Linnéuniversitetet
Kalmar Växjö

Youth political participation in an emerging democracy
- A case study of political participation among Tanzanian youths in urban Mwanza

Author: Josef Alm

Supervisor: Staffan Andersson

Department of Political Science

Bachelor's Thesis

2015

Abstract

This thesis is based on a case study of Tanzanian youths' political participation in urban Mwanza. The purpose of this study is to examine how urban youths understand their participation in various political activities in an emerging democracy like Tanzania. The research question guiding the study is how youths understand and value voting in elections in comparison to other forms of political participation. The study focuses on three different political activities; to vote, to contact a politician and to participate in a demonstration. The three political activities are combined with Verba et al.'s (1995) theory of the attributes of political activities into a theoretical analysis model. The thesis uses a qualitative methodology based on 19 semi-structured interviews with Tanzanian youths living in urban Mwanza. The results indicated that the youths in Mwanza understood voting as their prime opportunity to communicate their political voices to politicians. However, the youths expressed that political activities beyond voting facilitate them with opportunities to communicate more specific political messages to politicians multiple times.

Key concepts: Youth, political participation, Tanzania, emerging democracies, voting, contacting politicians, demonstrations.

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction

It has been widely argued that citizen's political participation is the heart of democracy (Lijphart 1997:1, Verba et al. 1995). However, many representative democracies in the world are to varied degrees challenged by unequal political participation between different citizen groups within their societies. This can be considered as one of *democracy's unresolved dilemmas* (Lijphart 1997:1). As in most democracies in the world, the issue of systematic unequal level of political participation between different age-groups is an increasingly discussed issue in many African states. Casale & Resnick's (2011) as well as Isaksson's (2010:9) research show that young citizens in Africa are less likely to participate in elections than older citizens. The difference in participation between ages is in accordance with general findings from other parts of the world (Casale & Resnick 2011). However, Casale and Resnick's (2011) research point towards that African youths are less likely to participate in demonstrations than older citizens, which is not the case in for example most western democracies. Utter (2011) argues that the issue of political participation and its role in forming democratic norms is linked to issues about consolidating democracy. Hence, it is crucial that the youths adopt values and traditions of democracy in order to sustain and maintain the democratic system (Utter 2011).

In Africa the issue of youth political participation is more important than ever, seeing how 70% of the African population are young people, persons less than 29 years, compared to for example 34% in Europe (Casale & Resnick 2011:1). Lowther (2013) argues that many emerging democracies in Africa move towards more open and free political societies but claims that "in many African nations a large segment of the population remains marginalised, namely the youth" (Lowther 2013:1). A sustained democratic system requires that citizens engage and participate in politics (Verba et al. 1995). Mcgee & Greenhalf (2011:12) states that in many African states youths have been portrayed as a "frustrated and excluded *lost generation* who are marginalised from decision-making processes".

Tanzania is a prime example of this situation. Tanzania still lacks a fully consolidated democracy (Ewald 2011) and has a young population where 64.2% of the population are below 25 years old (CIA Factbook 2014). Tanzania implemented a multi-party system in 1992. Hence, the present generation of youths in Tanzania, persons 18 to 24 years old, are the first generation of citizens that have grown up in a political society with a multi-party system.

However, the Tanzanian *National Youth Development Policy* (2007) stated that Tanzanian youths "are not represented in various forums and do not participate adequately in decision making bodies. As a result most of the decisions which have been made do not take concerns of the youth" (Government of Tanzania 2007:14). Furthermore, a report from Unicef from 2012 states that "despite recognition by policy and legal frameworks, youth participation has yet to become a common practice in Tanzania" (Unicef 2012:84). However, beyond elections our knowledge about Tanzanian youth's participation in political activities is limited, as it is a relatively unexplored research area. Given the important role of youth and participation in emerging democracies, the problem in focus of this essay is what various forms of political participation means for youths in an emerging democracy like Tanzania.

After over 20 years of multi-party system democracy is not consolidated in Tanzania. Instead it is argued that the democratization process has resulted in a consolidation of *electoral democracy* (Ewald 2011:36 ; Duhu 2005:4) a relatively minimalist form of democracy where free and fair elections are held (Freedom House 2010). Although the 2010 general elections in Tanzania were the most free and fair in the country's history (Freedom House 2010) the voter turnout decreased about 30% in the general elections, from 72,2% in the 2005 to only 42,8% in 2010 (IDEA 2011; Laurentius; 2012). Despite the decreased voter turnout, surveys indicate that the support for democracy is strong among Tanzanian citizens. In 2012 the Afrobarometer Survey of Tanzania (2012:19) indicated that 84% of the population thought *democracy was preferable to any other kind of governance.* The declining participation in the election in contrast with high support of democracy raises the question if citizens in Tanzania prefer other forms of participation in the democratic system than voting in elections. Hence, beyond voting citizen can also participate through demonstrations, contacting politicians or engage in political parties etc. (Anckar 2013:255). The youths are the future citizens of the emerging democratic system in Tanzania and how they understand and engage in various forms of political activities could be regarded as a central issue for the country's future democratic path (Lowther 2013:1). To examine this issue, Tanzanian youths in urban Mwanza have been selected as a case study; the case selection is further discussed in the method chapter. The thesis uses a qualitative methodology based on 19 semi-structured interviews with youths in urban Mwanza.

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine how Tanzanian youths in urban Mwanza value voting in election in comparison to other forms of participation in the emerging democratic system. Furthermore, the purpose is to analyse if youths' perspectives towards various voluntary political activities can contribute to a better understanding of how youths understand political participation in an emerging democracy like Tanzania. The research question guiding this study is formulated as follows:

How do youths understand and value voting in elections in comparison to other forms of political participation?

2. Previous research & definitions

This chapter will discuss previous research on political participation in relation to the youth. First, the concept of political participation will be discussed and defined. This is followed by previous research on youth political participation in perspective to the African context.

2.1 Definitions of Political Participation

Within political science a basic definition of the concept of *democracy* has been *rule by the people* and consequently the people's participation in politics is a cornerstone of a democratic system. However, the definition of political participation is a contested definition within political science (Potgieter 2013:23). According to Verba et al. (1995) a democratic system is in many aspects unthinkable without allowing the citizens to participate in the governance process of society. In the book *Voice and Equality* Verba et al (1995) state that: "political participation affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to pressure on them to respond" (Verba et al 1995:37). It is commonly agreed that voting is the most common form of citizen's political participation in most societies (Verba et al 1995) and until the 1960s scholars mainly studied political participation as the *one-dimensional activity* of voting (Dalton 2008 ; Potgeiter 2013). However, contemporary research has defined political participation as a *multi-dimensional phenomenon* where citizens can participate in politics in multiple ways. Contemporary research have embraced a variety of political activities such as protest activities, contacting politicians, campaign work, donating money, signing pettings, online activities etc. (Potgeiter 2013: Verba et al 1995). Citizen's political participation could be understood as a dynamic social phenomena, which changes over time rather than being a static form of interaction between citizen's and political actors (Lamprianou 2013).

This essay rests on the assumption, that political participation is a dynamic social phenomena, and will therefore use a definition of political participation that captures a plurality of political activities. The definition origins from Brady et al. (1999) who define political participation as:

> voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system (Brady et al 1999:737)

2.2 Youths and the democratic system

In the book *Youth and political participation* the scholar Utter (2011) states that it has been widely argued that within a democratic system it is crucial that the youth adopt values and traditions of democracy in order to sustain and maintain a democratic system. Along the same line Sloam (2011) has argued that the issue of youth's engagement in politics is of high importance for the future functionality of all democratic systems. Sloam states that the youth "can offer us a window through which to view the future of our democracies" (Sloam 2011:4). In order to understand the phenomena of political participation in a society Sloam argues: "we must explore how each new generation comes to develop its own conceptions of citizenship and expresses itself through civic and political engagement" (Sloam 2011:4). Thereby, the youth is viewed as the future generation of citizens and a cornerstone behind political change in a society (Sloam 2011), which could be of relevance for future political processes in emerging democracies like Tanzania.

