out. So, when the politics give chances to youth, then this young people use the opportunity. As we see that by the times in 2005 young people were not good voters. I've seen change when we were in this by-election in Igunga. I've seen that things have changed. Young people they got busy-. I mean this card for voting-. So, they vote, they have realized the importance of choosing your leader. So, this things is bringing change and people who actually have seen something also that by the times the group of people who were impressing other people to vote were like mothers, I mean women, or like father, I mean you see what kind of leader your father is going to vote for or

the kind of leader your colleagues are for, is the one you are going to choose. But nowadays people look which kind of person youth supports, and youth has got also influence in the society. So, when the group of people- And of course youth nowadays they are good organized. They organize themselves and they organize other people to vote for a certain person. So, even older politician recognize that if you want votes in our country, now you have to find the youths. If you leave them, it means you will go out. Even CCM now they will recognize that because there was much brain with these elders, but they see that the chance now has changed too, has moved to youths. If you put youths in your hands, you have got good supporters who will find other voters. #00:26:04-1# **Interviewerin:** So, the youth engagement, political engagement, is also a thing that you would say is very important for the political change? #00:26:14-1# **Befragte/r:** Actually, 100 percent. It will bring changing in our country and it has brought change; I've seen that. The election of last year, youths were the one who brought change. Youths, maybe especially those who are at the university, all the time they are in their facebook or in their blogs. They promote a certain party, this party, this person this kind of president should be. So, it has been crazy for-. Even for elder people, even if they have got their own cadre of leaders, but they see that now why this person is much supported by youths. Youth are visible because we are not afraid. I can carry a picture of a leader, a movement in town with it, but an old person cannot do that because first of all he is afraid. Because he will meet this kind of cruel people they can hurt him or do him something but for youth this is common. To (?) of a certain party they are moving them in the prison that is something that is so common. So, for youth in this country I believe they are bringing change. #00:27:39-8# **Interviewerin:** So, do you think that you as a young politician have an important communicator function because the leaders of the party are often older men? So, you have this important function in communicating to the young voters for the elders. #00:28:03-0# **Befragte/r:** We are good communicators, we are good socializers and that is one of the big facts. You know, youths are socializers ((Auflachen)). If you get, for example, one youth as your agent, I'm sure that out of five days he will come with other members. Because first of all he can take his girlfriend as your member, his boyfriend will be your member and his best friend and the other and the other. Even if he is a good opinion maker, even if the whole class, he will take and they will be your members. So, we have got a lot of things which actually even politicians they see that "Yeah, if you catch youths, you've got votes". #00:28:57-1# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, so now to come to a more general issue. Democracy. What does the word democracy mean to you personally? #00:29:10-3# **Befragte/r:** For me democracy is a state. First of all, it's a state where (2) I read the point, I will do my things (2) without breaking the law of my country and when I'm doing my things I should not meet in a kind of interference because the law allows me to do it (1) then something should not appear to block me. You see? #00:29:51-0# **Interviewerin:** Mhm. #00:29:51-0# **Befragte/r:** And through my doings I should bring the positive change to my country. That's the democracy. #00:30:01-7# **Interviewerin:** Okay. #00:30:01-7# **Befragte/r:** So, also if no one blocks me to do my things

but still I'm useless, still I don't bring any positive change, I'm useless and I'm not a democrat. Better to bring someone to monitor me because I've failed to use my brain, I failed to use my democracy. So, if I'm actually bringing change to my country and my country enjoys to have a person like me in the country, then I'm a democrat because democracy is the freedom of using your brain to bring change to your society. #00:30:36-5#
Interviewerin: Okay, yeah. #00:30:36-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:30:38-6# **Interviewerin:** So, maybe one could say that you as a citizen have rights but you also have tasks. #00:30:48-9# **Befragte/r:** You mean responsibilities? #00:30:48-9# **Interviewerin:** Responsibilities, yes. That you should use your brain to make good things for your country and that you can be save on the other hand that there is a rule of law. #00:31:08-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, the rule of law, you should also follow the rule of law. Not doing everything because you are free. No, no, no. Because ((Auflachen)) if I can do anything, then there will be the time when I will block the right of others. So, that's also not a democracy. That is something else where- It's like fuju, in Swahili we call to fuju, violence. #00:31:33-0# **Interviewerin:** Fuju? #00:31:33-0# **Befragte/r:** Fuju, violence. #00:31:39-5# **Interviewerin:** If you have a range from one to ten, one is not important and ten is very important, how important do you think is democracy for a modern state? #00:31:49-3# **Befragte/r:** One is important? #00:31:51-5# **Interviewerin:** One is not important and ten is very important. #00:31:55-0# **Befragte/r:** Ah okay. #00:32:00-4# **Interviewerin:** So, what would you say? Democracy for a modern state on this scale. A two, or a five or an eight? #00:32:08-3# **Befragte/r:** For our country? #00:32:08-5# **Interviewerin:** For a modern state or for your country, yeah. How important is democracy? #00:32:17-4# **Befragte/r:** Democracy. The importance of democracy for me ((kurzes Auflachen)). It's ten. #00:32:28-4# **Interviewerin:** It's ten? #00:32:28-4# **Befragte/r:** Democracy should be ten. #00:32:36-2# **Interviewerin:** So, absolutely necessary to have a modern, good working state? #00:32:36-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes, I'm saying that democracy should be ten because the rule of democracy is to the life of every person. You see? Democracy should be- A person should be given a fully democracy. Not that of a colorful Ujanja Ujanja. Ujanja, ujanja is when you give a tricky democracy. You give the right in this way; you take it in another way. That is a tricky democracy. Ujanja, ujanja in Swahili we say. #00:33:20-2# **Interviewerin:** What is it? Uj-? #00:33:20-2# **Befragte/r:** Ujanja, Ujanja. When someone tells you that you are very mjanja (Schlitzohr) that means you are very tricky, you are (?) and something like this. #00:33:29-0# **Interviewerin:** I_ not good (lachen) #00:33:24-3# **Befragte/r:** But in our country ((kurzes Auflachen)), the democracy we see in our country is like (1) - I can give like 50 percent. It's a democracy and sometimes it's not a real democracy. There are lots of tricky things happening here in our country and these things are the one we are fighting with. Because they tell that we have given you democracy to do things, but you make that up to rig the democracy you have been promised. There are lots of barriers out there to rig that democracy and you see that there is another way which you can go straight to your democracy without those some kinds of breaks and those

breaks have been put simply because there are people who want to benefit in your journey to democracy. There are people who want to benefit from that. #00:34:28-7# **Interviewerin:** The big men and- #00:34:28-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah, yeah with the big mirijas (Pfeifen) ((Lachen)) #00:34:35-4# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, with the big cars and a lot of champagne ((Lachen)) #00:34:39-3# **Befragte/r:** So, at the end you only have (?) democracy but you need to go ((chuuu)) so tired with nothing that remains. #00:34:52-2# **Interviewerin:** So, would you say that Tanzania has half the way to democracy by now? #00:34:52-7# **Befragte/r:** Half the way to democracy because I can give you a case study on our resources. We got lot of resources now (1) but for me as a Tanzanian- We've got minerals. In our country I feel like more than 60 percent is a flue of minerals, you see? #00:35:20-3# **Interviewerin:** Mhm. #00:35:20-3# **Befragte/r:** I've read the area- People when they move, they walk, they see a mineral, they pick a mineral about the suffice. So, we have got lot of mineral but when this kind of mineral is discovered maybe for a common citizen with your hand, not machines, you go to find those minerals maybe to sell so that you can get some income the government will come "no, you are not qualified to access this minerals ((verächtlicher Laut)) Who qualifies them? Investors from abroad are the one that is qualified, my god ((verächtlich gesprochen)). So, you see that we have got a democracy which actually is not a real democracy. It's democracy with some kind of some big boss who want to benefit from our democracy. #00:36:23-6# **Interviewerin:** In the literature I sometimes read that Tanzania is called an electoral democracy. So, that the elections are working quite well and are more or less getting better but in other parts that also belong to democracy there are some borders and restrictions. #00:36:49-0# **Befragte/r:** Among the things which have totally no democracy in our country are the elections. #00:37:05-6# **Interviewerin:** But in comparison to other Sub Saharan African countries and in comparison to the first elections in 1995 it is getting better. Would you say this? #00:37:12-2# **Befragte/r:** You know, those are letters and for me I don't agree with those letters because I know the real situation of what we are doing. You know that's why I told you that in our country we have a tricky democracy. You know, for example, the researchers when they came making a research on democracy, when they go to those leaders, the kind of data they are given are not real, but the kind of elections are being done in our nation. There are lot of things which are hidden, other people don't know them and the other people don't see them. Because we have people who are close, we have got investigation and we know what is happening inside there. We know what is happening there. All the time when the CCM (2) sees that they are in need with a certain constituency or a certain position because this, called election committee, it builds up by the prime minister. The president is the one who elects the general secretary and even that chairperson is there to protect the interest of the (.) president. #00:38:34-6# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. #00:38:34-6# **Befragte/r:** So, even a (?) of democracy-. I would say that there is an area for example (1) when there is an MP election. When they see that there is an opposition MP going to win, they make a phone call to the president (1). The situation is like this way. This opposition person is

going to win and this constitution is we are very interested with it. You know what the president (?) just said. #00:39:10-5# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, maybe I should not believe what is written in all these reports ((Lachen)) #00:39:12-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, because till when you see maybe ((kurzes Auflachen)), you see evidence is the only you can believe in but if you don't see an evidence, you can't believe it. But actually that is what is happening and it has given us a headache. When you hear that in a certain constitutional election there is blood, people have fought, people have struggled, the police shoot people, it's because of this kind. People they see that we have won because even us we've got the pretender making the sum of all results. And through all results we know that we have won. But ((verächtlicher Laut)) the leader becomes vice-versa and we've not won. When you ask how ((auflachen)) #00:40:10-7# **Interviewerin:** This was the election on Zanzibar you mean, right? #00:40:10-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, even at Zanzibar. But let's leave the time when people decided to kill each other because they see that if I won't kill the person, he will take my right. I will still survive and take the rest of others. So, people decided "Okay, let's kill each other. so that we can get our rights." #00:40:33-1# **Interviewerin:** Hm, yah, very difficult. So, politics in Tanzania. We already talked about the role of democracy in Tanzania and maybe you can tell me something about the ways in which democracy is being pushed forward. Maybe you have an example of what you do or other people do about how you push it. #00:41:10-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, (2) first of all we push it through this making people aware. At least we have got the chance of giving awareness to people. And no one (?) this is a time where there exist a clash with the government but at least when they take the (?), they decide to leave, to leave you to do what you are doing and through rigging people and educating people about what they should do and what the reality is, I think the people they open up. They see that "okay, now you were given the registration notice" and know what you are supposed to do and it rig the time that the government is giving you the chance to do so. It's because if you don't-. If you-. (?) If the government is blocking you from reaching your goals, people are there. You tell people, people decide what to do. If they decide to fight with the police, if they decide to fight with the government, that's because you are doing for them. I feel if they want to rig the point where they are fighting for their rights, it means that we won't move at all. So, at least this freedom of speech we have been given through media, through what, even I will care. I mean the political parties are giving the chance to possess these newspapers, to possess media. At least it has given us the chance to move ahead with our matters and what we want to do and the access of reaching people-. You know this "msenge"; I mean in English we call it some kind of blogs. We call it in Swahili msenge, some kind of blogs, blog, blogs of freaking people has been registered. Especially when Kikwete started as president, he opened the door as he increased the chance to access. Apart from the late other presidents that blocked this opposition parties to access the place. One sees that I have got a rally, a political rally somewhere they ban it. They are seeing policies they ban it. I got a meeting, they ban it, everything they ban and they want everything you do (.) to ask them for permission. #00:44:08-8# **Interviewerin:** And if you

have to ask for permission- #00:44:11-4# **Befragte/r:** If you ask for permission, they ban it. The reason for banning they say that according to our intelligence we find that there are some crimes going to happen there. ((Verächtlicher Laut)) Which kind of crimes? ((verächtlicher Laut, Auflachen)) #00:44:26-8# **Interviewerin:** So, it's just to find any reason to stop you. ((Auflachen)) #00:44:29-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, to stop you and obvious they say that it is the national security. National security, always they come with that reason that the rally you are going to do is against the national security. So, they won't allow it. ((kurzes verächtliches Lachen)) #00:44:45-4# **Interviewerin:** ((kurzes Lachen)) So, that makes work hard, hm? #00:44:53-7# **Befragte/r:** It's very hard. It's really the time to force it. The police they say that "no, you should not do it" but for us we say we will do it. So, you prepare yourself to fight with the government. Simply because they block, they decided to block the democracy. #00:45:15-0# **Interviewerin:** So, do you think that this is something that is the aim of your party or is it somehow something that the more young politicians have a more sensitive view on. To structure and to make conference and- For example on politics because there are also some young politicians for example this Amina Chifupa she tried to establish some new in her party and is this something that young politicians are pushing forward? #00:45:58-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, we've such kind of youths and fortunately by the time when youths are not afraid of anything we've got those youths, we've got our youths at universities, who are moving forward with those movements. We've got these youths in district, we've got these youths in the different institutions who support us and who we are working with when we are doing our activities. So, once we want to go to some other places we make sure that in every place we go, we got some youths we are working with and fortunately we have got many of them out there who support us and who are working with us and actually are the ones who have made us much successful in the activities because there are things which-. One would say that our elders they can't make that. You know, elders, most of them are slowly. Once you decide something they want first to sit at the table and discuss it and make this while time is moving but once you get youths, youths always don't look on time. What they say they want is the one thing to be done. So, when those elders are discussing their matters, youths are moving ahead, performing activities which should be performed. #00:47:28-4# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, so maybe some kind of different political culture. The youths are more like "We want to do something" and not just talk about and- #00:47:44-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, youths are totally different. The youths we have are the one who want to see impact; most interested in impact. So, if you decide rather to sit down and discuss something, if you do too late, they can do it by themselves. So, the system where you can monitor them, when you give some reason they can understand you, if they see that your reasons are not satisfying, they will leave you with your discussions and they go ahead doing their things. But actually we have managed to monitor our youths. At least they follow what the party rules want them to do and at least what the leaders say, at least they are obeying. So, it's not-. We have no youths who can rid the times. Though that happens, most of them are the

ones who follow the rules of the party and what leaders say and want them to do and actually you can see that even our leaders they have tried to go with the conditions of youths, what youths want and how they want it to be, at least they try to follow it. #00:49:09-0# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. #00:49:09-0# **Befragte/r:** Because in our party most of the leaders are youths. You can see our secretary general is youths, officers, more than 70 percent of our officers like us we are youths. So, elders maybe our chairperson and our general secretary. #00:49:30-5# **Interviewerin:** So, you are a young party. #00:49:30-6# **Befragte/r:** We are a young party and we decided to transform it that way because as the country goes the politics is in move in our country. Youths, it's their time now. Most of political parties now they want to opt for youths. So, if you remain with the elders, elder, elders- #00:49:53-2# **Interviewerin:** But do you think that there are also young politicians that decide to be some kind of political son of one of the elders? That they decide by themselves to take this way as a political son and maybe get more money than you get (lachen) or more status and more- You know what I mean? #00:50:31-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I get that. Those kind of- They want to become politically simply because they want money, they want cash. #00:50:40-2# **Interviewerin:** Yes. #00:50:40-2# **Befragte/r:** We have got those kind of- I was a ((kurzes Auflachen)) because I (?) from my university, I got my fellow leaders in our organization, student association. They said it clearly and openly. You know we had the time for discussing in the rooms and they said "When I become a leader ((kurzes Auflachen)) and I want you to see, in our nation if you want good money, if you want a good job, be politician." They said it clearly ((empörte Aussprache)). #00:51:23-3# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. #00:51:23-3# **Befragte/r:** Especially politicians from universities they believe if you want money, (1) be a politician. This is mad to you and what, and what, and what, you are going to lose your times and you know why? Because the kind of politicians we have now are the politicians of money seeker. A politician becomes a MP, he becomes an MP to become a worse person, you see? We see our MPs. Maybe he was a- He came from not owning a car, maybe he was just using this dala dalas, we move in the dala dala together, but when he became an MP ((verächtlicher Laut)) he meets with the 400 millions car. Eh? 400 million, maybe it's like how much dollars? #00:52:25-5# **Interviewerin:** I think it's-. How much is one million? #00:52:37-9# **Befragte/r:** One thousand. #00:52:43-8# **Interviewerin:** Ah, okay, I can imagine. #00:52:45-2# **Befragte/r:** So, like that way. So, they think like "wow if this person did nothing but simply became a leader, he became a political leader, he is owning such kind of car." So, they see now business in the politics. Just go, become an MP, you have a car and things will go and we have seen a lot of them. Unfortunately our party has not lot of money but those who are working at the CCM, the ruling party, aiaiaiai. All officers, the kind of cars that have been given to them, he? I want to say that this kind of people which kind of world they are surviving in. You see? #00:53:28-4# **Interviewerin:** Mhm. #00:53:28-4# **Befragte/r:** So, now, people from universities and- I've got my chairperson, my chairperson was CCM by the time and once we were student leaders, he was working for CCM but undercover. #00:53:49-8# **Interviewerin:** Okay.

#00:53:49-8# **Befragte/r:** Undercover. Simply because they have promised him that once he will find for us some kind of leaders from our university, some kind of members of party, students who join CCM. Like if you make sure that you open the branch for CCM at university and they promise you a leadership position. So, he worked very hard ((kurzes Auflachen)) but at the end of time he did not see any of that position. #00:54:25-8# **Interviewerin:** ((Lachen)) #00:54:29-0# **Befragte/r:** So, people they say (?) Political leaders who are the sons of this political underground and this- The way, the life they live. You see actually this money and (?) this. Because he had no money, then he entered the politics, he earned money, he owned some car, two cars, three cars, buying a house for maybe 100 million (politics plays?). Youths want money. #00:55:05-9# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. #00:55:05-9# **Befragte/r:** Most of the people want money. So, youths come from university and (?) see there and who pay you something like (?) but then it passes like five years, you don't buy me a car (?). But we have got also the ones who were accept (?) and force him to fight, force him to join the politics for the interest of the people, that they believe through this way I can serve my fellow Tanzanians. #00:55:43-2# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, you have both I think. So, there is a need of people like you ((kurzes Auflachen)). #00:55:48-1# **Befragte/r:** Yes, because if all of us will become of the same kind #00:55:53-6# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. **Befragte/r:** Now we are going to put our country in danger. #00:56:01-9# **Interviewerin:** Yes, I believe that. Really. I think it's a very, very important to have people like you that do it for the country and not for the money. #00:56:06-6# **Befragte/r:** And the people will wonder that nowadays which kind of intellectuals we have. We've got some kind of (?), we take them to schools but at the end they are going to get their own money, not to serve us. #00:56:19-7# **Interviewerin:** So, the gap between the very rich ones and the very poor ones is growing? #00:56:24-2# **Befragte/r:** Will grow. And if the gap grows, it puts the country in a risk (1) of fighting. I think we have seen this in a lot of countries; the source of war, most of them is one person's right is taken by another person, or the gap between the poor and the rich increases and the poor witness the rich eating, without him eating. We'll take the government (off?) and come and grab your money ((verächtlicher Laut)) at the end I tell you to fight (?). #00:57:05-5# **Interviewerin:** But do you think that since the beginning of multiparty system the percentage of young politicians that have this view that you have to work for the country has grown? #00:57:21-9# **Befragte/r:** It has grown. It has grown, (2) though not much but it has grown and it is by the time the speed of youths, I mean young people, in politics is (up blemo?). By the time it was going slowly, it was breathing slowly simply because the kind of politic we had by that time. It was the kind of politics where one person satisfying another person (3) "You, you are trying to oppose me? You know that I'm the ruling party so you'll miss your school, you'll miss each and everything." So, they go back. So, if you are terrifying in that way, you threat him that if you enter in the politics, you enter in the opposition parties, you'll lose your schools, you'll get nothing and your life will be (?) in work. Most of youths they decided to go back, they are afraid, they know that- #00:58:29-3# **Interviewerin:** Even now? #00:58:29-3#

Befragte/r: Even now there is a lot of such kind of youths. For us it's just like (,) - You know (kurzes auflachen), we say that we don't care. Whatever will happen, we will force it but for most of youths they still are afraid entering in politics. So, even they enter, they enter undercover. They become politicians who are working to vote. Because even writing articles most of the people- Five years back they were even afraid to write articles, political articles. Most of them were writing social, especially social articles with which they don't impress the government, they don't touch the government. Because when you were trying to write a political article you can receive some treat cause. So, it's really a daemon if you want to write a political article you fool your phone number, you fool your name. If someone tries to call you it's not you (auflachen), you are not available. Maybe what you can leave, maybe an e-mail. You have got an e-mail when someone wants to send you opinion, he can send opinion but without knowing who you are because you have a nickname. But nowadays people are speaking loudly, speaking openly, they can speak quite orderly but by the time when you speak about the tendency you write an article about the trade and you talk maybe in a negative way (1) the next morning you hear the door knocking #01:00:31-7#
Interviewerin: Really? #01:00:31-7# **Befragte/r:** When you see a person (1) Someone says that maybe he is a police "I've heard that you have got a bangi in your room". You know bangi? #01:00:42-9# **Interviewerin:** No. #01:00:44-9# **Befragte/r:** Bangi is mariuhana. "You have mariuhana in your room". #01:00:50-8#
Interviewerin: ((Lachen)) #01:00:50-8# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) I've never seen marijuana and he says "You have it". So, when you allow him to enter inside; He has got- I mean a police comes with marijuana in his pocket he puts in your house and says "This is yours". So, people decide, youths say "No, this is not police". #01:01:16-0#
Interviewerin: Even now it's like this, more or less? #01:01:17-4# **Befragte/r:** Even now, but it is not much. Because even the police themselves nowadays they have changed. Most of them now they are not supporting the ruling party. You know the ruling party is in a hard time because most of their dogs are not supporting them anymore. Not in the national security, not the police, they are not supporting them because of the bad they have done to Tanzanians. #01:01:50-7# **Interviewerin:** I heard that the newspapers are quite free. So, I did not think that even now you have these restrictions. #01:02:10-1#
Befragte/r: Yeah. That is one of the various steps ahead we have made in the democracy. Newspapers are free to speak anything. Though, it was in 2005, people then fought when Kikwete was entering in power. They tried just to terrify some newspapers; don't write this, don't write this. They got some kind of guidelines but nowadays things have changed. Newspapers are speaking loudly, openly, the way they want. They get some- For example, last month it was in doing elections, it was one newspaper called Mwananchi, it was nearly to first they ban it (,) simply because it did not support the ruling party. So, the ruling party, because it has good muscles and are the one in power, send a note to the newspaper that if you won't change this behavior you will be perished. So, also they also wanted to have a committee for defense at least where they become save. But things actually they have changed for light percentage it has

changed. Media are free, actually free, people talk free, journalists write everything they want. #01:03:54-1#
Interviewerin: One last question. To come back to these young politicians aspect, we already talked about what you think are the particular assets of young politicians. What do you think do the elders think about the younger ones? Are they afraid because maybe they think they will push them out of power or do they think that it's good to have young politicians that grew up and then rule the country in the future? #01:04:36-2# **Befragte/r:** By the situation we have now, most of the young politicians (2) have not yet started to mention their fight of their fellow politicians because still few young politicians in the political arena. So, the threat has not yet happened, though there in other parties, in other political arenas we can hear them, youth is just growing to each other but it's not the biggest state, still it's down but the present state is most of youths enjoy to see other youths in political arena and they invite them "Welcome". Because those of us who are in the politics want to see others come. We want them to come and assist us to move ahead. So, we need assistance and that's why we don't see that fighting to each other because we need the assistance and support from youths. #01:05:52-9# **Interviewerin:** But do the elder ones need the young ones? Not especially in your party but in general, they need the support of young ones? On the other hand are they also a little bit afraid that they want to change too many things? #01:06:14-5#
Befragte/r: That sense is a present to some of the young politicians. Especially those who are among us who intend to become, have already been promised or he has seen a certain position that he is going to take. So, when once another young person comes with the great abilities and terrifying him that he is also qualified to get that position. Oh, some kind of conflicts can happen there, conflict of interest. Maybe you can channel it in another way "Can you leave that for me?" or what. This kind is present especially when people are trying there for their interests. #01:07:09-5# **Interviewerin:** Maybe they find some other positions to move them? ((Auflachen)) #01:07:11-6# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, they can find-. If that person has got big muscles he can move him to another position over there. "Maybe you better go to that chance there" where actually this is (?). #01:07:26-4#
Interviewerin: Yeah, but in a biological sense it is not that long that the elders will no longer be in politics and that you will be the next leaders. #01:07:41-0#
Befragte/r: Yeah, of course. #01:07:41-8#
Interviewerin: So, this is why it is so interesting how you see politics. #01:07:49-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, because, as I have said, that for those who are (3) who don't have politics in blood; when those kind of crisis happens either decided to leave politics, go somewhere else, being employed, maybe open a business, either move ahead with like for those who are politically ended. They wait or they shifted to another position or another party where they see that there they can survive and reach more. #01:08:24-7# **Interviewerin:** Okay, I think I asked all my questions. Thank you. #01:08:32-5#
Interview 3 Interviewerin: As a first part of the Interview, would you please explain me how you personally entered the political arena? #0.15#
Befragte/r: Well, this is a (1) I mean this is a tuff question. I haven't planed before to come in the politics arena but coincidence with my friends who was in the politics. I don't think if you know

(Saladu?). #0.33#**Interviewer**: Aha.**Befragte/r**: He was a friend of me and he asked me to come to work with him in the department of foreign affair. And when I joint here in 2004, then I started to work in the politics, but before that as a young (1) I've been party activist. #0.53#**Interviewer**: Okay.**Befragte/r**: So I've been working together for eternity, don't working I mean voluntary (?) participation working area in some sort of working for politics but then when I was (,) - I don't say I'm fully employed but when I came here and I started to work as an foreign officer then I started to come to work in the political scene. #1.17#**Interviewer**: Hm.**Befragte/r**: That is the background how I came in the politics. #1.20#**Interviewer**: And you said that you were some kind of activist before you entered the working arena of politics **Befragte/r**: yes **Interviewer**: Was it in some kind of students organization or how was this activism build? #1.42#**Befragte/r**: By the time I was finishing my first degree in university. It was during election 1995, that was the first general election, and because (,) that was the first multiple general election in Zanzibar and all the younger ones were more motivated by changing of politics especially because it came from single party to multi party; then we join other areas so this is you working- (,) Look typically I've been studying in mainland. So I've been not working from Zanzibar, I not come from youth area per se but I mean you can see that becoming youth politics or youth party activist from the early (mchikawa area?) (,) . I mean I'm living very close to this CUF code. So, I have been here for this politics changing politics; then especially in Stone Town most of people the family members and the political background of Zanzibar does make difference to me to walk for neutrality or participate in this politics. #2.42#**Interviewer**: So, how did you decide to support CUF? Did you decide to go to the opposition because you wanted to do something new or why did you join the CUF? #3.25#**Befragte/r**: Yes, although I was studying my first degree in mainland side, but I was born here. I was raised here. I was taught up to high level here. Then I went to university but, as I told you, when I came back here there is a depth moving of all the people and changing of the political side for Zanzibar and it was not my intention to come into work in for politics per se but I was looking for expectation of changing. I did economics planning in my study when I was seeing the gap between politics and politician economists these are people are real fat of economics changing but the politicians are talking of the politics issues, so that was what impressed me. But then (,) because of influence of my friends, include, as I told you (Saladu?) and somewhere around this environment I have been starting to coming up CUF office and somehow I've been getting the opportunity to attain the political campaign for 1995. I went to Pemba for the first time with the presidential candidate and we were working with all the people and we did see good holders, these slogans and other people lived in (?). So, I came in politics in that way because the changing of political background in Zanzibar is influenced in the one way (,) whether we go for the opposition party or for the ruling party. Then I decided to join into the political opposition party because I was looking for the new changing. #5.01#**Interviewer**: Hm, yeah, I'm understanding. And do you think that there is some kind of privat background

that brought you to this way? Is there political engagement in your family? For example your parents, or is it just the change you wanted on your own? #5.22#**Befragte/r**: In my family actually there was no historical background for politics, my father just worked in government press. #5.30#**Interviewer**: Okay.**Befragte/r**: So, he was a technician and my mother (,) you can say housewife, she was doing her own work, selling machines, making clothes. So even though when I started to involve in the politics they were supporting me. I mean they did not say anything bad. I mean they are members of CUF and they are hearing CUF. So they just combined with me working together with that. So there is no background of politician in my family but (,) it is coming automatically. Maybe let's see my uncle, my uncle used to live in England and he was a lecture in SOAS, School of Oriental Studies at the University of London, but then they had a relationship with the president Mwinyi. In 1990 he appointed him to be an ambassador in Saudi Arabia from Tanzania and then he moved to be ambassador in England. In year 2001 Mkapa appointed him to be one of the deputy ministers. So but he was in the ruling party and I was in the opposition party; so you don't see that this a consistence, but there is no political background all of us even himself was not politician before, you see? #7.00#**Interviewer**: Yeah, so could you name what caught your special interest to join the CUF? Was it the constitution? #7.20#**Befragte/r**: First of all, I think the motivation which makes me to join this party is because people who are tired with the ruling party which is long the way we have been coming to that way; but (1) our secretary general or the presidential candidate Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad everybody has known him when he was a chief minister before, his background and when he was ready to defend the issue of Zanzibar and the Union. So, you see, most of us we support the CUF because of the Union; because we are defending for our right and as we said before, we need the union of free government union and not the two governments. So, you see, all people that are supporting this, the young people, you may see we struggle in this union, we do not benefit and this is the only way and we support it. So, it is not only for him but it's a CUF policy, free union government, which is motivation most of people supporting that. Apart from that, because the ruling party has been working for so long since 1964 to 1995- there has nothing they have done for us, there is no changing. So we believe if the new party is coming, (,) we can make a change and that is why I decide this- because I'm economist so I believe I can help them to change things in the political site. #8.44#**Interviewer**: And what would be an example for how you would make the situation for people better? #8.52#**Befragte/r**: We do believe, because politics in Tanzania we say "politics first, then economics", but we say "No". We believe the economical first and then the politics follow. But there are so many ways to improve economic changes here, but the politicians always do not want to work because they work in the politics site and we believe there are so many chances. We can work with the people from grassroot because they are the people who are daunt, they are just only known during the voting time but when you come in the parliament you just sit there, the minister you know (only are there for?) few people and you don't care about the changing or dawn. So, I believe this party can make a

different changing and one of the mainly strategically changings is this, as I told you, Union. Let me give you this example, In any economy of the country, this is specially based in African site, different from Europe, but in Africa site which is under control by the Central Bank. So, in this situation the central bank it is under Union. So, if you want to make any economic change, you should make changing through physical policy or monetary policy but these are decided by the mainland side. How can we make a difference in Zanzibar? We have to get out from there, then we have to make a own central bank, then you can make your own economic change. Unless otherwise, if somebody has the key to your house, you can't go inside until you get permission. And this is you can't make it, but if we come with the Zanzibar separate economy and then they have mainland separate economy and then we have the (shared?) union which we share together, then you can make a decision for your own economy. So how can make a difference, if you can't make any policy changes? Which is all the changes are coming from physical policies or monetary sites policies? And this is the way I believe we only can make changing in Zanzibar. #10.56#**Interviewer**: So make free decisions over here at Zanzibar and not on mainland. #11.00#**Befragte/r**: I_ Zanzibar is independent. **Befragte/r**: Of course, because the mainland site will make their own decision and Zanzibar will have the own economic decisions and this is- I know it will be competitive because everyone want to perform better but everyone has got- We say in international economics- Every country is independent to the other, neither dependent on capital, neither dependent in labor. So there is some incentive from the part from mainland and we have also strategically incentive from Zanzibar. But being under control by someone you can't come up and make changing from there. #11.38#**Interviewer**: So what do you think about the last elections? Because you lost, but it was very little margin. #11.50#**Befragte/r**: This is a very interesting question. You won't believe I was a campaigning team member and I was the fundraising manager. So I've been working high- I mean we tried to work very hard on our fought and at least for the first time the environment has been changed, not before previously. At least you can say somehow we had a better election than previous. I can't say that it was totally free and fair but at least some improvement. There was no disturbing, there was no hitting people or some attacking people (1). It takes time to make some people changing, people who were feared before of this political site and then there is some problem with the electoral commission. #12.38#**Interviewer**: You mean because it is under control of the ruling party? #12.41# **Befragte/r**: I_ Yeah, the CCM party. Still they have that mentality of being monopolized by ruling party but it was a great experience to work in the election. I mean, you are working very hard from the morning to the night doing the campaigning. You are going to meet the people, you discuss their problems and they will tell you and then you go back to the public rally; maybe you have some tours, things like that. We believe we can win; we have big chance to win. #13.17#**Interviewer**: Next elections. **Befragte/r**: Next elections. #13.18#**Interviewer**: But did you also go to some villages and talked to the people, the people that are not living directly in the center but more at the countryside?

What is their opinion on politics? And especially the young inhabitants there, what do they think about politics? #13.38# **Befragte/r**: Our campaign technique was like this: We normally had two public rallies the day, or one public rally a day but normally we had a, what they call visiting study, maybe we did not have a meeting but we went to the village, we talk with the people. Maybe this time we meet fishermen and we discuss with them what their problems are and what they are looking for when we come into power. Maybe the second day we do with the agricultural ones, the farmers, we discuss with them and then on the other day we talk with the teachers group and the other week we want to speak with the doctors; different profession we talk and discuss with them and all of them they want changing. You see? But how can you hear them and how can you implement after that week and day? So everyone expressing that the people they were happy to meet us and explained their problem and they say because we have this and this and this, so we are expecting when you come into power you have to help us but all of the people they were interested in politics and fortunately Zanzibar politics is totally different from mainland side or from the other side of Tanzania because all the people are involved in the politics, especially during the election time. #14.50#**Interviewer**: So what would you say are the main problems of the young people living here? #14.59#**Befragte/r**: The first problem for everyone is unemployment but also we can see there is an educational problem for youth because there are so many youth, they want to be employed but they have no profession, they have no background of education. So how can you get employment, if you don't have a background? But suppose we have a vocational training, we should train them and then they get an opportunity to be employed. So there is an unemployment problem, but there is a lot of reason behind it because they are not capable of employment, you expect them in the manual all of them, you can't. You can't feed them and there is not such company you can work with them on that. But on the other hand they have not enough education, or enough profession to go to work in this some few profession which are available. But because of the historical background of Zanzibar there was a division between us. The ruling party is looking for only supporting them, so many people were disappointed "We are not employed because we are supporting the opposition. " So there is much problem between us and the ruling party, they were desperate and some of them they loosed the hope that they can be employed. But the main problem for youth is unemployment, we talk about education and some health sector. Those who want to be employed in the informal sector also they are not given the chance to do that and they try to make some self-employment they were discouraged and they are not getting any support from either political groundsides. Even when they try to go maybe to ask for loans, but how can they go? They have no asset and they are still young. There are the people called "juakali". Juakali you can call- I think in Europe it is something called market square. Every Sunday or maybe every day they put their table, they put their things they are selling. So we have over there in (Dar es Salaam?), somewhere there. So they use to employ themselves but then because of political the police is coming, harassing them, they (?), don't have place, don't

have things and they are beating them. #17:21#**Interviewer**: Really?**Befragte**/r: Yeah, so they were some kind of disappointed but this is one sector which can work very well, informal sector which can help in the changing. #17:36#**Interviewer**: So, you would say that politics is some kind of ideological change for the people to be free from mainland and have more chances in life with employment, education. And if you would rule the island, you would bring all this change? #17:58#**Befragte**/r: It's not the question of only union on the side of Zanzibar but let me give you this example: You here and your mum, okay? If there is only one chance from here to travel to Dar es Salaam and both of you want to go, one should be sacrificed and definitely mum will be happy to see her daughter go, okay? But the case of politics when you come to the mainland site and Zanzibar, the mainland site would not be happy to see Zanzibar go. That's (?) to use that opportunity. Okay, although we are few, when there is a whatever multilateral aid or if there is an opportunity for maybe like to go for studies in Europe or abroad, whatever chances there are, we are just about one million, they are around 39 million, so if there is a ten chance they will end up take nine and they give you one (,) and this is not fair. So sometimes there is so many issue of Zanzibar which we even don't know, we hear that they have been decided by them. When I was speaking with Hadji Mponda, he is the minister of health now, he told me when they went to South Africa he was someone from mainland representing Zanzibar. So they are taking the umbrella of Tanzania to separate Zanzibar. So there is a opportunity for Zanzibar which we can walk directly; Suppose Zanzibar it could be independent, or suppose Zanzibar can be under its own sovereignty. That means they have got a chance, they have diplomats that come to Zanzibar and they have got their office. So many people can be employed in this. But now all the diplomatic offices, all the international committee are at the mainland. So there is no chance for Zanzibar to work over there. Even in the ministry of foreign affairs from the head office in Dar es Saalam to all foreign diplomats abroad you see only 5 percent of Zanzibarians working there. I think there is only four to six embassies in Zanzibar, all embassies are in Dar es Salaam. So that's is what we are saying is not fair. #20:19#**Interviewer**: Maybe let's come to a more general issue. Democracy, what does this word mean to you personally? #20:30#**Befragte**/r: That's a very wide terminology. (1) Democracy is something- I mean Democracy is a decision of the people which is decided by the majority about what they want for their future or for development of their country or whatever desired but we should respect each other, we should be working together and we should be in terms of free and fair. I mean people must be binding by law and this is not by word but by action and the democracy should be exercise and people they have to decide on their own who they want and not by forcing by any other political organs or governmental organs or whatever interference of other things and that's how I can explain that. #21:28#**Interviewer**: But would you say it's some kind of rule of law, more al liberal view on democracy?**Befragte**/r: Oh, I'm a liberal. If you say liberal, they want free and fair election, freedom of religion, respect of human rights and we can talk about (1) mass participation in decision; But all things are free.