2.3 Youth political participation

In western democracies scholars have argued that the declining numbers of youths voting in elections hazards to create a future electorate that will be less engaged in forthcoming elections. Since voting is essential for democracy this could in turn cause negative impacts on the democratic system (Petrov 2014). However, Sloam (2011) argues that although youths' participation in elections has a tendency of being lower than for older age-groups, youths could still posses a significant interest for politics. Rather than mainly focusing on voting, Sloam argues that youths focus their political engagement towards non-voting forms of political activism like demonstrations or protests. In western democracies, the research of political participation has highlighted the issue of youths' lower level of participation in elections (Petrov 2014). Although studies indicate that youths in Africa also vote less than older citizens research on youth's political participation in African contexts are scarce (Resnick & Casale 2011:19). In Africa the research around the issue has a much shorter history than in for example Europe and America where scientific studies focusing on issues of youths' political participation dates back more than half a century (Casale & Resnick 2011 ; Utter 2011). On the other hand, during recent years the issue of youth political participation has been brought to the political agenda in Africa (IDEA; UDECA & UNDP 2012). Notably, the issue was highlighted in 2006 when the African Union developed the *African Youth Charter* (2006) with the target to: "strengthen, reinforce and consolidate efforts to empower young people through meaningful youth participation and equal partnership in driving

Africa's development agenda" (African Union 2014:1). However, a report from the World Bank (2013) argues that unemployment and poor living conditions among African youths lead to that "these young people have high expectations, and African policy makers are increasingly concerned about how to meet them" (World Bank 2013:xix). Henn & Foard (2012) argue that rather than lacking interest, the issue of low participation among youths could be caused by a feeling among youths that they are disconnected from influence in the political system.

3. Theory

This thesis will use a *theory-consuming approach* in which the theories will be applied to analyse and understand the empirical material. Rather than trying the empirical material towards a specific theory the theoretical framework will develop a *theoretical analysis model* aiming at bringing light into the findings from the empirical results (Esaiasson et al. 2012:41). As the first component of the theoretical analysis model developed in this chapter I discuss theories regarding different forms of political activities. This will lead into a selection of three different forms of political participation of focus in this study. As a second component, these political activities will be applied into Verba et al.'s (1995) theory of *attributes of political activities* which distinguish differences between various political activities. Finally, these two components will be combined into a *theoretical analysis model* that will guide the analysis of the empirical findings. At last, the operationalization of the *theoretical analysis model* will be discussed.

3.1 Forms of political participation

In the book *Youth Political Participation* Utter (2011) argues that a healthy democracy requires a healthy level of political participation among its' citizens. According to Utter (2011) a healthy level of youth political participation does not just require a high level of voter turnout among youths but furthermore requires that youths get involved in various political activities. This since different forms of political activities can enable citizen's to provide information and preferences to politicians in different ways (Verba 1995). As discussed in previous research, contemporary research almost exclusively refers to political participation as a multi-dimensional phenomenon including a variety of political activities (Potgeiter 2013).

A common reference of departure for the multi-dimensional perspective of political participation has been the well-cited theory by Verba and Nie (1972), from the 1970s, where the scholars identified four different modes of political participation. These were to vote, campaigning, to contact officials and community work. In addition to Verba and Nie's four forms, several contemporary scholars have in recent years added the political activity of demonstrations or protests as an essential political activity (Dalton 2008, Potgeiter 2013, Sloam 2011). For example Sloam (2011) argues that to participate in a demonstration or to protest is an essential part of youths' political behaviour.

This study will be limited to voluntary political activities, excluding political activities that clearly involve payment or employment (Verba et al. 1995). Due to the limited length of this study, the study is limited to three forms of political participation. The chosen political activities somehow aim at embracing youths' *indirect, direct* and *public* communication with politicians. Seeing how Tanzania face local government elections in 2014 and national elections in 2015 the activity of voting is of relevance. However, participation in voting does not convey anything about the youths' direct interaction with politicians. Hence, the activity of contacting politicians could grasp the youths' participatory dimension of direct interaction with politicians (Verba et al. 1995). In Tanzania, youths have in recent years increasingly participated in various demonstrations, especially in urban areas (Wakunga 2014 ; Benedicto 2014) making demonstrations an activity of interest for the Tanzanian context. The three political activities that will be used as a guideline for the theoretical framework are thus: *(1) to vote; (2) to contact a politician or official; (3) to participate in a demonstration*. The three political activities are chosen due to their ability to encompass essential dimensions of youths' political participation in Mwanza and will be used as guidelines for mapping out the youths' participation in politics. However, the three chosen forms of participation will not strictly ignore other forms of political participation that might come up during the interviews. The three political activities will be discussed more in detail through Verba et al. (1995) theory of *the varying attributes of political activities*.

3.2 The attributes of political activities

In the book *Voice and Equality* Verba et al. (1995:1) argue that in a democratic system people's participation in political activities function as a communicative mechanism that facilitates citizens with a voice to express their political interests, preferences and needs. Verba et al. focus on the issue of unequal voices between different groups of citizens. A

central aspect of their theory is how citizens communicate their political voices to the government. The scholars state that:

> In a meaningful democracy, the people's voice must be clear and loud - clear so that policymakers understand citizens concerns and loud so that they have an incentive to pay attention to what is said (Verba et al. 1995:1)

Verba et al. (1995:1) argue that a democratic system is unthinkable without allowing the citizens to participate in the governance process. However, most democratic systems are challenged by unequal level of political participation between different groups of citizens. Nevertheless, the unequal level of citizens' involvement in political activities also varies between the different forms of political activities (Verba et al. 1995:1). This issue is linked to that different political activities seize different *attributes* and Verba et al. (1995:43) identifies three main analytical distinctions that describe how different political activities function politically.

First citizens need different *resources* to participate in different political activities. Secondly, different political activities equip citizens with different capacities to communicate political messages or information to politicians, more or less specifically. Thirdly, the activities volume capacity varies; either the citizens can participate in the act once or several times. From these arguments Verba et al. (1995:47) have developed a theory which claims that different forms of political activities vary in their (1) *capacity to convey information,* (2) *capacities to be multiplied* and (3) *which resources that are required for each activity*. While the first attribute focuses on the citizens' requisite to communicate his or her voice, the other two attributes focus on how the activity's can put pressure on politicians to respond to the citizen's voice (Verba et al. 1995:44). These three different attributes of political activities are forwarded in a theory that distinguish and identify central differences between various political activities. These three components, referred to as the *attributes of political activities*, will be discussed respectively.

3.2.1 Attribute 1: Capacity to convey information

Verba et al. (1995:44) state that: "participatory acts vary in the extent to which they convey information about the circumstances and preferences of the participant". Political activities have different capacities to communicate the citizen's voice to politicians, varying on a scale from *information-rich* to *less information-rich* activities (Verba et al. 1995:45). As Verba et

al. describe it: "while votes, on their own, communicate little information about the concerns and priorities of the voter, many other kinds of participation arrive with specific issue concerns attached" (1995:13). The vote is considered as an unsharpened tool in terms of communicating what the citizen specifically has in mind. On the other hand, during a direct contact with a politician a citizen can communicate explicit messages and transmit specific information about the issue in regard (Verba et al. 1995:48).

3.2.2 Attribute 2: Capacities to be multiplied

Verba et al. argue that political activities vary in their capacity to be multiplied. The scholars state that: "political acts vary in the extent to which it is possible, or even legal, to multiply the amount of participatory input". In terms of *participatory input,* meaning how much quantity of participation the citizens put into the activity, voting has a unique attribute due to its' base on the principle; *one vote for each citizen.* While the vote cannot be multiplied all other voluntary political activities can be multiplied. Thus, when moving beyond voting the attribute of different political activities' *capacities to be multiplied* becomes critical (Verba et al. 1995:13). By participating in an activity several times, a citizen can repeat the political message to the politicians and thereby continuously increase the pressure on the politicians to take action and respond to the citizen's request (Verba et al. 1995:46). Verba et al. (1995:44) argue that the issue of unequal level of participatory input becomes greater within political activities that can be multiplied (for example contacting politicians or demonstrations) compared to political activities that cannot be multiplied (voting).