So, at the end of the day, it does not go beyond the boundary. People should have right, exercise their power according to the law. And no one has more rights than the others. #22:12#**Interviewer**: And what do you think about corruption? #22:19#**Befragte**/r: Well, this is a cancer. Not only for Tanzania but for all African countries and it will take time to remove corruption and maybe I believe it should be the real changing of the top government. I mean, the government itself had been long way to come in corruption and I don't believe if your fellow mum had been working and corruptive and prepares you to become a politician and then you become politician and someone says "No, no, no, we have to take your mum to that court", that would not be easy for you and the similar thing is happening here because the ruling party has been under corruption for long time. One of the things why they are scared to go in the opposition is that they know if we come to power, we will take them to the court because they are corruptive. So, they are working together with all corruptive people to make sure to remain in power. So, I personally believe if you want to remove the corruption, we should make a serious changing from the top to the bottom, then we have to work transparently. We have had so many commissions on corruption, Ntakakuru and so, but this doesn't work. For example, we had the case of Ntakakuru and we had the case of Richmon, I think you heard about; rich ones and the low ones. Ntakakuru have been given chance to look for rich men, if there is any corruption and the manager Ntakakuru just said the rich men side is clean, there is no any smell of corruption, then the member of parliament forced it and they made a committee, they founded the committee in the parliament and they made investigation and at the end they came with so many things. This has been proofed corruption and this and that. In order to make this the organ which we expect to say it is Ntakakuru which we believed this can work in the corruption side they say "we say this is clean" but this we proofed and all the people know that. So people have credibility of this organ working with the corruption now. We had another case for this (four radar?) for Tanzania which we bought in England. The good thing, we CUF we had worked with the liberal party from England and we told them about this and they presented that issue in their parliament in house of common in England, then from member of liberals in UK present that case and they say- Because we have given them some information and then they prove that there was a corruption issue inside and then the government of England was the one who said in this contract there was a corruption and this situation is because there is one person who was a (automobile?) general, in his account he has been deposit of one million dollar. It's one million dollar I mean he has been deposited in his account. How can that the (automobile?) general get this one million? And this money came directly from this- Because if you look at the account, you see it and this is a corruption. But again Natakakuru said he is clean. So there is no credibility, people do not believe that Natakakuru which is working for corruption is really working. They are working under pressure of politicians "Do this, and do that". We have the saying that they are only working for the small fish like Sadim, but they are leaving the sharks and worse, the biggest one. So they come and catch you as a teacher or an accountant to take corruption for maybe 100.000 but

those few who are corruptive seriously they are leaving.

#26.16#**Interviewerin:** And then they say “Oh, we are working, you see? We found this, and this and this- ((auflachen)) #26.19#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, let me give another example. They are taking the ex-minister of trade, Basil Mramba, okay? But the case, it takes more than three years now, and nothing, we still have no evidence, we still have no evidence, this people are very serious if you don't get evidence, they will sue us and this-. Why that? So you see this kind of problem. They always say that they have no evidence and people are worrying that if you go and say “Okay I will supply you with evidence”, people are worrying because they know that you can maneuver them. This people are in the power, or mafia or anything. They can hurt you and that's why the people they are scared to go to the Nakumkuru and say “We know somebody is doing this” because if you are working with them how can we be save?

#27.07#**Interviewerin:** Okay, to come back to democracy, if you think of all the problems that still exist in your government, would you say that Tanzania is a democracy right now?**Befragte/r:** I don't say Tanzania is a democratic country ((kurzes Auflachen)). I don't believe it now because, not only Tanzania but I can say this is working for- (1) African leaders, they are under their one umbrella. I mean, I'm from Tanzania, this is from Kenya, this from Zimbabwe and we all know that if I have to win an election, I have to use some technic and I come to you, I bring my good, “How can you help me to win the election?” and we meet all of us and discuss. For example first of all they have to make sure they use all their state organs: Police, army, even judge (1) by any means they have to support them so that they can win. So you think “Where can you go?” If you go to court, the judge will disappoint you but you can't fight with the police and army. You don't have any weapons or army so that you can fight with them but I was discussing a few with my friends, recently I said “Every election in Zanzibar you'll see, apart from this last one, you'll see there is army tanks passing through the way, you see people with the bazookas and army with the guns; there is no war but this makes fear for the people not to go to vote and make discardment and during the election people were beaten, were hurt, were killed and so many things were happening. But then in 2005 they had the younger (?). They motivated groups from Maska, they call Selox, from some area and they know these are supporters and said “When we finish election we will employ you. What we you want to do: You will be taken to a camp, you'll be trained, we give you some domestic weapon like machetes and some hammer and we say that today you go somewhere, there is a strong opposition, go and beat them.” Here and there and there, this is what has happened in Zanzibar and we used to call them Janjaweed from the Janjaweed in Sudan because it's a special group, they are going to hurt people, but even in Kenya they had the Mungiki. You see, all the problems from Mungiki which made the whole fighting after election, this was made by Mungiki, but this are supported by the government itself, they are financed by top officials and then they were walking behind the police. Because they are coming here, they want to hit you but if you start to fight them, you see the police coming and fighting with you and they are supporting them. For the case of Zanzibar they had the office of the

original commissioner, they are based, they are staying there and they say “Now go and attack somewhere”. They were attacking somewhere but they were walking behind the government. So this is happening not only in Zanzibar, mainland site now, Kenya, it happens in Zimbabwe and all African countries they are working under this situation. So this is one part but democracy is very wide. I mean, they teach them how to rig the election, okay? Because they always use technique; they say “We know this is a strong opposition so we have to delay, to take the things, all instrument for votes” It takes about two hours delay and then if you go there, they are discouraging people do that, during the counting of votes they switch off the light. There is so many technic. All they are training to do this. So everyone- Let's say this time we notice the new thing because every day we learned this tricky technique but this time we won't believe it. Because all people who work in the election team or election committee they have got a special jacket and then they had the opportunity to go for vote, so they were going every possible station to vote. So, you come to realize this people are multiple voting. This was their technique because they were teaching each other.

#31.54#**Interviewerin:** Yeah.**Befragte/r:** So, starting from registration of election votes, coming to the preparation, campaigning, voting system until announcing all this techniques around. And for the case of Zanzibar the registration was very difficult because they say that you must have the Zanzibar Identity Card to be registered but how do you get the Zanzibar Identity Card? You have to go to the local leader. But this person is the one who knows your political background and if you are in the opposition, he is not giving you the permission. He can give you a letter but there he recommends to the one who will issue the card “He is an opposition, so find any refusal to give”. So you can go there but if you don't have the Zanzibar ID, you can't register for vote. So this is the technique they use this time. And that's why you see about 6000 people youth in Zanzibar haven't voted this time because of this technique. ((unwichtig, weiteres Beispiel))At the end the democracy is not working properly and you see it.

#33.34#**Interviewerin:** Mhm. And when you look at the future of your politics what would you say how important is democracy for a modern state when you for example have a scale from one to ten and one is not important and ten is very important. #33.50#**Befragte/r:** Well, I can say there are different changings. I mean every day we are improving but from what decision we made last year to form government of national union or national unity it can help because now we see the difference. There is a peace in our country. Before that when you finish election you will not see anybody here. People were taken to the jails, people were beaten, people who work for opposition were kicked out from the office, even students were sucked, but now there is at least peace for the first time, one. But two, being some of the members from opposition party, being ministers. So it helped to calm the situation; even in the terms of negotiation problems they can sit down and talk. And then I think there will be changing but now you can say if we are one and we are going to ten, I think we are at least at three.

#34.55#**Interviewerin:** Now you are at three and for the future what do you wish?**Befragte/r:** I wish to see we are reaching ten but what I can see is that we can only reach

five from my expectation. But I always want to see we should reach the ten. #35.07#**Interviewer/r:** So, you think that ten should be what a modern state, a democratic state needs.**Befragte/r:** Yes, I believe that but the thing is, I can say that I believe it can be ten and it can be changing, but only if it depends on political. If there is good will, we can reach ten, there is nothing that can stop us if we are politically but some people are so selfish and they want to remain in power because they are political problems like the corruption or they think they are the only men who can benefit from that and they don't want to see changing. And there are so many ministers, we know them, and they don't support this government of national union but they have no choice because this is the decision of the people themselves. #36.00#**Interviewer/r:** So let's come to the young politicians. What do you think is their special asset in all this you told me about changing? Is this the group that works harder than the elders for change because they grew up in other circumstances than the elders did? You know they grew up after Ujamaa and so on. #36.24#**Befragte/r:** You know many youth had no political background previously. We have an experience our parents experience problems and they tell we have been taught this and that but if you talk to the youth now, the world is changing. We did not have mobile phones, we did not have normal phone, we did not have internet, now we have internet, we didn't have live television, now we have. So what you see happened with youth in Egypt is gone happen to anywhere now because the youth now they know "Oh, if youth can do, we can do that. Why are we at the back? If we can raise pressure for two or three days, the people will go or will make changing". So I think this youth they have much advantage to make changes; more than the previous one because now if we decide to work through Facebook or Twitter or any other social network, we can communicate at any time and they can't control it. The government can't control it. Even the mobile, if we say that we have to send it for every youth and we decide to make a strategy, we can make it. So, the youth they have much advantage. Unfortunately you talk about the urban area side but now even at the rural side they have got a mobile phone although some of them they don't have an internet access but they have a mobile phones and because the party has long way there, so youth is everywhere and you can organize all. So the youth they can do a changing; we have seen that they can do what they want but they need still to get some- Maybe they need to get brainwashed or need some sort of training and know how to perform the strategy. I mean it needs some organisation to perform this issue. #38.15#**Interviewer/r:** But do you see some change that more youth are interested in politics and more youth are engaged in opposition parties than maybe ten years earlier? #38.25#**Befragte/r:** Youths want political changing but they have been on one side for more than 30 years and there's no changing. What do they believe? They believe that only the other side can make a change. #38.39#**Interviewer/r:** Yeah.**Befragte/r:** And on the other side you have advantage. We say "If I'll come we make this and this and this". If you are ruling party and say "I make this and this" and ask you "How did you make it from that way?" but they can't question me. You see? I promise to make the change. Give me this opportunity. Okay? And if you have the opportunity, you

have to use it. When you are in position we try to make some of the changings. Okay, we had this problem with the government. We can't make all. As a member of the representatives I want this but the government stopped me, you see? And this is a problem. But youth themselves now they can make it because they can decide. It's a question like in Zambia; they can give the opposition party and then they have to look if they really can fulfill or this is only words and then will decide "we go back to that side because we are not (satisfied?)" or you are proofing better. So we need to proof the youth themselves because now they believe the opposition they can make the change but how can they proof until that opposition comes into power and then they can make change.#39.48#**Interviewer/r:** And do you think that the elders in your party are a little bit afraid of this youth that is now that interested in politics?**Befragte/r:** Definitely, this is not only me. Every elders are worrying in future of political parties because they know most of them they are not negligible, they are only working for politics. When they are coming to the challenge they are afraid of you. This time when our candidate formed the campaign team I think he got some consultants and some bodies, some people say this time you have to make your campaign team outside from your party and make the youth campaign team and he decided to make a youth campaign team and that's why we got this chance to go there, to walk. But this was like a war between us, between campaign team and the party. They said "Why the youth?" and we "Why not us?". And he say "No, I want to have youth have to walk for the party and myself but the youth walking only campaign team for me and they only (?) us, when they finish the campaign they are finish". Then they started to fears. They used to call their team Liverpool, I mean they are not performing very well, but we said we can compete with them and then we started to understand that they are very good and then they were starting some of the things down "Youth they can do this and that, but we are working very hard and perform very well". At the end I say, we didn't cooperate with them and we say we don't have to cooperate, youth have to cooperate with us because we are independent. You see the gap. You see how the elders fear the youth because they know they are coming to take our chance and at the end of the day even in the meeting they were saying that youth cannot do it; but look now. This is what the youth of who they say they can't do it now they have been done more than you and he approved that and that and that. And what you see, the gap, we see it in the election results; this youth they can make a difference in You Tube. #41.57#**Interviewer/r:** So, there are that many young people voting because you have that many young people and I heard that during the elections all politicians, also the elders, want to get these young voters by using young politicians as representatives but when it comes to decision making they try to make the decisions in-between the elders and the youth do not participate in decision making. Would you say that this is the truth? #42.30# **Befragte/r:** I can speak in case of our party. In our party the youth community is a member of what they call executive committee of the party. You talk about secretary, he goes straight in that meeting, he is a member of that, but again in the governing council, which is the highest decision making, it is the chairman of youth and the secretary are also members of this. So, they get the

chance to represent the youth and this is what you say is a problem because we had what we call primary election, which is before to go to the national election within the party itself. So there were the youth and this youth were taking number one or some of them number two and then the governing council had a problem with that and the youth are standing and say “No, no, no. We are the youth, we have to get this opportunity”. And what I heard for the coming election there is a special court of youth. But now, we had young member of parliament; we have from Pemba and we had some other earlier. So they fear, but the youth are supporting the youth (,) but I don’t want to say “I have to support the youth”. I have to support somebody who is capable for that, that’s my view. But they can motivate people to the other of them but if you know there is an older one who proofs to be very good, I can support and when the youth one proof earlier, why do not support? That’s not the idea. But the thing is you have to look for the youth very-. I was speaking to one of the youth candidate yesterday and said “You did your first election. You got 42 percent which is very good for you. This is the first time. But you have to make a very good strategy. Then when you become a member you have to proof; you are youth you can do it”. And this is all of us and that’s why elders are feared for that. (1) So I think there is a chance for youth to support the youth not only by advice but also in working experience with them and proofing their issues. #44.50# **Interviewerin:** Yes, maybe especially because this is a generation that grows up in this different circumstances and they engage in it and they are very young when they begin with engagement and the elders when they started politics they already had an age like around 40 years maybe. So they started late entering the politics because of the history. And now the people grow up with the politics and get earlier engaged and have some time left and they want to work in politics so they must be quite careful to have a good working atmosphere within the parties in-between all the ages, you know? #45.37# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, see my case. We are among the only few youth who work with the (?) party. The youth they have their own community which is working; it’s a wing of the party. But I am fully employed in the party as a youth and not only me but in mainland there are some other, but you can see at least there are some youth. But they still are feared we know that because like in mainland there is one- I don’t know if he is still youth but when he became a director he was still youth. So, they know that at the end of this there will be changing within the party and in the government itself and there was fear everywhere. #46.22# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. **Befragte/r:** Yeah. And they know that many of the youth they have a good opportunity to get higher education, they have the opportunity to get training, they can learn quickly, their brain is working very fast. #46.33# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, and they are used to all this internet, Facebook- **Befragte/r:** Yeah, they have got access. There are not many people who can use the internet here. #46.42# **Interviewerin:** And when you think about young politicians like for example Amina Chifupa who tried to challenge established forms of authority held by the elders. What do you think about her way or others who did like her about doing politics? To challenge elders? #47.07# **Befragte/r:** I think it is good. It is good on one side when you are as she was serious to make challenge

and she tried to expose about this drugs issue and maybe corruption but what happened, we don’t know. It’s very contradictive. We can’t say there is a hand from (,) state organ or it’s a superstition or whatever the case. But this could discourage other youth (,) because Amina she was starting to express her serious issue for youth and when you talk about the drugs (,) about 80 percent of the drug smellers or whatever are youth. The older are the dealers who are selling it but not using. The users are youth and when you are expressing that issue and then unfortunately happen this other disease to you, people they say it was because she was saying that and this country, they have got their own mafia they can do this things. So definitely some youth they have been discouraged but when you talk about Zitto Kabwe, he is youth, okay? He is working. John Mnyika. They can speak now (,) but elders- One example, as a president to the others let us consider youth can do it and once they are united as the youth together they can expose more than that and they can do something, they can make changing. Even in the parliament, this House of Representatives powers, there are young people, newcomers. With their age they are ranging from 35 to 45, now they are good speaker, they are good challengers and form the ruling party and from the opposition party. We don’t have an opposition ruling but from two parties they are challenging the ministers very, very serious issues. So they have the chance to make a changing, we don’t need to fear, we have to fight for the right of us. The youth are the leader of tomorrow. #49.11# **Interviewerin:** Wow, this was a good last sentence. ((Auflachen)) I think I have all my questions asked. Thank you very much. **Befragte/r:** You’re most welcome. #49.19# **Interview 4** Befragte/r aus Interview 3 als ÜbersetzerIn anwesend. Da die Person auch zur Zielgruppe gehört, fand phasenweise auch eine aktive Beteiligung am Gespräch statt. **Interviewerin:** As a first question, would you please explain me how you personally entered the political scene? #00.16# **Befragte/r:** It is a big process. ((Lachen)) Because I started from the branches. Because I saw the politics in Tanzania and I tried to see the policy of each of the parties in Tanzania because we have 19 parties in Tanzania and I tried to see which policy is good and has the good faith to the society. One among the parties which I saw is the Civic United Front because this policy tries to elaborate the services of the society and also tries to give hope when the party maybe wins an election, one thing is to promote the youth and also to create a lot of employment opportunity and also to build the infrastructure in our country; also education and other things which are important to our country. When I tried to see which policy is good I saw it is nice and it satisfies me to join this party I tried to start at the branch level. At the branch I saw the secretary and we have the office at the branch. So I just took the card of the Civic United Front because I had the hope that one day I’m going to be a candidate. ((Lachen)). #03.02# **Interviewerin:** Yes, why not. **Befragte/r:** Yeah, okay, I competed with my youth colleague at different levels; branch level, constituency, district and at the national level. At the branch level I was the financial charge- #03.32# **Interviewerin:** And this was the first? #03.39# **Befragter4:** Yes, the first. Because my hope was to be at the higher level, I tried to compete with my colleague again when the election came to the constituency to be the director of planning and election.

Because my satisfaction was to go at the higher level then when the election came, I tried to go to the district level to be the person to go to the national meeting, member of national meeting, and every level I competed with my colleague my colleagues gave me the will to come into this level. Then after our mother party got the advice from the adviser that your party is strong and it's big and common in Tanzania and it misses the youth (1) #05.30#**Interviewerin:** wing?**Befragte/r:** and the facilitation of youth. The leaders of my party told me to come at the national level of youth and "We want you to be one of the competitors to this" and I tried my level best and until now I'm general secretary of the whole Tanzania.#06.18#**Interviewerin:** Sounds good. To come back to the very beginning of your political engagement, what was your motivation, or what were the roots of your interest in politics? Do you have some kind of familiar background in politics? Or from school? #06.23#**Befragte/r:** It is all of the parts; my family and also at school. Because starting at school I was a leader, from standard one until university I was the leader ((zufriedenes Lachen)). #06.51# **Interviewerin:** Okay.**Befragte/r:** Yeah, and also my parents. They tried to be in the party; not directly to take a position, but my parents are also in the party. #07.02#**Interviewerin:** So they are also very interested in politics?**Befragte/r:** Interested. And they try to facilitate me every now and then "Oh Abdul⁹⁷, try your level best to be at the higher level." #07.25#**Interviewerin:** So they must be very proud of you? **Befragte/r:** Yeah ((Lachen)). #07.30#**Interviewerin:** Great. And what do you think about the CUF? You joined this party as you already told me because you had those very different parties in Tanzania and you chose this one to be yours. Is there something on the program level what caught your special interest? Or what aims do they have that are the most important for you? #08.05#**Befragte/r:** My aim of this party is to bring the services to the society and myself one day to be a leader of this country. With the next elections I'm going to start with maybe MP or to the House of Representatives for the following months and then, because I'm going one step by another, I'm going to see I will bring to the society and the society will be satisfied with me. If the society will satisfy that Mr. Abdul⁹⁸ is very creative, Mr. Abdul is willing to us and the society, when they get the hope to me, I'm going to compete with our powers ((lachend gesprochen)) to be one among the president candidate to the country ((Lachen)).#09.38#**Interviewerin:** And can you give one example what would you do if you would be president? What would you change in a first step? **Befragte/r:** Youth is a large group to the country and when you get the willing of the youth you will be a good to the society. I'm going to bring changes to the education and create employment opportunity to the society because when I'm going to create this and to create the education center for the society, I mean there is no anything which can give me the error to be a candidate. #10.38#**Interviewerin:** So, you said education and employment for youth. So,

⁹⁷ Abdul ist ein Pseudonym, um die Identität des befragten Politikers nicht offenzulegen.

⁹⁸ Abdul ist ein Pseudonym, um die Identität des befragten Politikers nicht offenzulegen.

would you put some kind focus on youth because it's such a large group in the country?**Befragte/r:** Yes, this is the priority in the country. Then I'm going to see maybe agricultural activities because we have in our country and also we are going to see the infrastructure. Because, as you know, the infrastructure is very poor even if we are going to develop ((Lachen)). Yes, but I'm going to create such things like that. But also to see the opportunities to the society, maybe the community organisation, maybe to create other things which can help them and also to see another thing which is important to our country is to increase the economical demand because, as you know, most of the citizens in the country try to blame about the fluctuation of the prize. When I'm going to bring a lot of economy activity center I mean that the prize will be a competition, the businessmen will be a lot in our country and the prize will be (,) #12.22#**ÜbersetzerIn:** reduced**Befragte/r:** reduced. So the (combination?) of our country will be everyone can get his or her demand. Maybe when I bring this, (,) everything will work. #12.38#**Interviewerin:** You have this gap between the very rich people, the few but very rich people-**Befragte/r:** | yeah, yeah, yeah, ((starke Bestätigung in der Aussprache))**Interviewerin:** -and a lot very poor people, but you don't have this kind of middle class that- **ÜbersetzerIn:** can coordinate between **Interviewerin:** Yeah, so maybe this prize things that you just told me about-**Befragte/r:** Yeah, as you know, in our country there are lots of people who live in low standard and also there is the middle class which most of the time they want their demand but they want the higher lever but they are middle class. And also we have a small group of people who maintain, who manage everything. So I want to connect this and I want everyone to see that this is the right of everyone and everyone to get the demand is important and we not maybe differentiate between the people; who is the middle, lower and higher class. #14.01#**Interviewerin:** You now told me what you would change when you will be a leader of the country. What about democracy in this regard? What does democracy mean to you personally? #14.19#**Befragte/r:** As you know in Africa, in general, the citizens, even the leaders most of them they don't understand democracy. And as you see there are some of the leaders who maybe are going to compete with his or her candidate. Then the winners will maybe be the ruling party or the opposition party but the friction will come here, the violence will come here. They don't understand. They don't play the fair democracy that you are winner and loser, all we are winner. I'm going to change this image. And you see even I compete with my colleague to the lower level, to the branches and the constituency, even now when I compete with my youth colleague, I'm going to be a winner. I'm a winner. But I'm going to change this because democracy is one among the things which give the willingness of the citizens. If one group is not satisfied with you, the violence will come, the demonstration and your leadership will not be a stable to the country. So I'm going to see, if I'm winner to that election, I'm going to give my hand, I'm going to shake my hand, and if I will be a looser, also because my group-maybe I will have a lot of group- I'm going to tell them that we are looser but we are not looser. All we are winner. So we are going to stay until the further election and I will give elaboration about that and will give

education to this. So this will bring changes of democracy in the whole maybe Africa and maybe another country in Europe, I don't know. ((Lachen)) #17.11#**Interviewerin**: Yeah. **Befragte/r**: This will bring changes and the African leaders will come to study, to learn that this one is the winner or loser, but he will check the will (?). #17.30#**Interviewerin**: So one can say that for you democracy is about fairness in election and stability of politics? **Befragte/r**: Yeah, yeah, because without stability to the country no anything will develop. Maybe the winner will bring changes in economy but if there is violence, no economic development will be, no any development in this economy sector. And also if the winner, or the leader, or the president elected is going to bring changes to maybe the education and youth, all the whole activities to the youth, it will not bring changes because there is the demonstration, there is the strike, there is the-. (1) No anything will-. #18.25#**Interviewerin**: Mhm, you will change this. #18.28#**Befragte/r**: Yeah ((Auflachen)). Thank you. #18.31#**Interviewerin**: And if you would have a scale from one to ten and one is not important or not reached by now and ten reached, what would you say in Tanzania, where are you in demo-crazy? Have you reached democracy right now? #18.47#**Befragte/r**: Yeah. #18.49#**Interviewerin**: So you would say ten? #18.50#**Befragte/r**: You mean that-. #18.52#**ÜbersetzerIn**: Let me translate the question. ((übersetzt die Frage auf Swahili, verifiziert)). #19.07#**Befragte/r**: Ähm, the democracy of Tanzania is going to develop. **ÜbersetzerIn**: ((Konkretisiert die Übersetzung auf Swahili, verifiziert)) #19.20#**Befragte/r**: Until now is one ((Lachen)). #19.25#**Interviewerin**: It's one? ((Auflachen)) Okay. #19.26#**Befragte/r**: It's one ((Lachen)). Yeah, because you know it ranges. When we say in Zanzibar, not the whole Tanzania, in Zanzibar we can say that we are going to ten. #19.45#**Interviewerin**: In the future or by now? #19.46#**Befragte/r**: By now. #19.48# **Interviewerin**: By now? Okay. #19.49#**Befragte/r**: Because, as you see and as I told that before, (,) the winner is going to maybe shake with someone and the whole society and citizens is going to satisfy with. In Zanzibar the previous election, all citizens won and all the parties won. So in Zanzibar we are going to stay ten, but when we take the whole Tanzania it's one because in Tanzania mainland the elections have been closed with a lot of demonstration. There is the CHADEMA there, they are not satisfied with the election, there are lots of demonstration and violence. There are a lot of things which is bad but in Zanzibar here (1) #20.53#**Interviewerin**: Everything is good? #20.54#**Befragte/r**: Is good. #20.56#**Interviewerin**: Okay. #20.58#**Befragte/r**: And we are going to stay ten right now ((Lachen)). #21.00#**Interviewerin**: Okay ((Lachen)). #21.01#**ÜbersetzerIn**: We are better than Europe now. #21.02#**Befragte/r**: Yeah ((Lachen)) #21.04#((Alle lachen))**Interviewerin**: Okay. So there is nothing to change in the future regarding this? Because you already reached ten? #21.12#**Befragte/r**: Ten ((Lachen)) #21.13#**Interviewerin**: Would you say this? #21.15#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, I think. Yeah ((stotternd gesprochen)), I said that we are going to ten; we are ten because changes will come, because changes is inevitable on the society. Maybe there is one group not satisfied with this, okay? Or they want more change. The whole

world is going to change and maybe Zanzibar also will change with that. And because when you take the whole Tanzania as a country we are the position one, we are going to change. #21.59#**Interviewerin**: Yeah? **Befragte/r**: Yeah, we are going to change. Generally. #22.05#**Interviewerin**: Okay. And to come to everyday's life of the normal Zanzibarian people. How does politics influence their daily life? #22.16#**Befragte/r**: The politics influence is good because, as you know, all citizens see that the party will change their life and if we are going to keep the leaders who are not able to create change to the development, or to the society, to the life of the society (1)- This created violence before that the someone who is going there and- The small group appointed, or elected, or chosen to be a leader and one group that is large because this the small group helped by the dollar, army, soldier and others helped to be a leader in this country the violence happened and by now the society has the hope that their life will change because the leaders when they stand in front of the people, they try to give the campaign that I'm going to do this when you choose me and I'm going to do this. The people get hope that "Oh, our life will come" ((Lachen)), "Our good life will come" but some of them they saw that politics is not going to change their life. The change of the life is going how my effort will be, some of the people. And some of the people will see that all of the changes are brought by the democracy and the whole party which is elected. #24.46#**Interviewerin**: But there are people that elect the ruling party, the CCM, now. So I got the feeling there has not been that much change for the people since the first multiparty elections. So why do you think do they still elect the ruling party? If they want as you said change. #25.12#**Befragte/r**: You know that one among the things which is maybe to the society- which is in their society is the education. Because the CCM is 50 years a ruling party in this country and there are no changes. There are no changes because (1) before this diminish there is the oppression, there is a lot of violence, strike and if I'm CUF and really CUF ((Lachen)) to the CCM. CCM they saw you as an enemy, yeah? And you will not create anything to them; even if that what you create to them is good. They say that it's not; it's hopeless. (1) You are hopeless and you are not anything to tell them (1) in this country. But even if, until now, we have small party of that things, but it's going to be eradicated. We are going to remove it. #26.51#**ÜbersetzerIn**: That's the mentality from this people of CCM there. #26.54#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, that's the mentality because their leaders- because if we are going to be one among the leaders in this country, is to give the society the bad campaign, all CUF maybe when they come into lead, CUF will bring to them bad activities, the Arab will come in here- #27.31#**ÜbersetzerIn**: Propaganda things. **Befragte/r**: Yeah, propaganda, we are coming to bring a lot of bad mentality to the society. #27.39#**Interviewerin**: So do you think that this kind of propaganda is why there are still people voting for the CCM? #27.49#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, before. Before and some of the society they didn't understand why they told us like this and if the time is going, people understand that this is wrong. #28.14#**Interviewerin**: So you mean this is some kind of tradition to vote for CCM since it is so long the ruling party? #28.21#**Befragte/r**: You know that Mwalimu

Julius Nyerere? #28.24#**Interviewerin:** Yeah. #28.26#**Befragte/r:** The former president. #28.27#**Interviewerin:** Yeah, yeah, mhm. #28.27#**Befragte/r:** Brought to the society that CCM is the party, only party that will bring changes to the society. #28.38#**Interviewerin:** This one party democratic rule. #28.40#**Befragte/r:** Yeah. And not anything, there is not any other party that will bring changes to them. And also the other leaders from the CCM had the campaign which is not good to the society but when we stay to the country the whole life, the people understand. And we have a lot of our citizens, our colleague in CUF they understand and they try to educate the society. The society now knows everything, everything they know, and here, until the previous election, some of the problem was caused by the soldiers and the violence before was also caused by this. The citizen tried to elect the leaders who they want. And that person who is elected by the society and the society knows that there is someone, for example Said Sharif Hamad, now he is the vice president. He is the one who among our leaders who brings changes to us and we are going to elect this someone to lead us but the soldiers, army and other state organs; all the state organs try to make the air in order to make the ruling party to be a leader to this country and not the decision of the society #30.56#**Interviewerin:** So they are under control of the ruling party. #31.00#**Befragte/r:** Yeah. #30.59#**Interviewerin:** And since you said that youth is a big group in the country, also as voters, do you think that they, somehow growing up in other circumstances than their parents did, have another view on politics? Because you said that the education of the citizens and that they know that they can vote for another party even if we have 50 years this one and the elder generation they learned that there is one party and this will bring change, now we can say there are three big parties. So do you think that the youth as voters have changed in what they think about politics? #31.52#**Befragte/r:** Yeah. #31.55#**Interviewerin:** So regarding this multiparty system and one party rule? #32.03#**Befragte/r:** I mean, changes have come through the youth. Before, as I told you, youth is the one among the tools which maybe the ruling party use them and then they try to give hope “When we are going to win, I will give you the employment”, you know? And some of them they try to force their mind to vote for the ruling party, even if they don’t want. But now, because of the education, and also their parents and also the creativeness of our leaders, the society understands, the youth understands even if there is a hope here when we are going to win- because this is not the previous election, the whole elections they give the youth hope that I’m going to do something but they use them and then they neglect. There is no anything to be happening to them. #33.25#**Interviewerin:** They promise and then- #33.30#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, they promise only. They promise only and when we are going to face another election the promise will come again. They take maybe two or three youths to the larger group of the youth they give employment and the other they neglect them, that is the promise. They try to build a hope that even if I missed to get this employment by now but the further election I’m going to win. They are going to be tools again. All they get the education every now “I’m a tool to this election, to that election” but nothing which is adverted to me I get. They understand and now when you go to the

youth they understand the ruling party uses youth as tools only and not otherwise. So they come and they want to meet with me, everyone now they call me “We have our group here, we want to meet with you, we understand that the ruling party they use us as tools, we want to meet with you and to talk with you in order to know that our benefit are the youth”. They understand and now we have a group of youth they understand even if not all of them maybe will get employment, other they will create themselves. Maybe not all of them they will get education, maybe the degree or maybe to give the loans from the government to them. They want to understand their right, they want to understand their benefit. If we are going to make a consensus to the benefit and to understand what is the ruling party doing and what are the opposition parties doing, the group of people will follow us, the opposition party, because they understand. Because we are going to educate them, they understand and they give education to their colleague. #36.20#**Interviewerin:** So it’s like if they are multiplications for other youth. Because they have their friends and they chat, do some blab la and- #36.35#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah. ((Lachen)) #36.36#**Interviewerin:** So for the next elections you are very positive in thinking of winning? #36.40#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah. ((Lachen)) I have the aim to go to be a candidate to the election and I’m going to start with the MP #37.00#**Interviewerin:** Sounds good. So during the election campaigns, what about money there? Because not only in Tanzania, but in a lot of African countries, money plays an important role during the election campaigns. #37.25#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, in Tanzania, the whole Tanzania. But Zanzibar (1) maybe is a middle but Tanzania mainland-. Because the ruling party uses a lot of money to give the individual person as a corruption, you know? “Take this”, maybe 5000 “and just elect me” ((Lachen)). Yeah, vote for me. But in Zanzibar here the situation is good and the money is a problem of the youth because, as you know, our parents started a lot of time earlier and they have their investment, but different for youth because we are starting. We create things to be our youth and the society; just to be a hope and not to use a lot of money to them. And I hope I’m going to win. #38.50#**Interviewerin:** Yeah. So as your colleague from- Because I was in the CUF headquarter at mainland and he said: “We tell the people during the campaigns “Take the money, take the t-shirt, take the cap and then vote for us.” #39.05# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, really, really. #39.07#**ÜbersetzerIn:** In the case of Zanzibar (,) you can take the money but they know that you are not going to vote for them. #39.12# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #39.12#**Interviewerin:** They know. Okay. #39.13#**ÜbersetzerIn:** People they have their own stand. So they try to drive you but they know that these people are never going to vote for them. #39.20#**Interviewerin:** Yeah, okay. So this is why it is not that huge aim here in Zanzibar. #39.27#**Befragte/r:** You know, at mainland education is (1)- I mean the civic education- #39.35#**Interviewerin:** Yeah, political education that they know what is politics and what are my rights. #39.39#**ÜbersetzerIn:** But naturally the background of politics in mainland is totally different from Zanzibar. #39.44#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, different. #39.44#**ÜbersetzerIn:** They have had different politics before. We’ve got multiple elections and they have got problems with the different parties but on

the side of the mainland they've got only TANU with them, the mentality is just one party. #39.47#**Befragte/r**: TANU, one party. Only. But in Zanzibar we started that (?) since 50s ((Lachen)). #40.07#**Interviewerin**: Okay, Professor Goran Hyden, a professor of political science from the USA, I don't know if you maybe know him and he said in 2006 that "Being part of the political opposition is a losing strategy." Would you say that this is correct? ((kurzes Auflachen)) #40.30#**Befragte/r**: Is a losing? #40.31#**Interviewerin**: Losing strategy. #40.32#**Befragte/r**: Is a losing strategy? No. ((Auflachen)) I mean the political party is not a losing strategy, it's a right strategy. Because when we go to stay with the ruling party only, one party only, I think there are some things you can't say within that party. To be a political party, to be an opposition party, you can say a lot of things "Oh Mr. maybe one among the leaders the ruling party is doing thing, thing, thing" You can say a lot of things but if you are within and maybe there is a lot of strategy inside there you can't say anything. #41.33#**Interviewerin**: But do you think this is because in Tanzania you have a strong opposition but he says this is in regard to Africa in general. Do you think that you are here in a special role within the African countries because all the others they don't really have these strong opposition parties that you have, like you are. Do you think that being in the opposition in African countries in general is a losing strategy because the ruling party always knows how to keep them small; not growing? #42.03#**Befragte/r**: In Africa in general I think- Because as I told you the people didn't understand, until now they didn't understand the word democracy and the whole general activities doing in the democracy. Sometimes when you tell the person that the doing of someone is right or not and you see that this is the wrong but the person tells you that this is the right way to do. Until now in Africa, general in Africa, and we can't take one country, but in Africa general, democracy is the losing. It is true. #43.15#**ÜbersetzerIn**: Let me add one the part that you say the opposition is a losing strategy. I don't think this is true because this year you have seen the election happening in Zanzibar. Who won? It was the Zanzibar opposition. I can tell what happened from Kenyeh, before this new what they call Mrembo who was in opposition of Kibaki that time. But let us take our case of Zanzibar. If someone wins by 50.1 percent and the other one got 49.9 percent; is this a losing strategy? No it's an advantage strategy. #43.47#**Interviewerin**: Yeah, as I said you have this strong opposition here but I think what he meant was that the ruling party in general always uses its own power to leave the opposition party- #43.55#**ÜbersetzerIn**: I Yeah, uses the power, influence **Interviewerin**: the growing up parties, small and destroy them. #44.04#**ÜbersetzerIn**: Yes, and divide them. #44.07#**Interviewerin**: So, that they don't have to be afraid to have a strong opposition. Okay. So, let us come to the point of young politicians. What would you say is the special role or function of young politicians? #44.32#**Befragte/r**: Functions? #44.33#**Interviewerin**: Yeah, what is their special asset as young members of the political arena? #44.39#**ÜbersetzerIn**: ((Übersetzt die Frage auf Swahili, verifiziert))**Befragte/r**: ((verstehender Laut)). It is true. To have young politicians in Africa, in Tanzania, is an asset because the leaders who are not young are going to become resigned because of their age

and what we are going to stand with is to develop, to give politics education to young and to grow with the politics and because, as you know in Tanzania, all the young, who develop to this politics are going to change. You see that there is some sort of change compared with this aged persons. So, I mean that to have young politicians is an asset. #46.06#**Interviewerin**: Because they, for example, bring new or different issues in politics and new problems that they hold like this ((hält die Hand wie einen Spiegel)) to the elders and say "Look here we have this problem". Is it like this? With all the young politicians? #46.30# **Befragte/r**: Young politicians, take for example from Tanzania mainland, all the problem, the problem of corruption, the problem of aged person leaders at the mainland, are revealed by the young and young stand and they say that this is one among the problem done by someone and this is the second problem done by someone. We have a lot of big sharks in corruption in Tanzania mainland and here in Zanzibar because the interest of youth is to be seen of the politics now and this interest no one talks to that interest. There is youth themselves reveal their interest that "we want to be this and we want to implement this". Even if aged persons try to say that "this is wrong, just wait, the time is not now" but we are going to stick with this because it is our interest and we are going to develop with this until it will be implemented by the government. #48.28#**Interviewerin**: But do you think that there are also young politicians that enter the political arena because of reputation and money? Maybe not in your party but there are also young politicians in the CCM. Why do they join that party? #48.44#**Befragte/r**: Because in the opposition party (,) this opportunity of getting lot money is not there. We are here for the benefit of the whole country and individual benefit as Abdul⁹⁹ (,) and this is my interest is to bring changes to all and not benefit for me and that's why I try to select the opposition party because I'm going to bring changes to the country and not for myself. As you see, I have nothing but I use my money to implement the party activities, the youth activities and not to take the money, that is maybe to the party, and to use for my benefit. #49.58#**Interviewerin**: The question is not only the case of yourself, the question is of youth in Tanzania weather from this party or another party, are they going into politics because of money, or reputation or what, in general. # 50.16#**Befragte/r**: Some of them ((lachen)) Some of them they are going for money and some of them they are going there for the freedom. #50.30# **Interviewerin**: So to serve the country? #50.32# **Befragte/r**: Yeah, to serve the country. #50.33# **Interviewerin**: Okay, and would you say that those who enter the political arena because of money they have to go to the ruling party because there is the money? ((Auflachen)) #50.44# **ÜbersetzerIn**: definitely. **Befragte/r**: Yeah, and we have a lot. We have our colleague in the ruling party and he told us ((verächtlicher Laut)) You are opposition party. You did not get anything from the opposition party- **Interviewerin**: Yeah, no cars, no houses. ((Lachen))

⁹⁹ Abdul ist ein Pseudonym, um die Identität der befragten Person nicht offenzulegen.

#50.58# **Befragte/r:** -because I have a luxurious car, I have a lot of money in the bag, I have- ((Lachen))". When somebody tells you "I have that things and that things, it gives you a feeling like "I'm here ((weinerlich gesprochen)). I've nothing", but I'm here for freedom that's the fight #51.26#**Interviewerin:** That is the money for you, you know? You have it in yourself. The satisfaction is not money but it's the work you are doing, the change you want. #51.40#**Befragte/r:** That's why I believe that one day I'm going to win. Yeah ((kurzes Auflachen)).**Interviewerin:** And you will be an MP and you will also have a car and- ((alle lachen)) #51.55#**ÜbersetzerIn:** He will have all the benefits.**Befragte/r:** Yeah, I will have all the benefits. #51.58#**Interviewerin:** So, what do you think about the other side, the elders, what is their feeling about youth and young politicians, especially young politicians? Do you think that maybe they are a little bit afraid of them because they think "Oh, this young politicians they are coming and catch my job and catch my money and what should I do when they catch my position as a leader?" #52.21#**Befragte/r:** This is the situation we have. ((kurzes Lachen)) This is the situation we have. The elders, one among the problems they have, is that situation. When you want to compete with them they come to tell you, even to give you money to- (2) #52.52#**Interviewerin:** to not compete, yeah. #52.54#**Befragter:** Yeah. But if they see that you are going to compete with them and that you have a large group of people behind you, they get shocked ((kurzes Auflachen)). Yeah, they get a shock and we have that problem, you see, that the young leaders they are a small group of people who come and develop but a lot of young leaders they are not developing to come in the position because of this problem. #53.43#**Interviewerin:** So, then the elders say "I give you a good job" and please don't compete with me. #53.48#**Befragte/r:** Yeah. #53.48#**ÜbersetzerIn:** I mean that happened in Tanzania, I can remember. Someone was given a car (1) because they were going for primary election, they are not (?). So he offered a car, he offered money about five million, 3000 US Dollar, and then you step down and then when the day of election was he said "I decided to remove myself". That is how it is going. #54.16#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, that is the problem we have in mainland and Zanzibar here. #54.21#**ÜbersetzerIn:** But that is mostly the ruling party system. #54.22#**Befragte/r:** And if you stand to compete with the aged, there is a bad campaign to you. #54.33#**ÜbersetzerIn:** Sometimes they can (advise?) you. **Befragte/r:** ((stark zustimmender Laut)). #54.35#**Interviewerin:** Okay. So, you have some young politicians that did like this, they challenged the elders of their party. Like Amina Chifupa, would that be a person of that you would say that you would do it the same way? "I would challenge the elders in my party." like she did or would you say that this was just too much what she did? To speak with them like this and to compete with the elders in the own party? #55.18#((**ÜbersetzerIn** übersetzt auf Swahili, verifiziert))**Befragte/r:** Yeah, this is a good question. If I will be there and this would be my position, I would try my level best to challenge the leaders that this is one among the things you are doing wrong. Amina Chifupa is the one among the youth who struggle (,) and I try to be like her, to challenge a lot of things, to make a research, to conduct a research to see

that this is the wrong and to reveal to the society. This is my will. #56.33#**Interviewerin:** Great. Okay, maybe a last question, is there any particular asset that the elders have, that you as young politicians would say you don't have? Is there anything that they are able to do and the young politicians are not able to? #56.59#**Befragte/r:** I can say that the elders, the aged, have the asset because they started a lot of time ago in the politics. But the younger politicians are growing and the asset, I think, even myself, I don't have anything. I compete to use my (?) and to give the society and to reveal the things which I saw are important to the society and to give the promise (,) only and not to use a lot of money, I don't have money to use luxurious cars like them, I don't have. But the promise will make me able to compete with the elders, to compete with the aged, but not other way. #58.09#**Interviewerin:** So you don't think that the elders have something that you as young politicians don't have? You have everything, all the competence and knowledge that they also have. #58.20#**Befragte/r:** Some of them they have no knowledge. #58.21#**Interviewerin:** So you are even better? #58.23#**Befragte/r:** Yeah. And, as I told you, the civic education is very low in our country, the whole country. But this takes a large part to Tanzania mainland but in Zanzibar for somehow. When you go to the society to tell that "I'm a degree level. I have a degree"; they don't want. Some of them they ask you about your level of education but some of them they don't want, they don't want, to tell that "I have degree", they don't want. They just want to know "Are you Zanzibarian?" and hear "I'm coming to you just to maybe take this position on behalf of you, to represent you to the organs and when you elect me I will come and implement this and this and this to you." Only promise to the young but some of the elders use a lot of money, they use the young. Also they use the young politician in order to make a (?) to him. #59.58#**Interviewerin:** To get the votes of the young voters they take a young politician, put him there ((zeigt nach vorne)) as some kind of cosmetic thing. ((Lachen)) #1.00.08#**ÜbersetzerIn:** This is a very good question because, as you said, most of the elders are well aged because they have been employed for long time, they benefit and all the things. But sometime they have got their properties, houses, farms and so, but they are willing to sell at the time they know "we are older", willing to sell this so that we can spend that money in politics. Which we youth we don't have, we started from the beginning, we started the long way. So the other thing they can use, as the elders, they can go and convince some family members. And then the elder people in the society come to you and talk to you. That is another asset they can use for them, for the elders. #1.00.57#**Interviewerin:** And do you both think that some kind of revolution like we had in the North African States could also happen in Africa South of Sahara? #01.01.09#**ÜbersetzerIn:** It can happen in some countries, not in all. But the thing is, what we have seen there is much different now. We have been doing this before but we ended up to be killed, beaten and taken for jail. The situation of Arab awakening is somehow different. If you look for the case for Bengali from Tunisia; he has been there from 1959, then the people they are tired and there won't someone fired himself and those young one said "No, enough is enough. We can do it." And because he was seeing the situation was starting

to be bad, when he ran away then the fire exploded to Egypt. And I was reading this story. When we started this youth mobilization, we started take a week but then we saw more youth was coming and more demonstrators- #01.02.07#**Interviewerin**: There was the need of it. #01.02.07#**ÜbersetzerIn**: So, they thought it will end up in one week but now it's going to take long and long. And we see the case that happened to Libya and now because Bengali left to Saudi Arabia, Mubarak stepped down and is now taken to court but then the case of Muhamad Ghaddafi, he didn't want, he was moved by force and he was killed. So the next will be Syria and Yemen, they are also worrying but they don't know the situation this is not the cause of youth only but the youth are starting to fight, ignite the fire but the whole mass of the people they are coming to support and at the end of the day they will be fighting. #01.02.46#**Interviewerin**: But the youth was the group that started and made all this organization via Twitter, Facebook, internet- #01.02.53#**ÜbersetzerIn**: Yeah, they are using social network, not like older. And the older they are supporting them, they are giving them food, I mean the people who are just sleeping over there in Tahrir Square in Egypt for 20 days, where did they get the food? Where did they get support? From their parents; they are bringing things. So the youth are the motivator but in the night they get different support from them. #01.03.23#**Interviewerin**: So you would say you can also have it in some country in South-**ÜbersetzerIn**: Yeah, I mean in some countries it can happen. There are some countries very dictatorial. I mean it could happen in Tanzania, especially in mainland site, I'm worrying. I'm worrying, it could not be resulted to be good but it can be making a big held. The similar case it happen in Uganda, okay? You see in the country of Sub-Saharan Malawi is at least a bit, they can achieve I think but it depends on the youth are working there but the Zimbabwe case is bad. Even youth is not a good advising. (1) Msumbiji is okay, they can achieve but they don't have much problems. So the case for Namibia somehow better. So that is for Sub-Saharan but if you go to the western Africa they can achieve as well. They have a lot of youth working. It's like in North Africa. #01.04.35#**Interviewerin**: Okay, I think that's it. Do you have something else you want to add regarding young politicians? #01.04.45#**Befragte/r**: Just I want to ask skills question. #01.04.48#**Interviewerin**: Yes.**Befragte/r**: You are one among the champion of young politician in your country?((unrelevantes persönliches Gespräch über Politik in Europa))**ÜbersetzerIn**: In Tanzanian politics most of youth who come to the politics are the one who are motivated or have just been grouped by university or higher institution. #01.07.06#((unrelevantes persönliches Gespräch))**ÜbersetzerIn**: We have the case here where parents are politicians, like Hassan (Nasonomoi?), and then they bring their sons and children to become in the politician in the future. #01.07.52# **Interview 5**Befragte/r 3 aus Interview 3 als ÜbersetzerIn anwesend. Da die Person auch zur Zielgruppe gehört, fand phasenweise auch eine aktive Beteiligung am Gespräch statt.**Interviewerin**: Would you first explain me how you personally entered the political arena, how you became a politician? #00.12#**Befragte/r**: Okay, I became a politician because, as you know, in Zanzibar we have a lot of historical matters concerning our country, there is the existence of

Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. So for me I think this ongoing Union is not fair at all. There is some change we need to see before we are going to (?) for the benefit of our social, society. So this is my first reason, because I want to see changes in particular Union matters and I think for any politician there is a development issue. So, I think when you compare with our resources that we belong in Zanzibar, this is not really the life that we are supposed to live. So, this are two issues, the first one is Union matters and the second one is the development issues. #01.34# **Interviewerin**: And when did you start engaging in political issues? At school, or at university, or when you already had a business? How long are you now in politics? #01.44#**Befragte/r**: I think it is since 2002 when I was at school, I was still young. But at that time it was not easy for me to engage in politics directly because I was a student and the political situation in Zanzibar was a difficult. I think you know. #02.10#**Interviewerin**: Yeah, I heard about it. #02.12#**Befragte/r**: The situation now is a cake compared to that time. But immediately after completing my A level education, it was 1999 to 2000, I started be elected as a secretary of youth council in my constituency. It was (Mambakumbi?), now it's Chumbuni electoral constituency. #02.56#**Interviewerin**: And this was your first real-Befragte: This was my first time to start in the political arena. #03.08#**Interviewerin**: And your political interest, does it come from inside you or do you have some kind of familiar background? That maybe your father or mother is also engaged in politics. #03.22#**Befragte/r**: It is my spiritual; it's not my family. You know, in Zanzibar there is a wide gap between those who believe in Civic United Front and those who believe in CCM. Unfortunately until when I decided to contest in 2010 a large number belonging to my family was CCMs. So it was my decision, not the family. If I would have decided to take advice from my family, it would not have been easy for me to decide to go to Civic United Front. It was my decision. I was the only first person in my family who decided to join CUF. #04.31#**Interviewerin**: So, I can imagine that this has been very difficult because your family didn't understand why you join the opposition party. #04.41#**Befragte/r**: They didn't understand, now they are understanding because a large number of communities now understand why we decided to establish CUF, why CUF is existing and what we expect through CUF, so people now understand. #05.09#**Interviewerin**: And the members of your family that are younger than you, that came after you, are they now more supporting the CCM or more the CUF? #05.15#**Befragte/r**: Most of the members in my family are older than me. Not the youngest but I have three younger brothers. #05.34#**Interviewerin**: And your brothers are they also interested in politics? #05.39#**Befragte/r**: No, no, they are not interested in politics. They are normal persons, they engage in economic activities. Most of them are civil servants. So it's not easy to show in directly in politics. #05.58#**Interviewerin**: I can imagine. You already told me that you want change and that is why you joined the CUF. What specific aspect of the work of this party catches your interest so that you say "This is why I am member of this party.". Is there something in the constitution? #06.35# ((ÜbersetzerIn übersetzt, verifiziert)) **Interviewerin**: Or is it the whole package?

Befragte/r: The question- Even if you ask me in Kiswahili is very difficult but okay- #06.59# ((ÜbersetzerIn übersetzt erneut, verifiziert))**Befragte/r:** I think I want to be different; I want to be different from those who became a leader in my constituency. I think CCMs, until now, I think this is a 47 years since CCM rules this country. If you go in many constituencies, not only my constituency, you can see there is a big gap between those who are leaders and those who are ordinary citizens. For example now in many constituencies, particularly in my constituency, we have a lack of water supply. So water supply is a big problem, not only in my constituency, but even in this country in large. So I think this problem will be solved, there is a possibility to solve it, because first of all you need to sit with your committee, constituency development committee, to see- I believe we have a lot of resources to utilize, to solve this problem. But the problem here is, I think, the self interest of many elected leaders. They are not there for the people. They are there in their own interest. So I will try to solve this problem for myself to be not a self interested leader but to be a social interested leader that is, I think, the only solution. #09.13#**Interviewerin:** So, it's not the more liberal orientation of the CUF that catches your interest, it's more that you are in the opposition and have the chance to be different from the ruling party #09.29#**Befragte/r:** Yeah. #09.30#**Interviewerin:** That's interesting. And what do you think which role does politics play for everyday life, for the normal Zanzibarian people? Does politics influence their everyday life and how? #09.46#**Befragte/r:** Politics influence the daily life because poverty here is politics. If you mean to get breakfast, this is politics and that is true because we elect you with a lot of reasons that you promise us. So it depends on your facilities. So you can't differentiate between the daily life and politics. Politics is their bread. #10.22#**Interviewerin:** And is there one example you could give how your personal work influences everyday life? Some kind of project you make? #10.24#**Befragte/r:** My personal life, I think, is influencing the society because I have never been employed by government. My life has engaged on activism, I'm a young activist. So I believe in independent life, not depending on the government employment. Most of us in Zanzibar, especially the one who maybe just finished the degree, they believe the government will employ them to support their daily life. So I'm different from those who believe the government will provide resources to them or kind of employment. So since I completed my A level education in 2000 I tried to organize myself to establish youth organization. Through this youth organization, we plan different projects and we implement and we get a lot of resources from different organizations, internationally or internally. And through that we get some opportunity to support our life. So, I think such kind of activities has influence on my society. #12.15#**Interviewerin:** So, this is some kind using the own hands to bring change to your life and to the life of other people. Not sitting there and waiting for the government helping but doing it on your own. #12.26#**Befragte/r:** Yeah.**Interviewerin:** And that is how you would say that all these projects you make with youth is helping them to be strong- #12.40#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, it's helping to be strong. For example, now I'm project manager for one project which is supported by

ICAT, International Center for Aids Care and Treatment Program, at the Columbia University. The project is a project of supporting rehabilitation service to those who are addicted by drug substances. So we have a lot of successful stories of this project, particularly on young people, we support our fellow young people to be free from using drugs. So now we have a large number of those who became free from using the drugs through our project and through our rehabilitation centers. #13.49#**Interviewerin:** Sounds great. So, maybe we can come to a more general level. Democracy, would you please explain me what this word means to you personally? #14.02#**Befragte/r:** For me democracy is just to allow people to participate in electing those leaders who they believe that will make changes to their social development. That is how I believe democracy is. #14.33#**Interviewerin:** So, on this electoral level. This is democracy for you? That you have the freedom to choose, or to vote for the person that you want to see as a leader of the country. #14.48# **Befragte/r:** Yeah.**Interviewerin:** And if you would have a scale from one to ten and one stands for not important and ten stands for very important, what would you say how important is democracy for a modern state? #15.20#**Befragte/r:** Democracy is very important in the modern world. Particularly in this kind of life that we live now because, you know, there is a prevailing of changes, particularly in the Middle East, Tunisia, Libya. So I think that change is happening because people like that change to be happening. So, democracy is a decision of the people. So, I think democracy is number ten. #16.34#**Interviewerin:** So, you say that ten is what a modern state should have and the other question is what do you think where is Tanzania now? #16.40#**Befragte/r:** Yes, I think is number five. #16.45#**Interviewerin:** Okay, so you made half the way ((kurzes Lachen))**Befragte/r:** Yeah, half the way. That is really what I think. #16.47#**Interviewerin:** And what do you think, the next elections, where will you come? Because you had four elections now since the multiparty system started and it got better with every election, you were first maybe one, and then three and now five. Do you think that the next elections will be a further step towards ten? #17.16#**Befragte/r:** In terms of full democracy I think the next election will be (1) better compared to those we had before. Because now we are in the same country, we are in the same government. So, we enter our hands there, so that there is some benefit for us and also benefit for those who always want to see there is a fair and free. So, to some extend 2015 election will be free and fair, to large extend compared to those we had before. #18.04#**Interviewerin:** Is this also because the opposition is getting stronger? Would you take care of that elections being free? #18.15#**Befragte/r:** Yeah.**Interviewerin:** And as you are stronger now than before you have the chance to do so. #18.19#**Befragte/r:** I'm stronger now because I hope this government will do well until '15. So to do better in this government now that is the way that we believe, we CUF, we are going to better election. If we will be done wrong, that is a bad situation for us to succeed. #18.55#**Interviewerin:** And what do you think about young people as voters? When the election time comes and you make your election campaigns how do you try to get these young people as voters? (2) Do you go there and talk to them? #19.06#**Befragte/r:** Yeah, we talk to them but there is a

normal habit that most of young people believe. Most of young people believe to their fellow young candidates because young people act as a peer to young people. So they understand themselves, they understand their requirement, they understand their believes. For me as a young person doing the contest of election it is easy to meet my fellow young people in campaigning. It is easier compared to elders. Elders always don't understand me. #20.05#**Interviewerin**: And for the elders it's maybe more difficult to get in contact with the young ones. #20.11#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, yeah.**Interviewerin**: To come to the more general political environment in Tanzania. What do you think about the young politicians? What is their special asset? #20.31#**Befragte/r**: The asset of young politicians in Tanzania; I think their age is an asset. Because it is not normal in Tanzania for young people to be candidate in general election. So, if you are a young person and you decide to contest, that is your asset, your age is your asset, that is the first one. But the second one is you have energy to struggle for election. Because you have energy, not resources, but, as I told you, your age is an asset, so this is an asset too. Even though you have not enough resource but you have resource because of your age. #21.37#**Interviewerin**: Okay, I understand. And would you say that this is because you grew up in other circumstances than the more aged ones? Because you know you grew up after Ujamaa and in a more globalized world and you used different kind of communication networks, like the social networks in the internet. Do this plays a role? #22.27#**Befragte/r**: Okay, we live in a globalized world but for the case of Zanzibar globalization is just a word, not a practice. So we still use the historical communication system because not many young people are engaged in globalization issues, particularly in social networks, internet. If you go around in Zanzibar and you have the opportunity to meet with a graduate person, I mean first degree, a person who just finished first degree, for most of them, maybe 80 percent of this young people who just finished the undergraduate education, it is very difficult for them if you ask them question to tell you something about globalization and the social networking story. #23.45#**Interviewerin**: Yes but I think you have television, you have media, you have newspapers and somehow people, maybe not those who finish the first degree, but those who have the second degree, they know more about global stuff than the elders did because they just did not have the media and you have a free media here in Tanzania. So, they get more information than their elders did and my question is if you think that this plays a role in what they think about politics? #24.33#((ÜbersetzerIn übersetzt Frage, verifiziert))**Befragte/r**: Facebook is not familiar even to those who completed first degree but television in Zanzibar is very famous because Zanzibar has a historical development of television. Yeah, television and mobile phones. #26.22#**Interviewerin**: And if this is not the main reason why youth is more engaged in politics than maybe their parent were, what do you think why this changes that youth stand up and say "I have rights and I want you, the elders, to listen to me and hear what I am saying and what my problems are.". Because there is some kind of change, isn't it? #26.35#**Befragte/r**: Mhm, yeah, there is some kind of change. #26.36#**Interviewerin**: So what is the reason? #26.42#**Befragte/r**: I think the reason here is a

historical background because earlier, during struggle of independence and immediately after independence, there were some cases of young people who participated fully in democratization. I think you know Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, he was still young, he was the former OAU secretary in Zanzibar and many other. But immediately after independence there was the distortion of young people because they told them "You are not ready to engage in politics. Politics is a danger for you. Politics is not easy." Such kind of words. So it is very difficult now to mobilize these young people again in democracy because they grow with the idea that politics is the work of our elders, not young people. So, to participate well there is a need of mobilization. We are mobilized by the situation and we mobilize our fellow young people to participate. So, I think after five or ten years the situation of politics, particularly for young people, will be good. #28.35#**Interviewerin**: And have you personally ever issued with elder members of your party because of your age? #28.40#**Befragte/r**: Yes, exactly; even myself in the process of contesting. I think you know we start with the lower grassroots of nomination process. So there are many elders there who stigmatized me because of my age. So, it was very difficult. Even during the campaign it was very difficult for me to get support from elders. They believed I'm not the right person to candidate against the CCM candidate because I'm still young. I don't have power. But the result after election was good. #29.49#**Interviewerin**: And what did they say then? #29.50#**Befragte/r**: They are happy and the idea of age is no longer there now in the level of my constituency, I don't know other constituencies. #30.08#**Interviewerin**: So, you don't think that the older politicians are maybe afraid of the younger ones that they come and take their positions? So that the older politicians are afraid of the younger ones growing up and pushing them out of their positions. #30.31#**Befragte/r**: That is right. The elder they are afraid particularly of their position. Even in my party, the elders are not happy to see me and other young politicians, yeah. #30.51#**ÜbersetzerIn**: Let me give you an example, the man that came in here ((kurz zuvor hat Person kurz den Kopf zur Tür reingesteckt)), for the first time now he became a member of representatives, but he is in the political party since it has been started 1992, but now become a public enemy within the party because they know him, he has come to take the post of power from them. So all elder people don't like him and now he is deputy secretary general of the party. Whatever he has done a lot for the party but they are still feared of him and they say always "That's the one who is leaving ((mit hoher, pipsiger Stimme gesprochen))". #31.30#**Befragte/r**: Even today he has a lot of problems with the elders in this party but he is still struggling and he will win because he is still existing. (2) And he will never forgive (,) because we know him, he is a strong man. #31.46#**Interviewerin**: And if you would come into some kind of issuing with elders, would you go in confrontation with them? Even if this would mean something bad for your personal career? Or would you then say "Okay no, I won't ask these questions anymore if you don't want me to ask this". Because in your country you have some young politicians who did like this, one example is Amina Chifupa, she challenged the elders in her party. So if you would be in a situation like she was, would you do the same or do you think that she

has gone too far? #32.32#((ÜbersetzerIn übersetzt, verifiziert))**Befragte/r**: I think I will go more far than Amina Chifupa did because Amina Chifupa was beginning; beginning is very difficult because now we talk of a different situation. The situation during the time of Amina Chifupa was very difficult compared this time. Time now is better compared to Amina Chifupas era. So we hope to go more far than Amina Chifupa. #33.20#**Interviewerin**: Okay, and you would do this even if this means for you personally that the elder in your party will be angry about what you do. You will do it because you believe in it? #33.31#**Befragte/r**: Yeah. #33.33# **Interviewerin**: You have to have a strong mentality to do this because I can imagine that it is not easy to even have people in your own party who don't like you and the stuff you do. So this is a really big challenge for one person. #33.55#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, that is a big challenge for me but it was a big challenge earlier when I did not start one step. But for this time the challenge is not big for me because I know the people in the party and I know their technique, just bla bla, but you go through. #34.21#**Interviewerin**: Yeah, but you have to know this first. #34.22#**Befragte/r**: Even the case of that man Mr. (Djuza?). If he hesitates only bla bla, ((verächtlicher Laut)), he would have had another way then now, but the way is right for him. He is deputy now. #34.43#**Interviewerin**: And do you think there are also young politicians who won't go this way, that would say "Oh no, I don't want to have confrontation with the elders of my party. I do what they say." And then they say "Oh you are a good one. Here you have a car or a house or a good salary" or something like this. Is there also this type of young politician generally in the country? #35.15#((ÜbersetzerIn übersetzt, verifiziert))**Befragte/r**: In 2010 when I've contested in my constituency my opposition candidate was a minister, so I had some challenges of briberies in that challenge but I was still strong because I'm a poor but I have some kind of opportunities to get satisfaction; at least to get my own food. So that is not easy, I know where I want to go is not easy for me. If you provide me with millions of dollar, it would not be easy because that will be shameful to me, finally will be shameful. We have a case study of the House of Representatives of an earlier election, Salum Saba was the first candidate to contest for CUF in Stone Town constituency but he was not a strong young person. He had such challenges- #37.50#**ÜbersetzerIn**: He was very young and it was the first time he got this opportunity but then he messed it up after two years. He was manipulated working together with the ruling party, we don't know what happened, (?) so he destroyed the image of the young by that time. #38.10#**Befragte/r**: And that is a case study of how always remembers him. #38.14#**ÜbersetzerIn**: But again, let me explain about himself, the question of him. He was challenging the minister, can you imagine? He is just youth. The minister is rich, he is poor. The minister can use influence of the government, he has nothing. The minister came from the ruling party, he is from just opposition. So you see the difference? And the minister was a member of parliament for the same constituency before. So you see this difference. You can notice now how youth can be accepted in that area. Who is the minister? He is older than him but why could he have all these incentive instead of him, challenging him. And if could be free and

fair election, more could have won. #39.07#**Befragte/r**: He sent a lot of messengers to me to try to bride me. He promised me a lot of millions of money. That is true. #39.17#**Interviewerin**: Yeah, but you are a strong man, you said no. But do you think there are other young politicians who would say "Yes, give me the millions and I won't be engaged in this." Do you think that these kinds of politicians do also exist? #39.20#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, there are some other, but people are different. #39.49#**Interviewerin**: But one can't say that every young politician is a strong one and- #39.52#**Befragte/r**: Because many politicians in this era are there because they want to gain something, not support people. So, it is very easy for them to take something. #40.12# **Interviewerin**: Yeah. So, it's another motivation; they enter the political arena because of getting money and stuff like this and you enter political arena because you want to have change and to work for the country. #40.28#**Befragte/r**: Yeah. #40.28#**Interviewerin**: Last question, do you think that there is something that only the elders have, they have as their special asset that the young ones do not have? #40.49#**Befragte/r**: The age. I mean resources; many, many elders have a lot of resources because before contesting they were ministers, they were directors. #41.21# **ÜbersetzerIn**: (?) **Interviewerin**: So do you think that the elders are more involved in corruption than the younger are? Or is there no difference? #41.35#**Befragte/r**: ((kurzes Auflachen)) **ÜbersetzerIn**: No, that's a very good question. I mean this is a very technical question because tendency shows that this people have been living in corruption for long time but doesn't stop the younger one to take corruption because even the younger one think this is a opportunity now. And maybe this tendency is because they think "our elders do it, why don't we do that?" But this question is defined on individual basis. But if you take in general, of course you can say that the elders are more corrupted than the younger. #42.15#**Befragte/r**: There are some elders who are corrupted and some young people. It depends on the personality. #42.24#**Interviewerin**: Okay, but due to the elders had more jobs maybe they have the chance to gain more money and put it on the side- #42.46#**Befragte/r**: Yeah. #42.46#**Interviewerin**: Okay, I think this is all I wanted to ask you. Is there anything you would like to add regarding his whole young politician issue? #42.59# ((ÜbersetzerIn übersetzt)) **Befragte/r**: Those young people who decide to engage in politics, I think they need capacity building because if you decide to be a young politician, of course you decide to combat with the elders. Elders already have capacities, so you need capacity as young people. So, I think, capacity is obtained through trainings or other kind of trainings, or other exposures. #43.53#**Interviewerin**: So, this is a very important part of making young people able to be big and important persons in politics. #44.16#**Befragte/r**: Yeah, yeah. #44.17#**Interviewerin**: Okay, if there is nothing left. Thank you very much! #44.27# **Interview 6 Interviewerin**: Would you please explain me how you personally started being interested in the political arena and began to engage yourself here? #00:00:17-7# **Befragte/r**: Okay, actually I'm born in a family of single parents. By then my mum was a politician. She was once one of the local district leaders in my community. So, she was the first person who motivated me to be among the politicians and because I

saw her doing a lot of things for the people, rather than for herself and the family, that made me to think of people first and then me and all that. And I understand politics in my country is the one which runs all the programs, social, economic and all that. So, I was much more interested in the first time seeing my mum doing that things and then I said "Okay, it's a good thing doing things for the people" and then I started to be a leader in my secondary school education, then I went to university and people motivated me to contest for student representative council. I contested for student representative council and engaged myself in other nongovernmental organizations. So, from there on it was a bit politician and much more community development. #00:01:29-3# **Interviewer/in:** Do you think that the work of your mum has influenced your personal motivation to enter in this political arena most? #00:01:42-2# **Befragte/r:** That is what I think. Looking on the issues of politics for instance how I view -. In my second year at university I started taking community development more than the political arena issues because this was the first time I saw what politics is like and it was not what I saw when I grew up. When my mum was the court chairman of the wad I saw her doing a lot for the people and then I saw the people were happy for her; they were happy for her leadership. The time she wanted to go out they were saying "Can you more time?" and all that but then she said "Oh, I'm really tired. I can't do it anymore". I got older and I went to university and I saw the situation quite different because at this time I was able to evaluate more things and then I came to understand most of my political leaders including from the wad to the national, from the local to the national, are much more struggling rather than doing. The people who are doing much are the one who are engaged in the community development issues, nongovernmental issues, rather than political parties. So as they said the first objective was the political party is to get power, to get into power, and other things follow and as they said MP, Member of Parliament, their major role is to speak out for the people not doing for the people. So, you can see. I think my mum motivated me to do more rather than to talk more, so I felt at the first time to be a political leader later but then when I went to university I understood that I'm not too much in politics but rather much in community development issues. So, I believe I can be a leader but not a political leader actually. I can make development even if I am not a political leader. So, I think I was motivated but then I was discouraged by the situation that I came to see when I came to university and started to evaluate things more than when I was a young at secondary school and I believed it's the time of being an MP and being minister of a certain ministry in my country and be president, you know? But then coming to see the real situation and how people are doing there; you can be an MP but then you can't do anything to your people. So, I said "No, I have to be much more in nongovernmental organization in the country rather than political." But that does not prohibit me to discuss political issues and I think that this is one of the reasons why a person thought that you should come to me because I'm too much engaging in the discussion, the political discussion that is going on in the country. #00:04:41-6# **Interviewer/in:** And how did you find out-. In which situations for example did you find out that you don't want to be engaged in the political

arena directly as a politician? Was it that you met other politicians who had other aims than you would have? You know, for example only being engaged in politics because of money. #00:05:06-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, that is one of the reasons. Most people engage in politics because of money. As you can see in my country there is this movement of people saying to people with profession "leave your profession and go to politics" because their profession does not pay as much as the politics do. You can't find a person who has studied medicine, actually medicine is one of the courses in Tanzania that takes a lot of time, took a lot of energy, uses a lot of money to get into there. The other, like me, I have studied three years at the university but the medicine students study five years and then one year of intern. So, it's almost six years studying the first degree of medicine. But then at the end of the time they are paid little. While a case of three years "Oh I've studied. Oh, and if people are voting for me and I get the chance to get an MP, I get more money, maybe three, four or five times." Actually even ten times, for a person who has studied for a long period of time. So, people start leaving their profession and engaging themselves in politics because politics pays more rather than-. That is one of the reason but the other thing was- Actually I'm one of the member of the political party of my country, I'm the member of CCM. I hope you heard about CCM. #00:06:23-9# **Interviewer/in:** Yeah, for sure. #00:06:22-4# **Befragte/r:** Because I was elected actually and I was a member, people actually appointed me to be one of the leaders of that political party located at the university and then I said "Okay" and when you are a leader-. Sometimes when you are a member, you can't see much, but when you get to be a leader, you can see a lot more than being a member. So, when I got a leader I saw different things. I saw- And that's what hurts me - I saw how young people are corrupted by the highest level, the political leader in the national level. They corrupt them maybe to vote for them when they come to contest for presidential post or sometimes when some decisions are made in the political party so they can't be on the one side rather than other side. So most of the people for instance I've been with the leader, almost A leader (.) and then I can say almost six - I know because I was closed to them - They are on this person because this person has promised him or her "When you get out of university I will find for you employment" and all that. So, this people have been submissive to this political leaders because they know they need employment after finishing the study, I will need money after finishing the study. As you know youth is one of the marginalized groups in Tanzania. So, they are fighting, always fighting to get position, always fighting to get employment, always fighting to get money and all that. So most of people enter the politics but just few of them are really there to serve the people but most of them because politics pay more rather than other professions and at the end of the time they lose (?) and they don't serve the people, they don't serve the party and some problems. #00:08:31-9# **Interviewer/in:** And do you think this is the truth for all the parties, for all the young people engaged in political parties in Tanzania or are there some parties where there are more people that do it because of money because, I don't know, the party has more money than the others have or something like this. Or is it all the same in every party? #00:08:55-1# **Befragte/r:** That's different. For

instance in my party, as I said the CCM, that is the situation that I see. Coming to CHADEMA, how I evaluate CHADEMA, CHADEMA has a lot of followers who are youth. Actually, you know, politics is a game, we call it a game. So, whenever you speak something that touches people (,) everyone will follow you. So, all the CHADEMA speak the things that CCM do, that they think they are (exploiting?) the people, they are not doing that for the people and all that. But saying is one thing, doing is another thing. So that's why they get a lot of youth. But if people engage themselves to be a member of CHADEMA and being leaders it is because they know right now CHADEMA is one of the parties that is developing every day, is getting more followers every day, is competitive to CCM and all that. So, maybe on 2015, if I contest for CHADEMA, people vote for me more than the one contesting for CCM. So, it's all about getting to power rather than serving the people. I'm having a friend of mine, she is a girl, we used to be in politics together in university at the first time, were in the student representative council and she is now one of the highest leaders in the youth movement of CHADEMA and all that. So, one day we were talking and I was asking her "You say you guys are doing for the people. Then can you please list to me what you have done so far? You are claiming that you are among the people, doing for the people, this is people's power, we are doing the development for the people. You guys-" Actually she is always making jokes with me knowing that I'm not too much in CCM, that's why she is doing that. So I said "You are doing for the people, right? What have you done to people so far? Mention to me one, two, three, four and then I will say 'Okay you guys have done great'". But then when it comes to look internally about what she has done, it is all about speaking. "Yes, we have said about this, other MP have said about this and we have been doing that movement, the demonstration and all that." And I always say "Aha, the demonstration cannot help the people at the local level, cannot help the marginalized. Tanzanians living at the rural areas can you say how you're helping her. Right now is the time to do it directly to the people, not indirect to the people because indirect may reach in years and years and years after but if you do it directly, you can see "I have this person and she is moving or he is moving". So it's all about that, it's all about (money?), that's what I see. But the competition in one country, the youth competition in one country, in one party and other party is different. In the CCM there is a high competition and I believe CHADEMA now is almost to CCM, the competition is getting greater and greater. But to CUF I'm not so sure because if you are looking at the CUF many people associate CUF with religious movement and all that. So even if a person- For instance the guy- I don't know he is the secretary something, he was one of the leaders of the university, he was known by people that he was very brilliant, he can do things, people believed in him, but he got a chance to be a member of CUF, he contested for MP, people did not vote for him because of the party he is in. So, people associate CUF with Islamic religion and all that and maybe you know this movement of theorists and all that. Actually Tanzania they don't have terrorists but if you hear terrorist, terrorist and all that and this is much more of Islamic rather than secular. So this is a problem, for CUF I see there is no big competition because many

youth don't want to enter the CUF because of the people's perception and their own perception to CUF. #00:13:27-9# **Interviewer/in**: So, you think the decision for which person you vote depends on more the party than on the person. #00:13:42-0# **Befragte/r**: It's more to a party, then a person comes later after a party. For instance people entering into CCM and CUF and CHADEMA because they believe "If I'm in CHADEMA and this constituency, I will win; If I'm in the CUF in this constituency I won't win. So I'm not going to CUF- #00:14:08-8# **Interviewer/in**: because I want to win. #00:14:08-8# **Befragte/r**: I want to win, yeah. So, people are much more voting for political party rather than a person. That is the problem. If people could vote for a person, maybe Tanzania could not be where it is right now. So people are voting much to a political party, then the person comes after the political party. #00:14:31-2# **Interviewer/in**: You already told me that you are a member of CCM. Could you name why you joined this party and what caught your interest? Was it one or two leaders, was it the program, was it the orientation of the party? #00:14:50-9# **Befragte/r**: Actually, as I said, my mum was a member of CCM. So, I started like CCM before I like CHADEMA or CUF or other parties. And at that time when I was too much interested in CCM the CHADEMA and CUF were not as much as strong. Actually the CHADEMA was not strong; the CUF was the stronger party than CHADEMA. And then we have this history that it was NCCR-Mageuzi, then CUF and now it's CHADEMA. So it's like transformation from one party to another in being strong. So it was not that strong, the biggest party was CCM. I think I was interested at the first time because it's the biggest party and all that. When I came to university and people were saying "Why are you a member of CCM while you understand CCM has a lot of weaknesses." And my answer was "Give me another political party that does not have this kind of weaknesses, so that I can go to another political party." So I'm still in the CCM cause I don't see another political party which is stronger. People are saying CHADEMA is doing for the people and all that but, you know, when you are fooling people to be good for the people, when if you are coming to the inner things of the party, they have the same problems as the CCM has. And the friend, that I told you about, we used to discuss about it and I always tell her "The problem that we saying is because CCM is the oldest party, CCM is the biggest party, every person knows CCM and because it's in power. So, every weakness can be opened to people and people know that "Okay CCM has this and that and that." But you, you have this and that and that, so don't you think this are the same as CCM. And in the position you are now, what if you get into the position the CCM is? Like you are now in the power, you are now the biggest party as the CCM because CCM is in every region in the country, in every district of the country, in every wad of the country what if you get into there? Don't you think this problem will be this deeper than the CCM has." So, to me I think still I'm in CCM because there is no other party that I have ever seen that that can more to people than CCM. So the weaknesses in CCM are also in other parties and that is the problem. #00:17:39-0# **Interviewer/in**: Mhm, it's the same in all. #00:17:38-8# **Befragte/r**: And that's why I say I started being much more in community affairs development

issue rather than politics because what if I leave CCM, where will I go? So, I'm a member of CCM cause I want to make some decision and I believe changes start with one person. So maybe I will say "No" and another person will say "No" and another person will say "No". And then we could reach to the state, so it's a long process.