3.2.3 Attribute 3: Resources for political activities

The third component in Verba et al.'s theory is that citizens need different *resources* to participate in various political activities. The scholars argue that *time*, *money* and *civic skills* are fundamental personal resources that citizens need to participate in political activities. Furthermore, different political activities require different combinations of resources as well as different quantities of these resources. All forms of political participation require a personal input of either money or time. How effective an individual could use these two resources depends on which level of *civic skills* the individual possess (Verba et al. 1995: 44, 271). The scholars refers to citizen's *civic skills* as "organizational and communication capabilities" (Verba et al. 1995:271). Citizens who posses *civic skills* are for example good in organizing and leading a meeting or are good at writing and orally presenting convincing arguments. For example voting and demonstrations mainly requires *time* while contacting a politician

12

requires time but also the *civic skills* for expressing and communicating the political message to the politician, in written or oral form (Verba et al. 1995:48).

3.3 Applying the attributes to the study's three political activities

In this section the three forms of political activities, presented previously in this chapter, will be applied to Verba et al. (1995) three attributes of political activities. Each of the three political activities will theoretically be discussed in regard to *the attributes of political activities*.

According to Verba et al. (1995) *voting* in elections is fundamental for the existence of democracy since "electoral returns are decisive in determine who shall govern" (Verba et al. 1995:23). Due to its' base on the principle of *one vote for each citizen* the vote has the attribute of giving each citizen an opportunity for an equal amount of participatory input. Thus, Verba et al. argue that democracies use elections as a simplified mechanism for handling the issue of political equality between the citizens. However, voting is different to all other political activities since it cannot be multiplied and furthermore has limited capacity to communicate specific political messages from citizens to politicians (Verba et al 1995:12). Citizen's participation in *voting* requires mainly investment of some of their *free time*, seeing how citizens need to allocate some time to attend the polls. Voting is rather a non-resource intensive activity requiring limited amount of time and not necessary the *input* of money neither the citizens to possess civic skills (Anckar 2012:256 ; Verba et al. 1995:271).

The political activity of *contacting a politician* refers to a situation when a citizen get in contact with a politician or official in order to present and discuss a specific issue or communicate personal political instruction. The direct interaction means that individuals can communicate rather specific information to politicians. Furthermore, citizens can multiply this activity by continuously contacting a politician about an issue. Thus, the citizen can increase the pressure on the politician to respond to the citizen's request (Verba et al. 1995:46). Furthermore, Norris (2007:639) claims that this act is commonly undertaken on individual basis and requires a rather low level of cooperation with other people. However, citizens need to be innovative and have access to information and Verba et al. (1995) state that to successfully contact and influence a politician citizens need to develop civic skills, since citizens need to have skills in order to effectively communicating their message to the politician.

The third political activity studied in this thesis is *demonstration,* also referred to as protest activities. By participating in demonstrations citizens can collectively raise a particular issue and convey rather extensive information and opinions to politicians, policy makers or the government (Verba et al. 1995). The political activity of demonstration is usually a collective form of political activity, often through groups of people either in a peaceful or violent manner (Potgeiter 2013). A central attribute of the activity of demonstration is that citizens have high capacity to increase their *participatory input* in the activity. By protesting about an issue several times, citizens can increase the pressure on the government to take action on the issue. To participate in demonstrations citizens predominantly need the resource of *free time*, while money and civic skills are not necessary resources (Verba et al 1995).

3.4 Operationalization – the theoretical analysis model

The theories discussed in this chapter will be embraced into an analytical framework that will guide the analysis of the results from the interviews. The theoretical perspective of this thesis takes departure from the *multi-dimensional perspective* of political participation arguing that citizens can participate in various political activities. The three forms of political activities, discussed in this chapter, are the cornerstones of the theoretical analysis model as well as for developing the structure of the interview guide. Seeing how the objective of this thesis is to identify perceptions of various political activities, the theory of *the attributes of political activities* is applied in the *model* due to its' ability to identify different dimensions between various political activities. The objective is that the theoretical analysis model will bring deeper knowledge about how youths in Mwanza view various forms of political participation. Consequently, the interviews will focus on how the youths understand their participation in three political activities in connection to the activities' capacity to convey information, capacities to be multiplied and which resources that are required for each activity (Verba et al. 1995:47).

The theoretical analysis model, based on the three political activities combined with the theory of *the attributes of political activities* can be summarized as followed. To contact a politician and to participate in a demonstration have a higher capacity to communicate specific messages or instructions compared to voting. Voting is the only activity that cannot be multiplied whereas the other two activities have a higher capacity to increase the citizen's *participatory input*. All voluntary political activities require some investment of the

participants' *free time*. Voting is the least resource-intensive activity while the participation through contacting a politician or participation in a demonstration often is more resource-intensive. Furthermore, if citizens invest time (or money) while simultaneously possessing skills in organizing and communicating (*civic skills*), Verba et al. (1995) argue that citizens will be more likely to participate in politics as well as more effective in their ability to participate (Verba et al. 1995:271). Out of these claims a *model* has been developed. The theoretical analysis model guiding this study is summarized in the *Figure 1* below.

Figure 1. - Theoretical analysis model

Political activity	Capacity to communicate information	Capacity to be multiplied	Required resources
To vote	Low	Low	Time
To contact a politician	High	High	Time and Civic skills
To participate in a demonstration	High	High	Time

4. Method

The first section of this chapter presents the guideline for the study's *research design*. The chapter then progress into a discussion on the selection of the case of *youths in urban Mwanza*. The study's definition of *youth* is presented in the method, since the definition is considered to have a methodological rather than a theoretical meaning. The choice of conducting *semi-structured interviews* as well as the *selection of respondents* will then be discussed. Finally, the *additional interviews* with experts as well as the case study's *limitations and validity* will be discussed.

4.1 Research Design

Brinkmark (2013:45) argues that a qualitative study need a guideline for the general approach of how the study will be structured, conducted and analysed, this can be referred to as *research design*. This thesis is structured around a *case study* of youth's participation in

political activities in urban Mwanza. The qualitative approach has been chosen since qualitative interviews with youths facilitate the study with opportunities to explore and get new and deeper knowledge of the phenomena in study. The qualitative approach is chosen due to the research objective's descriptive approach. Notably, the focus is on *how* youths understand their participation in political activities rather than *why or why not* youths participate. Given the research objective, a quantitative study or literature study would have limited capacity to grasp new knowledge about the relatively unexplored research area of youth political participation in Mwanza (Essiassion et al. 2012:252 ; Kvale, 2009:21). The collection of data will be based on *qualitative semi-structured interviews* with youths, in the ages 18 to 24, living in urban Mwanza. Moreover, a theory consuming approach will be used in order to analyse the material from the interviews (Esaiassion et al. 2012). The *theoretical analysis model,* developed previously, serves as a theoretical anchor when analysing the empirical material as well as for developing the semi-structured interview guide.

4.2 Case selection: The choice of urban youths in Mwanza

This section discusses the *case selection* of urban Mwanza and also function as a background section for the case of Mwanza. As discussed in the introduction, Tanzania was selected as a case study for the issue of youth political participation in emerging democracies due to the country's young population and emerging democratic system (CIA Factbook 2014 ; Laurentius 2012). The current political situation in Tanzania makes the country suitable for a case study for youth political participation. In December 2014 countrywide Local Government elections were held and in October 2015 Tanzania faces general elections for President and Parliament, the country's fifth general multi-party elections. To conduct the case study in the end of 2014 was considered as suitable time with nearby elections in both 2014 and 2015. The ruling party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), in English *the party of the revolution,* has controlled the political landscape in Tanzania since the country's independence over 50 years ago[1]. Since the first multi-party elections were held in Tanzania in 1995 CCM has continuously won a majority of the votes in the general elections for parliament and presidency (Laurentius 2012).