#00:18:09-0# **Interviewerin:** To come to the Tanzanian people in general. What do you think which role do politics play for everyday life? You already said that you want to serve the people and you want to help them but do you have examples of how politics directly influence their life? #00:18:31-0# **Befragte/r:** Making decision for a community that is the biggest thing because everything, every decision from the national level to the local level is made through the political arena. Like in the parliament, in the cabinet and all that. So, that is how they affect people directly. Tough sometimes- For instance in my country I always say "If we may reach an A here and people could do B and the government wouldn't say anything". So, sometimes we do things from nongovernmental organization issues. Like they say "We have the MDGs. We follow the MDGs." and all that. So, MDGs are aid and maybe within the MDGs which are aid you could find more than 20 development issues within them. So I'm dealing with development issues here but the politics affect people directly in the decision. Decision that say maybe we are now in A not in B and maybe the issues like demonstration. You see, we had people died in Arusha because of political decision. Some few make decision and the majority is affected. We see some other movements in my country, it's much more of political decisions rather than they could make a decision at all and it's because the decisions are made in the cabinet and the parliament and judicature. So, where are the economic people in this? Okay we have adviser, we have all that, but then the decisions are made in the parliament. This law is made in the parliament, everything is made in the parliament; the budget, the strategic plan of the year of the certain ministry are organized in the cabinet "I'm the minister, I organize this and I'm going to present this in the parliament". And that MPs, member of the parliament, are voting for or voting against it and then that is the strategic plan of the country for the next year. So the decisions that (are made there?) influence almost everything in the country. So, I think the decision they make affect people directly. #00:20:58-0# **Interviewerin:** But do you think that all the people in the country are aware that the people they vote for make the decisions and this decisions influence their life? You know, do you think that they are aware of this circle? #00:21:13-5# **Befragte/r:** No, one of the challenges-. That's why I always tell the people that we don't have free- maybe we have a free but we don't have a fair election. When we come to talk about democracy it's a broad theme. When you come to talk about the fair elections it's about me knowing that a good leader is having A, B, C, D and if you come into contest for the certain post, then I can know your past, I can know that you have A, B, C, D and this have A, B, C, D and others have A, D, C, D and this is saying A and someone A and someone B and C and then I say "Okay, I listen to this and this" and then I'm choosing B, that is fair actually. Because I understand everything that you guys are saying and I certainly choose a member of CCM because I know this is what I want. The other problem is

that people don't have a civic education. The majority of Tanzanians doesn't have a civic education and the major voters of Tanzania are youth and women and they do not have a clear civic education. I always say to my fellow civil society members that we always sing the song of civic education when we are approaching the election (1) but that is not enough. Educating people about the civic education is all about their live for five years, it's not about one month or two month when we are in the campaign for election and you are telling the people about the civic education. This is like a socialization process; you have to make people understand what is a good leader, what is going on if I choose an MP, what is the role of an MP; If I'm choosing a chairperson of the ward or whatever, what is the role of that chairperson in my community? What if she or he does not believe on what I'm supposed to do and all that. But we always sing this song when we are approaching two month to the election and at the end of the time people are confused about what is a good leader and what is a personality of a person. I can be a good person, I can be good looking and a good speaker, but not a good doer, I'm not a good follower of what I'm doing. So, that is the challenge. So, I believe (1) most of the Tanzanians do not have a civic education and we always say that but I don't know what is wrong that's why some other people are saying "Even the civil society organization doesn't do what they are supposed to do in Tanzania" because there are much more of (?) but now we are having elections and then we are talking about election and now we have this and then we are talking about this. So, it's a problem. Actually talking of fair elections in Tanzania- We still do not have fair elections. To me fair election is that people have a clear education and they understand what is in democracy, what is a good leader, what is in the whole process of election to the process of being in the parliament for five years, being in the power for five years and all this. So, for me still we do not have a fair election and people do not choose because they are sure like you can do that for me. So, other people say "Okay, let me vote for her so that she can go and get money and satisfy herself." She can go and get money and satisfy herself, so sometimes people believe "If I am voting for you, I'm give you a food" and not "I'm giving you a chance to go and serve yourself but then you serve me too". So, that is the problem. #00:24:54-0# **Interviewerin:** And how do you think can you handle this problem of money involved in the election campaigns? You know this going to people saying "Here you have a t-shirt and some money and vote for me". #00:25:07-9# **Befragte/r:** One of the things is to first educate people. As I said we should stop doing a seasonal education, a civic seasonal education to people in my country. Like when we are approaching the elections then we come tell the people "Stop taking money" while for five years we did not tell him. As you said, money can influence a lot of things. If I'm putting 5000 here and someone says "Don't take it." while your kids, your family doesn't have anything to eat from morning and I'm telling you "Don't take it" and I am telling now and want to enter in head it's a problem. As I said, it's a socialization process. If I'm telling you from maybe 2010 when we were doing the general election and I continue with the movement of educating people about the civic education, about how to choose a good leader, how can

your leaders make decision, even if you don't give me 5000 I elect you today and if you don't deliver for two month, three month we can take you out and all that. You educate people on how they can make movement in their own community, starting from them then to the leader. I believe then we end the process of money related thing on the election, the corruption issue. But if we do not educate people and they are suffering of hunger and all that and you come to tell the people "Don't take the money" this is far impossible. #00:26:39-0#

Interviewer: But do you think it might be a solution to tell the people to take the money, take the money but then make your own decision. #00:26:44-4#

Befragte/r: Take the money and then not make your own decision. Actually that is one of the things people have been told but, you know, in African countries most of the things I have learned have to do with the culture. In Swahili people are saying "Kupeana na kiko", it's like two way traffic- #00:27:13-1#

Interviewer: Mhm, okay, so if you give me something I have to do what the other person expects me to do. #00:27:19-0#

Befragte/r: Actually it's not much what he is expecting but what I think can satisfy the other person. So, it's like now I'm having a problem and I need 200 Tanzanian shilling and you give me 200 Tanzanian shillings. Even if tomorrow I give you 10.000 Tanzanian shilling that is not to pay the 200 shillings that you gave me today (.) because at that time I was having a problem and if I could not get that 200 then maybe I could be in big troubles. So, at that time when I do not have and you give me that means a lot to most of African cultures. So, it's like a two way track, if I give you something then it's just an must that I have to pay her back but not actually not paying back because I cannot pay what she gave to me. So, even if you are telling people, like they were told last election "Take the money, don't vote for them" - that was one of the biggest movements that was going - But then after the time the person who gave more got elected. We are not so sure if it's about people feeling, as I said, the African culture, or it's the best person they saw. So, the problem is, as I said, culture and coming to the democracy issue and culture issue that's why I said we have to educate people to make their right decision, not to influence with goods, not influence with religion, not influence with all the causes. But the last election there was this kind of SMS going to people like "Don't vote for this person, he is Christian.", "Don't vote for this person, he is Muslim.", "If you vote for him you won't serve the Muslim people, you will serve the Christian", "the Muslims are bad people", "the Christians are bad, they bring terrorists", so this kind of messages and there are people who voted because of religious issues. #00:29:36-9#

Interviewer: This was the Igunga election? #00:29:42-2#

Befragte/r: No, the general election last year. I'm one of the people who got an SMS. I'm Muslim and I got a message from a class made of secondary school- #00:29:57-5#

Interviewer: ah, so people send it to friends or to people they know. #00:30:00-0#

Befragte/r: Yes, to people they know and friends. #00:30:03-0#

Interviewer: Aha, I thought it was some kind of spam SMS. **Befragte/r:** Actually there was a spam SMS in the last 2010 elections about Dr. Slaa, the contested of CHADEMA, that he is bad and all that. But the first time people believed this SMS came from CCM while other say this SMS came from themselves. This is the political game that makes people

think that CCM is bad, doing that, have this kind of things, so I cannot vote for CCM who are too much of religious issues or too much of tribal issues. So, it was like a drama, we did not even get the clear answer who sent the SMS about that person. That was a spam SMS. But then there are all this SMS from friends and family. A person sends you an SMS "Hey, my fellow Muslim, I'm just reminding you of the words of good and do that and that. So, you should not elect this person who is coming from Christians. He can serve the Christian. So vote for this person" And it was not just any Muslim, for instance my SMS did not come to vote for Mr. Jakaya Kikwete, who is a Muslim by nature coming from CCM, it was for Ibrahim Lipumba, who is a member of CUF. And you can say for this Muslim that Mr. Jakaya Kikwete he is the Muslim but then CCM is Charge something Movement, it is not Chama Cha Mapinduzi, no it's Charge bla bla Movement, so you should not vote for this, it's a charge thing. So, there are those things and cause dealing with people's emotions and all that can drive them more crazy than dealing with the mental issues. So, sometimes people vote for the religious issues or sometimes use tribal affairs, it happens. #00:32:25-4#

Interviewer: So, let's come to a more general aspect. You already spoke a bit about democracy but would you please tell me what this word means to you personally, democracy. #00:32:34-2#

Befragte/r: Okay, democracy to me it means, as Abraham says, of the people by the people and for the people. That by, for and of means a lot. I have to come to the people and ask for vote and after asking for vote, you people decide if you choose me without any influential thing like money, religious, all that, but seeing that I can serve you. So, there comes the issue of civic education. You understand that I have more focusing on development affairs, so you see that this person can serve you. And then it's about me going to the process and stand for my people. It's not like other MPs, member of parliament, in Tanzania who work for almost five years, they did not come to people, they make decision and suggestion in the parliament without getting back to the people. There is this decision that they will be mad in the coming parliament message then I get back to my people that it's A, B, C, D, this is advantage, this is disadvantage, I get expert and I talk to my people in this thing that is A, B, C, D. So when you choose A, you cannot get B, C, D and maybe the community will be (?) that it is not about the political party anymore, it's about the people now. So telling the people the right thing and you listen to people "Do you want this A or do you want this B or C?" When I get to the parliament then, I stand for the people. And then I say "No, my people are saying C because I understand my community doesn't have A, B, C, D. Because for the community development I studied sociology, we studied about community development theme. So we believe that people themselves know what they want. So, you get into the parliament and you tell the parliament "I'm standing for C because this is what my people want." And then it's not just saying standing for C to be achieved, that is democracy to me. #00:34:52-6#

Interviewer: And in a range from one to ten where one stands for „not important" and ten stands for "very important". What do you think, how important is democracy for a modern state? #00:35:05-9#

Befragte/r: For the modern state I think democracy- for the young and developing countries

I can give six. Why do I give six and take out four? Because we still have this religious thing, we have tribal things, though not too much in Tanzania but still we have that, we have the groups of who have, who have not, we have the group of educated, not educated, we have class of workers and (?), we are too much divided by the nature itself. So, right now we need a leader who stands for the people who makes sure that we move from where we are to where do people want to be, to were the community want to be, were do we want our community to be. So sometimes we have to use force to make people study, like you know we have this culture like a woman cannot study, the issue of women inequality, gender inequality and all that. So, "A woman cannot study, a woman cannot lead, a woman cannot do that" So, sometimes it is not much more about democracy because democracy is making decision of what I want. Sometimes I have to force you to take your children to school, sometimes like for Massai it's not about studying it's about taking care of the cattle. So, sometimes I have to force you to take your kid, doesn't matter it is a boy or a girl, to go to study rather than taking care of the cattle. You can take care of your cattle by yourself or the cattle can be taken care after the children have gone to school. So, sometimes it is not about your decision to do what you want, what you think is right for the community or what you think is right for yourself and your family but is much more of the state because if I tolerate what you are doing then we could not reach what we want to. It's not your decision in the family, it is at first the national. Things affect the state, so sometimes I think we need democracy as the larger part because democracy is the best thing. If my country will have 50 percent of the people educated I could say we need democracy rather than the state. But right now we have very few percent of people who have gone to school, very few percent, less than 10 who got a university education. So, it's still much more of the state first, then we can take the democracy. We need democracy 60 percent because democracy is one of the things that can help us develop as well but then sometimes most of the decision, due to facts like I said before, we need to force them to do most of the development issues for the success of the family, for the success of the national. #00:38:24-8# **Interviewer:** Okay, so, six by now. And for the future ten? #00:38:27-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, for the future I will give ten because if people understand, civil educated, that it is not about them. It's not about you making decisions for us, it's about us making decision for the community. So, right now we are not educated. I got the chance to go to university and I got back to my village and I think my fellow girls they still use their female genital mutilation and all that but my community is saying "It's not bad. We have been doing that for almost a hundred years. Why are you telling that this is wrong?" But while I see my fellow girls are dying, I see all the negative things that have been brought by FGM in my community. Then if I'm listening to people then I'm destructing my community, I 'm destructing the nation as well. So sometimes it's about making decisions for people while there are things where people have to make decision for themselves, for now. But when you go to the range later, I say a lot of people educated, understand what they want, understand what the community wants, understand their role and the rule of the leader in the community, I believe we'll need ten.

#00:39:49-4# **Interviewer:** Yeah, just needs some time maybe. You are a young democracy. Okay, maybe let's come to this aspect of which I'm especially interested in, the young politicians. What do you think are the special assets of young politicians? Special functions and what can they do what for example the elder ones can not? #00:40:29-1# **Befragte/r:** Actually if you are looking at the political system right now, looking at the parliament right now, you can see that the active members of parliament are the youth, the young people who are in the parliament. Those are the active ones. The one who are talking, the one who can make decision, the one who can get back to the people, the one who can do that and that and that are the young politicians. It's not about the oldest one, it's not about the one who has been for 20, for 30, for 10 years in the parliament but it's about the people who entered like- Now we have a list, we are almost having- I don't know if we have reached 20 young politicians, like to us youth range from 15 to 35, so I'm talking of the 15-35 aged. #00:41:22-2# **Interviewer:** Yeah, I mean the young politicians are up to 40 years. So- #00:41:28-9# **Befragte/r:** Okay, so to 35 I'm not so sure if we reach 20 members. Though we have 300 and something members of parliament but we are not even 30 out of us. But then they are the one who are making the parliament itself active. It's not about them being active, I mean making the parliament itself active are the young people doing that. So, I think the issue is because they are from the community. They feel like they will leave more in the community rather than the older one. You know, even though I do not know when I will die. When will I die? But with that feeling "I'm young" I can say more rather than a person who is older than me. I think this is one of the things and because they want to be more in this political, I believe that "I'm not only here five years, or for ten year. I will be here for maybe 20 years in this political arena." Then I want to serve for the people, I want to do so that the next time when I go to people they vote for me, the next time I go to people they vote for me, the next time I go to people they vote for me. But it's not the thing of that member of parliament itself but also believing that I won't be just a member of parliament. Maybe I will be minister, I will be president, I think it's all about the dreams, the visions that people have, this young people have to the community, to the later years that influence their decisions in the parliament. It influences what they are doing in the parliament. For instance, when you are looking at the people like for instance (1) someone like General Magamba, who has been in the parliament for the first time but then- He is very active, he is coming from CCM. You look at a person like John Mnyika, coming from CHADEMA, he is very active and every person is saying "Wow, that is the leader we want in our community". We are looking on a person like Halima Mdee, this is the second time for her to be in the parliament, but then the first time she was just because of special seat, the one who are appointed by the party and she delivered more and came to contest, better contest and then be elected by the people, a young woman being elected is another thing. So, people must have felt that "You did deliver that's why we can vote for you." Convicting people, starting to neglect their culture, starting neglect what they heard about women, starting neglecting the movement that are going and saying "No, even though you are saying we cannot believe in women,

I can choose this woman to leader." So, actually the young people are the one who are making the parliament active and they are very active in the parliament themselves. #00:44:21-0# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that maybe the different environment in which the young politicians grew up- You know after Ujamaa, within a more globalized world and so on- Do you think that this also influences the fact that they are getting a more stronger group and that they raise their voice and say we want this and we want this- #00:44:48-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I'm common. For instance there is someone like Kapula who is 20 something, I don't know if he is 25, he is younger than 25 years, 26 I think and he is the youngest politician in Tanzania and maybe he was born under Ujamaa but when he grew up and started having an active mind, knowing what is going on he was not in Ujamaa, he was in another system that we have right now. So, it's about reading the history, understanding the history, like right now we can see every person says "Mwalimu Njerere, the late father of this nation, (builder of the nation?)" under Ujamaa policy and all that. People want Ujamaa but they cannot turn back to Ujamaa but they wish Ujamaa could be here. So, it's about reading the history, understanding what did people get as a sign. After him there came Mwinyi the second president, what did he do? And Mkapa what did he do? And now Kikwete what does he do? And the CCM and all that and the people are starting saying "No this is not fair. We are losing the track, were we go we will lose the truck." And the main issue is life expenses, raise of life expenses and all that and people are still poor. The income is very low but the expenses are high. So, coming to the CCM for instance, during Mwalimu Njerere it was free social services but now it's not free social services and the government is saying "We are building the hospitals, the schools in every ward. So the students can study, the people can get services in their ward". But then the other thing is the quality of those schools, the quality of those hospitals, dispensary in the local areas. What is the quality? So, for instance people were arguing like "We got the award for achieving the universal primary education thing" and the people were asking like "Actually getting the award of having a lot of ward secondary schools while the students are failing and failing and failing, they don't get a right education at the time. What is the use of that?" The UN gives us the award that we did a lot to the education but then coming to the country itself it's a challenge. And people were saying like a person finishing the (?) secondary education and doesn't even know how to read, a person studying at the secondary school is sitting down and all that. So, sometimes - You could see most of Tanzanians are coming from the poor class of people; very few are coming from the middle class of people. So, even the members of parliament themselves most of them are coming from the poor, but then when you are used to have money and you are used of being in the middle class and that for a long period of time, you are starting to forget the lower class, you know? So, this young people still have the feeling of "Oh my god, I was starting in this situation, to other situation, to other situation. I can know people being in this situation any more. A good example is me, why did I too much motivated to be a politician and (did not mean?) development first? I was born in a very poor family in Kilimanjaro some area and actually

when I was three years old my dad passed away. I stayed with the mum, who was a nurse at that time, then coming to she has been a political leader, being a chairman in the district level, in the local level; you are not paid, you know you are doing that for free. They explain you "You want to serve the people actually at your ward then you have to do that." Nobody can pay you, nobody can give you even a stationary or a pen or a book or what. So she was doing that. And then when I was at secondary school my mum passed away and then from there was "Okay, it's you, Alime¹⁰⁰, you have to do everything for yourself to make sure you reach where other people are. At least you get the university education." And so I started being in this youth movement, young movement, I was in Girl Guides Association and being in Girl Guides Association I came to be in student movement like (?) movement or of bla bla doing with other schools and all that. And there I started being active like "Okay, you can do that. I can do this, I can do that." By then I still felt like if the process that I've been walking through so I get here was a rough road (1). I don't want other people to feel the same thing. So, to me it was my dad and my mum passed that the others have daddies, have mums but then still they are passing a very rough road. So that's why I say most of the people when they engage in the parliament they are too much active and too much brutal to make sure that decisions are made in the right way because they know what they have been gone through and what they have been gone through there is no change till today, so they are trying to make changes though it is not an easy process, it's not a one day process, it's not a one year process. We need a lot of people who are very active in the parliament to make decision made in the right way. #00:50:52-1# **Interviewerin:** And when you think about the future, ten years later maybe, and all these young politicians that are now very engaged and want change and serve the people and then maybe one or two are in very high leadership positions like being president or something like this, do you think they will take care of what they said ten years before or do you think they will also change because somehow you forget were you come from? #00:51:22-9# **Befragte/r:** No, I think they will do that. Why I think so is because for instance looking at the president of the United Republic of Tanzania right now, Mr. Jakaya Kikwete, was one in the youth movement, was one of the leader, actually the University of Dar es Salaam is one of the places where they- ((kurzes leises Auflachen)) How do I say? (2) They develop these national leaders. Okay, they had movement and all that at their time and that's why they are doing what they are doing right now. When comparing the movement at their time and the movement that youth are doing right now is quite different. You can see the difference. It's like if I'm talking of the Zitto Kabwe from CHADEMA, he was one of the activists in the university and then he went to the national but I think the movement that they were doing at the university is different from the movement the president of the United Republic of Tanzania did when he was at the university. The environment is quite different, the matter they are using is quite different and right now people are doing that because most of the people are

¹⁰⁰ Dies ist ein Pseudonym, um die Anonymität des Interviews zu gewährleisten.

educated and as long as it goes on that people are educated and the freedom of media is increasing day after day. That is one of the things that has played a big role in Tanzania to make people aware of what is going on. So, right now if a person wants to- If I want to kick you, I will start even think there is no any journalist here, okay, I can kick you. So that makes the parliament even a bit more active rather than before. At the first time when we had the parliament thing it was all about being in the parliament. We don't know and we wait for the media to come and tell us "Mr. Blablabla has said that in the parliament" but right now we have a live show from the parliament. We see "I elected you and I see if there is anything what you-" #00:53:36-4# **Interviewerin:** | what you are doing #00:53:36-4# **Befragte/r:** Yes, so still that think people are seeing like it's moving slowly but it's helping. Seeing my member of parliament has done A, has done B, is giving me more skills to elect him or not to elect him on the coming election. So it's a process (1) it's a bit slowly. #00:54:05-5# **Interviewerin:** So, that's maybe why you would say that they have to take care of what they said ten years before because the people will check if they do the same and if they will change their mind and do thinks they did not tell before then they won't vote for them again. #00:54:23-7# **Befragte/r:** The other issue is it's not about being the- That is one of the things but we need people to be educated about. It's not about choosing a person to be the president. It's not about me being president but it's about (1) "Do I need to be president of this country?" And people feel like "She is supposed to be the president". It's not about "I'm an MP right now then I want to be the president", it's not about every person being a leader, who will be the follower then? So, it's about looking on the right person, it's about seeing and saying "I want to contest and say I want to contest" and then I feel like "Yes, I want to contest but then looking at you, you can deliver more, we are in the same party, you can do more" and all that and then I say "I can leave that post for you". Yes, you know there is this multiparty system then what about people in the same party? Like in CCM right now people want to kill one another because of positions, because of the coming election in 2015. So, every person is going to the media, every person wants to make people feel like he is good, they want fame, they want that and would want that. So, when it comes to 2015 I'm famous and if I go in front of the people they say "Okay, that's Alime¹⁰¹, I will choose him" or "I will choose her". (1) It's not about that, it's about feeling the consequence and then serving and people feel the country first and then you. #00:56:04-9# **Interviewerin:** So, do you think that the elders now in the politics are also a little bit afraid of the young politicians getting stronger? #00:56:16-0# **Befragte/r:** Sure. And that's why they are using them too much. As I said earlier, this elder politicians are the one using money cause the youth, the younger politicians, do not have money, so "I'm giving you money, I'm giving you employment, I'm giving you a nice car, I'm giving you a nice bla bla, I'm giving you trips to Europe, trips to America, trips to somewhere". So, you feel like "Okay, I have to be submissive to this person because it is my

life." So, it's not about - People feel like it's an opportunity but to youth it's not an opportunity the first time they are moralizing you (1) so he can exploit you more because he knows that you are stronger. If a person comes to you and gives you all that, it's because he believes you are stronger. He will not go to a weak person. #00:57:11-7# **Interviewerin:** And have you personally, this is the last question, have you personally ever issued with the elders in your own party because of your age? #00:57:21-6# **Befragte/r:** I don't get you. #00:57:23-7# **Interviewerin:** If you ever had problems with the elders in your party because of your age? #00:57:32-2# **Befragte/r:** Actually not me, but it was indirectly me because I had a friend who is a member of the United Nations Association of Tanzania, she is a fellow young female politician. Almost the same age like me, she is above me two years. We were in this movement and all that, she wanted to contest among the special seats MP, member of parliament, (1) and there in it was like "She is too young, she doesn't have money, she doesn't have that, she doesn't have this" and even the people who want to go for the special seat are using money to corrupt people, so it was quite difficult. Sometimes people were saying "No this is- maybe this is a mistress of a certain big person" If you go in front and are very aggressive and you want a certain position people are saying "Maybe she is moving out with a certain big politician in the party. She cannot have that courage to go to the front". So, there are a lot of things to make her feel like "I cannot go for this people (?)". When we get to talk to her we were telling her "No, this is the way of people want to make you feel down and you can't do that". But, I don't know, this time she loosed the position. There are a lot of things that- If you are young, that is the first thing, you are a female, you don't have money, you don't have big support like I said maybe you have this support people think like "you can do that, the big politicians think you can do that but they don't want to use you". It's very difficult to get there in Tanzania. So, it's quite a long way to go. If you don't have someone to push you from up, then you cannot reach there unless you use ((kurzes Auflachen)) even your single (penny?). #00:59:38-7# **Interviewerin:** Okay, I think- Maybe one last question, the elders, do you think they also have a special asset, means special function, that the young ones do not have? #01:00:03-7# **Befragte/r:** Their strongest thing is that they have been in the system for a long period of time. That is one thing, even out of politics, we young people fail when we go to search employment you will be asked your experience, your bla bla, where have you been before 15 years, we need a person who is experienced 15 years. But even the young person can go and deliver more than that person who has the experience for 15 years because he or she does understand what is going on in the community right now and what can make even the company grew better and better because the ruler say the customers, the major consumers of the services in the country are youth. So he knows, he understands and all that. But then the other thing is (.) even in the politics it's about they have been in party for 30 years, you are in party for three years, you are in party for one year but you can deliver more than I can do. But the other issue is being in the party- For instance others have been in the party for a long period of time and at the same time the policy and other things in the party have

¹⁰¹ Dies ist ein Pseudonym, um die Anonymität des Interviews zu gewährleisten.

been made, the structure and all that have been made by them. So they know the party more than you do though you understand the party has A, B, C, D and the people will choose the party because it has A, B, C, D and they can deliver A, B, C, D but they won't choose you because your experience in the party is very minimum compared to them. So the old politician, the only stronger thing that I see to them is having more experience or having more time in the party compared to the younger ones. #01:01:52-0# **Interviewerin:** And as you just said, if you have no one supporting you as a young politician, it is very difficult to find your way. #01:01:57-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #01:01:58-9# **Interviewerin:** Are there also older politicians that think the engagement of the young politicians is good and that support the younger ones or is it all the same with the elders? More or less? You can't say for 100 percent but- #01:02:17-6# **Befragte/r:** That depends (.) because there are those who see you sometimes like you are doing things for the party, they listen to how you speak in front of people and all that, and they say "Yeah, this person can go further and further and further in political issues". But this is a challenge because most of them who are doing that they see their time in the party is no more. Many people who feel like "I need to give more in this party, I have more time in this party", it's very difficult to do that. Even the youth, you have youth like the age of probably 30 something to 40 (2) who got the position at the national level in the party? For instance in CCM we have General Makamba, we have Nape Nauje and others. So, we have some youth who got the national position and maybe they have been pushed or they have been helped by other strong politicians to get where they are cause I believe you cannot get where you are if no one else helps you to be there where you are. But the other thing is even them, few of them who got the position, do not want to have the other youth. That is the problem. #01:03:41-0# **Interviewerin:** And if you have someone that supports you, an older politician, and there comes the point when you as a younger one decide to challenge what the older one is saying- Like you in your party have the example of Amina Chifupa who challenged the elders of the party. Do you think this is not a good strategy? To challenge the elders in the own party like she did? #01:04:10-0# **Befragte/r:** It's a challenge because most of the time I feel humans, maybe we Africans, we don't want to be criticized. If I criticize you, you hate me, not knowing (1) I am building you, you know? So, if I criticize you, you feel like "Why is she criticizing me? She is bad. I don't want her. She is bla bla, she is all the bad about me." But sometimes it's about making you stronger, making you know your weakness about. So, most of the time, even if you get a friend who will always support everything you are doing even if she or he knows it's wrong because if I'm just criticizing you, you can hate me. #01:04:59-2# **Interviewerin:** Okay. #01:05:00-6# **Befragte/r:** So, even those people who were- That's why most of the time in politics (.) I can be your friend, you can be my mentor, you can be my role model, if I believe the steps you are walking through. We can't be in the same line for instance in the CCM it's a big party and it has diversity, it has the people who are standing for A, the people who are standing for other things, they have those standing for other things, there are people who believe in the other things. So, if you are becoming closer to me, then we

have to be in the same line. Sometimes people believed in the other line but if a person comes from the other line and corrupts me then I shift to the other line because I need money, that's what I said earlier. But just few of them have the (?). A person like Nape Nauje, he is where he is right now because he was standing for what he believed at the right hand. He was a youth, doesn't have anything, struggle to the position in the party, struggle to the ward but he did not get them and he wasn't standing for the people at that time. So, he came to get a change to be the district commissioner somewhere and then he became one of the leaders of the party national wide, so it was a long journey though people are saying he was hiring who supported him like the biggest, the oldest politician who told him stick in what you believe that is the right thing. #01:06:41-4# **Interviewerin:** Okay. Thank you very much. I think we are finished. Is there anything you would like to add to this issue? #01:06:49-8# **Befragte/r:** No, not really. Actually to Tanzania, it's, as they say, the youngest country, having 50 years of independence so we believe 50 years are too many but the road to politics is rough because every person who can deliver more to people are the one who feel like "I cannot be in politics" because politics involve dirty games, politics involve lies, politics involve bla bla bla. So, people associate politics with bad things not knowing that I am a political being by nature and social by create. So, even if I decide, like yesterday I decided to come to talk to you, that is politics, I make decision. So, people do not know that because they got a bad experience of politics, they got a wrong definition of politics. What is politics (1) is defined differently from what is the meaning, the original meaning, of what is politics. So, every person is saying "I hate politics. I don't want politics, I don't want-" #01:08:02-4# **Interviewerin:** So, they are not interested in and if you are not interested you won't be feeling like a political person. Maybe one can say every human is some kind of politician. #01:08:12-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, and that's why every time for instance in Tanzania it's as time goes the number of people who are going to vote decreases. It's because every person feels like this is not my thing. #01:08:25-4# **Interviewerin:** _ there is nothing changing. #01:08:27-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #01:08:27-4# **Interviewerin:** You know we have the same problem in Europe with people not going to elections but before I got more familiar with the whole issue here in Tanzania I always thought that you must have a lot of people going to vote, round 90 percent going there, because the people must have the feeling that they want to decide things and they want change and they want to make a better situation for their family and then, when I recognized that you also have only 50 percent of people going to vote that are registered. I was really wondering because you know in Europe the youth for example they grow up in a very different environment, they have no problems like you have. That's why they are - and this is really sad- but they are not interested in politics because everything is working, they go to school, they have also often difficulties to find a job but it's totally different, you know? So, that's why they are not interested in politics. You know what I mean? #01:09:58-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, because whenever you have problems you always find a way to solve what you have and this is, as I said, all the decisions are made in the political arena. So, people, even

the young people, here in Tanzania they say that the young people and women are the one who vote more than the old people and all that. The people who have employment, the people who are educated do not want to vote, do not want to go to the campaign listening to the program and see if I can vote for this person and another person. So, we still have a long way to go. And this is one of the reasons why we are still poor because we are not good in serving the people, even if you are not a politician, you know? You can get education, you can go to work in a certain organization but then you feel like your waking up in the morning, going to the office, you come back in the evening, you don't know "am I doing what I supposed?", "what people thought I will do". For instance here in Tanzania we are studying because of the taxes that people are paying to the government. We are given loans, it was the first time our fathers or brothers and all that were studying, the education was free. But right now we have to pay for the education but then we are paying it indirectly by getting loans and when we get employment you return back money to the government, they cut the money that they give you. #01:11:47-3# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, it's the same in Europe. We have a lot of taxes. In Germany for example it's nearly 50 percent of the salaries you get, you have to give it to the government. #01:12:01-6# **Befragte/r:** So, here in Tanzania the problem is if you graduate, you do not feel that "I'm graduating, I'm in this office because someone somewhere caught the money to pay for my school fees. Cause if you are buying a pen, there is a tax you are paying for this pen, if you buy a sugar, if you buy a milk, if you are buying anything in the shop you are paying tax indirectly. So, it's all about peoples tax that is making you to be in the university and then get back to the community to serve them. But most of the people feel like "It's about me. If I get a car" - actually sometimes they are very cheap - "a car, a small house, my life ends. I wake up in the morning, go to the office, come back in the evening, stay with my family, wake up in the morning, going to the office and then back to home. And the problem is most of the nongovernmental organization they are much more at the advocacy. While advocacy that they are doing is much more on reach a document and they do not reach the people. It's like the researcher people are but the documents are kept in their office, nobody reads them, people don't know. There are people who don't know how to read and write in Tanzania, how do they get the research that we have done? But it's all about how the system is organized. #01:13:41-9# **Interviewerin:** What I hope for Tanzania is that this upraising religion issue involved in politics, you know this growing Christians against Muslims and so on. That you as a country can stop this fighting because when it comes to more fundamental ways of religion it's never good for a country, I think. #01:14:15-3# **Befragte/r:** It's like yesterday I was looking at my Facebook account and one of the people starting the leadership program at FES. She posted something, I don't know, that's why people are hating politics, because government doesn't even make the smallest decision. Every little thing, if you are not taking action upon them they can cause a big trouble, you know? So, right now there is this they are calling people and they start a conversation about Islamic and Christian things. What does the bible say? And this is wrong. And Islamic says- So, it's like indirectly conflict