Urban Mwanza is a politically interesting area for a field study. Although ruling party CCM continued to dominate Tanzanian politics after the 2010 elections the political scientist Babeiya argued that the opposition parties' success during 2010 elections "marked a new

---

[1] The present CCM party structure is a product of the merge of the Zanzibarian Afro-Shiraz party and mainland TANU party

chapter in the country's political history" (Babeiya 2010:86). Notably, the opposition party *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA), which means the *party for democracy and progress* in English, mobilized many Tanzanian youths. The Mwanza region was one of the areas where CHADEMA increased its' voter support the most during the 2010 elections (Laurentius 2012:14).

An urban area was strategically chosen for this case study. Mwanza is Tanzania's second biggest city and one of the country's fastest growing urban areas (Laurentius 2012). According to the report *The Challenge of urbanization process in Tanzania* by Unicef (2012) the population in Tanzanian cities grow with 5% annually and in 2030 it is expected that more than 20 million Tanzanians will live in urban settings (Unicef 2012:7). According to Unicef (2012) young Tanzanians below 25 years are the biggest age-group migrating from rural to urban areas. They are also argued to be the age-group who hazards to be marginalised from the social, economical and political urban life (Unicef 2012). In Mwanza, youths migrating from rural to urban areas is an increasingly tendency (Bandoma 2014).

Urban Mwanza is also suitable location for the case study of Tanzanian youths since the population in urban Mwanza has a high diversity of ethnicities, religions and different tribes, which somehow reflects the diverse ethnic and religious demography in Tanzania as a whole (Laurentius 2010:14). This facilitates the case study with enhanced opportunities, although at a very limited extent, to give relevance to the results found in this case study in Mwanza to youths in Tanzania in general. Lastly, urban Mwanza is selected for the field study since youth political participation in Mwanza is a relatively unexplored compared to related studies and reports conducted in for example Dar es Salaam (Laurentius 2010,) such as Jacobsen's research about politically disengaged Tanzanian youths in Dar es Salaam (Jacobsen 2014). To summarize, the urban setting, the political situation and ethnic and religious diversity makes urban Mwanza suitable for a case study of political participation among Tanzanian youths.

4.2.1 The study's definition of youth

The categorization of *who is a youth* in African countries varies widely from different historical and cultural contexts as well as between different countries. A historical common definition has been describing *the youth* as a transition process from the dependent life during childhood to a more independent life of adulthood, which age-span is dependent to specific contexts (Utter 2011 ; Mcgee & Greenhalf 2011:25). This vague definition has made the

concept of youth a contested definition. The United Nations and the European Union define youths as girls and boys in the ages of 15 to 24 (UNESCO 2014) while the Commonwealth define it as the ages of 15 to 29 (Mcgee & Greenhalf 2011:25). On the other hand, the African Union and since 2007 also the government of Tanzania define youths as persons from 15 to 35 years old (African Youth Charter 2006 ; Government of Tanzania 2007). However, the Tanzanian *National Youth Development Policy* emphasizes that the understanding of who is a youth in Tanzania differ from rural to urban areas as well as between and within different contexts (Government of Tanzania 2007). In order to find a suitable definition of youths for this case study the social, political and cultural context in Tanzania and urban Mwanza was considered. After discussions with two Tanzanian NGOs working with youths, *Femina Hip* and *Mwanza Children and Youth Network*, the minimum age for respondents in this study was set to 18 years, much due to that the minimum age for voting is 18 years in Tanzania. As with the United Nation's definition the limit of 24 years will be used as the maximum age in this study. Although people over 24 could be considered as youths in Tanzania, respondents over 24 years will not be included in this study since a wide age span could create too wide responses. This could in turn require a power analysis between different age-groups of youths (Hussko 2008), which is out of the scope of this study. Furthermore, by taking departure from the United Nation's definition, the results could be more relevant to other emerging democratic societies. Lastly, the smaller age span of 18 to 24 also enhanced practical possibilities to include a more representative selection of youths with a variation of ages, gender, education, socio-economic situations and ethnicity. The chosen definition of youths as females and males between 18 and 24 years could be understood as a selection criteria for the respondents of the study rather than as a universal definition of youth.

4.3 Semi-structured interviews

The empirical data, collected in order to answer the study's research questions, will be based on semi-structured interviews with youths living in urban Mwanza. The semi-structured interviews have been selected due to their possibility to grasp a wide range of aspects of the relatively unexplored research area of youth political participation in Mwanza (Kvale 1999:20ff). The empirical data based on 19 semi-structured interviews, with both females and males in the ages 18 to 24, were collected by the author during fieldwork in urban Mwanza. The small number of 19 respondent interviews in this case study is supported by Brinkmark (2013) who argues that a small number of interviews that are more carefully analysed are often preferable to a large number of interviews that cannot be explored in detail (Brinkmark

2013:59). Furthermore, due to the limit of time of this bachelor thesis a collection of a larger amount of empirical data, such as for example conducting a quantitative survey, was neither considered as practical nor as possible.

The interview guide will take departure from Flick's (2006:157) idea of having a framework of *open, theoretical and conflicting questions* as this was considered as a useful way for approaching the responding youth's understandings of political participation with different kind of question categories. The semi-structured interviews with youths were initiated by several *open questions* where the respondents could elaborate their perceptions of political participation. Secondly, more *theoretical related questions* were asked to the respondents focusing on theory-related issues of specific political activities (Flick 2006). Finally, the respondents were given physical cards written in Swahili and asked to rank the three different political activities out of their personal preferences. The purpose for the ranking questions was not to find quantitative measurements but was instead used as a technique for encouraging the respondents to reflect deeper on their own perception of participating in various political activities. Thereby, the ranking questions could be seen as Flick's (2006:157) interview technique of asking *conflicting questions* in order to clear out differences. In the interviews the *conflicting questions* aimed at clarifying if the respondents had different approaches towards different political activities. Additionally some follow-up questions were asked to clarify some of the given answers, in order to avoid misapprehension of central aspects.

4.4 The interview situation and ethical considerations

An interpreter (a male Tanzanian) was present during all interviews due to the limited spread of the English language among youths in Mwanza. Most of the interviews were conducted in the Swahili language, while only a handful interviews were done in English. The interpreter used during the interviews was a person working for a youth organization in Mwanza. The interpreter's had professional experience of working with youths in Mwanza. His presence created an interview situation where the respondents could speak more freely. Furthermore, the interpreter's knowledge of both European and Tanzanian culture reduced the issue of interview effect (Esaiasson et al. 2012:267) that could be caused by social and cultural differences between myself as the interviewer and the respondents (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009:160). Furthermore, the author has lived in Tanzania and speaks Swahili. Hence, a few times the author talked in Swahili directly with the respondents in order to stimulate a more

intimate interview situation.

The ethical issues of this study were considered carefully. The respondents participated voluntary in the research and were allowed to skip questions if they felt uncomfortable. All of the respondents were above 18 years old. All respondents were informed about the purpose of the study before deciding to attend the interviews. Before starting the interviews the respondents were once again informed about the purpose of the study and their function as respondents. Furthermore, the attempt was to strive for as much anonymity as possible. Consequently, no respondents were asked for their names or addresses since this had no purpose for the study and no interviews were done in public areas.

4.4.1 Selection of respondents

The selection and sampling of respondents was based on what Brinkmark (2013:57-58) calls an *information-oriented selection with a maximum variation*. This means that the respondents were selected with the objective to give a maximum amount of information about the phenomena in study with a limited number of respondents. However, the youth in urban Mwanza could be seen as a heterogeneous social group. By using Brinkmark's *(2013) information-oriented selection with a maximum variation* the aim was to depict a more general situation of youths living in urban Mwanza rather than focusing on a specific youth group, such as only female youths or unemployed youths, which was not the objective of the thesis' research question. While selecting the responding youth for this case study special attention was given to find youths, in the ages 18 to 24, with different *gender*, *level of education, ages and socio-economic situations*. The respondents were strategically selected to represent a variation of these criterions. The target of the selection criteria was achieved much due to the help and expertise from the Chairman of *Mwanza Children and Youth Network* (MCYN), Shaban Ramadhani Maganga and his colleagues at MCYN. The decision to discuss and cooperate with MYCN and Maganga during the selection process was done due to the organizations interest and experience of youth political participation. Due to the MCYN's extensive network of youths in urban Mwanza a rather representative selection of youths was achieved. A more detailed list of the respondents can be found in Appendix 1.