between Muslims and Christians and making the other feel they are wrong, the other feeling they are right and sometimes they speak the harsh way, people start to hate one another. So, this movement- People see this as very small movement but in reality it does have a big impact on community. It's not about the election thing but what they are doing right now is creating more enmity, creating more frustration to people, creating brutal things and all that. So when it comes to election and I told you "Do not choose Christian" you listen to me and you won't choose Christian. #01:15:57-1# **Interviewerin:** And this is so sad, this mixing of religion and politics. ((weiteres Gespräch ist nicht relevant)). **Interview 7 Interviewerin:** Would you please explain me how you personally entered the political scene. #00:00:13-3# **Befragte/r:** Well, first of all I was interested in politics. Initially I was just so much inspired by my dad. My dad was member of parliament. #00:00:21-8# **Interviewerin:** Oh really? #00:00:21-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, so, being with him, living with him, knowing he is doing to the political arena, just observing, I got interested. So, I said "Okay, that is what I can but how would it (?)". And I couldn't be (?). So, I developed interest from when I was in primary school. And in my level starting from the primary school I was just careering my social leadership, like being a (?) at school, then when I joined university I started as a-We have the student government. So, I started to run for the member of parliament of my class, then I won the post and I started joining the student politics. Then I said "Okay, now I 'm done with the students government. Why can I not enter into party politics?" ((kurzes Auflachen)) Because it was you're stretching anyway the structure, I'm able, I've watched politics and not only that, I thought I can do more because apart from being a member of parliament for my part in the students government, I was also the vice president of the East African who have their Union because the East African Community to (?). So, that was the biggest organization to run for being a vice president for my country representing on the universities from Tanzania to the East Africa. So, being able to organize that, experiencing a lot of challenges- So, I said "Okay this is experience, I have learned more and gained more of experience in politics, so then I should start entering into real politics." So, then in Malachia, that university, we have this youth league of the political party called CCM, started a voting and I was a member since 2000, I'm just now a member of the party but not a leader in it. So, in 2010 then I fought for the post of a chairman for the branch of university, it's a huge branch covering the university and outside area, for the whole area. So, I fought for the post and I was lucky to get elected the chairperson. Yeah, it took one year because by then according to the regulation, because it covered for the interest of the students, it was only for a year. So, then I participated in the party politics and got a lot of challenges to know the real politics, the challenges in how you can grow up higher and you can grow big and the challenges actually for us women and young politicians they are higher. But that's how I entered politics. #00:03:41-7# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, and you talked about your father being a politician also. Do you think that this familiar background also influences you in your way entering the political scene? #00:03:52-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, actually for us we believe in like you

inherit something from family, not everyone in the family but someone can inherit what maybe your father was doing, you work as engineer or something like that. So, I believe so much that I inherited something for me, some people are born leaders. So, my father being a leader and I got interested and I believe automatically was developing to his inherit. #00:04:23-5# **Interviewer/in:** So, he must be very proud of you. #00:04:25-7# **Befragte/r:** Wow, actually he is and initially I didn't think he expected a lot of me because I'm a woman, being at home with the kids. Actually you are doing more you surprised him all the time. So, actually he learned that I was very potential in leadership and not stay at home. #00:04:48-3# **Interviewer/in:** You already told me that you are a member of CCM and that you have been involved in politics for CCM. So, why did you choose this party as your party? You want to be part of? #00:05:00-8# **Befragte/r:** Actually I have to supply, I think, into leadership; arrive a member of parliament actually. But first I have graduated from school, actually this year, and I want to still do my studies because I believe in entering politics the career way or doing it fully for the people. So, I want to finish my studies, that actually for the next year I will be doing the law school, then I want to presume my father's plans. So, for the next- Up to 2015 I think I will be done with this, then I have the background into the party politics and then I can involve politics fully. #00:05:39-9# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, in the 2015 general elections. #00:05:40-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:05:46-0# **Interviewer/in:** Why did you especially chose this party and not another one? Was it a special leader person or the program, or- #00:05:54-3# **Befragte/r:** Actually I can say my father was also a member of CCM. So, obviously he influenced me in it. And actually he got a card of membership for me when I just actually finished my Highschool and back then I didn't have much of the choice to know that maybe there is something else more than my dad's party; though actually (acknowledging?) the lots of challenges for this party and the other growing opposition party. But actually I believed in myself being a leader (1) you can perform better within any party if you actually got the A (level?). So, there are good people, very best people at CCM and there are bad ones. So, I cannot say why I told the people I love it and I believe I have got what it takes to perform the A level. #00:06:47-2# **Interviewer/in:** So, you personally with your background and the experience you already made, this is the right party to plan your further career in politics. #00:06:59-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:06:59-1# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, and what do you think in general, what role does politics play for everyday life of the Tanzanians? #00:07:07-9# **Befragte/r:** Actually politics have a very huge role in everyone's life because the politicians are the one deciding out of everything, economy, school, mining. Everything that everyone wants do for a living, they are all regulated by the politician. So, if you let them, if you are not actually involved, you can (?) leaders in a place that which you don't want that to (?). So, it's better to everyone involve not fully, to be everyone to be a politician but at least you know (?) politics. So, actually politics play a big role. #00:07:49-2# **Interviewer/in:** And is there one example you could name for how person A, B, C, D is affected by the decisions made by politics. #00:07:57-2# **Befragte/r:** All right, maybe I can name the general countries (?).

Okay, for currently having a many of questions, we name one, but they don't want (?) they don't want struggle, we would say because the politician enter into contracts with the gas supply company called (?) and eventually they resented the contracts because they found out that some errors that the politicians overlooked. So, it was giving a lost to a countries economy because we are failing in millions for this contract to general electricity in the country. So, after sending the contract, due to the protests 2008, after that we are about now to refund them for resending the contract about 95 billion to the country. So, we can find like the government paying 95 billion and the life of the Tanzanian that for this 95 billion are located into other (areas of?) development for the rich and the poor, you see? So, like every city they research their why the politicians interdicted that governmental economy. Everyone discussed that case, I mean, every day the passions are going high. So, actually everyone is involved and yet the country has to (develop?) but juncture politicians (?). #00:09:42-3# **Interviewer/in:** So, you think that the main impact of politics on the everyday's life is their investment in the environment of people living. #00:09:57-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, actually they are affected from the politicians who decide most of the things in our life but yet they are not the one affected by their life because the difference, the gap between them and us, is quite huge. Most of them when they are sick they want to be treated by the country while others are just dying for just lacking the medication. So, they affect us. #00:10:22-0# **Interviewer/in:** And what do you think should be the main function of a politician? What should a leading politician regard as his or her own function? #00:10:30-0# **Befragte/r:** Well, first of all, I believe it's a function of power. If the politician could not (aminid?) of their power and their duty, could not interfere in other spheres, they back up peoples decisions because some of the things that they are deciding they are not supposed to decide because of somebody's duty and when the (?) are happening they say "Oh, no, maybe someone that is supposed to decide was the one who was saying this." So, the politicians, I believe, they are there to lead the people, they are there to represent the people in the parliament, to distribute the national cake into- I mean first of all the MP, to know what are the needs of the people where they come from, to look for them then, but not to be there and forget about the people because most of the time this MPs they come back when they need- ((Störung ca. 5 Minuten)). #00:12:04-1# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, we just spoke about the function of politicians. #00:12:04-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I think first of all to be a politician is to work for the people. I think that (?). And representing the people, representing the needs of the people because to find a politician being a business (master?) and involving himself to gain some of the benefits that, you know, being a politician is a huge name, most of the things could be easily working. So, I think and eventually I turned out to forget (manpower). That's the (?) #00:12:50-6# **Interviewer/in:** To come to a more general level. Democracy, what does this word mean to you personally? #00:12:56-3# **Befragte/r:** This is naturally everyone being treated fairly. It means in all levels, all angles maybe. Politics, economy, social, environment- everyone should be treated equal. So, even in making sure (?) there for democracy. I mean, everyone knowing that (2) everything is treated equally, maybe the election

that come fairly. #00:13:33-0# **Interviewer/in:** And in a range from one to ten, where one stands for "not important" and ten stands for "very important", what do you think how important is democracy for a modern state? #00:13:45-6# **Befragte/r:** Well for a modern state I can say (1) six. Because they are not actually treated very fairly to the ones that are very important that maybe six - half way to the ones that are very important. #00:14:17-4# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, so what would you say where is Tanzania now? On that range? #00:14:17-4# **Befragte/r:** (2) Maybe form one to ten, I can say we are in eight. #00:14:30-0# **Interviewer/in:** Okay. #00:14:30-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, but the matter (is corruption?). We have democracy, people are understanding, their awareness is high. For normal citizens to understand politics, how it is involved in the (little life?) that eventually what they are expressing is corned out by corruption. So, that is a little bit bad, not to assure fully democracy. #00:14:58-3# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, you just said that most of the people are aware of what is politics. But how can you explain then that you have only 50 percent of the registered voters going to vote, for example in the past general election? #00:15:16-3# **Befragte/r:** Okay, the major big problem why people don't go to vote but they are registered, there are two major important things. First of all, people register to get the card, the identity card. So, it has multifunctional use because we don't have the national ID card so that actually most of the time going to bank, to security nationality maybe you are asked somewhere out there, when you show that they know you actually (?). So, one can have that and don't do the voting because due to this corruption trend one says "Okay, even if I go to vote there's (?)". Though he has the card (?). Because for the last election I remember in this (?) constituency the opposition won the seat but the citizens themselves were in the counting place, where the stationers are counting, to ensure that the meatiness, each vote in each (?) recording each individual to make sure no one (?). But if they were not there it could be easy for them to sign any (?). So, that was one of the important things that people were aware to make sure (?) that you must make sure you vote for this one and you must secure you mean no one (?). But not everyone has this avoidment. In the rural area they are very (?) of knowing what someone but even if they vote it turns out maybe the difference between the one they wanted and the other one is like 50 votes. So, they wonder it should not be true because the citizens were a team went to vote for him but eventually it (?). So, this demoralized the people to go and vote. #00:17:33-4# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, so not that they are not aware of it but that they are somehow a little bit frustrated to going to vote. #00:17:38-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, sure. #00:17:38-4# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, politics in Tanzania, you already talked about corruption. What do you think how can you solve this problem? Difficult question, I know. #00:17:56-8# **Befragte/r:** That's truly difficult because the corruption, for us it has grown in all levels, form the high level to the lower level, no one feels responsible for not taking the corruption or giving corruption. And even if someone doing it maybe (?). Actually the roots of corruption have grown big and the leaders who maybe could be the ones to make sure this things are stopped, to give example, maybe make those who were in corruption trends or sort of contracts make them be responsible, they don't do that. So, everyone

says "Okay, if they are doing then why others cannot do?" So, actually we are having a very huge problem and defending the ones maybe there are some politicians who are against the corruption. But you find them facing a lot of challenges in the system itself, like you are banned out of (?), the way to shut you down. (?) So, that's a big problem. Now the trend has grown from not only politics but- In health, if you want treatment services and all that, you pay some sort of a tip, they don't call it corruption but you pay something and achieve treatment. Your car has problems, maybe (?) and all that, make the (?) police come, they give you something and you (?) know that (?). #00:19:36-1# **Interviewer/in:** And do you think in the political arena the corruption is there a difference between the parties or all the same in every party? #00:19:44-7# **Befragte/r:** Well, it is in every party, but the levels are different because comparing CCM and other parties- CCM is a huge party, having many people, more than five million, compared to other parties and also the widening of the other parties, the CCM is different. (1) And now the other parties are building themselves in a manner that the (?) from the CCM. So, they are trying in all way possible to reduce the corruption issues. At least they are there but they are very minor comparing to CCM, I can say. So, there is a difference, I cannot say in other political parties there isn't corruption, there is, but not as much as that. For instance comparing to CHADEMA, the citizens were complaining the members of the party that this party is dominated by one tribe from the north in Tanzania, from Kilimanjaro, because all the members of parliament, I mean from that party, are many from that region. And even the special seats that were appointed, maybe for the women, they are just form that tribe. They were like complaining that this is some sort of corruption (?). So, it isn't like that, that huge corruption (?). #00:21:11-2# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, so what role does corruption play in the election campaigns, for example in your party? #00:21:19-7# **Befragte/r:** Actually, to corrupt the people- Because they have the awareness for the politics but they have their weaknesses. So, someone is not having good foot, someone is needing goods, so when you give him like 50.000. Wow, it's huge for a person. So, despite of being aware and in need of change, that money we will give to him makes him to forget everything. So, that's one of the major reasons. You make people to forget what they desire, what they want because of money. And secondly for what they give, for instance when they are doing the campaigns they give caps, t-shirts, kangas, we call them. So, many women like that to be given those things. And the other thing, for the government I've seen, is during the campaign maybe the person who was a member of parliament for that constituency, you find during campaign or early before campaign, starting to give donations to the citizens like maybe the football giving football balls for disable to give maybe the (vote for another one?). So, this is in one way another a strategy, why could they not do this in the last five years? One year before the election they come and do that and they do that because actually they have the (?), not the oppositions parties who are (onto?) the system already. The other thing that the corruption play is serving the (?). They drive in polling station to make sure maybe the post (?), the one who wins, is the one who (?) and they also do to make the polling voting station that not actually is

listed(?). #00:23:36-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so you mean having more people registered than there really live in this area for example. #00:23:42-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:23:42-4# **Interviewerin:** Okay. #00:23:43-9# **Befragte/r:** So, actually they are driving even those who are involved in the system, not actually the people down there, but those who are regulating and make sure the whole system of voting to stand. So, when they give them (bride?) they find "Oh, we are supposed to make sure someone wins" even if to make votes that not one voted but to make sure like 300 people voted but not actually the names and all that. #00:24:14-5# **Interviewerin:** But you have the commission that should have an eye on election. #00:24:20-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, that's where corruption comes from. They penetrate in there to make sure they drive the bangles. Well they watch but the country is huge and wide. So, they can have a watcher from maybe somewhere and maybe people form a party they come to corrupt that one, not the whole system but giving a person five million he can even forget his role he has been given, you see? That's an example for penetration of corruption in the country. #00:25:01-0# **Interviewerin:** But the commission is under control of the ruling party, the CCM, is there no possibility for the party to make sure that this commission is working the right way? #00:25:13-8# **Befragte/r:** Actually right now we are writing a new constitution and this is one of the things that the citizens want. They want to have an independent electoral committee that could not be having a member that is appointed by the president because in one way or another you cannot say a member appointed by president and then make some people saying: "We are send by the president you do this and this." They say "no". So, actually we are providing to have an independent electoral committee, so that could have no influence on any kind. #00:25:48-1# **Interviewerin:** Is this something that you as a young politician in your party want to establish? This being independent of state institutions and not being influenced by the president or other leaders in the party. #00:26:09-7# **Befragte/r:** For this electoral committee? #00:26:12-2# **Interviewerin:** For example. Or is it supported by the whole party? #00:26:12-2# **Befragte/r:** No because the politics of the president is that they get fund from the government. So, the fund of the- But the members are appointed by the president, they can't- If you want to make an independent body, you can have the body that is originated from the people maybe some institutions which will someone to be in the body in that committee, then eventually because the money, the fund, are already (?) government (?) than during that time they can be independent from an institution (?). So, they can work independently. #00:26:56-8# **Interviewerin:** And this is supported by the whole- #00:27:00-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, it's supported by the whole nation that we have an election committee national wide. #00:27:06-1# **Interviewerin:** Good, as you said, corruption is a big issue. Do you think that the fact that the CCM is the long ruling and a very big one, very important one, has much more money than the opposition parties have-. Do you think that they use this more of money for influencing politics or- #00:27:39-4# **Befragte/r:** Well, in one way or another I can say "Yes" because being big, huge and have more funds, you cannot compete equally with a party that is small and having less funds. So, having it, it makes it easy to- Maybe for each

member of parliament in his constituency to be giving money because they have the insurance of money and if they lost money, anyone can support him from the party because it's huge, many (?), anyone can support him. #00:28:13-6# **Interviewerin:** So, what I heard out of what you were saying was that you, as a member of the CCM, want also change, not only the opposition parties, they always want change, change, change, but you also within the party want to change some political behaviors and things that are long established like corruption but not good for the country maybe. So, do you think this is something that comes from the young members of CCM? #00:28:53-1# **Befragte/r:** Well, most is (?) by the young ones who are coming because we are young politicians, we are educated and we want the best for the country. I mean the party, I want to see the best of it, not for the party but for the whole country because it's ruling of the whole people. So, I believe in change, first of all. To change the system because we want development, we are a developing country and we have a lot (resources?), why can't we grow? So, I mean, if you have good leadership that has ethics, no corruption, everyone knows (this is the rule?), (1) being functional, then I believe we can whip away this corruption thing, extreme poverty, death and all that. So, I find like other that are expending billions in celebrations while we (?). So, if you understand the importance of the needs of the people, need of development, need of change, I think we can be forecast on motivation thing. #00:29:59-1# **Interviewerin:** And no matter which party, just to serve the people and develop the country? #00:30:05-0# **Befragte/r:** Well, yes. Maybe I would say "I couldn't not see CCM ruling all the time" but if we could have the competition, the change of leadership, maybe we could see where we are like in that time because we don't dislike ourselves maybe if we are out of it. We always see (?) all the time because I believe in politics that challenge each other equally. Because when I fell the grown up politics end of (?) I love it, people don't fight over small things, don't fight over individuals but they fight over the policy, they fight over the development. So, they make people to see that "Okay, we chose this party this time and they did not deliver the promises they were saying. So, next time we go that other one." If this one good, okay they come back to it. So, that actually brings the change towards development but we have never seen change for 50 years now. So, well, I love my party, I want to see it growing for the better, for the change and I would love also to see the equal competition between the parties. #00:31:18-6# **Interviewerin:** Okay. #00:31:20-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, not the politics towards the individual because we see now many people want to enter politics but the find the party is huge, there are those for many years, they still want to maintain the profession since they are still young. So, within the party we find the gap between the older people and the young ones. #00:31:42-7# **Interviewerin:** So, do you think there is some kind of special asset that the young politicians have? #00:31:48-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, actually the growth of potential in this young politicians because we have visions and the modest way of ruling the people because the former politicians have their oldest modes of way of ruling the people, not toward the dept current development that worldwide is happening. Because I can reflect some new members of parliament that are interested and are very young and

they are actually speeding up in development in their constituency and their mode of ruling the (?) and he told them many people into their constituency. For instance I can call January Makamba, who is a member of parliament of the Bumbuli constituency in Tanga. He is young, almost maybe 32, in the early thirties I can say, but actually he is delivering a lot, he is there for his constituency work all of the time, visiting the city. The last time I was reading the newspaper and it was like I saw you when the elder man said "All over the years I have never seen a member of parliament (of this age?)". So, it's quite a change and I would name some other members of parliament like (?). He has a website for the current issues just happening in his constituency. That's actually the young ones developing. So, I can go to his website knowing what happens in his constituency, knowing what his future plans are, what he-. They become so more open informing the people "I was in this committee today and discussed about that". So, people get to know and be aware, not like the old ones. So, at least the young politicians have a lot of potential, have a lot of courage and have a lot of vision to our country development. #00:33:39-9# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the fact that they grew up after Ujamaa and in a more globalized world, that this also influences their visions and their view on the future for the country? #00:33:57-4# **Befragte/r:** Well, in one or another, yes. Because we were in Ujamaa, so that's one. The other one is though we are currently in (?) worldwide but still have the (?) Ujamaa. So, being a politician, you have to know yourself and know your people and being connected with your citizens, your people you work for them, make more to be pushed towards assign more for your people. #00:34:32-6# **Interviewerin:** There are for sure this very motivated, and positive thinking and change wanting young politicians but do you think that there are also those who enter the political arena because of expecting good job and money and cars and so on? #00:34:53-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, actually yes because I've been a young politician and a colleague has been young politician. So, the most important think I see is the young ones want to be pushed directly to the big one in the party, who are the main (?) and want to impress to them, be close to them and eventually thinking to get something in return, maybe appointed a district commissioner, appointed a member of CCM party for a region. They have expectations in that. Or maybe when it's my time I want to be a member and I'm in the campaign (?). So, that also I can see. Not all are focused on the people but they are focused to be in a party associating them, then they could help them back to be in a political position. #00:35:43-4# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that those who have the visions and really want to serve the people-. Maybe ten years later, in the future, and for example you might be president of your country. Do you think that it might somehow be very difficult to remember yourself of what you wanted to do when you were a young politician? Because, you know, the environment changes, the people you work with change, the people want things from you. How would you handle this? #00:36:24-4# **Befragte/r:** I think first of all to know your values as a person, what you stand for. So, when you keep your values, they keep on reminding you what you were supposed to do and what you've hate to do. Because currently you find some politicians entered as young politicians, entered with that

spirit of change to speed up development but when they enter then, they find the seatbacks. Not "We are the young ones and everything should go quickly", no "slow down, slow down, slow down". #00:36:51-2# **Interviewerin:** So, they changed. #00:36:51-6# **Befragte/r:** So, they start to make the change, change slowly. But I believe that there are ways to pressure things without being in corruption, without forgetting what was the purpose that put you in that position. So, (?) I believe we can (?). #00:37:15-3# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the elders are somehow afraid of the young politicians because they are getting stronger? #00:37:22-4# **Befragte/r:** Yes, they are afraid because many young politicians are majors from university and these from universities are actually intellectuals that can reason why this and why that. So, they are afraid that like all this young politicians in the whole system (could develop a lot of change?). So, they say "Okay, let's start observing them" and so while others are getting out, so they (?) not only them trying to (?). So, it's like the last year general election most people were involved in party elections. Because for the general election we have party elections to know who will be the candidate. So, many youth, young politicians were involved within this early process and many of them were shaded out, even if they have the potential (?). So, they forget that the people should be the ones serving but actually they forget that. And even others right in this state within the parties, they want to be the one nominated for the post. #00:38:44-8# **Interviewerin:** Do you think the young ones as growing voters group influence the function of young politicians for the older ones? Means, the elders take young politicians during election time as somehow multipliers of their ideas and when they make their campaigns they say "We have this young candidate" because they are most wanted by the young voters and then after the elections they are not allowed to decide anything. So, they appear during the election campaigns and then you have to search them ((Lachen)). #00:39:27-2# **Befragte/r:** ((lachen)) Okay, there are two ways. There are the ones of the older politicians who use the young ones to win their vote but when they are won, they are gone. But there are others that want to stand with the young politicians and they use the influence of the young voters to vote for them. Knowing that when he is in the CCM he (?). So, this is what actually the Ubungo constituency experienced. The CCM had two competitors within the party; the young one and the old woman. So, the party chose the woman to be the member of parliament though the members wanted the younger one, you see? So, when they took this woman, the opposition passed to the young one, you see? So, the party missed that many voters are the youth. So, they were the ones who (?). So, actually you see that the youth can support them to make sure. And to find these MPs actually when they are in the system, they don't forget, they don't keep tired, they are the ones that are coming to the parliament. The youth are the one thinking and imagine the things that for years there haven't been discussed. Even the issues of making this deposition, who comes to sign contracts of the country. They say this year's politicians are the one to make the decisions. "Let this contract come into parliament and all discuss", the contracts for mining, all this issues. The young politicians are the ones who initiate these issues. But the old one politicians they only

use this peers to win their votes during election but when they (?) the system, they (?). #00:41:13-8#
Interviewerin: And have you personally ever issued with the elders of your party because of your age? #00:41:21-7#
Befragte/r: Not quite. But just when I was a chairperson, they said I was the first woman to win the chairperson for the party. Many people feared of us, they only go to the secretary (?). So, I got the chance to get to know people but since you are a woman they want to carry you up, not you get (?) but no "Come here then you with me to this place and you can meet this people" and like that. So, they want to carry you up. Well it's good on one hand but you cannot (?). #00:42:03-2#
Interviewerin: Yeah, so you had good experiences? #00:42:03-6#
Befragte/r: Yeah, I have the good experiences and actually I know my attributes and my limitation because if you don't know your limitation, you can be carried away like everyone is moving you this side, moving you this side. Because I remember there has been maybe someone bigger (calling?) you and you are young and so you have to attend to the (boss?) and when you are there someone says "We have a party tonight.". First you have to use your brain, like is it just because I'm a woman and after research you find out that it's only you invited. (?) So, you have to be more careful but make quickest research on the-. Because I wanted to enter into politics and establish the dept friendship with the young politicians. So, actually this could be growing together, maybe the system or by the time then we all find (?). And actually maybe to recognize that someone has this position initially but not to pass direct because you find many young people want to have big positions, they want to grow. So, I wanted to enter into it, to gain experience, then to national studies (but when it comes?) I don't have the teeth and how- #00:43:30-9#
Interviewerin: And do you think that there are also some special assets that the elders have, that the young ones do not have? #00:43:40-0#
Befragte/r: Yes, because experience is the best teacher, let's say. So, they have a long time experience and they have experienced the change from back in the years when we had single party to that we have the growing of democracy and opposition parties. So, they could be the one saying how they see the change and how we can modify it to a better change towards development. So, they can tell us what's the best for this party, not undermine us, saying "Your the young ones, nowadays, you want to know everything but (?) no more than you" "You are lucky (?)" and all that. But actually young ones are very active and they want to know everything "Why are you having this (?)? I can know it". #00:44:33-5#
Interviewerin: But you, when you worked in the politics, were always taken serious by the elders? In what you were achieving and- #00:44:43-2#
Befragte/r: Yeah, I felt I was respected, first of all. I chaired meetings and people were listening carefully, I got that attention that I was supposed to get not just people thinking I'm very young for it; that they saw maybe (this?) and I was (for this?) and they see the action. Because I was called dada-Big figures maybe I can say invited me to other ceremony (?). So, I got very (?). #00:45:17-0#
Interviewerin: Okay, and did you sometimes try to challenge them for example through being sometimes critical on what they were saying or is this difficult because of the age gap? #00:45:33-0#
Befragte/r: Yeah, I remember in one time I was in an internal meeting and the one who brought to us

the young leaders, the young politicians, was a big one. So, everyone who was in that meeting was supporting him, not like "why can't we challenge and see things through not only what he was supposed on us?". So, we were all supposed to be in that direction. So, I felt the other way and I thought like I'm speaking out of the point. The others did not want to see the different picture but actually in the end it helped to compromise and make them understand you are the (?). So, not to be each other in different perspective because what I actually see is the young ones being involved do accept everything the older ones are saying. (?) but that's not the trend because now the young politicians have to get their own view on what they see (,) towards change and development. #00:46:37-8#
Interviewerin: But I can imagine that this is sometimes difficult if you have a big man that supports you and your career and to criticize him and what he says. #00:46:49-9#
Befragte/r: Yeah, very, very difficult. Sure. #00:46:51-7#
Interviewerin: And then it can happen very, very fast that he will leave you there and- #00:46:58-6#
Befragte/r: Yeah, sure. And you know what is happening now is just the big figures they have their people involved in the system, for instance the ones who have the vision in being maybe the president in 2015, and they start creating the group right now. So, you find the group of someone is this one, the group of someone is that one. So, from this early of 2011 you find some youth who have the vision of win in the next election, they see "Okay, which group can I involve myself to get the support?" So, eventually cannot criticize that person but (?). So, that's another challenge. #00:47:41-5#
Interviewerin: So, the role of political leaders and figures following is important in Tanzania. #00:47:52-2#
Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:47:49-9#
Interviewerin: Okay, especially when you are a young one you need someone that supports you if you have no one that supports you. #00:47:59-0#
Befragte/r: Yeah, because now the problem is funding during elections. The ones who have can do much more than the ones who don't have. Unlike maybe the other politicians, political parties, where you find like they have few MPs then they need more to come. So, they invest more in support to the young ones imagining that so they can have more seats to compete in the political part. Unlike we have many people who are already in the system and they want to maintain the position. So, when you were the one becoming yourself more in order to get a (?). Because I had one friend of mine who completed university last year and imagined to be MP in some area. So, he has the potential (?) but eventually he commented that "if I could have money, I believe I could have won the post." So, I mean this thing from this now to make sure to have more than five million. #00:49:00-1#
Interviewerin: Okay, so you need money for the competition and- #00:49:02-5#
Befragte/r: Yeah, because when he is giving something, he needs also to pay for the ones who are supporting you on the tour, the transport- #00:49:12-6#
Interviewerin: And if you would be in a situation of being for example a member of parliament and you would find out something really bad about one minister for example. You would know this and you would think, because of your values, that you have to tell the public. And then you say this one is in the same party as you are and this is an older man. Would you tell? Would you challenge him like this? #00:49:52-8#
Befragte/r: Okay, what I know, when you

are old members of parliament and you see someone made something wrong, (,) maybe you can call that person. If it's a personal issue you can tell him maybe "You are supposed to do this, and this, and this." But if it's the issue for the public and the public needs to know the truth of that issue, maybe you could call the media and say maybe "We need to see the truth, this is what happened. This minister erred in saying this and this and that. And the correct issue of this and this and this." Because I witnessed this in- There is a member of parliament called Zitto Kabwe, who was the young and who was actually challenging why the minister, the former minister of natural resources, allowed the board that it ended the time to work with no more duties to perform and he was saying "This people were played money" all that. And the minister had a duty to stop this while it's ending. So, you find there are some people who were friend with him, so he was questioning why the minister allowed this to go. So, if that MP could say "Okay, call the high personal and say this and this was wrong. It isn't enough to give awareness to the public." So, he said (?) and they founded a committee, the parliament formed a committee of three people, to question this minister "Why didn't you (?) to make sure this is (?)" So, he did actually correct measure, not to keep quiet over it after he discovered, and it wasn't only enough to tell the minister personally but also to bring awareness to the public. So, I believe also if I wear the same shoes, seeing someone is doing something wrong and it's a minister. Well you have to speak it loudly because you are representing the people and your people need to know. Speaking to that person personally, it doesn't help everyone, maybe could create personal conflict. But if it's a public issue (?). #00:52:18-0# **Interviewerin:** But in this example the minister wasn't in the same party like Zitto. #00:52:23-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:52:28-2# **Interviewerin:** So, you are in the ruling party, if this would be a person of your own party, it would be very difficult. #00:52:40-6# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) Well, actually it is difficult, I can say, because like the (?) that I've said, the politician (signed?) it within the party and called the (?) and how can you, when you are in the party, say they actually did wrong. (?) So, those are the one with courage who speak out loudly and they were seen (?). "Why could you go outside and say someone did wrong, to the public? (?) It was difficult but people could understand that you (?) because this one was said by honorable Samuel Sita, who is currently the minister for the east African community, who is within the party, he is an older politician, but he was able to have the courage, come out and say "The minister who were for the mining, who entered this contract was erred in entering that contract?", while it needs a lot of courage to say that, not only for the young ones. #00:53:53-0# **Interviewerin:** But you would do so? #00:53:55-6# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I would do so because also I'm inspired by the young politicians who could do more to bring change in the party because currently they have the campaign of "Kujumbua mzamba". It means changing from the old to a new system. Actually they are against corrupt leaders, they are campaigning for those who know you can do corruption (to reach in a position?). And this campaign was initiated by the young politician and actually it worked because there was one minister actually who seemed to be very corruptive and

he resigned from the party, he had the position as an MP. So, it's working but it takes a lot of time. I believe if you are in the right (?). #00:54:49-1# **Interviewerin:** It's important to have this people who stand for their values because what I heard is that for example the youth wing of the CCM is not very critical to their mother party. Why not, what do you think? #00:55:05-2# **Befragte/r:** Because they are already associated by the big politicians. They are also divided themselves within the youth league, they divided into who they support to the next election. #00:55:17-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay. So, they have their person- #00:55:21-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, so they cannot have one voice saying "We want this thing". (?) They are not (?). #00:55:32-5# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so the people engaging in the youth league expect somehow maybe a good job or something like this. #00:55:38-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, actually the job. #00:55:40-0# **Interviewerin:** Or being supported as a politician. That's why they are not critical. You have also this youth. (1) Good, I think this is it, all the questions are asked. ((Lachen)) #00:55:59-7# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) #00:56:02-2# **Interviewerin:** Is there something that you would like to add? #00:56:02-3# **Befragte/r:** Okay, what I would say also to the young politicians issue as a woman. To enter into the system there is also sexual corruption. Because you want to be associated with someone and this someone is maybe is a male politician. So, in one way or another they want to help you but you have to (?) another thing (?). So, this naturally damages the whole image. They can question "Do you really become a minister without having sex with someone who pulled you up". So, it's quite challenging for us women. So, you need to know where your limit is and if you have attribute, I believe people can vote for who you are not because someone was there to help you being there. #00:56:58-1# ((einige weitere Ausführungen dazu, die aber für die vorliegende Arbeit nicht relevant sind)) **Interview 8 Interviewerin:** First of all, would you please explain me how you personally entered the political arena? #00:00:11-8# **Befragte/r:** It's a long time. I joined politics when I was at secondary school and it was during that time when Tanzania was entering multiparty system in 1992, 1993. We were, you know, discussing at the schools about the political scene, where we come from, where we are and where we want to move and is the period where I was inspired to join politics and I decided to join Chama Cha Mapinduzi as my political party. Since then I've been contesting to different posts from the branch level, to the district level, the national level and the region level. And now it's like more than 15 years and I'm the secretary general of the youth of Chama Cha Mapinduzi. #00:01:21-7# **Interviewerin:** And do you have some kind of familiar background in politics? For example your parents or your grandparents are they interested in politics? #00:01:34-3# **Befragte/r:** No, my parents, my dad and my mother, were just primary school teachers. So, we used to stay at primary schools, you know, moving from one primary school to another. So, they were not really active in politics but of course they were connected with political leaders like councilors, local leaders like village leaders. And my grandparents were also not active in politics but they were acting as a chief at a certain locality. #00:02:22-8# **Interviewerin:** Aha, mhm. **Befragte/r:** Yeah, it was long time and of course for me I didn't stay with my

grandparents because we were moving because of the job of my parents. #00:02:36-3# **Interviewer:** Okay, but they were interested in politics? About what is going on and- #00:02:41-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, sure. #00:02:43-7# **Interviewer:** And how did it come that you joined the CCM? That you found that this party is yours and you want to work for this one. #00:02:51-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, it is because of the historical background of my family because my family were just primary school teachers but they were associated with Chama Cha Mapinduzi and I come from a rural area and by that time it was difficult to find an opposition in my village. But also the new parties, the opposition, have no background, have no- you know, something to demonstrate that "Okay, I'm joining because of one, two, three". They were really new, they were just struggling to establish their own systems, the structure, the leadership. So, there was no incentive for me to join the opposition. #00:03:55-0# **Interviewer:** And you never came to this point that you thought maybe "I have been part of this party for so long, maybe now I want to see something new and join another party" or- ((lachen)) #00:04:11-2# **Befragte/r:** ((lachen)) No, no, no. Because I believe since I already spent a lot of my brain, a lot of my energy and my background in this party, if I have something to change, I think I can make it within the party. Rather than joining another political party, finding a new system, a new structure, new leaders. You know, it's difficult to establish your- (2) #00:04:43-5# **Interviewer:** Own career. #00:04:44-5# **Befragte/r:** Yes, yeah. #00:04:46-6# **Interviewer:** Yeah, I can understand. So, you already put a lot of work in this party- #00:04:53-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I already established a network and connection to some of my colleagues (?). #00:04:59-0# **Interviewer:** And is there also something in the program of the political party that you would say this is right and this is what I want the party to be? You know in the constitution or in- #00:05:16-3# **Befragte/r:** For my party? #00:05:16-3# **Interviewer:** Yeah. #00:05:16-3# **Befragte/r:** Oh, we have some challenges and of course we have big successes talking about Chama Cha Mapinduzi because we put some programs which are (positive?), we focus on poverty evaluations and of course good governance. It was well done during single party because the party and the government were able to check each other, check and balance, but when we entered into multiparty system and the issue of check and balance got complicated. It's because we agree that we go with this direction and, you know, we go to a (lucre, local?), we appeal for votes, we get the votes, we deploy it because other political parties will deploy it; (1) some become member of parliament, some become ministers, you know?, some become district commissioner and regional commissioner. To oversee the implementation of department first, to make sure that what we promised is implemented by the government. So, sometimes if it is not well implemented- of course they are supposed to report back after every six month (,) to brief us to what extent they implemented on the issue of education for instance, on the issue of health, infrastructure, good governance and then we say "No, the way you are implementing of course is good but you are not doing the right track, what we promised our people." At a political party you end up being only, you know, instructed the government to do. The issue how, you know, we make

more accountable that's still to be done. #00:07:09-5# **Interviewer:** And this is what you with the youth wing want to promote? #00:07:13-7# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely. Because if we say "Okay, the big challenge for the youth is about unemployment." So, we try to make sure the rate of unemployment for the last year it was this too much, for this year it is this much. So, probably it is increasing and we said we are going to address this problem. So, how can we engage the- How can we make the government more accountable? So, this is the- #00:07:41-4# **Interviewer:** What you do. #00:07:41-4# **Befragte/r:** Yes, yes. #00:07:43-2# **Interviewer:** And how do you do this? Do you go there and say "Hey you Mr. Kikwete" ((kurzes Auflachen)) #00:07:49-8# **Befragte/r:** Ah, we do it this way. We convene a meeting here in the office because we have some structure organs which we made. So, the small one we hold it here but if we have a big one, we have to hire a conference which bring youth from all over the country to discuss about how are we moving, to what extend the youth league is, you know, appealing to the youth problems; to what extend the youth league of Chama Cha Mapinduzi is influencing the government about the youth challenges. So, once we make the decision then we forward this to the president. We do it through party meeting because we are part of the party meeting, we participate in those meetings, that's one. Two, we do it through writing to the president, copy to the prime minister and of course to the specific ministry. Third, because you do it that way it's difficult for the youth in (Luqua?), in Dodoma, in Zanzibar to know that you discussed this matter and you forwarded it to the minister, so we go to those places, we say "We have already instructed the government to make sure that one, two, three, four is done." So, the youth, you know, are informed but also the media is informed. So, those are some of the strategy we also use. But the other strategy we use is we organize like demonstration. #00:09:35-7# **Interviewer:** Okay. #00:09:35-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, we walk. Sometimes, like we did last year, we walked about 100 kilometer. #00:09:41-2# **Interviewer:** Wow. #00:09:41-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, with 200 youth for more than around ten days. So, we walked like 20 kilometers- And then we appealed "Oh we are advocating this one. We know we have rights like you one, two, three, four." We comment with the government for doing this but there are a lot of issues to be address with regard to the youth. One, the employment, we know the government is, you know, establishing more schools, that's good, but after schools they need employment. So, they need capital, they need, you know, networking, marketing. So, those are some of the issues we normally do it. #00:10:30-0# **Interviewer:** And as you just talked about the schools the government is building, do you also see the problem of building schools for the people, what is very good for the people,-#00:10:43-9# **Befragte/r:** | yeah, sure. #00:10:43-9# **Interviewer:** -and then the house is build but there are no teachers for example. Do you see this as a problem or do you think this is not a problem? #00:10:55-9# **Befragte/r:** No, we see it as a problem but we see like (,) we have to start somewhere, we are building that, we have to start somewhere. So, where should we start? To start with teachers first? Or buildings? And we say "Okay, what are the success stories from different countries?" it is difficult to build the schools, it's easy to

lead good teachers but it's not easy to build the schools. So, we better start with this big, big project. Then it's easy to start, you know, employing the teachers, books and other equipments like lavatories, libraries. So, we see it as a problem but we see like this is the short term problem and then it will be solved. #00:11:59-4#