4.5 Additional interviews with experts

Youth political participation is an unexplored research area in Mwanza and there are few published reports or articles about this topic in the context of Mwanza. In order to get more background information and facts about the case of youths participation in politics in Mwanza

the author conducted five additional interviews with experts. Theses interviews were considered as necessary to get more information about the case of Mwanza and for preparing the respondent interviews. This information was not considered possible neither appropriate to collect from the respondents. The five experts were personnel from local Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working with youth issues in urban Mwanza. The objective was to collect the experts' professional knowledge and experience of youth political participation in urban Mwanza. However, the interviews with the experts should not be considered as the central empirical data for this thesis but instead as an additional source of reference not available in written form. These interviews had a slightly different methodological framing compared to the respondent interviews. The expert interviews were also semi-structured, using a small number of open questions where the informants could elaborate their answers. Due to the contextual situation, the selection method for the informants was based on a snowball-effect selection where one informant pointed out another informant (Brinkmark 2013) who had expert knowledge about the topic.[2] The expert interviews where conducted in English and had the purpose to enhance the validity of this case study – to ensure that the study measure what it aims at measuring (Esaiasson et al. 2012:56).

4.6 Limitations and validity of the study

The focus is on *how* youths in urban Mwanza participate in politics rather than *why or why not* youths participate. Therefore, this case study does not aim at making any generalizations of why or why not Tanzanian youths in general participate in political activities. The small number of respondents limits the study from making generalized claims to a larger population of youths in Africa or Tanzania (Esaiasson et al. 2012). The study's focus on only three political activities is inevitable a limitation to grasp all components of youths' in Mwanza political engagement. The results could however contribute to a better understanding of the topic. Hence, the case study aims at being a part in a larger puzzle of the complex issue of youth political participation in Tanzania.

Brinkmark (2012:146) claims that in regard to the uniqueness of qualitative studies, qualitative research should throughout the process of the study try to reflect on objectivity, validity and reliability. Furthermore, qualitative studies should not strictly confine these aspects to specific sections in the same way as in for example quantitative studies. Hence, the

---

[2] More information about the expert interviews can be found in the chapter *References* in the section called *Interviews*.

validity of this study is tied to what has been previously discussed in this and the theoretical chapter. A central aspect for the study's validity is that the study will adequately *measure* youths' understanding of their participation in various forms of political participation and the differences between the activities. Thus, the presented theoretical analysis model has the purpose to guide the empirical collection of data. Furthermore, the previously discussed case selection and definition of youths are of importance for the validity. As previously discussed, Mwanza is chosen as a case study due to its' potential to be relatively representative for other urban parts of Tanzania. The definition of youth, developed out of aspects of the Tanzanian context, is aiming at making the study valid to actually study the phenomenon in focus. However, the study presumably cannot measure the youths' full understanding of this complex phenomenon but rather identify some common patterns among the youths and see how this can answer the research question.

5. Results & Theoretical analysis

In the first part of this chapter the empirical results from the interviews with 19 youths in Mwanza will be presented. This is followed by a second section of the theoretical analysis guided by the previously developed *theoretical analysis model*. Throughout the chapter the research question, of *how youths value and understand voting in election in comparison to other political activities*, will be in focus. The empirical results from the interviews are structured around the three political activities in focus of this study; *voting, contacting politician* and *demonstrations*. The presentation of the empirical results will be initiated by a description of the respondents' characteristics and their general view of the phenomena of political participation.

5.1 Results: Youths and political participation in Mwanza

The author interviewed 19 youths in urban Mwanza, in the two districts of Nyamagana and Ilemela. The respondents were selected from the criteria presented in the method chapter. Ten of the respondents were females and nine were males. The respondents were in various ages between 18 to 24 years old. Among the respondents eight had secondary education, nine were undertaking or had finished a college degree and one had primary education. Nine respondents expressed that they were economically dependent on their family, eight respondents had some kind of personal income while two youths were unemployed.[3]

---

[3] See full characteristics of the respondents in Appendix 1

The interviews were initiated by some open questions. Before asking theory-related questions the respondents were asked what participation in politics (in Swahili *ushiriki ya siasa)* meant for the youths personally. Many of the of the youths talked about political participation as a way of involving themselves in political matters, from local to national level, as for example the 21-year old man who said: *"for me political participation means involving oneself into political issues, maybe from the lowest level, from street level to country level. As long as the issue focus on politics"* (Respondent 1). A 24-year old woman had a even broader view saying: *"political participation is about knowing your basic rights, about knowing where you are coming from and where you are going"* (Respondent 7). Several respondents understood political participation as a way of getting to know their country. A 21-year old female said that *"Political participation helps me to know my basic right, it helps me to know my country, it helps me to understand"* (Respondent 11). Predominantly, many respondents talked about participation in politics as way to express their opinions, as a 21-year old female said *"political participation according to me is to get the right submit your needs to the government"* (Respondent 16). In the following sections, the results from the *theory-related* and *conflicting questions* will be presented by one section of empirical results for each political activity.

5.1.1 The youths' understanding of voting in elections

The results from interviews indicate that the youths in general either had experiences, knowledge or opinions about the activity of voting in elections. Except for one respondent, all of the youths expressed that they were planning to vote in the up-coming general elections in 2015. A common pattern was that the youths argued that voting was an important activity for their participation in politics. For example a 21-year old male respondent said: *"it is important to vote because we need leaders for our country, we need leaders who are going to answer our questions and provide us with the services we need "* (Respondent 1). Among the respondents a frequent argument for valuing voting in elections as important was that it was *their legal right.* For example a 23-year old male respondent stated that: *"voting is my right because I choose who I want to lead me in politics"* (Respondent 4). Some respondent indicated that they thought the vote could bring political change, as a 23-year old male expressed it: *"I voted because I wanted change"* (Respondent 2).

After the general election in 2010 experts on youth issues in Mwanza argued that a trend among youths in Mwanza was that youths increasingly started to get more aware about their right to vote (Benedicto 2014 ; Maganga 2014). A 23-year old female respondent for example said: "*if I am going to vote and the person I am voting for will make changes - it will mean that I will do changes*" (Respondent 14). Frequently, the respondents said that voting was important since it was the prime opportunity given to them to choose the *best leaders* who could bring *development*. This was for example clearly expressed by a female respondent who said that " *I voted to get the best leader and not just a leader and I want the leader to bring development to the place where I am living*" (Respondent 7). However, several youths said that they found it hard to get information about the candidates and which policies they stood for.

An up-coming trend during the previous 2010 general elections was that several young politicians in Mwanza region ran for political office. In Mwanza the youth politician highlighted youth issues in their campaigns, such as youth unemployment and development, and sought support from youth voters. Experts in Mwanza argue that in comparison to previous elections an increasing number of youths became interested in the elections and registered themselves to vote (Bandoma 2014 ; Benedicto 2014). Benedicto (2014) for example emphasized that many youths were gathered in Mwanza's city centre the day the 2010 elections results were announced. Some of the winning candidates in Mwanza from the 2010 elections were young candidates focusing on youth issues, indicating a new trend in Mwanza. According to experts in Mwanza this experience has brought confidence among the youths that by mobilizing themselves to vote for youth candidates their votes could actually result in changes of political leadership (Maganga 2014 ; Bandoma 2014). An example among the respondents indicating confidence was a male respondent who expressed: *"I can see my fellow youths are in front for development and I cannot just stay behind, so that is why I participate in politics"* (Respondent 8). Furthermore, a 18-year old male said "*It is my responsibility to participate in politics and bring developments and now I have the age to participate in voting*" (Respondent 18).