Interviewerin: And do you have any example how politics influence everyday life of the Tanzanian people? #00:12:10-3#

Befragte/r: (3) Tanzanians have very much rightness in political atmosphere of our country and if you read the newspaper, most of the covers is about politics. So, there is a lot of influence on daily life of Tanzanians and since most of the social and economical developments are, you know, structured or stimulated by politicians. So, it's almost politics become center of everything. Right now we are moving to Kilimo Kwanza. I think you heard about Kilimo Kwanza, it's like agriculture first. #00:13:12-6#

Interviewerin: Yeah, yeah. #00:13:16-3#

Befragte/r: So, all the actors they build a community, they should now think "Oh, if you want to trade in Tanzania you have to bring farm implements", like tractors, you know everything which is rated to agriculture. And three or four years back, we were focusing on education. Okay, so all the economic life of Tanzania, if you want to trade much, bring those goods which is associated with schools like cement, irons, books, other equipments. So, this is how the politics shape the social and economic life. And even if you go to social settings, like you go to church or you go to marriage ceremonies, if you go as a politician, normally the gathering the tends to recognize your presence. "Oh, we have a honorable-" ((Aufachen)) #00:14:28-3#

Interviewerin: Yeah. ((Lachen)) So, this is the personal level of politicians in the everyday's life. #00:14:46-1#

Befragte/r: Absolutely. #00:14:44-7#

Interviewerin: Okay, and do you think that it's also possible that the politics has a bad influence on everyday's life. Just one example (1) the electricity, you have the problem with the electricity for example- #00:14:58-9#

Befragte/r: | Yes, absolutely. #00:14:57-7#

Interviewerin: -and we, you know, we come from a country where we do not have that much sun- #00:15:07-1#

Befragte/r: | ((Lachen)) #00:15:07-1#

Interviewerin: -and we are always wondering why you do not have solar energy here. So, are there economical interests influencing politics. You know what I mean, this kind of circle making it very difficult for the politicians to solve this. Or is this a wrong idea. #00:15:29-3#

Befragte/r: No, no it's-. I think you have some point because the- For instance if I go to my rural village, to my parents, we use solar energy because there is no electricity network. But maybe the issue to what extend solar energy can supply much more need that the power to run like a factory, to run like an industry. Maybe those are some of the issues to be discussed or to be looked at. That's why maybe the government or the politicians are more interested in the big, big project like that big generators, water power. But I think we need to keep the sun as source of energy. #00:16:41-2#

Interviewerin: Yeah, I just thought maybe there is some kind of deal between the government and a company that provides- #00:16:49-4#

Befragte/r: Oh, we have a-. Actually we have a rural energy supply program. One of the aspects is to use solar system. But if you look at how much the government is putting for this (1) No ((lachen))

#00:17:09-4# **Interviewerin:** Okay. ((Lachen)) To come to a more general level, democracy, the word democracy, what does this word mean to you personally? #00:17:29-5#

Befragte/r: Oh, democracy is (2) the desire of the people to be respected, the will of the people to be guaranteed, the freedom of the people to be guaranteed the protection of the human rights and of course the issue, you know, creating an environment even for the marginalized to have a space to engage- #00:18:11-8#

Interviewerin: | Take part in the- #00:18:13-8#

Befragte/r: Yeah, taking part in the social and economic (game?) in political life. #00:18:19-4#

Interviewerin: And if you have a range from one to ten, just imagine one to ten and one is not important and ten is very important or not reached and by now reached. What would you say where is Tanzania now in this range? #00:18:36-5#

Befragte/r: Oh, one is? #00:18:39-1#

Interviewerin: Not reached and ten is reached fully. #00:18:42-3#

Befragte/r: Probably we are landing at around four. #00:18:46-9#

Interviewerin: Oh, okay. #00:18:46-9#

Befragte/r: ((Lachen)) We are not moving to the (cue?) but around four. #00:18:53-9#

Interviewerin: Okay, so you see some more stages to achieve. #00:18:57-0#

Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:18:57-1#

Interviewerin: Okay, and what do you think how important is democracy for a modern state from one to ten? In general what do you want to reach in future? #00:19:03-4#

Befragte/r: For instance for Tanzania? #00:19:12-1#

Interviewerin: Yeah, what do you want to reach maybe when you one time will be the president of Tanzania where do you want to go? What do you think how important is democracy? #00:19:19-7#

Befragte/r: Democracy is very important because once you give people space everything you decide is an aspect of ownership, is also become part of social, economic and political life. Because even if you have good stuff, if people are not involved, there is no democracy. They haven't even contributed in terms of ideas. It's difficult to say "Oh, we have this road. How can we use this road?" #00:19:55-7#

Interviewerin: | Okay. #00:19:55-7#

Befragte/r: "Can we bring our products from Arusha to Dar es Salaam?" because there is a big market in Dar es Salaam. They were not part of their wish because what is their first priority in that place?, is it a road?, it is electricity?, it is water? That's democracy because they have to decide what is the priority. So, democracy is very important. Actually it's the first and foremost if you want development. #00:20:32-0#

Interviewerin: Okay, so you would say you want to reach ten? #00:20:36-6#

Befragte/r: Yes. You say "Okay, we decide this is the first priority." "Okay, how can we get the money?" "Let's go to the development partners." "How do we get like ten, 20 percent (2) out of the needed budget?" "How can we get the remaining 80 percent?" They say: "Oh, we are going to contribute." Because they own that process, they are going to contribute. Where are you going to get the money because you produce the service, subsistence production? We are going to contribute any kind; in terms of energy, in terms of, you know, those things which doesn't need cash. #00:21:18-7#

Interviewerin: Okay, so you mean this would be the part what you would do to reach this ten? #00:21:26-3#

Befragte/r: Absolutely. #00:21:28-3#

Interviewerin: So, to tell the people about their rights and inform them, to make them aware of- #00:21:37-2#

Befragte/r: Yeah, to inform

them. Absolutely, to make the right decision. (?) #00:21:44-7# **Interviewerin:** So, you think right now is one problem maybe that a lot of people, especially those who do not live in a big city, are not aware of what is politics about and their rights they have. #00:21:59-6# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, those who are living in urban areas they are well informed about politics because of the media. They wake up in the morning, before even they go out they check the TV, they know what's happening around. So, they know what is happening around in Dar es Salaam, in Libya, South Africa, UK in Europe, in US, so those who live in the urban areas are well informed compared to those who live in the rural villages. #00:22:46-8# **Interviewerin:** So, what do you think during election campaigns as you are also involved in election campaigns as the youth wing of the party- #00:23:12-1# **Befragte/r:** | Yeah. #00:23:12-1# **Interviewerin:** -so what do you think is this a possibility to go to the villages and make people aware that they are free to choose which party they want to vote for? #00:23:26-8# **Befragte/r:** Yes, it is possible. Not of course you have to- If you go there, the best methodology is to listen to them. What are their needs (1) because even if you say that this is a good political party because of the historical background, because of the personalities in terms of leadership, because of the system we have, because of the, you know, all the good memories about that party, at the end they need to hear to what extend are you addressing their problems, at that village level. One, probably they want to see or they want to hear about "We are interested to play football or (?). How are you going to help us to get that kind of stuff, sports facility?" We have to be connected to that kind of small, small stuff and of course even if you talk about "Oh, I know you need a lot. We are going to conserve a road from Dar es Salaam to Zanzibar. So, that you can transport your products." Okay, people say "That's too general". ((kurzes Auflachen)) "Not for only us but also for others they can even use. For us we need, you know, the sports facilities so that we can play. That's our happiness." #00:25:10-0# **Interviewerin:** So, when you come there they name you the things they need for their everyday life, there in this one village. #00:25:18-9# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely. #00:25:18-9# **Interviewerin:** So, is there a connection between the opposition parties saying that you are a little bit corruptive during election campaigns with you more or less say this is what the people want. #00:25:38-0# **Befragte/r:** No, because the normal of course during election campaign with a new financial act or election budgetorial act which limits the certain amount to be used in a certain constituency. #00:26:00-1# **Interviewerin:** Yes, I know but I heard that- #00:26:01-0# **Befragte/r:** Even if you go and you listen they say "We need the (1) like balls" It's difficult to provide right on the spot. You say "Okay, after we are done with the election we are going to make sure that we give you those aspects which you need for you happiness." So, we do like that. #00:26:29-1# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so it's after the elections- #00:26:30-6# **Befragte/r:** After the elections, yeah. Not during- #00:26:36-9# **Interviewerin:** So, what do you think why comes the opposition to say that you use money to get votes. Why do they do this? #00:26:48-5# **Befragte/r:** Use money? #00:26:48-5# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, why do they say this? That you give money to the people to get votes. #00:26:45-5#

Befragte/r: No, it's a (?), difficult actually to go and dish money so that you get votes. #00:27:00-9# **Interviewerin:** So, it's not working- #00:27:04-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, it's not working, very difficult to make it, very difficult to manage. How can you do it? #00:27:09-2# **Interviewerin:** Because you have no guarantee? #00:27:11-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, no guarantee. Yes ((Lachen)). That is the (secret carol?), someone goes and votes and even if you have money, how are going to monitor that I gave Jannike to go and vote for me? Is she really? Because you know Tanzania is big. We've like more than 10.000 polling stations. How can you know that Jannike went to vote for a certain period of time on this day? Difficult. #00:27:46-1# **Interviewerin:** So, this is not true what they say #00:27:50-2# **Befragte/r:** This is not true. It's a political strategy to- ((Auflachen)) #00:27:53-7# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, I was wondering so that's why I wanted to ask you what you say about this. So, let's come to the youth aspect maybe. What do you think what is the special asset that young politicians have? #00:28:15-8# **Befragte/r:** One is energy, the most powerful asset for the youth. It's difficult to get tired easily, you can, you know, start working from morning to 12pm or 12am. So, one is energy, two is about brains and talent. For the youth it's easy to develop tactics and strategies during the process because you said this strategy, you go to implement it, you see there is a lot of dynamics compact. So, for the youth it's easy to swim around this kind of complexity, so that this complexity is easily managed compared to, you know, other generations. So, those are the two important assets but third for the youth it's easier to network because we share a lot of engagements, in sports, in Bongo Flavas ((lachen)) and schools. So, because this is a group of people, at school it's easier to find in one (city?), like you go to university you find all of them at one, thousand, thousand, so it's easy to get connected and capitalize on that setting, compared to other generation, they are at home or they are at work. #00:30:24-3# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the fact that the youth in Tanzania grew up in other circumstances than the older generation did, you know they were socialized after Ujamaa and grew up in a multiparty system. Do you think that this also influences the thinking about politics and the role politics play for youth? #00:30:48-9# **Befragte/r:** Yes, because if you count from 1992, when the multiparty system in Tanzania introduced, to right now it's 2011, it's like around 20 years. So, those who were born in 1992 they have a right to vote as election activity in Tanzania. So, you need a new thinking how to influence because they were born during liberal periods. You know, free media, free election, you know, competitive election, multiparty election, free market, so it's not easy to elaborate, to explain. In single party perspective person respect culture, aspect of culture. You know, it's difficult to work if you take political culture during single party and political culture during multiparty system it's completely different, difficult to take political culture to influence the (right?) with a passive political party culture to influence the current political culture. So, you need a dynamic strategy thinking to influence the new generation and of course you have to see and to capitalize on what is happening globally in terms of social economic issues, what is happening globally in terms of political issues? We try to make comparison because

even if they went to secondary schools but they are well informed about global issues through the media. #00:32:53-0# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, what is going on in the world. #00:32:54-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. So, you have to engage, "Okay, we are going through multiparty system but you have to look at the-" You know, you go to Kenya, there was KANU, now there is- You know, you try to explain in an intellectual way, you another example like in Libya, in South Africa and, you know, those are kind of explanations. #00:33:35-8# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the older generation of politicians- Are they somehow afraid of the younger ones growing up and getting a bigger group within the field of politicians? #00:33:51-9# **Befragte/r:** Of course, they know that normally youth are the political engineers. They can engineer certain political agenda to a certain direction and (2) also if they try to explain their background when they were youth; they fail to capture the reality because these are two different settings. That was a single party, you had only 30 media, you had only one party, you had no civil society, you know, you had trade unions which were co-opted by the state, co-opted by the party. So, now, all this not youths are completely different, you had only one university which was also, you know, part of the government system. So, now it's completely different and that's where we debate in the mother party when we meet for a meeting. We say "Okay, we need to look at the real problems which the youth are facing" and try to address there because we can't explain the current problems vis a vis your problems during your time as youth. And say "Oh, we were very smart. You are not smart." No, this is a quite different period of time. #00:35:31-4# **Interviewerin:** So, did I get it right that you see that youth take care of the elders being aware of the problems of the youth now-. #00:35:42-0# **Befragte/r:** _Absolutely. #00:35:42-0# **Interviewerin:** - so that they don't think that the youths now have the same problem like they had in their youth time. #00:35:50-9# **Befragte/r:** Yes. But the problem now is the period; the nature of our period is quite different compared to the nature of their period because during their period they said "Fight for our system." And, you know, the hegemony aspect was not there. Now you have one power, one center of power, the state, the US, which commands everything. In the past you had, you know, socialist areas and capitalistic arenas. So, for the Tanzania, although we opted for the socialist perspective, but in terms of foreign policy we've also opted for non-harassment. Non-harassment means we can harass with capitalized and also with socialist provided it supports our doctrine. #00:36:52-3# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so you had your doctrine and you can work with everyone together- #00:36:56-6# **Befragte/r:** _Absolutely. ((nervöses Lachen)) #00:36:56-6# **Interviewerin:** -when they support this doctrine. #00:37:00-6# **Befragte/r:** So, that now, it's quite different. #00:37:03-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay, but just to come back to-. Do you think that the elders are afraid of the younger ones making careers now and pushing them out of their good jobs? #00:37:13-3# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) Absolutely, yes. They are afraid, they know you have come very fast, you know, slow, slow, slow ((Lachen)) #00:37:25-9# **Interviewerin:** ((Lachen)) Yes, because, you know, even you, you are a young one making this career. So, did you ever issue with elders of your party because of your age?

You personally? #00:37:38-6# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah. #00:37:41-7# **Interviewerin:** Can you give me an example? #00:37:41-7# **Befragte/r:** Oh ((Lachen)). #00:37:44-9# **Interviewerin:** You don't have to tell the names but just that I can imagine what it is like to issue- #00:37:50-6# **Befragte/r:** Sometimes the (2)- Some of the elders, not all, they dislike youth who are independent. They like someone to follow in their shoes. #00:38:09-5# **Interviewerin:** To follow them, mhm. #00:38:09-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, to follow them where they want, what they want, what kind of arguments they are putting. Then you forward this kind of perspective, that kind of line. So, if you try to be an independent figure, they fear you because you are creating your own way. And then you are, you know, you are demonstrating your competence, your capabilities, sometimes you are becoming like an authority because in terms of democracy what's the most important is your argument. If you put forward a logical, more constructive argument, you become different to many people who are contributing to that debate and discussions. So, if you become that way and you are youth, some of the ((kurzes verstehendes Lachen)) elders they say "Oh, this- ((Lachen))" #00:39:21-0# **Interviewerin:** "This one, we must have an eye on this one." ((Lachen)) #00:39:23-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, "We have to be careful". So, we have those kind but they are not too much. #00:39:30-6# **Interviewerin:** Not all of them, yeah. Do you have some kind of political leading figure that you are supported by? Because I can imagine that it's very difficult to make a career like yours if there is nobody supporting you. (2) Because you are such a big group of young politicians who want- #00:39:54-8# **Befragte/r:** Of course normally in politics-. For instance, for me I was inspired by some politicians when I was in secondary school, at university. So, when you are expert you get, you know, interested to be connected so that you can learn more about how he or she thinks, about how he or she acts in different issues. Like this issue, how does he or she behave? In that a setting also is like a (subplot?) because you are inspired, also he or she is inspired by you. Then you create a symbiosis. #00:40:53-0# **Interviewerin:** You support each other. #00:40:53-0# **Befragte/r:** Yes ((Lachen)). #00:40:56-7# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, I can imagine that a lot of the elder politicians have youth that they support but also that the young politicians are supporting the elders because of this big, big group of young voters and the young voters are more influenced by people like you than the elders maybe. #00:41:15-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:41:18-3# **Interviewerin:** So, you think you have some kind of function as a multiplier of the ideas of your party to the youth? For example in election campaigns. #00:41:24-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, normally when we go for election, we create a system called "Commanding post". "Commanding post" is a system where we meet almost every day to review our election campaign during that day. Who went were? What were our messages during campaign? Which group was targeted during our campaigning messages? So, I say "Oh, we have forgotten about youth employment", so in youth employment which issues do we want to put forward? One, vocational training, we should say "Okay, you have a vocational training" if there is a vocational training college. If there is no vocational training we say "Oh, we are putting in our party manifesto, we are going

to construct a vocational training college" for those youth who completed secondary schools, primary schools and sometimes university to learn skills and (interpreneurals?). Two, as part of job creation, I know, once you get skills, if you don't have capital in terms of equipment, in terms of cash, then it's difficult to operationalize your skills. So, we are going to look for funding for skills, where can we support the youth to have jobs?; that's the second. Three, you can, you know, get cash equipment and prepare production, then you need a market. So, we are going to make sure that your product will lead within the world market. You know, those people who want to buy like in India, in China, in Europe, in US this product is needed somewhere. So, you have to organize yourselves into groups and form comparatives. Then it's easier to trade. All your products we put together, someone comes, buys it and takes it. So, we do like that way. #00:44:08-2# **Interviewerin:** Okay, and this is what the youth wing is doing? #00:44:12-8# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely, yeah. #00:44:15-3# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that there is also a special asset of the older ones in your party, the older politicians? What is their special asset? #00:44:24-9# **Befragte/r:** Their special asset is about wisdom. Sometimes we get stuck somewhere, so we want their wisdom; like the way we are just trying to organize ourselves somewhere ((lachend gesprochen, lachen)). #00:44:39-5# **Interviewerin:** ((Lachen)) #00:44:39-3# **Befragte/r:** And we were advised to come here ((Kontext: Wir haben Platz für Interview gesucht und Claudia hat Vorschlag gemacht an diesen Tisch zu gehen)). So, that's one. Two, is about their experience. Because then the party is better in those kind of activity, those kind of elections like five, six, seven times. So, they know a lot of issues, a lot of strategies. You can use a strategy but they used in the 2000 election. They say "Oh, this is this strategy was developed in 2000 and it didn't work well because of one, two, three. So, if you want to develop it, make sure that you have this as part of this strategy." So, we involve them when we make plans and we get a lot of advice on how we can move forward. #00:45:33-1# **Interviewerin:** So, it's their experience that the young can't have because they are young. It's a biological reason. #00:45:42-2# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely ((Lachen)). #00:45:45-5# **Interviewerin:** And if you think about yourself, just imagine for the future, when you think about yourself maybe being a minister or even president of the country, do you think that you will - then being one of the elder ones - also be afraid of the younger ones coming after you? #00:46:10-7# **Befragte/r:** No. #00:46:14-8# **Interviewerin:** No? Why not? #00:46:16-9# **Befragte/r:** Because I'm coming from the youth league, so I know the youth league. So, I can't be afraid but I have to engage more, more, more and more and more. Because once you create a vacuum, you don't give them space to engage with the elders, they tend to act like in a type of war. You know, they are not given a space, no one is listening, no one is caring. So, because I'm of the youth, so I know that the youth need to be listened to, need to be engaged. #00:46:55-5# **Interviewerin:** And you will do this? #00:46:56-1# **Befragte/r:** I will do this, yeah. #00:46:59-7# **Interviewerin:** Okay, great. and do you think within the group of young politicians are they more or less all the same or are there, you know, those kind of young politician that are very enthusiastic and want to serve the people and the other ones only joining

politics because they want money or a good job or something like this. What would you say? #00:47:16-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, there are different scenarios why youths join political parties. So, because some do join because of, you know, career. They want jobs, they think like if you opt for politics, it's easy to get a job and they are really not motivated by the political issues and political activities. They are more or less motivated by to whom and how can I get connected to good jobs and that's all. So, if he or she fails to get within like two, three, four, five years, it's difficult to see that person is really interested in politics. So, we have those kinds of people. Particularly those who are studying, they do join politics because they are like at a bridge between being a student and being a, you know, someone somewhere. So, they try to look the greener pasture is to move for a job. Some they decide for politics and some they decide for politics but to look for a job and to look for opportunity. #00:49:06-2# **Interviewerin:** And what would you say how much percent of the young politicians are this? #00:49:10-8# **Befragte/r:** Kind of, Maybe 20. #00:49:12-6# **Interviewerin:** 20? Okay, so not the majority. That's good. And when you take the other ones, a lot motivated to bring change, there a those you know working in a good political sense but I can imagine there are also those ones very straight forward pushing their issues they want to talk about on the agenda. Do you think this is necessary to have those standing up, for example in the parliament, and be very critical? #00:49:59-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah, it's very important. Very, very important. #00:50:02-6# **Interviewerin:** Yeah? You know in Europe we just heard about this case of Amina Chifupa. #00:50:08-9# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) #00:50:10-9# **Interviewerin:** This is what we heard about. So, what would you say about her behavior? Did she go too far? #00:50:15-6# **Befragte/r:** No, she was good ((zögernd gesprochen)). She was free to talk. You know, she has not been sanctioned somewhere or "you have to talk this and not this one". So, that's good for the youth because you are free minded, you can speak your mind, what you think is better for the youth, is better for the country. So, we encourage having those kind of youth so that the country can move into right direction. #00:50:53-7# **Interviewerin:** But would you do the same if you would have one issue that is very important for yourself- #00:50:57-2# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely. I do. That's how I am actually. ((Lachen)) #00:50:59-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay. #00:51:03-9# **Befragte/r:** I don't compromise easily. I need to be convinced and I need to be heard, to be listened. Sometimes if we debate in the mother party we spend like one or two hours discussing. (?) #00:51:31-5# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, and you have a big group, the youth, behind you. #00:51:35-1# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely, yeah. #00:51:35-1# **Interviewerin:** And you with your youth wing you can influence the whole national politics. #00:51:39-8# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely. #00:51:40-0# **Interviewerin:** And especially next year you have this election within your party- #00:51:42-7# **Befragte/r:** Election, ya. And I'm encouraging the youth to go and take the elders posts. #00:51:47-8# **Interviewerin:** ((Lachen)) #00:51:47-8# **Befragte/r:** ((Lachen)) We'll become automatically the mother party. ((Lachen)) #00:51:56-2# **Interviewerin:** Okay. But just as a last question, do you think that you are taken serious as a young politician? Or are young

politicians in general taken serious by the mother party? #00:52:07-8# **Befragte/r:** Yes, we are really taken-. We really respect each other because we act in our own framework and the mother party, if they want to give us some instructions, they have to do it in a system where we are part of that system, where we listen and we provide our opinions. So, if the party makes that decision, then they can give us those directives or those instructions and of course because this is the youth league of the mother party - it's not an independent organization - we have to implement it. But it's not other way around that someone somewhere, like this morning we got a letter from the secretary general saying "Oh, from tomorrow the youth league should do this and this and this" which is contrary to the youth league documents. We say "No, we can't do this". ((kurzes Lachen)) #00:53:19-8# **Interviewerin:** You say "Thank you but-" ((Auflachen)). #00:53:19-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, "Thank you but we can't do. If you want us to do this, bring it to the meeting so that we make a decision". Become an organ instrument that this is a directive from the mother party as an organ, not as the, you know, like "I'm the secretary general, I can just destruct the youth league at the branch or at the regional district because I'm the secretary general". If I want to impose, I have to call a meeting. I bring that idea in there, we discuss and then we make a decision. Then I (understand?) that this is the decision. #00:53:59-8# **Interviewerin:** And what is your personal plan for the next years? Do you want to be- #00:54:06-1# **Befragte/r:** I'm planning in 2015 to contest for a parliamentary seat. #00:54:16-3# **Interviewerin:** Ah, for parliamentary seat? #00:54:20-2# **Befragte/r:** Absolutely. ((kurzes Auflachen)) #00:54:20-0# **Interviewerin:** Wow, that's great. So, you think you have good chances I think. Because of the job you have now. #00:54:28-0# **Befragte/r:** I do. Actually I was planning even in 2010 to contest but I decided to postponed because I tried to see the workload that I have at the youth league to make sure the youth league acts nationally to make sure that the youth they contribute to the mother party in the election and I was having only one year, I was appointed in 2009 (1)- #00:55:00-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so yeah. I understand. #00:55:02-7# **Befragte/r:** So, I said "no". I need time to- (1) #00:55:06-5# **Interviewerin:** But 2015- #00:55:06-3# **Befragte/r:** Ah, now it's the year. #00:55:08-5# **Interviewerin:** So, I will sit and check the internet in 2015 and see if it worked. ((kurzes Lachen)) #00:55:17-8# **Befragte/r:** ((kurzes Lachen)). You might be probably in Tanzania. #00:55:19-1# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, who knows. ((alle lachen)) So, if you need a secretary- ((alle lachen)). I think this was the last question. Thank you. **Interview 9** **Interviewerin:** How did you personally enter the political arena? #00:06:04-2# **Befragte/r:** Well, I started a long way, if I may say. I was employed as a liaison manager for a mining company and you know when you talk of politics it has to be in you. You don't just erupt and say "I want to become a politician." You need to have a will. So, with me I used to like politics since when I was very, very young, since I was a child actually. I was even participating in this thing we call "Chipkizi" in our language, in Swahili, but Chipkizi in artifact is for the age that is around maybe five years up to ten, 12, pupils, kids who are still at the primary level school. So, we used to have this "Halike", we call it

"Halike" to sing, we were been groomed politically with patriotism since when we were doing our primary school education. So, I grew that way and I was strong to that way and of course this was sometimes bad. I think for Tanzania this is something that is very important that it really grooms, it used to grump and it is still there, even the children who are still at school they grow that way, in that manner. So, somebody the talent might be hidden but when the right time has come it will explode by itself. So, I had that thing in my mind since when I was a child and then when I was working, you know, still in the community work. By that time, as I said, I was working as a liaison manager to the very reputable mining firm and I decided one, two, three (.) to contest. Though, prior to that, I had this various positions in my party, not big positions of course but I was mingling with people various positions, junior and middle positions, in my party; (1) just to make me make support people. But one, two, three I told myself "Look here, I think I have a will. I need to serve my people, I need to serve my country. (.) Not just the party. I need to be very closed to my people entirely. So, I decided to contest for a parliamentary seat and this was 2005. I went to my home place and since I'm a woman, I contested under the special seats whereby normally special seats are given for youth and women, that's why I followed the special seats. But all the process is the same, they do campaigns, they are elected, it's only that they are not elected by the mass but they are elected by the mass under the special, under the targeted audience. So, I contested and of course it was tough as usually in politics when you do contest, it's always a boa. So, I became number three among 17 and this was my first time actually as an MP, as a parliamentarian. So, I thanked to my god and my lord and we went to Dodoma where our party had got the (eas?), normally if you contest and they take the (cream?), of course people who are taken for the special seats are number one and two but for me, because I was the number three, I went to Dodoma to the headquarter of our party- We also have another election but this is the (pool?) election whereby a group of people who are leaders and we call executive council members of women league, the ones to elect, so it was to start a fresh, another campaign for that targeted audience, that we have been elected from that pool of audience, not from your area. So, this was like a national wide and it was another thing that was also tough because campaign is campaign. So, I campaigned and, as you know, I was not successful (.) because there were so many people with the different tactics etcetera etcetera. But still I never gave up and prior to going to contest, you know, my employer, a huge mining firm, when I took my last day he told me, my boss, my employer, I remember he was a British guy, he said "Look here Mary, we don't entertain politics in our policy and I know that you are going to contest for a parliamentary seat. Chose between the two, politics or work." Remember this was the last day when I had signed of my form for leave, so that I go home. And I remember my campaign team was already doing the campaign three month earlier and I'd already spend lots of money out of that. So, it's like I was in dilemma. Should I really quit my good job, highly paid? And go to politics completely, in this parliamentary ship? But because I had made up my mind, and I knew I'm going to win, I knew that I'm not just going to contest, I knew I'm going to contest and

win and I'm going to become a parliamentarian. So, it's not something that I was doing like to give a try. It's something that I had determined. I had the will, I had determined and I said "Yes, I can". So, I decided to quit, 24 hours, actually I said I'm giving you time because was a very hard worker and he said "I'm giving you time to think about." So, I decided to not sign that particular day, I went home. I decided to think over and over again. I said there is no way, I had the will, I made the promise and it is in me. Tomorrow when I get back to the office, though I have been given time to think about, I'm going to give out, I'm going to run out that 24 hours. And this is exactly what happened. The next day I went back to the office, I said "Look here sir" this is what I have decided. I'm quitting my wealthy job for politics and (1) that's it. #00:14:07-8# **Interviewer/in:** Yeah. #00:14:08-3# **Befragte/r:** So, I said "Fine" and we made some arrangements for me to be paid all my (?) all my benefits etcetera etcetera. And off I went. the following day I had to travel to my constituency to finish up the campaign and it was only month remaining and that's why I decided to take that one month and leave. And my campaign team was there several months before. So, this is how it has started and because I never won- (1) But still I never gave up. But here it came a very big challenge for me. I've lost my job, I've lost my parliamentary seat, I've lost everything. How will I start, where do I go? And I have a family to look after. (1) And all the money is finished during the campaign. It was tough for me. These are the trials in life. So, I said "well, god I believe in you. You are my conqueror, you are my regimer." So, I decided to further my studies because I had nothing to do and this is something that has just happened and, you know, once you are in a certain stage, certain level, then you need to get a job of that level, that you are in. Sometimes it takes time to get a job of that kind of level. So, I decided to go and further my study and by that time most universities already closed up with the application, submission, because they have their own times. But luckily an afternoon I went to that institute, they had some extra days because there were those late comers. So, luckily enough I found somebody with whom I went to the college long time ago. So, he said "Look here, you are late but because we went to school together, I will try and talk to the board. Maybe they can include you in. Give me a call tomorrow and I will give you an answer." I said "Thank you but please help me." And this is what happened, the following day I called that man. He said "You've been accepted. Then you are required to do the interview on Saturday together with those late comers but make sure you come with all the (?). That was on Tuesday. On Saturday I went to them, together with those late comers but they applied a long time ago. I passed the (distinction?) because there are those universities, you know, you can't be allowed in without doing the interview or the written test. So, on the other day we were supposed to be in the class because remember we were the last ones in the test. So, I started on Monday, full time, because by that time I had no job and I said "God, you know, you are going to pay for me. I don't have money, all my money is finished whatever. I've got problems here and there." So, in our country, you know, you can even pay bit by bit. Well, I had some other income. I asked them to pay me in advance, so that I could have a surviving. Thanks god, they agreed. So, I

was surviving by doing that. Now, coming to that (institute?), whereby I was doing my master by that time in international relations with diplomacy, I did well and I had no supplement, I had no any subject to that I had to supp, I passed all with distinctions, all with flying colors. Now, when you are doing the post graduate stage normally, you have to do thesis here in Tanzania. In Tanzania you can't do thesis if you are doing the other (?), you have to be post graduate and because I was doing the post graduate, then we are normally given the thesis with the topic or whatever not to start working on while you are still doing the courses. We were about to finish the courses, in fact we had already the course work, now we were planning to start doing our thesis and our topics are already passed. They were proved, so we were in that stage, and I got a call from I would say my current employer. I got a call to say "Look here, Mary, we need you and we think this particular position will be very suitable for you." I told them "Look here, first of all, I'm still studying. I have not yet finished my studies." By that time I already started doing my thesis but still I was at the, that's why I said I'm still studying and I will be done in few months to come. Secondly I'm a politician, now I was telling them like that through my previous experience that normally most of this employer's don't want to mix up politics and professional job. So, I had to tell them from the beginning "Look, I'm a politician. I don't want to start working for you guys and one, two, three once you realize I'm a politician, you turf me out." They said "No, you are the kind of a person that we want for this particular position" because it was senior manager corporate affairs. I said "Fine", then I went through the interviews. I went through all the stages and that job was very competitive. We were about five and we were shortly stated three, among the three we were shortly stated two, among the two I remained alone as the overall winner. And I thought then that this is just gods plan because god knew after my studies what will I be doing? And he decided to give me a super proper job, senior manager corporate in a very international, multinational organization. Then I agreed and I said "But the problem is I'm still in that school. Will you be able to wait for me?" and they said "Yes, we can even give you the contract and the letter to sign everything and this are the conditions and this are the terms." I said "Hallelujah". I gave them three month, I thought they will refuse but they agreed, they said "Don't worry, we will wait for you because we badly need you." And I said that this was just the gods plan. Even to give me that type of job, even to make me further my studies, it's like god was mentoring me. #00:22:08-4# **Interviewer/in:** Yeah. #00:22:08-4# **Befragte/r:** Fine, so I signed my contract, I knew now I have a job but I was still at school, still. And I started doing my thesis. I finished doing my thesis when I was already at work, I graduated when I was already at work. I've already started working. I'm a doer, I'm a performer, I like to work. That's why even those other ones, they wanted me fully but the nature of background of the institutions was different because that was mining and this was more over community. So, they didn't care, they didn't mind if I'm a politician and because in the type of job I was supposed to work very closed with the government, so they said "You are the type of a person we need for this particular". I said "fine" and I was working hard, you know determination working hard

helps a lot if you have a vision you focus on its perfect. So, I was employed as the senior manager corporate and I was in the management and each year I was getting the executive award, best year executive award as the best overall-, best employer. Working hard, the determination, it's good. So, I even graduated my post graduate and there was one time- I was remembered, I was practicing politics before and there were those party elections, I was contesting. Because I was having a senior position, I was going home, I took my off, I go home, I contest, I said "I don't want to be very apart with my people". So, I contested for my party, this now were senior positions in my party and I won all of them and that made me to be very closed to my people and to do it easily, my job. So, on this side I was practicing my profession as an employer and on the other side I was practicing my political career (.) to be very close to people and to serve them. But as a political leader, not as a parliamentarian somebody who isn't a pillar. So, one, two, three-. Remember I was not mixing up the two, I'm giving you a very good experience here, I was not mixing up the two. This is my story, I was not mixing up the two because if I was going to mix up the two then I was going to be a failure because of (?). I was taking my off and if I take my off, I go to my politics issues. I make sure that I deliver to the maximum, no single day is wasted free, no single time or minute is wasted free. So, there was one time, who should be the director? (1) I was picked and all this is through determination and hard work. So, I became the director, I go to the promotion, I became the director of that organization. Still I was working hard, I proved to them right that they didn't make any mistake by appointing be to the common director, I was really working hard (,) but still I was practicing my political career on the different angles. Taking my off days, you know, when you are in a senior position, in most cases you just take off. If you have worked extra hours, extra hours, you take your off days, you do your things. So, I was practicing, practicing, practicing under the umbrella of the party positions that I had and that is something that also made me to be (,) high. So, 2010, another general election, I again contested but this people this time never harassed me because I told them from the beginning "Look here I'm a politician", so everybody knew that I'm a politician and they knew I'm really doing the job without mixing up the two. So, to them it never bordered and I was the director and I was very open from the beginning. I said "Look here, I'm going to contest for the CCM but give me time. I don't mix up the two and I'm very loyal to this organization.". I sat there with them, I discussed black and white. So, they understood, they never gave me any problem. So, I even took a leave when I went to contest, to campaign, they allowed me (1) because I was open from the beginning. And when I went home, of course my campaign team was there and people had already known me because I was having the political positions and one, two, three I won. I became the winner and I was (?). Then later on I decided to resign because I can't serve two masters at the same time. I decided to resign so that I could concentrate now- because I was a parliamentarian. Being a parliamentarian itself is a hell of work, especially if you are committed to your country, you are committed to your people, meaning the voters, then you can't serve two masters at the same time. And because you are getting salary, you are not allowed to get

two salaries. So, I decided to quit on this other side and to concentrate on the other side which is parliament and here I am, serving my people, serving my country. #00:28:24-3# **Interviewer:** Great. #00:28:24-3# **Befragte/r:** It needs to have a will, it needs to have a determination and in life never give up. And politics have got a lot of rocks, ups and downs, obstacles. So, you really need to be cautioned, you need to be tolerate, you need to be strong and all those kind of things in order to accomplish your dream. So, that's me. #00:28:52-5# **Interviewer:** Very impressive. #00:28:52-9# **Befragte/r:** So, I'm also inspiring you. If I could be your mentor, if I could be your role model because you are taking politics and you're so eager to know more about young politicians. Which is good and, you know, in today's world young politicians are coming up with this multipartism and (1) young politicians, you know, are vigorous. You know? Very different from old politicians but still we need to have at least a mix up because you can't just leave old politicians alone or you can't just leave young politicians alone. If you leave young politicians alone, there could be war. If you leave old politicians alone there could be too conservative things may not be moving. So, we really need a mix up of atmosphere in order for the things to go according to today's world. #00:29:55-0# **Interviewer:** And do you have some kind of familiar background in politics? Your parents for example, have they been politicians too? #00:30:03-8# **Befragte/r:** No, no, no. #00:30:05-4# **Interviewer:** But they were interested in? #00:30:05-4# **Befragte/r:** Of course, especially my mum. Of course my mum, very much supportive and (artifact?) apparently she is no longer alive but she wanted to contest as a member of parliament. They have asked her to contest because she was highly accepted into the society by everybody. #00:30:29-3# **Interviewer:** Okay. #00:30:29-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, so it's like I have taken over from her. #00:30:30-9# **Interviewer:** Okay, so the whole family has tradition in the party and- #00:30:33-1# **Befragte/r:** The whole family, yeah. And the background of the family is sort of like a (achieved?) family, so it's administrators family. It has got achieved a status family, those days for Africans, yeah. #00:30:51-6# **Interviewer:** And to come to a more general political level. Democracy, what does this word mean to you personally? #00:31:05-4# **Befragte/r:** Democracy? #00:31:06-4# **Interviewer:** Yeah, the word democracy. When you think about democracy, what is democracy? #00:31:11-2# **Befragte/r:** Democracy is freedom of expression. That's democracy. Freedom of expression without being harmed. Provided you talk things that are not harmful to others, thinks that are constructive for the nation, for the betterment of the nation, for the betterment of people. But some people misuse this democracy because democracy as democracy is the freedom of expression but some people do misuse this democracy to evil things instead of good things. This is something that we don't want, so we should utilize the democracy appropriately. #00:32:01-6# **Interviewer:** And if you imagine you have a range from one to ten and one stands for not important or not reached by now and ten is for totally reached. What would you say, where is Tanzania now? On this range between one and ten? #00:32:41-4# **Befragte/r:** Reached in what terms? In terms of democracy or in terms of life? #00:32:41-4#