During the interviews the respondents were asked about how they understood the value of money in connection to voting. Some respondents talked about the issue of *vote buying* during previous elections. The youths said that during previous election campaigns, politicians had offered *gifts* (examples given were money, T-shirts or soap) to youths in exchange of getting their support in the elections. A 21-year old female explained the issue by saying that:

"*Honestly, many youths in Mwanza they usually participate in political activities when they hear there will be money given*" (Respondents 17). However, several respondents also talked about that the youths had increased awareness about political issues. Several respondents argued that there was an up-coming belief among youths that they should not take money to vote for a specific candidate, as Respondent 10 said: "*Youth do not vote because they get money…because youth are now aware about the political issues and they really want to vote for the leaders who can bring development to the society*" (Respondent 10). Moreover, the youths expressed that they could not sell their basic rights. For example a male respondent said that he had rejected an offer of getting money if he voted for a certain candidate by saying,

> *So there is a son of one of the candidates who has promised to give me some money if I vote for his father. But it is not a good thing, it is very bad. Because we have to look for the good leaders, so if he gives me money to go and vote for his daddy that means his dad is not a good leader* (Respondent 19).

5.1.2 Youths' contacts with politicians in Mwanza

About half of the youths interviewed had experience from contacting a politician or official about political issues the youths cared about. For example a 24-year old female respondent spoke about her personal experience of contacting a politician and expressed why she understood it as a valuable political activity:

> *I met with the member of parliament in Mwanza and talked to him about children with disabilities. They are not going to school so I talked to him about how to help them. If I did not talk to him, those children could not have been known. My importance in the community was also recognized*" (Respondent 7).

Other respondents told similar stories of how they personally had contacted politician about local development issues such as *lack of roads to their community, lack of health care* and *clean water*. A 23-year old male respondent argued that it was important to contact politicians directly because "*nobody is perfect and when politicians are voted into power it is important to meet them and remind them of what they have been voted in for*" (Respondent 2). A 18-year old male expressed similar thoughts "*I think its good to contact them (politicians) because it will catalyse them to take action for development*" (Respondent 6).

Some of the respondents mentioned that youths in urban Mwanza attend political meetings and dialogs where youths meet with political leaders or candidates. For example did a respondent say that: "*there are political dialogs here in Mwanza, many political leaders meet with the youths and organize meetings* (Respondent 2). However many of the respondents argued that youths do not really *participate* in these meetings but rather just listen to what is being said.

A common answer among the respondents was that they though it was difficult to get in contact with the politicians. For example Respondent 2, who said that: "*I am far from where I voted for the leader. He is far away*" (Respondent 2). While some argued that politicians *never were around*, other respondent expressed that it was hard for them as young persons to get the opportunity to talk to a politician. Moreover, some of the respondents expressed that there was no need for them to contact politicians because politicians would not listen to young people anyway. This view can be seen in a male respondent's statement: "*I don't think youth will be listened by our leaders, because our leaders don't think the youths have any strong ideas...the leaders think it's very difficult to take the youths' views and make action*" (Respondent 5). Some of the respondents argued that the local leaders ignored the young people's ideas and that some youths feared to talk directly to the politicians. For example a 24-year old male respondent said that: "*There is a youth fear to talk to a local leader and it is not easy to get in contact with him*" (Respondent 3). Another respondent sharing this view said: "*if I participate (contact a politician) and report my issues no one listen to a youth, no one take action, so there is no need for me to participate*" (Respondent 11).

The answer of not being listened to was especially common among the female respondents. Interestingly, only three out of ten girls had contacted a politician while a majority of the male respondents had contacted a politician. Several of the female respondents expressed that they lacked confidence to contact and speak to a politician. This view was symbolized by a 21-year old female respondent who said that she had not contacted a politician because: *"I don't have the capacity to speak to the leader, because sometimes you can speak to the leader and at the end of the day he will not listen, then you can feel shame because you have been speaking to the leader but he does not take any action"* (Respondent 11).

5.1.3 Demonstrations and youths in Mwanza

Out of the three political activities participation in demonstrations indicated the most divided opinions between the respondents. Some of the youths talked about several demonstrations

that had taken place in urban Mwanza during the last years. They argued that many youths had participated in these demonstrations. For example a 22-year old male said that: *"most of them who demonstrate in Mwanza are young people, both educated and uneducated people"* (Respondent 8). Several respondents mentioned that demonstrations had been initiated as complaints against corruption scandals in the Tanzanian government. For example a male respondent said: "*we demonstrated against that the people in the government was stealing money*" (Respondent 8). Furthermore, a 24-year old male said "*a thing now that could involve me in demonstration is the problem of lack of electricity. Because in our country there is a lot of corruption and fraud and this can cause me to take part in a demonstration*" (Respondent 3).

A recurring response among the youths was that demonstrations on the streets in urban Mwanza often ended up in violence and insecurity, as Respondent 6 expressed it: "*The youths start to demonstrate peaceful but later some problems happen when they demonstrate, this leads to policemen come and beat people and people die*". Several respondents also said that the police had denied the opposition party CHADEMA to get permission to arrange demonstrations. However, many youths had objections against the police decisions to deny people in Mwanza permission arrange demonstrations. Among the respondents who said they were critical to the police decision was a 21-year old male who said:

> *It's important to be allowed to demonstrate because when things go wrong there has to be something to make them right. And demonstrations are one among many ways that could be used to deliver a message of what is going on in the community and what do people think about certain things... because if people go together people can deliver a message clearer than less people and something might actually be done* (Respondent 1).

Furthermore a 24-year old girl said that "*in this country if you demonstrate and destroy properties they can think that you are serious about that, but if you demonstrate peacefully they won't considered it*" (Respondent 15). Several respondents said that the police had used teargas against the demonstrators. For example Respondent 7 said "*I participated in a demonstration but the police fired teargas to us*" (Respondent 7).

Significantly, all of the female respondents thought that to participate in demonstrations was a negative way to participate in politics arguing that it could be very dangerous to participate. In general the female respondents connected participation in demonstrations with things such as insecurity, violence and *doing the wrong thing*. For example a 22-year old female respondent said that "*demonstrations in Mwanza are never safe, you can go to demonstrate but in the end of the day you can end up loosing your hand or even your leg and there is nobody, even the leaders, who will come to help you*" (Respondent 9). Another female respondent stated that "*Demonstration is not the right way to get what you want*" (Respondent 10) while a 21-year old woman emphasized: "*if you demonstrate you do the wrong thing*" (Respondent 11). On the other hand, the male respondents were more positive about participating in demonstrations although few had participated in a demonstration. Some young men suggested that to attend a demonstration could be an effective way to get attention to a specific political issue. As a 22-year old male respondent expressed it "*when you demonstrate it is a way of showing the feelings of people, it is a message to the person who is responsible that we are angry. It is a message to the leader in the government so he can fear that this will continue until he will take some action*" (Respondent 8).

However, a common pattern for both female and male respondents was that demonstration often was seen as the *last option* for them to engage in political issues. Hence, when the respondents were ranking the political activities, demonstration was overall ranked by the youths as the least important activity for their participation in politics. For example a male respondent explained why he ranked demonstration as the least important way for his political participation by saying that: "*Demonstration, is the last chance and opportunity and it is started to be used in case all these strategies have failed*" (Respondent 18). Respondent 19 argued that when youths have lost their right to gain influence in politics, demonstrations becomes the last alternative of action to insist the youths' frustration. He said: "*I participated in demonstrations because there are no rights or justice. Because the leaders are not making sure there is justice. They promise something but only do things for their personal interests*" (Respondent 19).

5.2 Analysis: Voting in comparison to other political activities

In this section the theoretical analysis model will be used as an anchor for answering the research question. The analysis is divided into three sub-sections focusing on how the respondents' understood and valued the political activities' capacity to convey information, capacities to be multiplied and resources required for each activity (Verba et al. 1995:47). The theoretical claims regarding the results made in this section refers to the previously developed *theoretical analysis model*.

5.2.1 Youths' communication with politicians

Verba et al. (1995) claim that participation in political activities is a mechanism for citizens to communicate political ideas to politicians. However, the youths in Mwanza understood participation in political activities both as a mean to *send* political ideas as well as a mean to *receive* political ideas. The youths did not only see participation in political activities as way of communicating information and preferences but also as a way of getting to know more about their country, domestic politics and political parties' policies.

As claimed in the *theoretical analysis model,* the youths expressed that different political activities provided them with varying capacities to convey their political voices. In Mwanza, the youths used different political activities to communicate different types of political messages. The youths understood participation in voting as the first opportunity to communicate their voices to politicians. By voting the youths expressed that they could communicate their preferences for what political leadership they wanted. The vote was understood as a legal right given to all citizens on equal terms. Hence, this could be understood as the youths were enlightened about voting's fundamental equality principle; *one vote for each citizen* (Verba et al. 1995). However, few respondents talked about voting as a way of directing specific issues regarding their environments but rather as something that could bring some type of *political change* or *development*. On the other hand, the youths talked about their contacts with politicians as an activity where they could communicate and direct more specific issues, such as lack of roads and clean water, effecting the respondents' daily lives. The male youths furthermore expressed that participation in demonstrations facilitated them with opportunities to communicate a specific message to politicians. An example is the youths who demonstrated against corruption in the government.

Interestingly, how much influence the youths' thought they could get by participating in a specific activity appeared to be linked to the youths' confidence to participate in the activity. Almost all youths thought that voting was important and that they were confident to participate in voting. The success of several youth candidates during the 2010 elections appeared to have brought confidence among the youths that their vote could bring change in political leadership. It could be understood as the youths believed the *voice* communicated by the vote could not be ignored. Another example is that the male respondents were more confident about contacting politicians than the females. Thus, the female respondents argued that politicians would not listen to them while this tendency was lower among the male respondents. Almost all youths indicated to have poor confidence to participate in demonstrations. The violence and illegality of previous demonstrations in Mwanza indicated that there was some kind of fear among the youths to attend demonstrations. The challenges facing youths during demonstrations appeared to hinder the youths' from getting influence when participating in demonstrations. Thus, if the youths felt that they could not get influence when participating in a political activity it appeared to decrease their confidence to participate in the activity.

Notably, the youths' confidence to participate was linked to gender issues. The female youths were less confident than the male youths to participate in activities requiring direct contacts with politicians or the public, such as contacting politicians or to participate in demonstrations. The female respondents expressed that politicians would not listen to female youths political ideas. However, the females were as confident as the males to participate in voting. This could be understood as the vote's anonymity provided the female youths with a form of participation involving limited or none direct confrontation with politicians or the public thus making the females more confident to participate. It could be understood as the non-direct contact with politicians decreased the females' concern of being politically ignored.

5.2.2 Youths' participatory input

The *theoretical analysis model* claims that political activities vary in their capacity to be multiplied. How much quantity of participation the youths put into the activity, referred to as *participatory input,* varies between the activities. The youths in Mwanza understood voting as an opportunity for participation a single time every election term. Hence by voting a single time they maximized the activities' *participatory input*. On the other hand, some respondents

expressed that they could contact politicians about a political issue multiple times during that election term. The male respondent furthermore expressed that by participating in demonstrations they could repeat a message to the government several times. The repeated messages would thereby persistently increase the pressure on the politicians to respond to them (Verba et al. 1995:46). However, the youths faced challenges when trying to multiply their *participatory input*. Thus, few respondents had or planned to participate in demonstrations while almost all respondents were planning to vote.

In the case of Mwanza it could be argued that youths' participation in political activities beyond voting provides them with opportunities to increase the *participatory input* since these activities can be multiplied. The activities of contacting politicians and demonstrations provide youths with opportunities to make their voices more *clear* (meaning to communicate more specific messages) and more *loud* (meaning to repeat the message several times), thus increase their chances to get responded. However, as previously discussed the challenges when participating in demonstrations and the risk of being ignored when contacting a politician hampered the youths to increase their participatory input beyond the activity of voting.

5.2.3 Youths and resources

The *theoretical analysis model* claims that the youths need *free time* to participate. Correspondingly, the youths expressed that the main *resource* they invested in their participation was their *free time*. In general the youths considered that they were willing to use their *free time* to participate in politics, although to different extents. However, the youths recognized that the activities were more or less time-consuming. Voting was not considered as particularly time-consuming. On the other hand, to contact a politician could be time-consuming since the youths found it hard to get in contact with politicians who often were located far away. To participate in demonstrations was understood as something requiring persistent participation thus more input of their free time. Nevertheless, the main obstacle for participating in demonstrations was not understood as the lack of time but rather the fear of getting harmed.

Interestingly, the youths said that the three activities rarely demanded the *input* of money from them. Instead voting could give them the *output* of money, due to the issue of vote buying. In return of voting for a specific candidate some politicians offered the youths money

or other gifts. However, the youths were dedicated to neglect offers of money arguing that they could not sell their basic right: the vote. Furthermore, the results could be understood as the youths had a distrustful approach towards using *money* as a resource to get influence in politics. Examples are the youths' dislike of corrupted government officials and vote buying. While none of the respondents said he or she lacked the knowledge to vote the lack of *civic skills* was more visible on the other two activities. For example some, especially the females though they lacked the skills to put forward an argument to a politician that the politician would consider seriously. Furthermore, it could be understood as the youths had limited skills and knowledge about how to organize a peaceful and informative demonstration. On the other hand, some youths expressed that politicians would only know about the occurrence of a demonstration if it became violent. However, it is hard to examine if the youths actually had poor *civic skills* to participate in political activities or if the youths' marginalised role as political participants gave them poor opportunities to get use of *civic skills*.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I will turn back to the research question and conclude the findings from the case of youths in urban Mwanza. As discussed in the introduction, in order to sustain and maintain a democratic system it has been widely argued that is crucial that the youths adopt values and traditions of democracy (Utter 2011). In the emerging democratic society in Tanzania this issue could be regarded as critical, seeing how 64.2 % of the population are below 25 years old (CIA Factbook 2014). Given the important role of youth and participation in emerging democracies, the problem in focus of this thesis has been to analyse what various forms of political participation means for youths in an emerging democracy like Tanzania. By studying the case of youths in urban Mwanza this thesis have sought to answer the research question *how youths understand and value voting in elections in comparison to other forms of political participation*. Furthermore, the objective was to see if youths' perspectives towards various voluntary political activities could contribute to a better understanding of how youths understand their participation in politics in an emerging democracy like Tanzania.

The youths in urban Mwanza understood their political participation as a multi-dimensional phenomenon involving activities of importance beyond voting. Interestingly, participation in political activities was both understood as mean to *send* political ideas as well as a mean to *receive* political ideas. The youths did not only see their participation in politics as a way for communicating their political ideas but also as a way of getting to know more about their country, domestic politics and policies.

The youths in Mwanza leaned towards valuing voting as their most important opportunity to participate in politics and their first opportunity to communicate their *voice* to politicians. On the other hand, to participate in demonstrations was understood as the last chance when other attempts to communicate their voices had failed. The youths' confidence to participate in an activity appeared to coincide with how much influence the youths' experienced they could get through the activity. The success of several youth candidates in Mwanza during the 2010 elections appeared to have brought confidence as well as awareness among the youths in Mwanza that their vote could have an impact. On the other hand, the youths expressed that the violence and police interference during previous demonstrations in Mwanza had generated fear and lack of confidence among the youths to participate in demonstrations.

Notably, in general the confidence to participate in politics among youths' in Mwanza was linked to gender issues. The female youths were less confident than the male youths to

participate in activities requiring direct contacts with politicians or the public, such as contacting politicians or to participate in demonstrations. The female respondents expressed that politicians would ignore the political ideas expressed by a young woman. The different results given between the genders indicates that *youths* in Mwanza should not be understood as a homogenous group but rather as a heterogeneous group with varying opportunities and challenges to participate in political activities.