Interviewerin: Democracy. #00:32:41-4# **Befragte/r:** Oh, in terms of democracy I would say Tanzania is really improving. It's improving. I'm not saying that simply because I'm from the ruling party, no. We have seen Tanzania has been having this ruling party for ages, yeah? But newer days we have multiple (1), multi parties. You find that they go to stages, they talk anything they want, they talk all the shit they want and no one harasses them. The ruling party is the one who is controlling the government but they don't do anything, that is democracy. But again, they are sometimes misusing that democracy as I've just said because they may be on the stage and start insulting other leaders which is unethical. That is exploiting the democracy. If we are talking of expression, of freedom of expression, (1) fine, talk things that you know will be fruitful to the nation, not harmful to the nation. But democracy is here, democracy in Tanzania is taking place. I wouldn't say it is with ten, I wouldn't say it's one but I would say it is seven. #00:34:10-6# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so on a good way. #00:34:08-8# **Befragte/r:** Yes. Because it's above five. ((Lachen)) #00:34:13-4# **Interviewerin:** ((Lachen)) #00:34:15-7# **Befragte/r:** So, we are improving. Because it might be around seven by the range. #00:34:23-8# **Interviewerin:** And which aspects are those that need to be more improved to get to ten? Because you have free elections, you have freedom of speech, you have free media, what- #00:34:39-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, in Tanzania of course. Firstly I would say we have got free expression of media, we have got free election, (1) we have got free expression from the public. These are the kind of things that will make us to reach ten. But again, I emphasize, I insist, again in this democracy here in our country sometimes it's been exploited. Why? (.) Even the media, we are saying "Okay, freedom of expression for media." But it's been exploited because sometimes they write things that are worse, things that are not beneficial to the nation, writing things to damage somebody's reputation. This are not things that are beneficial to the nation and of Hippocrates, you end up even being unethical to your profession. That is not fair. And you call it freedom of expression of media, why do you go beyond the ethics of your professionalism? I don't think that is good and if we keep on doing that, we will never reach ten. And these are the obstacles. If we keep on doing that, we will never reach ten because we keep on saying "Democracy" while we were exploiting democracy, we are doing things that are exploiting, that are of harmful to the public. Instead of educating the public, entertaining the public, informing the public, informing the public things that are constructive, not things that are destructive. This is the thing. Even if you are a politician, you can't stand on the stage and telling people destructive issues. Tell them about your policies, how are you going to serve them? Because you are a politician you are elected. Tell them how you are going to serve them. Tell them your policies, how are you going to bring water to them, how are you going to bring peace to them, how are you going to bring (?) to them or to build schools to them, or to build roads to them. Don't stand there on the stage and start insulting other fellow leaders or colleagues just simply because your ideologies are different or simply because you hate one another. We don't go that way #00:00:00-0# ((Pause, weil InterviewpartnerIn isst)) **Interviewerin:** To come to the

last point, you know my thesis is about young politicians and what I would like to know is what you think which kind of special asset do young politicians have? #00:00:26-8# **Befragte/r:** Young politicians, I would say, they have a special asset to beginning. (.) Why am I saying that? (.) Young politicians are full of energy, still young and the worlds' faith and when I say they are full of energy, they are full of energy in terms of mental energy, in terms of thinking capacity, in terms of physical energy. They can run here and there without being tired, they can think faster. So, it is an asset and they go according to today's world. You know, today this is the globalization world, it's not a conservative society anymore, it's a liberal society, it's a democratic society and this young generation are the ones who can match with the today's world, that's why I'm saying it's an asset. #00:01:43-6# **Interviewerin:** And do you think- #00:01:45-5# **Befragte/r:** We are living in the digital world, they were not living any more in the analog world. #00:01:53-9# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, and do you think that this growing up in other circumstances than their parents did, you know after Ujamaa. They grew up after Ujamaa, they grew up in a globalized world, they were socialized in a globalized world. #00:02:04-0# **Befragte/r:** And that's why I like the young leader, not just very young, young like me because I can compare. Because I could see Ujamaa, the way my mum, my dad were living and compare with today. It's easy for me to compare not because I'm young (1), fit mentally and physical and I go according to today's world, then it becomes easy for me to be adjustable and flexible and forget this business of being conservative. #00:02:49-8# **Interviewerin:** And do you think- #00:02:50-8# **Befragte/r:** Young leaders actually are big assets to this nation because they are the ones who can easily bring changes according to this liberal and democratic world. #00:03:00-6# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the older politicians are somehow a little bit afraid of the younger politicians because they are getting stronger and they are maybe afraid that they will come and catch their positions and good jobs? #00:03:16-0# **Befragte/r:** Well, I wouldn't say they are scared of young politicians. It's only that because this are old politicians, it's like they are saying "Ah, you know this young politicians", in most cases you find that they say they have got no manners. You got what I mean? It's like "Ah, this young leaders they have got no manners, they have got no good manner" because for them (,) They are not used to running, they are used to walking, that's one. They are used to analog, they are not used to digital. One, two, three this young generation is coming up with freedom of expression, you know, with modern globalization issues and this old politicians are like "Ah ((verächtlich gesprochen)), look, this young ones have got no good manners. Where are they coming from? They plan to change our system, we haven't been doing like that and one, two, three they want us to turn the world and turn the country and start to doing things that have never been happening before." They are forgetting that things are changing, today's world is different from yesterday's world. Most of them will find that they are rigid. They don't want to accept changes which is very wrong. I think they should also learn to be flexible and adjustable in order to match or to balance with today's world. And if you can be flexible and adjustable to match with today's

world, you can also be easily matching with the young generation leaders because you will be very much understanding. #00:05:09-8# **Interviewer:** And what do you think is the motivation of most of the young politicians to enter the political arena? #00:05:16-4# **Befragte/r:** The motivation? It's just to encourage themselves, instead of discouraging themselves because they are also human being- We need young politicians in today's world. #00:05:26-6# **Interviewer:** And you think that they want to change something, they want to go on with what you have now- #00:05:31-1# **Befragte/r:** No, they want to change of course. They want to change and that's why I'm saying there is a gap between old politicians and young politicians, that's one. And secondly, because of this liberalization and with democrat society definitely things won't be the same, definitely there will be a gap, somewhere, somehow and these are kind of things that at the end of the day the old ones do(?) to the young ones. Of course even the question of saying they are coming up to take up their positions because even the people are also working hard. Because this young, you know, are (athletic?) and when they want something, they can run and they can make the challenge, they can speak out issues, they can play with people's psychology, issues, talk about issues, you see? So, this are the ones people want because they want people start looking like "Ah, we have been doing the same matters in the same song every day, now we want change." And when they say "We want change." there the young generation comes in. Now the youngsters, when they come in, they should also prove to those people that indeed they never made a mistake by electing them, they should also show those changes that they have been saying. They should not look like they were just trying to impress them. No, if we say young generation can make a great change, let it be. #00:07:21-5# **Interviewer:** And do you think that by now the young politicians are taken serious? By the elders? As I see you as a young politician, what is your personal experience? #00:07:26-8# **Befragte/r:** I think it's in terms of an individual person. It's not a question of a group issue. Here it's a question of an individual. Even for older politicians, I would say and I mean that it's a question of an individual person. There are some older politicians who are okay, they are very much flexible with the situation, they are very much adjustable to the situation though of course the percentage is very small. The majority are not like that, minority are the ones who are like that, who can easily accept the youngsters. There are some but with the minority, you get what I mean? #00:08:15-9# **Interviewer:** Yeah, yeah. #00:08:15-9# **Befragte/r:** And those are the ones that can be very much flexible and adjustable to live according to this world because they do easily accept the young politicians as they are. And say "No, no, no, these are the changes and we have to live with changes." So, it is an individual issue. It's like youngsters, some youngsters are also not good because you find that they become violent, they go beyond and this is something that sometimes even people, old politicians, say "They behave badly." Simply because they go beyond. You know, ethics is very vital. #00:09:14-0# **Interviewer:** And do you think the motivation of being engaged for some is also to get a good job and get good money or do you only have the young politicians that have it in themselves and want-

#00:09:25-9# **Befragte/r:** That's why, as I said the earlier on, it's also doing with an individual. You know once you are applying for a political position that is a mass-position, you need to have a will. Now people do contest due to various reasons, that's why I'm saying it has all to do with individuals here. So, some people do contest out of prestige (1), some people do contest out of power, some people do contest out of having it as an umbrella, as a coverage, they want to do their own other things and once they are there they know no one will touch them because politics is the one that drives the country or even drives the world. Some people do contest simply because they want to be closer to people, they want to serve the nation and the people. So, this last point is the one that is most important than everything. It's the most important thing that is better for everyone, the democratic society. Serving the nation, serving the people, national interests. Now there are few people who can really contest out of that because you really need to have that readiness to people, it is not an easy task. But who does that? Contesting in order to be closer to people, in order to serve your nation and your people? Once you are there sometimes you forget all what you promised to people when you were contesting. You are even forgetting that in five years time you will be having another election. Now if you haven't fulfilled, what will you do? At the end of the day you find that once you remain with one year that's when you start running up and down. Trying to fulfill those things. People got forsake we really need to be there for people, with all your heart. #00:11:37-9# **Interviewer:** And is there also an asset that the elders have? That only the elders have. #00:12:02-6# **Befragte/r:** You put an old man here, you put a youngster here. When we talk of energy, obviously, certainly yes the youngsters have more energy than the old man. Even the thinking capacity of a youngster is very different because he's more energetic, physically and mentally. #00:12:25-2# **Interviewer:** But maybe you see something like wisdom or experience that the elders have and the young ones do not have. #00:12:32-2# **Befragte/r:** This is why I'm saying that it's an individual thing and that's why I'm saying there are some- That's why I said if you heard me correctly, that you need to have a combined society. You can't leave youngsters alone otherwise there will be a war, just like I said and you can't leave old politicians alone otherwise the society will be too conservative. I said "You need to have a combination of the two in order to make things more appropriately." I even used this word appropriately. Because this older ones do have an asset themselves as older. They have got wisdom, they have got experience whereby they can transfer onto the youngsters. The wisdom they have and the experience they have, they can transfer onto the youngsters and the youngsters can receive from the older the experience as well as the wisdom and this youngsters can be send by this old men and they can run to implement things that have been told. So, things can be balanced. Even the youngsters can also be able to tell the old ones things that are according to today's world. So, they share the debate, at the end of the day they come up to the final concluded issue that is constructive for the benefit of all parties. #00:14:26-5# **Interviewer:** Yeah, and you just said that the young ones, their task is also to go to the elders and tell them something about the new world and what is going on, so

what do you think about this young politicians somehow challenging the older members of their own party? You had for example the Amina Chifupa in your party and she somehow challenged the elders in her party because of her behavior. Do you think she is one of those who went beyond? #00:14:59-0# **Befragte/r:** You know in politics you need to know how you play with your cards. Here you are dealing with the different kind of people. Wisdom is needed for a leader. By the moment you are called a leader, especially a political leader, people's leader, it means you should also pray to good to give you more wisdom, to give you more courage in order to think appropriately. You may be a leader, political leader, but whatever you do, whatever you say is not fruitful for the nation. You may just cause hatred. Sure, if you are a political leader make sure, at least, whatever you say or you do, is essential for the nation, for the people. It should not be harmful, it should be constructive it should not be destructive. I like to use these words. But even if we are politicians whatever you say try to think carefully, to do it carefully so that whatever you do, whatever you say should be constructive, we should not be destructive because you are there for people, you are there for the nation. Now if you start talking things that are destructive, you lose your dignity in the society. But if those instructive issues- Okay, freedom of expression, that is what I said, but they should be constructive, not destructive. When you say democracy, okay, but that should be constructive, not destructive. #00:16:55-2# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so you think she just went too far and being destructive. #00:16:59-9# **Befragte/r:** It all depends. I don't know in which case do you refer? #00:17:02-6# **Interviewerin:** I refer to her because she's the one we heard about in Europe and I'm just meaning this way of- #00:17:11-3# **Befragte/r:** It all depends on what did she say. #00:17:10-3# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, not a special case or a special thing she said but only the behaving in saying and wearing a different dress and saying that she wants to have some reform and- #00:17:29-8# **Befragte/r:** You know, these things it goes with the culture as well. For instance, if you do this wrong, even if you want to bring change, it can't be so rapidly. You may want to reform, yes. But it has to be gradually because this is something that has been in peoples mind for a long time, you get my point? It's a mindset among the society. #00:17:56-0# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, not easy to change, of course. #00:17:57-5# **Befragte/r:** That is not easy to change. Now if it's a long time mindset among the society and one, two, three you want to reform which is good, provided it's for betterment, it's fine. But you can't just do it rapidly, there are some stages you need to do. For instance, you need to sensitize people first. Why is it important to wear like this? Try to sensitize people, to educate people, to sensitize them psychologically, to prepare them psychologically. So, that by the time when they see dressing like that or in a different way, they should not be shocked because already they will be prepared psychologically to accept those changes. You get my point? It's very important. This is something people do forget, especially in our country. People are not being prepared psychologically according to the changes, any changes. #00:19:08-5# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, okay. You mean this bringing people- #00:19:10-4# **Befragte/r:** That's why sometimes if you are in Africa and especially

Tanzania, you are putting on a mini, dress, or a skirt, people look at you. They think you have gone mad, it's not our culture and only because of our mindset. People are not exposed to that that much. We haven't been grown to that stage. Now if you want to start transforming it, then you need to sensitize people, to sensitize the society through various way, either through TV, through drama, though whatever not. So, that by the time when they see somebody put on a mini, a lady, they should not be shocked, by the time they see a lady putting on a trouser they should not be shocked because they've been prepared psychologically. How? There are so many ways. Could be through television, could be through newspapers, could be through dramas, you get my point? #00:20:21-4# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, yeah. #00:20:24-9# **Befragte/r:** So, that at least they start learning, understanding that "Oh, we are in today's modern world. So, even a woman if she puts on a trouser is not a hooker. So, if a woman is putting on a mini, even a dissent lady can also put on a mini, even a dissent professional lady can also put on a trouser. Those kinds of things. #00:20:59-3# **Interviewerin:** So, as a last point, since Amon told me that you are also working in the field of corruption. Just a last question, what about corruption in Tanzania, do you see it as a problem? #00:21:16-1# **Befragte/r:** Corruption is a problem, not only in Tanzania, all over the world. When you talk of corruption it is a problem and it is a major problem and that's cancer, it's a cancer disease in the (?). So, it's a problem and it's a delicate issue. Because you are touching somebody's heart when it comes to corruption people- It's a problem, major problem. #00:21:42-9# **Interviewerin:** And how do you think one can solve it? #00:21:43-7# **Befragte/r:** Nothing is impossible in this world and this is what I believe but it's a question of time. It's a question of time and strategies and what kind of leaders we have, who can really stand fame to fully support this combat against corruption because a country like ours whereby it's a third world country, LDC, when you talk of corruption people still live in very disastrous conditions. People are poor and you are talking of corruption. Are we going to reach anywhere? We are still curling, so everything is possible provided we get the full support from the government, full support from politicians as a political will and each one of us should be patriotic in the fight against corruption. It is possible. This is what I believe. The only thing is, we should organize ourselves properly. #00:23:11-1# **Interviewerin:** You know this is what I was thinking that it might be very difficult to fight against corruption because of those lot of people living in very poor circumstances and when I imagine I would be really poor and someone would come to me and give me money for whatever I should do- #00:23:28-5# **Befragte/r:** That is why I mentioned the well strategies. It has all to do with the strategies. What kind of strategy do we use in order to fight corruption because corruption, I said, is like a cancer, has spread all over, grand corruption, petty corruption but if the strategies are good and we do cooperate together, joint team, everyone of us, the strategy is good and we get full government support and we get full political will and the capacity building, capacity building is also needed, change will be done. #00:24:10-8# **Interviewerin:** What would be the strategy you would recommend? #00:24:17-3# **Befragte/r:** I can't

say, I can't say but I mean when we talk of strategies that is something that is in brackets. #00:24:31-3#

Interviewerin: Okay, not in detail- #00:24:31-3#

Befragte/r: You can't just say "I do strategy A, one, two, three" because- #00:24:38-7#

Interviewerin: depends on every- #00:24:38-7#

Befragte/r: Precisely. But strategies are needed. #00:24:42-9#

Interviewerin: Okay, so you work on this by now. #00:24:45-2#

Befragte/r: Yeah, ((kurzes Lachen)). #00:24:46-1#

Interviewerin: Okay, so I think all questions are asked. Is there anything that you would like to add to this issue? #00:24:52-1#

Befragte/r: For me when it comes to politics as I'm saying- So many people say politics is a dirty game. In fact politics is not a dirty game, politicians are the ones who make it look dirty but politics as the politics is a very good thing, you serve people, you serve your nation diligently. It's not a dirty game but politicians are the ones who make it to look a dirty game. So, it's time for us to change. To change the image because sometimes it may be speaking very, very, very logical things and people say "Ah, don't bring a politic here. You talk like a politician." The image is already bad, people think politicians are people who just talk with no action; that's very bad. #00:25:55-2#

Interviewerin: Okay, thank you very much for taking the time to talk to me; I'm really thankful.

Interview 11 Interviewerin: First of all, would you please explain me how you personally entered the political arena? #00:00:17-5#

Befragte/r: I entered the politics because first politics is life, you know, politicians are doing big decisions concerning the life of people. So, I tried to enter here, so that I can be part of doing good decisions for the benefit of our people at large. So, that is first, secondly, when I was in College, I think, I was a leader and I practiced well and many people told me "You can be a good leader even in politics". So, from there on I was trying to see how politics is going and I decided to enter into politics. #00:01:07-6#

Interviewerin: Okay, so this was at College. And do you also have some kind of familiar background in politics? What I mean is for example if a member of your family, your parents or grandparents have been engaged in politics. #00:01:22-8#

Befragte/r: Yeah, back in those days my grandfather used to be a leader (,) but, you know, there was no election. So, they were just chosen by the senior leaders. So, my grandfather used to be but in recent days my dad has never been in politics and my mother has never been in politics. So, (1) #00:01:52-5#

Interviewerin: You are the first one now. #00:01:52-5#

Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:01:54-6#

Interviewerin: And why did you decide to join CHADEMA and not one of the others you have? #00:02:04-5#

Befragte/r: First of all it's because of our ideology, the political ideology is the ideology I like the most. And of course because of the leaders of CHADEMA and how CHADEMA has been doing, CHADEMA has been fighting for the benefit of the majority of the people, have been fighting to make sure that people are changing their life, politics have been fighting to stimulate the government, try to awake the government, so that it can do to help people. So, that's why I decided to chose CHADEMA because I think CHADEMA is the most effective party with good leaders, with good foundation, which is growing state by state, so I know CHADEMA here I can do well. Another thing is, in CHADEMA, if you are capable, you are given a chance; different from other parties, even the ruling

party. If you don't have family background there, you will never get a big chance like this one. #00:03:11-8#

Interviewerin: Okay, so it's the program, the ideology of the party and also the leader figures that you have in your party. Is there one leader who you like most? That you are looking up to somehow? #00:03:25-5#

Befragte/r: Of course ((kurzes Auflachen)), the founder of our party, honorable Mtei, we have Dr. Slaa, the general secretary, we have Makani, even the chairman, Mr. Mbowe, and also the deputy secretary, Zitto, honorable Zitto Kabwe. These are the most inspiring people to me. #00:03:57-5#

Interviewerin: Yeah, I can understand this. And to come to a more general part, what do you think does politics in general play for everyday life for the normal Tanzanian people? How does politics influence their everyday life? #00:04:17-3#

Befragte/r: If you go into details, (1) here politicians are the most people who make decisions (,) concerning the life of people. If you go to the parliament, the parliamentarians are the people who make decisions on how the day to day life is going to be conducted. They are the people who are going to make decisions on how much people should be paid, the salaries, they are the people to make laws of the country. So, I think, myself, politics is life because it is directly concerning the life of people in day to day basis and even to decision on how people should go. So, I think politics affect the life of people very, very much. #00:05:16-3#

Interviewerin: And what would you say is the main function of a politician in this regard? What is his task to do? #00:05:28-6#

Befragte/r: The task of a politician to do is just to see the problem of his people, to represent his people. You know, in politics, mostly in Tanzania here, people are elected. So, if you are elected, you have to look after your people. You have to take their problems; you have to face their challenges which are directly affecting your people. So, I think the day to day life of the people is very much the work of a politician. #00:05:58-8#

Interviewerin: So, also having the contact to the people? #00:06:03-2#

Befragte/r: Yeah, having the contact, maybe meeting them in the rallies, that's the paths of the politicians. #00:06:10-4#

Interviewerin: And what would you say-. Democracy, a big word, what does this word mean to you personally? #00:06:20-9#

Befragte/r: I think democracy is the- Very many people have been defining democracy but to me democracy is just to give people freedom to choose what they want. They chose what they want but they don't break the law of the nation. Yeah, that's what I know is democracy to me. But we are facing, particularly in Tanzania we are facing, very many problems on democracy itself, how it is conducted, you know? There are very many problems that we are facing. You know, our country is just recently entered into multipartism. Before 1992 we used to have only one party state. So, it is still- The ruling party is in power for 50 years, so they still think that we are still under one party system. So, here, parties like ours, we are facing very many problems, capital harassment from the police, from the leaders who are mostly coming from the ruling party. So, those are the challenges we are facing. #00:07:42-3#

Interviewerin: And could you go more into detail? What would you say this weaknesses of democracy, you said harassment, and what else do you think are the main problems? #00:07:53-2#

Befragte/r: The ruling party itself is using government resources for the benefit of their party. We don't have access to those

((kurzes Auflachen)) (1) - #00:08:07-4# **Interviewerin:** No transparency? #00:08:07-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, no transparency and even if we see the problems when we address them, they just think that we are using the government or we are trying to make people disobey the government. So, there are very many problems that we are facing. The police think that they are part of the ruling party; the army also thinks that they are the part of them. Let's say every sector, particularly those leading people; you may find that most of them are coming from the ruling party. So, they always try to be friend with their party. They try to defend so we are facing problems, they are harassing us, they are beating us, even in recent days, two days back, our general secretary was harassed, our chairman was harassed, taken by the police to the police station without any reason. These are the challenges we are facing. #00:09:22-8# **Interviewerin:** And please just imagine you have a scale from one to ten, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and one stands for not reached and ten stands for totally reached. What would you say about democracy, where is Tanzania? Not reached or totally reached or where in-between? #00:10:01-3# **Befragte/r:** Our position as a country? #00:10:04-2# **Interviewerin:** Yeah. #00:10:05-1# **Befragte/r:** We are moving on, we are trying-. The situation was very bad in 1992 when democracy or multipartism was starting but now very many people are trying to understand that we are there not to fight the government but we are there to awake the government, to do our tasks to tell the government "Look, people want this and this" and now people are understanding that we are representing people too. So, in those days, because of ignorance, the government uses to cheat people, that this people, multipartism, try to bring chaos in the country, they are willing to bring civil wars but now we are moving on, people are understanding. So, that's why they are voting us. Even our secretary general, when he competed for the presidents last year election, we managed to get a lot of votes, 26 percent from six percent. So, we are moving on. #00:11:11-8# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, okay. What would you say in this range from one to ten, where is Tanzania regarding democracy now? Have you reached half, saying we have now five? #00:11:19-8# **Befragte/r:** No, not half. Let's say two to three. #00:11:27-6# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so you have left something to do? For the future. #00:11:30-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, we have a very big task to do, yeah, for the future. #00:11:30-8# **Interviewerin:** Okay, but you think that you can reach it in the future? The full ten, fully reach democracy. #00:11:39-1# **Befragte/r:** We will fully reach democracy because now the youths are fighting to change the system. When we get a new system which understands what democracy is, there is no problem, even tomorrow we can reach the very high level of democracy. #00:12:03-3# **Interviewerin:** Okay, you already told me a bit about the weaknesses you see regarding democracy. Are there any other weaknesses you see in politics in Tanzania? Big weaknesses? #00:12:22-2# **Befragte/r:** Corruption, corruption. The ruling party or the most leaders from the ruling party who are the ministers, even the president, they are very corrupt. They got the chance, they were elected through corruption, they bribed people giving them t-shirts, giving them scarves, money. You know, our people are very poor, so they use that to trick people so that they

vote for them and when they get into power, they go direct and become very corrupt people. So, the government has been facing the challenges of people entering to bad contracts which backfires the system very much. So, that's the problem I see. #00:13:24-3# **Interviewerin:** Okay, and to come to the young politicians, what would you say are the special assets of young politicians here in your country? (2) Special functions, special advantages? What do they have what maybe others do not have in politics? #00:13:52-0# **Befragte/r:** I can say, that first of all, CHADEMA, our party, is the most party which is occupied by many, many youth in Tanzania because they see CHADEMA as the future hope of their life because we are addressing the problems of-, they are lacking of course jobs and we are addressing their problems (?) the universities and whatever but what I see is that the ruling party, which is in power since 50 years, for instance, have got very many-. Some of the leaders are there since independence, 1961, so they are very (reached?), they don't want to change. They think that we brought independence, so we are the ones supposed to rule this country, forever. They think about that but I see that now youths are trying to be (concertized?), to know that politics is about life, now they are entering into politics very much. Of course, especially for CHADEMA, we are getting a lot of youths entering into our party. #00:15:25-8# **Interviewerin:** And do you think that the fact that the young people grew up in other circumstances than their parents did-. You know they grew up after Ujamaa, they are more used to internet, social media, they are more used to TV and newspapers, they are more living in a globalized world. Do you think this is one fact that influences the interest in politics of young people? #00:15:53-3# **Befragte/r:** Very much, very much. The social medias, they see how other countries are doing; they see the development of other countries through this social media and this all. They see that it is true democracy that you can attain development; it is true democracy that you can attain justice. People here have been ruled very much, have been beat by the police, they are harassed, so when they see in others countries the government in power is not doing that problems which we are facing here. So, they learn very much. That's why they are entering into politics, because they see "Yeah, it can be done". There are other countries doing this, so we can do it here, at home. It is influencing very much. #00:16:46-1# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, and this is maybe also one of the aspects that the young politicians have different from the older politicians. #00:16:56-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, that can be the fact. And that's why from the- You know, you can't weight things if you don't know others and what they are doing. So, if they weigh between the ruling party and for instance our party and if they get education through the social media, they see "Oh, CHADEMA is the best, they can do good." That's why- If they come here to CHADEMA, for instance, our MPs, some of them are very young, 23, 24, 25, they are doing a very good job in the parliament compared to the elders. #00:17:38-0# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, because they weight and want to compare with other countries- #00:17:45-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:17:45-0# **Interviewerin:** Okay. And the motivation of young politicians, are there different kinds of motivation to enter the political arena? #00:17:57-9# **Befragte/r:** I think they are motivated by their problems. The problems of their

families, the problems of their uncles, they see we need change, so that we can help this generation, we can help our country. The country is there for 50 years, people are dying here of cholera and you can see people are still dying of malaria, what is very bad. We are living in a very, very rich country; rich of resources of different kinds. #00:18:24-0# **Interviewerin:** Minerals-#00:18:25-6# **Befragte/r:** Minerals, wildlife, big bodies of water, but here in Dar es Salaam we don't have water, you can see the roads we are using here. So, those are the problems which are motivating the people to enter into politics, especially in CHADEMA, so that they can change the regime to put the government which will see their problems and they account them. #00:18:49-9# **Interviewerin:** And do you think there are also some young politicians entering the political scene because of money, because of big cars or are they all motivated by what they want to change? #00:19:03-5# **Befragte/r:** You cannot always think the same. There are some maybe, they can be there, thinking that through politics we can attain richness, we can attain authority. There are some because they can just copy from the regime which is there; their families and themselves are living a very expensive life, they have been treated in abroad. So, maybe people can think that "Oh, if we get into politics, we can also easily go to be treated abroad when we are sic. Our family can drive the big cars, we can live in a very good house." So, maybe there are some but I think most young politicians who have been to colleges, to universities and secondary schools; there are very many coming to CHADEMA because they are motivated by their problems. But I think in those very big numbers of people they cannot always think the same. #00:20:11-3# **Interviewerin:** Yeah, but do you think there is a difference between the parties? That there are for example more young people joining CCM because of money and prestige than for example in CHADEMA or CUF? #00:20:21-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah (1) a number of young politicians going to CCM. If their families are not attached to the leaders, they are ignorant. If it is not because of ignorance, it is because they think they can easily attain jobs or whatever favors from CCM. Out of that, an understanding person cannot go to CCM because they know they cannot change. #00:20:51-2# **Interviewerin:** So, if you want change, you have to go to one of the opposition parties. #00:20:56-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:20:56-7# **Interviewerin:** I see and, you know, you also have this very engaged young politicians. One example is Amina Chifupa, she was a person that tried to challenge the older members of her party in the way she talked to them, in the way she found out things and made them public, what do you think about her behavior? #00:21:22-0# **Befragte/r:** She was a person who wanted to see the country moving on, wanted to see justice. But because of the rigidity that I told you about the ruling party and the leaders they never wanted a person from their party to challenge them. So, she faced difficulties. I know, we have some good leaders, even into CCM, but because of the system, the whole system of CCM, it is not easily changing. They are attached to corruption; the leaders in power have in one year or another stolen the resources of the poor, of the citizens. So, they are directly attached to those. So, if you are inside there, if you want to reveal those challenges facing the ruling party inside themselves, they can easily delete you. ((kurzes

aufgebendes Lachen)) #00:22:27-9# **Interviewerin:** And imagine you would be in her situation. For example you are Member of Parliament, you find out a minister who is of your own party did something very wrong. Would you choose the way of making this public and risk to challenge your own party? What would you do? #00:22:56-7# **Befragte/r:** Before being a chairman of youth, I was a councilor through CHADEMA and we were the majority in our council, CHADEMA was the leading in the council, we had more councilors than CCM. So, we were leading the council but I revealed very many problems and even the ideology of our party is transparency, so even here we are challenging the problems we see inside our party. We can talk them directly and we are not even threatened. So that's our habit here and that's what we like the most here, that we have the freedom to say anything. We see we have freedom inside when we are in the meeting, even outside to address the problems of the party and- So, I think we are growing people, we are a growing young generation in CHADEMA to talk the problems directly. Even if we get into power, we will do the same. If we are leading the government, we will say "No, we were elected by people to come and represent them here." So, we are saying this because our people sent us into parliament to talk about their problems. So, I don't see any problem. #00:24:18-7# **Interviewerin:** Okay, that's good. And does this mean that you personally-. Have you ever challenged with elders in your party because of your age, since you are also one of the young ones? That they say you are too young, you don't have the necessary experience, has this ever happened that you are not taken serious by them? #00:24:56-3# **Befragte/r:** No. I'm representing the youth of CHADEMA which are very many, they are constructing the large number of people in our party. So, I'm the person who is representing a very big number of people in this party. So, I'm entering the central committee of the party which is the very high meeting of the party; I'm entering even to NEC, national executive council. I'm in all of the meetings we have of course (?). But I have been taken very serious and our party, of course, is taking all people serious because we know me and you and others can join our ideas together and get a good thing. So, I always talk free, give my (representation?) free and they take them whenever necessary. #00:25:53-1# **Interviewerin:** And would you say this is the same for the political arena in general in Tanzania? Or is this a special situation in your party because you have that many young members? Or are the elders maybe in general somehow afraid of the young politicians? #00:26:17-2# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, elders always are afraid of the young leaders. They want to keep their positions. Especially in Africa generally you can see a person being into power for 40 years. So, it's a challenge of course. We have very many countries; Paul Biya in Cameroon for 28 years into power, Gaddafi has been in power for 40 years. So, you can see leaders in Africa, even though they can do good things, but it reaches a point that people are tired of you. You get out and give other people chances. So, even here in Tanzania, I told you, there are some of the leaders who have been into power since independence 1961. They've been into power in different chances, they are getting maybe MP, today maybe (1) holding very big- #00:27:15-7# **Interviewerin:** Minister? #00:27:15-7# **Befragte/r:**

Minister, ministerial position. So, they are always afraid of young leaders and that's why in CCM, especially, young politicians get a very difficult time to say it out. If you are not from one of the families which have a big name in the party, you cannot save it through. A person like me without any background of politics could never reach the chance I have now in CHADEMA. #00:27:55-4# **Interviewer:** So, it's different. #00:27:55-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, it's a very big difference. #00:27:56-5# **Interviewer:** So, you would say in the CCM the young politicians are not taking that serious like in your party? #00:28:01-9# **Befragte/r:** If they don't have background, familiar background. Maybe I can mention a few, we have leaders, for instance president Jakaja Kikwete, his son is holding a very big position in the UVCCM, the youth of CCM. So, we have very many that we can mention, their fathers maybe are ministers, they are MPs or the father used to be a minister or prime minister, today two of them are in parliament, for instance Rashid Kawawa, two of his sons are in the parliament. I can mention very many of them. So, if you don't have that background that the outgoing leaders will have faith on you that you will serve their interest, they will never give you a chance because they know if you get there, you can harass them easily, you will get to know the way they have stolen the money and you can challenge them. So, they make sure that they are bringing up their- They are trying to make a certain kind of their industry. So, that people who are getting into power can easily safeguard what they did. It's because of their security I think. #00:29:26-9# **Interviewer:** And have you had a leader figure that supported you in your career? Someone who supported you, one of the leaders of your party for example? #00:29:44-7# **Befragte/r:** Dr. Slaa is supporting me very much. He surely advised me "Look, do this, do this". You know, it's the first time I have been to this very big position where I have got very many challenges. So, sometimes, because of lacking of experience and huge pressure from outside, from my colleagues, sometimes you get frustrated but Dr. Slaa said "No, look this, do this". #00:30:17-1# **Interviewer:** Dr. Slaa, yeah. #00:30:17-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, he is the general secretary of our party. He is most loved by many Tanzanians and they trust him very much because of what he did when he was in the parliament. So, he supports me very much. #00:30:29-8# **Interviewer:** And do you think it's possible to make a career without having someone supporting you? When you are alone and have no leader in your party that supports you? #00:30:47-0# **Befragte/r:** It depends on what your agendas are and what you stand for. If you stand for what the majority stands for, then you are on the safe side. If you stand for your personal interest and your personal things, you get very big problems. So, we are always trying to stand on the side of what people want. #00:31:13-8# **Interviewer:** I see. And, as a last question, would you say there is some special asset that older politicians have? And the young ones do not have? #00:31:39-9# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I think so. #00:31:43-4# **Interviewer:** Okay, what could that be? #00:31:43-5# **Befragte/r:** I think of them- They should think about helping their people. #00:31:51-6# **Interviewer:** And what is the asset? For example some of the other people I interviewed told me that a special asset is their experience that the young politicians do not have. Would

you also say that this is something special of the old politicians or doesn't this make sense to you? #00:32:14-9# **Befragte/r:** It does not make very big sense. There are young politicians who are doing better than elders. There are even elders politicians who are doing better than young ones. So, you can't just weight because of their experience or whatever. There are very many older politicians who have experience of steering government resources, so they don't want to change, so you see. We don't want this kind of experience of steering or- #00:32:54-2# **Interviewer:** ((Lachen)) I understand. #00:32:57-3# **Befragte/r:** I think if young politicians are given a chance in Africa, they can turn easily this continent and even in Tanzania, if we are given a chance, we can easily change this country because we know we are going to leave more than elders, they are approaching their time but we know we have very big chance of leaving a lot, we have to bring up our children. So, we are very much concerned about future. #00:33:29-4# **Interviewer:** I see, and if you would imagine, you would be president of Tanzania, in ten years for example, and then you would be one of the older politicians, so you think that you would somehow also be afraid of the younger ones coming up after you? After your generation? #00:33:44-7# **Befragte/r:** I don't think so because of my background and how I'm brought up. My party always believes on changing, on democracy. If you are voted out, you go. If you are voted in, then you exude what you are given to do. #00:33:59-2# **Interviewer:** So, you will keep your values you have now for the future- #00:34:03-2# **Befragte/r:** That's the tendency of our party and that's how I'm brought up. The upbringing stands very much for what a person thinks. If you are told that power is for you and your family, you will think always that way but if you know that power is given by people through democracy, then if they want to put you out, they throw you out. That's why even if you go to the constitution we have, CHADEMA has been fighting for the chance of giving people the-. If they vote for you as an MP, they must get even a chance of throwing you out even before election time. But the ruling party does not want that because they know they will be thrown out very much. Some of the MPs who are from them, they don't go to their constituency, so they go after five years. So, CHADEMA, we don't want that because of how we think; we want to manage this country. So, that's why I say upbringing of young politicians will affect them very much in future thinking. #00:35:15-1# **Interviewer:** And what would you do maybe in the next elections 2015-. Just imagine, you would get 70 percent in the presidential elections and you would be the party that paces the next president and the CCM says "No, no, no this is not right. We will stay in power". How would you behave in this case? I can imagine it's a very difficult situation. #00:35:41-6# **Befragte/r:** It's a very difficult situation. (?) Even last election we believed that Dr. Slaa performed very well but our votes were stolen, we have the evidences. For instance, in Geita we got 65.000 but they counted as 13.000. You can see, very big numbers of votes were stolen but we said "No, we should not tell people to get out and command the government" because the government could easily kill people. We decided to keep cool and address our problems into right channel. We said "Look, this all votes stolen it is because of lacking of transparency. The chairman of the Electoral

Commission is elected by the government, he is chosen by the government and the president in power. So, he will always be loyal to the person who gave him the chance". We say "No, we have to get a good constitution which will address the right way of getting this people who are standing for the election". So, that's what we are fighting for; in the coming elections that we get a free commission. If that does not happen, we are going to mobilize the youth that we are tired of being stolen our votes. We want the people's voice to be respected, so that's what we are doing for this five years to come. And we know, thanks god, people understand. The coming election, I can assure you, we are going to win. #00:37:40-4# **Interviewerin:** Okay. I think I have all my questions asked. The last one maybe, the problems you are facing in Arusha right now, do you think this has some influence on the next elections? #00:38:14-7# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, it affects very much. The situation in Arusha is very worse because the government is backing those people who are harassing our MPs and the government is always trying to show people that we are people always not wanting to understand what the government is doing but the case is not like that. We are fighting for justice and justice always you stand for it even if you die, you stand for it. We always stand for justice because we know we are in the. We will always stand for that. #00:39:03-0# **Interviewerin:** Okay, I see. And do you think that you also have the problem of corruption in your party? Or is it only a problem of the ruling party? #00:39:12-2# **Befragte/r:** Until now we have been doing very well. Even the government has checked us very much, the ruling party. If they would have seen any problem, they could have easily addressed it but we are doing very much, very good transparency. We have all the meetings that are to be held annually or after two years, where all the people from all the country meet, look after everything of the party. #00:39:53-4# **Interviewerin:** If you would have to decide how to solve the problem of corruption, what is your idea of solving the problem? A concrete concept, do you have something in mind? #00:40:11-5# **Befragte/r:** You know, those people are stealing the government resources; there is no action which has been taken with the government. For instance senior leaders, prime minister was once called by the issue of Richmond which stole a lot of money entered into a very bad contract of power and a lot of resources were stolen there. If the government would have been serious, the prime minister would have been taken to the court and if he would have been found guilty, to be taken to jail. The court could rule out what to do for him but if he is not taken to the court, they will always talk the same "Ah, law is only for this young fishes but big fishes, like prime ministers, will not be taken to the court.". So, that is the case here, that there are some people who have stolen very minor things, they are beaten up or others are banned, fired, others are taken into jail for life but this big leaders are always on the safe side. They only say "Oh, stand aside, leave alone your office." That is not an issue, you should be taken- You have stolen the government resources, you have caused very big damages, you should take responsibility. For instance people are dying there, lacking medicine in the hospital. The situation is very worse when you go to the villages; people are lacking water which is a very basic thing in life of human being. People can travel for ten

kilometers to look for water. There are some places where people get up early in the morning and they come back in the evening with one drum or 20 liter of water on their head and these people are always women. So, you see- but other people are enjoying the fruit of their situation, their children are in good schools and the schools are categorized; there are best schools, there are poor schools where children sitting down, lacking teachers, lacking books, no lavatory equipment. So, you see the families will always remain into power because they have got good education, they have got money, they've got everything but people from poor where many poor always, that is what we are addressing. We don't want this, we have to make reforms in this country, so that everybody will feel the peach, so that is the problem we are facing. But here in CHADEMA, or I myself, if I get into power and a person (?) is stealing government resources, he will face a very (?) punishment, very (?) that we will teach other people (?) "No, we should not do this." Because human beings always learn. If you run out of what happened to the other, he or she will never repeat the same mistake but if you always think that you can steal and you can put it under the carpet and over, then people will keep on stealing and everybody will fight to get into power so that he can steal for his family. You know, human being is always (grading?), he wants to have good things. If there is no law, everybody will like to have a very good house, good car, without even following the channels of getting those things. We have to set principles to guide people, not to do always the same mistake that others did. #00:44:07-9# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so this was everything I wanted to ask. Is there something that you would like to add? #00:44:16-3# **Befragte/r:** Maybe the challenges that we are facing. Young politicians have been faced by challenges that we didn't have before. You know everything you want to do, you must invest the capital. To reach people, you must have the machines to travel, the PR system to address the rallies and this and this or the books to make people read. That's the challenge we are facing most that we, as an opposition party and as youth, we are facing problem of capital. So, we are facing those challenges of that kind. #00:45:08-4# **Interviewerin:** Of money. #00:45:11-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, we are also facing the challenges of the police which don't understand what we are doing, they harass us, they beat us, they beat even leaders, they put them into prisons because of fighting of the justice. We are facing also the propagandas from CCM. You know, they can change something easily because they own the very big number of mass media houses. So, the media itself is not quite- always not favoring the- (.) #00:45:51-0# **Interviewerin:** Influenced by- #00:45:51-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, they can be easily influenced by the ruling party and the government because of the laws which were set to guide the media. The mass media minister from CCM can easily ban out a certain newspaper; without even consulting the law or taking them to the court. So, they always try to favor the boss, the minister ((lachend gesprochen)). So, some of the issues that we are giving out concerning the government, they can easily not be out or even the TBC, which is the Tanzania Broadcasting Cooperation, will always see itself as a CCM organ. They don't give us coverage patterning what we are doing. So, these are the challenges we are facing, coverage and other

things like that. We are not capable of opening our own because we don't have resources to run them. So, you can see the challenges. #00:47:03-8# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, thank you very much for the interview. **Interview 12** **Interviewer/in:** First of all, would you please explain me how you personally entered the political arena? #00:00:20-8# **Befragte/r:** For me myself, the way I see, I was just seeing how the Tanzanians (?) for Tanzania, the youth now they are coming in politics more than long time ago. Because now it is that the Tanzania the way the CCM goes about; that situation now is really so bad. So, most of them sometimes the young they are coming, they are performing well, they are supposed to go in the universities, they do not get that accredit for learning, so this is the problem for them. When we look before according to our history the mwalimu Njerere was their fathers, their grandfathers (?) and that time they were depending according to the coffee and the what. But now we have the minerals, we have the tourists, we have so many things. So, most of the young politicians come to make our country to change. #00:01:56-2# **Interviewer/in:** Okay, so your interest in politics came through your experience in the country? #00:02:02-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, according to where this country is going now. So, we are now to be another party which can change our country. So, let's support another party, so most of the youth support CHADEMA because they make the truth. They say the truth and what is going on in the country now; they are very sincere to the citizens. And they think that the war or the conflict between the CCM and CHADEMA is because the CHADEMA tells the young the truth. The truth, they are the elders, the truth they tell even the children. Now they know, even if they don't know what the CHADEMA is, we can now imagine that the young children of five years, they know the meaning of CHADEMA. If there is even the flag, this is according to CHADEMA, but they don't know what CHADEMA means, but they know this one is because of the young, most of their mothers, most of their fathers, they are talking about- #00:03:05-5# **Interviewer/in:** Are members of or talking about, okay. #00:03:05-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah. #00:03:09-0# **Interviewer/in:** So, the time when you have started to be engaged in politics, was it already during school or was it later? At which age did you start being interested in politics? #00:03:28-1# **Befragte/r:** I started when I was in the college. Because I'm a teacher by profession, the way the college-. But most of the problems of the young is according to the accredit; accredits for that education. If you go there and for example are coming from a poor family, like me I do not come from a rich family, I come from the normal standard family. While the person coming from the rich family, their fathers or mothers, especially in this country, they are getting the first priority getting the accredit; more than me with my parents living the normal life. So, according to that- So, because the majority of the youth is coming from normal families- #00:04:23-4# **Interviewer/in:** Yeah, not the elite. #00:04:28-4# **Befragte/r:** So, I made a research, most of the youth who come in the politics are those who are coming from the normal families because they know-. According to this, because if you are from the-. When we are still going now in Tanzania, if you cannot change, if your father is becoming president, or is a minister of something of somewhere, is leading you or is building

you. After five years or ten years you will also be a minister but even if I come from a poor family, maybe one day I will come to be a minister for something but because I'm coming from the fathers and maybe in my (?) I'm very sure that someone who is coming from the big families may get the chance, so my dream is broken there. So, there is this someone whose father is honorable someone, he will become- #00:05:40-1# **Interviewer/in:** So, but your parents or grandparents don't have history in politics? #00:05:42-6# **Befragte/r:** For me myself I can say in my family I'm- We have seven children in my family, I'm the fifth among them and I'm the one who sacrifice my life, I want this country to be changed. And I have already told my family, my relatives, even my parents, I will die because of this country. Because now where the country is going, it is bad. Because you can see, my father was like this, the way the country is going, you see? Even if you produce a child, where will my child be (?) - So, I sacrifice my life and I have already told my parents "I will die because of the-" I want this country to change because if you want change, you are supposed to change yourself. So, I want to change. Because most of them, also my parents, they were members of the CCM, but now I have changed all the family, they have come to CHADEMA. #00:06:54-4# **Interviewer/in:** Ah, really? #00:06:58-1# **Befragte/r:** Because I tell the truth because, you know, the problem is what is mad, you should tell the things. The truth is the CCM says like that but it is not the truth, the truth is what the CHADEMA says. So, we are going there, we are going there to listen how the (?) they say the truth; even they are in the parliament where they see how the CHADEMA works in there. So, the family also they changed and now they give me support, they say "Don't give up, the CCM is still there and is still talking there" and they say one day I must be a strong woman according to that system. #00:07:33-8# **Interviewer/in:** Yeah, they must be very proud of you. #00:07:34-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. Because I would even die because of this things. Because I don't have a child, I don't have a husband but even if I will die, the babies of my brothers, my sisters, my uncles will be told my history. "Our aunt or our young mother in law, she supported our country, she fought to the what and what" So, that is what I want, to read my history, even if I would die. #00:08:17-7# **Interviewer/in:** And you already told me that you want change. Could you go more into detail why you decided to join CHADEMA, not one of the other parties? #00:08:28-3# **Befragte/r:** The major things I can say to join CHADEMA is because, first of all, I want to know where this country is going like this. When you look at the history, when you read the history, before the time when the CCM was with Mwalimu Njerere and now Mwalimu Njerere is not there it is two different things. Because now the CCM is the party of the- In the CCM we have the part of the, some people I say that they hold the CCM, but the rest they don't get anything according to that. According to they get a t-shirt, get a kanga, the caps. But what I can say, the CHADEMA; CHADEMA doesn't give me money, doesn't give me a t-shirt, they combat, doesn't give me anything, but CHADEMA they tell me the truth. Nearby I believe CHADEMA because CHADEMA it tells me the truth what the country is and where the country is going. #00:09:44-3# **Interviewer/in:** So, it's the program of the CHADEMA that catches your interest? #00:09:51-3#

Befragte/r: Yeah, yeah. #00:09:49-8# **Interviewerin:** Okay, I see. And to come to a more general aspect, politics in general, how would you say influences politics everyday life of the ordinary Tanzanian people. What examples could you give how politics influence everyday's life of the people? #00:10:13-4# **Befragte/r:** I can say that there is influence on our life in the politics. Because, I believe, if you want to get, you are supposed to lose. I'm Christian, even if god wants the world to be close with their people, you sacrifice (?) according to what. So, if you want to get, you have to lose first. So, for example I told you that I am a teacher by profession but now I don't teach. I want first of all to join in politics, to make our country be sustainable for all the people in Tanzania to be a good life. So, let me say the influence of the CHADEMA maybe some people they have friends who are CCM, they can lose even their friends, lose even their relatives because they don't want the truth. Maybe they are in CCM because they get something, so if we tell the truth about CHADEMA they will be against you. So, for me I say this is no problem, but what I want is all Tanzanians to become the one according to the things we have. We have so many things in our country; we say that our country is poor, but this is not the truth. We have so many things in our country, we are all Tanzanian, we all Tanzanian we can live a good live, if things which god gave us to use for us, can use properly. So, the problem is who leads in Tanzania. #00:12:14-5# **Interviewerin:** And the influence on everyday's life of politics. What is the function of a politician in your country, what should he or she do? #00:12:36-6# **Befragte/r:** Most of them, you know, before the multiparty system in our country most of them they came into politics because of their- There is no interest, you see? That's a problem. But now, after multiparty, we have so many parties. So, they see for example in CHADEMA they do not come into politics to benefit themselves but they want to benefit all over the people in this country. #00:13:19-8# **Interviewerin:** So, this is what they should do. They should serve the people in the country, the politicians? #00:13:23-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:13:23-4# **Interviewerin:** Okay and how do they in their work influence the people in the neighborhood for example? Is it through decision making is it through making laws? How do the normal people get to feel what you are doing? You know what I mean? #00:13:56-2# **Befragte/r:** Can you repeat? #00:13:56-2# **Interviewerin:** You as a politician, how do the normal people, not being involved in politics, get to know what you are doing? How does this what you are doing influence their life? #00:14:08-1# **Befragte/r:** Okay, according to that the normal people- Because in Tanzania we have so many people. They say "If you are going to the politics, you lose your things" but for me I say "no" because I want one day to be somewhere, not me, even if any person, but what I want is my country to be somewhere. But the other people they can say "You lose your time because you know you don't do a job because of the politics" but from when I saw the politics, may I don't lose anything (?). But again more, I know so many things and I get more experience, I know so many things about the politicians. So, for me myself I can say that politics affect my life. #00:15:01-2# **Interviewerin:** And in general, democracy, the word, what does this mean to you? #00:15:05-1# **Befragte/r:** Democracy is to be free,

you can do anything, you can make anything without breaking the laws, that is about democracy. But here in Tanzania, this is how the CHADEMA is doing because it's a democracy party and democracy which means it is the truth. Because we have the truth in the democracy. So, the mode of the CCM is not the truth, that's why we have against or according to CCM the CHADEMA. So, the democracy, the way CHADEMA has promoted to tell the people the truth and to tell the people the truth because when you look before, from the beginning of this multiparty system, it was like "Ah, CHADEMA ((verächtlich gesprochen)). We are CCM. They are coming to lose their time, they are coming because of the interest of themselves". But when you have seen the CHADEMA working, the leaders, the members of the parliament, the way they talk the truth, according to now, more of the people in Tanzania can say that they believe in democracy and they believe in CHADEMA. #00:16:31-7# **Interviewerin:** Okay, I see. So, democracy for you is being free and do what you want to do when you respect the law. #00:16:40-5# **Befragte/r:** The law, of course. Yeah. #00:16:40-8# **Interviewerin:** Okay, and if you, just imagine, have a scale or a range from one to ten and one stands for not reached, not yet reached and ten for totally reached. What would you say where is Tanzania now in regards to democracy? #00:17:24-4# **Befragte/r:** This called NGOs, the nongovernmental organizations, they help more. It's just like a forum; they use a lot of time or a lot of things to educate our Tanzanians. So, according to these things, Tanzanians they know, even if you are not a politician, but according to those NGOs they know how Tanzania is going. They tell the truth even if they are not in a political party, but tell the truth. So, they help, they can say they help even if now, if you are not a politician but according to them, you know where Tanzania is. #00:18:09-1# **Interviewerin:** But what would you personally say? Where is Tanzania in total? You said democracy means to you being free. So, if everyone in the country would be free, this would be ten. If nobody can do whatever he or she wants to do, would be one. Where would you say is Tanzania now? Did you make half the way to reach full democracy in your country? #00:18:49-5# **Befragte/r:** What I can say is the way the situation is now. Ten, people they believe in democracy and one, they do not believe. #00:18:57-1# **Interviewerin:** No, no, I mean what you think about the political situation you have in your country. Is there democracy in your country? #00:19:10-3# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, yeah. #00:19:14-2# **Interviewerin:** Okay, so you would say "We have reached ten by now because we have democracy in our country". #00:19:15-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:19:15-4# **Interviewerin:** Although it's the CCM that is ruling. #00:19:21-6# **Befragte/r:** No, according to the (1)- #00:19:27-1# **Interviewerin:** Not the understanding of the people, I mean the feeling- Do you feel that democracy is taken serious by the leaders of your country. #00:19:34-7# **Befragte/r:** No. #00:19:34-9# **Interviewerin:** So, you won't say we are at ten now because if the leaders would take it serious, we would have ten. #00:19:41-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:19:41-0# **Interviewerin:** So, what would you say, where are you? #00:19:44-5# **Befragte/r:** I'm here in the one who we believe in democracy. #00:19:45-8# **Interviewerin:** One. Okay, so you have a lot work to do to reach democracy?

#00:19:51-1# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:19:51-1#
Interviewerin: Okay, I see. And if you imagine the CHADEMA would be the ruling party, what would change? Would you be ten then? #00:19:59-8#
Befragte/r: I believe one day all the people in this country they will believe in CHADEMA even if now they are in another party. #00:20:15-9#
Interviewerin: And with CHADEMA you would fully reach democracy and have ten. #00:20:20-6#
Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:20:22-5#
Interviewerin: Okay, and what are the biggest weaknesses in Tanzanian politics in your opinion? #00:20:37-5#
Befragte/r: The problems? #00:20:39-7#
Interviewerin: Yeah. #00:20:41-4#
Befragte/r: Now we don't have- For example, even if the country, even if our president knows how the way CHADEMA is going, they are going to take their (country?). They know, but they don't ask to- It's hard to realize for the CCM "we are lost, we can't lead our country now". But now the things have changed, everyday they cut the leaders, you see? If the leaders talk to the people, talk about, they use the police and they come and take our leader because the leaders tell the truth. So, what I want is because the citizens, every citizen is (?). One day, the decision will be made with the citizens, they are really tired and they think about who supports citizens and if it's Dr. Slaa, they chose him. Because the country, all the citizens, they want to be lead by Dr. Slaa, not someone else. #00:22:18-9#
Interviewerin: Okay, so you would say a problem is that the CCM doesn't respect that the people want- #00:22:27-8#
Befragte/r: Doesn't respect the movement or the way CHADEMA changes. And they use the police to block us. But for me, for example yesterday, we had the walk there, we started according to the (?). How can I say? We had so many people to come in the road to walk- #00:22:56-5#
Interviewerin: A demonstration. #00:23:01-2#
Befragte/r: Demonstration, yeah. To demonstrate because we are against, according the police, catching every day our parliamentarians; to catch our leaders of the party. We are against these things but they use their police to block us. So, you see where the free is and me, I was (given?) up yesterday because even if the someone I always call Markus, it is someone who is leading the nongovernmental organization called (puls?) forum, he was there and he saw how the Tanzanians do not have the freedom to do things because when we say "things are bad", we do without braking the laws. But in the country they see when they realize that CHADEMA goes forward; they know that we are going to remove them in that chair. #00:24:09-2#
Interviewerin: And they are afraid ((Auflachen)). #00:24:10-3#
Befragte/r: Of course they are afraid, yeah. #00:24:13-1#
Interviewerin: And to come to the young politicians, like you are, what would you say what are the special assets of young politicians? #00:24:22-5#
Befragte/r: The what? #00:24:25-4#
Interviewerin: What is the special function of young politicians? #00:24:28-1#
Befragte/r: Special function. #00:24:28-8#
Interviewerin: Yeah, in comparison to the elder politicians. Are there some special characters, some special things they can do that the elders cannot do? Maybe because they grew up in a more globalized world. Is there anything? More motivation or more power? #00:25:05-7#
Befragte/r: What I can say according to us, the young politicians, is most of the young politicians in this country they sacrifice their life to make this life to

become a good life one day. So, even if you can read the history, even if the Mwalimu Njerere, the late one, started the movement when he was very young, since seven years, if I don't make a mistake. But according to that history and we say the tour is going to make this Tanzanians to become Tanzanians one day, it is not someone like a young politician. #00:26:07-5#
Interviewerin: Okay, so, your country, your mwalimu wa taifa, was a young politician. #00:26:16-0#
Befragte/r: Yeah, the young politician Njerere was (2) branding this country on that time, so even now this time can be somewhere one day good situation according to that, yeah. #00:26:41-8#
Interviewerin: Okay, so would you say that the energy and the power- #00:26:47-5#
Befragte/r: The power #00:26:47-5#
Interviewerin: -that young politicians have plays an role in their strength and what they can do and their influence. #00:27:00-1#
Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:27:04-0#
Interviewerin: Okay, they power and motivation and that they are just suck up with their life and they want change, this is- #00:27:09-7#
Befragte/r: And if you go and make more research, you see even the government they feel more the changes of the youth, more than any part of the country. #00:27:32-0#
Interviewerin: So, the elder members are afraid of the young politicians? #00:27:35-8#
Befragte/r: Yeah, young politicians. #00:27:35-8#
Interviewerin: Because they get strong- #00:27:35-8#
Befragte/r: Strong and have so many support of the other young people. #00:27:44-3#
Interviewerin: Okay, so you would say the elders are afraid of you? #00:27:47-5#
Befragte/r: Yeah. #00:27:49-9#
Interviewerin: And how do you feel this in your everyday life? Did you make some experience when you challenged an elder person of your party for example? Did you make bad experience? #00:28:04-8#
Befragte/r: Yeah, I got bad experience. One day, I can say, I can give you a short story. Near the road called Service Road, we put our flag there, my street. Some of the fathers came there and removed that flag and on that Service Road they put the blogs, the electricity. So, when they removed the flag, may I don't see a person. I said if you removed that flag, go and take and put it back there. I'm talking "I'm with the young, young leader, I'm just your children but the way I can bring you is bad. It's better for you to bring that flag back there because the authority of the flag, the flag to be there at the Service Road, is according to our law it is supposed to be there. It's not your symbol and not your blogs". So, he respected me because how I (?) and I was talking according to that because I know what I was talking and so many young came there, they gave me also the support. So, they were like "He, that young lady politicians stayed up and more of the young gentlemen came there". They brought the flag and in my street now they respect me. According to the bad situation of their life, even if she is already to die. Because I know what my part is, yeah. #00:31:00-3#
Interviewerin: So, this was an old men who didn't want you to have this flag over there and he removed it and then you said "No, bring it back" and you got support and he brought back. #00:31:14-4#
Befragte/r: Yeah, himself. I said you removed so you yourself are supposed to bring back because when you don't put that things, may I go forward. When I will go forward you are death, your things, your business is removed one day and me and my

flag is still there because you break the law and me, I don't break the law. Because I know that man was in CCM, that's why he removed the flag of CHADEMA. I said "You can't remove my flag. Put my flag here." And he did and from that man respects me even if I look like his child. #00:31:59-5# **Interviewer:** And you yourself do you feel taken serious by the elders of your own party? #00:32:06-3# **Befragte/r:** Serious? #00:32:08-6# **Interviewer:** Yeah, do they respect you in your party? The older members of your party do they respect you as a young lady? #00:32:10-4# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, they respect me because when I stand- For example, that big election in 2010, me I was standing in Kunduchi Ward and there was someone who was the competing person and CHADEMA put a lady. So, and we won there because of the way we were standing up, talking with the people, with the citizens of that ward, we told them the truth, the things which the CCM they did not have done since five years and we have started to show them that the young lady, not only young lady, the woman, can and even in politics the young lady can also lead. So, now we are leading the ward, the Kunduchi Ward, yeah. #00:33:15-4# **Interviewer:** Congratulations. #00:33:18-4# **Befragte/r:** Thank you. #00:33:19-7# **Interviewer:** And do you think the elder members of politics, the old leaders, is there any special thing that makes you accept that they are one of the leading figures? Meaning, do they have something like experience where you would say "Okay, we need people in politics that are older than the younger ones because they have the experience or something else". Or would you say "No, the country can be ruled by young politicians on their own." #00:34:08-3# **Befragte/r:** What I can say shortly now, even if no one can see, most of the members in our parliament in the opposition party, means in CHADEMA party, most of them they are young politicians, like Halima Mdee, John Mnyika, Zitto Kabwe. They are still young and they stand in the parliament saying something even the speaker say the young politicians shake the parliament. So, me I say the CHADEMA they believe the young politicians they can lead the country. Because even if now here in Dar es Salaam we have two John Mnyika and Halima Mdee, they are young politicians and I can say the best. #00:35:15-5# **Interviewer:** So, you don't need the old men ruling the country? You can do it on your own, you young politicians? #00:35:21-5# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:35:23-1# **Interviewer:** I see. And if you would imagine in ten years in the future, you will be president of Tanzania, just imagine, would you also be afraid of the young ones coming after you? #00:35:37-9# **Befragte/r:** No. #00:35:41-8# **Interviewer:** Why? #00:35:42-0# **Befragte/r:** Because I know in this country, even the world, who is changing the world? It's the young. The youth, I can say, they are changing the world. If the youth is saying "No", it's really no. If the youth is saying "yes", it is really yes. If youth they say "We are going to fight against this", really they are going to fight, they are doing this. You cannot use the old men or the children to fight, no, you use the youth. So, the politicians- Even if I will be the president maybe, the youth that will become politicians, I will support them because I know where the changing is coming from. You can't change the country when you are children or old. You are changing the country when you are- according (you have assured?).

#00:36:37-2# **Interviewer:** Okay, one last question, you have a lot of young politicians, what do you think is the motivation of this young politicians to engage in politics? #00:36:47-2# **Befragte/r:** Me, for me myself? #00:36:53-2# **Interviewer:** In general. You already said that they want change, but can you imagine that there are also young politicians that join politics because of a good job, big cars and lots of money? #00:37:06-8# **Befragte/r:** Yeah. #00:37:06-8# **Interviewer:** You also have this kind of young politicians? #00:37:09-7# **Befragte/r:** In our country yes, but not in CHADEMA. #00:37:21-0# **Interviewer:** It's in the other parties? #00:37:23-3# **Befragte/r:** It's in the other. Most of the youth, even the women, for example, I can say the women of the CCM they don't go there because of they really love CCM. They go there because of the kangas, of the caps of the whatever. But when you look at CHADEMA, the women, they put the combat themselves, they buy the uniform of the CHADEMA by themselves because the wants of their heart is they want changes, they don't come here because of money, they come here because they want changes. #00:38:18-5# **Interviewer:** And you have some really very engaging young politicians, one example is Amina Chifupa. She was a member of parliament and she somehow challenged the elders in her party, what do you think about her behavior? #00:38:36-7# **Befragte/r:** Even if she was CCM, she liked to tell the truth and earlier I told that CCM they don't like the truth. If you are the truth and you are there, you lose your life immediately, they want to lie. But that lady who was in the CCM, but she told the truth because some of the honorable someone and she wanted to list names of those who are supporting the drugs in our country. So, before she read the names of the parliament, they killed her. So, you see, if you- It is bad because- But here in CHADEMA we won't fear. #00:39:34-6# **Interviewer:** Okay, but if you would be in her situation in CCM, would you have done the same? Behaved like she did? #00:39:57-0# **Befragte/r:** Yeah, I don't fear my whole life because I already sacrifice my life to die because I want to tell the truth. #00:40:04-4# **Interviewer:** So, you would have done the same like she did? #00:40:08-9# **Befragte/r:** Not like her because to tell the truth even if our flag that white color is used to be the truth. So, I'm supposed to tell the truth but the CCM they tell the truth I don't see somewhere or anywhere, I can say the truth of that country. So, I don't see according to my life. My life is I can die one day, but even if the history is (?) there, even is now, you can see, there are many people what was making her to die is because telling the truth. And because of these words, she tried to tell the truth to the people of the interests of their party, the honorable. #00:40:57-8# **Interviewer:** So, I think I have all my questions asked. Is there anything you would like to add regarding this? #00:41:12-4# **Befragte/r:** I can say that according to your interview my opinions according to my party they still believe in their young politicians because even anywhere in this country the youth they are the one who change their life and if you want to do anything, better be strong to be very publicity, use the word of the youth. So, according to my party, let's give them the young politicians party, the young politicians youth, to lead themselves. #00:42:14-8# **Interviewer:** Okay, thank you very much for taking the time. #00:42:23-0#

12.7 Abstract (deutsch/englisch)

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit widmet sich der Frage nach den Chancen und Gefahren eines Generationenwechsels auf politischer Ebene in Afrika südlich der Sahara. Viele afrikanische HerrscherInnen und Eliten halten sich seit dem Erkämpfen der Unabhängigkeit vom Kolonialismus an der Macht, ohne bisher echte demokratische Strukturen etabliert zu haben. Diese Eliten verlassen nun nach und nach spätestens aus Altersgründen die politische Arena. Deshalb steht die nachfolgende Generation junger PolitikerInnen im Fokus dieser Arbeit. Es wird herausgearbeitet, dass es noch immer vielfältige Grenzen politischer Partizipation für junge Menschen gibt. Diese hängen nicht zuletzt mit den in afrikanischen Ländern weit verbreiteten Charakteristika politischer Praxis, wie Korruption oder Big Man Rule, zusammen, die selbstbestimmtes und vor allem kritisches politisches Handeln junger Menschen erschweren. Trotz allem zeichnet sich ansatzweise eine Trendwende ab, wie auch für das Fallbeispiel Tanzania gezeigt wird. Die zunehmende Unzufriedenheit der Bevölkerung bezüglich anhaltend schlechter Lebensbedingungen und die wachsende Bedeutung junger PolitikerInnen in der oft durchschnittlich sehr jungen Bevölkerung afrikanischer Länder führen dazu, dass junge PolitikerInnen zunehmend als politische Akteure ernstgenommen werden. Vor dem Hintergrund neopatrimonialistisch und gerontokratisch geprägter Gesellschaften verschärft ihre wachsende politische Bedeutung wiederum das ohnehin angespannte Verhältnis zur älteren Generation von PolitikerInnen. Diese versucht ihre Macht weiterhin zu sichern und junge PolitikerInnen möglichst im eigenen Sinne heranzuziehen. Zur Überwindung der negativen Charakteristika von Politik in afrikanischen Ländern braucht es deshalb starke junge PolitikerInnen, die Reformwillen durchsetzen können, ohne dabei in alte Muster von Politik zurückzufallen.

This diploma thesis deals with the question of chances and risks that may occur with a generational change in the political arena in sub-Saharan Africa. A lot of the African leaders already are in power since the struggle for independence from colonialism but failed to establish substantial democratic structures by now. Since these leaders have to leave the political arena gradually because of their age, this diploma thesis focuses on the succeeding generation of young politicians. The thesis outlines that there are still a lot of great barriers for political participation of young people – not least because of the broadly distributed political practices in African countries, such as corruption and big man rule, which limit the self-relianced and critical engagement of young politicians. Nevertheless, to some extent there is a reversal of this trend visible, what can also be confirmed for the case study Tanzania. The growing disaffection of the citizens regarding their living standards and the growing meaning of young politicians in the relatively young populations that African countries are facing, young politicians need to be taken serious as political actors. On the background of neopatrimonial and gerontocratic shaped societies this involves the increase of the generation gap between young and old politicians, since the old ones try to force their power and would like to see the young politicians to follow in their footsteps. To overcome the negative political practices in African countries one needs strong young politicians who have the readiness to reform things without falling back into old patterns of behavior.

12.8 Lebenslauf

Angaben zur Person

Name:	Herlinghaus
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Wintersemester 2005/2006- Wintersemester 2011/2012:	Diplomstudium der Internationalen Entwicklung an der Universität Wien (Abschluss 04/2012) Studienschwerpunkte: Ost-Afrika, Jugend und Politik in Afrika, Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Nord-Süd Beziehungen Titel der Diplomarbeit: „‘Being Young, Being a Politician‘. Konzepte und Handlungsspielräume junger PolitikerInnen in Afrika (Fallbeispiel Tanzania)“
2007 – 2008 :	EU-Kurs des CIFE (Centre International de Formation Européenne) Abschluss mit dem Titel „EU- Experte“
1998-2005:	Domgymnasium, Verden (Abitur/Matura 2005)

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1. Oktober 2010 – 31. November 2011:	Studienassistentin von A.o.Univ.Prof. Dr. Fritz Hausjell am Institut für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, Wien
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