In terms of resources, the youths expressed that their political participation required them to invest their *free time*. However, the youths expressed that to contact a politician or to demonstrate required a higher input of their free time than voting. The youths expressed that their political participation did not demand the *input* of money. Instead, the issue of vote buying meant that the youths were challenged to sell their votes in exchange of the *output* of money or gifts. However, the youths in Mwanza had a distrustful approach towards using *money* as a mean to get influence in politics and expressed that they could not sell basic right to vote.

The youths in Mwanza used different political activities to communicate different types of political issues. The youths valued the vote as their legal right to choose the leaders who could bring development. Yet, voting communicated limited information about the youths' more specific political preferences. On the other hand, the youths expressed that they could convey more explicit political issues affecting the youths' daily lives by directly contacting a politicians. The male respondents also claimed that demonstrations facilitated the youth with a voice to communicate a specific message about an issue dissatisfying them, such as governmental corruption. However, it could be understood as when youths in Mwanza participated in political activities beyond voting they faced greater barriers to communicate their voices and often felt ignored.

The youths in Mwanza expressed that the politicians often ignored political ideas spoken by a youth. It appears that the youths understood their' participation in voting as an activity where the youths' political *voices* was treated more equally compared to older citizens' political *voices*. Hence, the youths' instruction to a politician communicated through the vote could be less ignored than instructions communicated through the other two political activities. However, this thesis claims that the attributes' of the activities of demonstrations and contacting politicians possess higher capacity to convey explicit political messages from

youths to politicians as well as possessing higher capacity of being multiplied. Consequently, it could be understood as the youths in Mwanza found it challenging to communicate specific political messages to politicians as well as to increase their *participatory input* in political activities beyond voting.

6.1 Future research

Although this case study had limited capacity to make generalized claims, this thesis could be seen as a part in a larger puzzle of the complex issue of youth political participation in Tanzania, a still relatively unexplored research area in Tanzania. This case study's results indicated that the female and male youths understood participation in political activities differently. Further research could thus focus on the gender aspect and examine how Tanzanian female youths' opportunities to participate and get influence in politics differ from male youths. Seeing how this case study was limited to three political activities, further research could thus analyse how youths, beyond the three activities studied in this research, interact and communicate their voices to politicians, political actors and institutions in Tanzania. A larger issue to direct would furthermore be to analyse how Tanzanian youths' participation in political activities could contribute to the future democratization process in Tanzania.

7. References

7.1 Articles, books and reports

African Union (2006) *African Youth Charter*. Adopted by the Seventh ordinary Session of the Assembly, Banjul, Gambia, July 2.

Afrobarometer survey in Tanzania (2012) *Summary of results Round 5 Afrobarometer survey in Tanzania 2012* by REPOA and MSU

Anckar, Carsten (2013) *Komparativ politik: institutioner och beteende.* 1. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur

Babeiya , Edwin (2012) *Multiparty Elections and Party Support in Tanzania, Journal of Asian and African Studies* 2012

Brady, H. (1999). *Political Participation*. In J. P. Robinson, P.R. Shaver, L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.). Measures of Political Attitudes, pp. 737-801. San Diego: Academic Press.

CIA World Factbook (2014) *World factbook, Tanzania, People and society*
Accessed from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tz.html
(2015-01-09)

Dalton, Russell J. (2008). *Citizen politics: public opinion and political parties in advanced industrial democracies*. 5. ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press

Duhu, Jared (2005) *Strengthening Civil Society in the South: Challenges and Constraints - A Case Study of Tanzania* The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law Volume 8, Issue 1, November 2005

Ekman, J. & Amnå, E (2012) *Political Participation and Civic Engagement: Towards a New Typology.* Human Affairs 22 (2): 238-300

Esaiasson, P, Gilljam, M, Oscarsson, H & Wängnerud, L (red.) (2012): *Metodpraktikan: konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad. 4., [rev.] uppl.* Stockholm: Norstedts juridik

Ewald, J (2011). *Challenges for the democratisation process in Tanzania: moving towards consolidation 50 years after independence?* School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg 2011
Accessed from http://hdl.handle.net/2077/27960
(2015-01-10)

Flick, U (2006) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research.* Sage Publications, London. Third Edition

Freedom House (2010) *Countries at the crossroads 2010: Tanzania*
Accessed from: http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/countries-crossroads/2010/tanzania#.U4JtYeZ_ulM
(2015-05-25)

Government of Tanzania (2007): *The National Youth Development Policy* Accessed from: http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/Tanzania_2007_National_Youth_Policy.pdf (2015-02-02)

Henn, M. and Foard, N (2012) *Young people, political participation and trust in Britain.* Parliamentary Affairs, 65 (1), pp. 47-67.

Hussko, Heidi - Ljungros, Kristina - Romée, Mie (2008) Minska fattigdomen med ungas inflytande. Stockholm: Forum Syds förlag.

IDEA Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2011) *Voter turnout data for Tanzania, United Republic of Tanzania*
Accessed from: http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?id=227
(2015-01-09)

IDEA, UDECA & UNDP (2012) *Youth and democratization in Africa: Lessons learned and comparative experiences* 1-3 November 2012 UNECA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia Conference Report.

Isaksson, Ann-Sofie (2010) *Political participation in Africa: group inequalities and the role of resources.* Göteborg: Department of Economics, School of Business, Economics and Law, University of Gothenburg

Jacobsen, Ingvild Schei (2014) *The (Dis)engaged Youth How youth in Dar es Salaam engage in politics* Master's thesis in Political Science Department of Political Science University of Oslo

Kvale, S & Brinkmann, S (2009): *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun. 2. uppl.* Lund: Studentlitteratur

Lamprianou, Iasonas (2013) *Contemporary Political Participation Research: A Critical Assessment*) in Demetriou, Kyriakos N. (2013). *Democracy in Transition: Political Participation in the European Union.* Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg

Laurentius, S (2012): *Ethnicity, Religion and Politics in Tanzania: The 2010 General Elections and Mwanza Region.* Helsinki University.

Lijphart, A. (1997). *Unequal participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma.* The American Political Science Review, 91, 1–14.

Lister, Ruth (2007). *Gendering citizenship in Western Europe [Elektronisk resurs] : new challenges for citizenship research in a cross-national context.* Bristol: Policy

Lowther, Joel (2013) *A new voice: The role of Africa's youth in electoral democracies.* Consultancy Africa Intelligence's Election and Democracy

McGee, R. with J. Greenhalf (2011) *Seeing like a young citizen: Youth and participatory governance in Africa* Participatory Learning and Action 64

Norris, Pippa (2007). *Political activism: New challenges, new opportunities*. In The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics. Edited by Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp.628-652.

Petrov, Yordan (2014) *Political Participation of Young People: A Comparison between Swedish Students and International Students in Gothenburg*, Gothenburg University Master theses

Potgeiter, Elnary (2013) Predictors of Political Participation in New Democracies: A Comparative Study. Stellenbosch University

Resnick, D., & Casale, D. (2011). *The political participation of Africa's youth: Turnout, partisanship, and protest* (No. 2011, 56). Working paper//World Institute for Development Economics Research.

Sloam, J (2011), *"Rejuvenating Politics? Youth, Citizenship and Politics in the United States and Europe"*, Conference Papers -- American Political Science Association, pp. 1-26, Academic Search Elite, EBSCOhost, viewed 5 August 2015.

UNESCO (2014) *Social and human science: What do we mean by "youth"?* http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/youth/youth-definition/ (2015-06-09)

UNICEF (2012) *Cities and Children: The Challenge of Urbanization in Tanzania* (Online). Accessed from: http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/Cities_and_Children_-_FINAL.pdf (2015-01-10)

Utter, Glenn H (2011). *Youth and political participation: a reference handbook [Elektronisk resurs]*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO

Verba, Sidney, Schlozman, Kay Lehman & Brady, Henry E. (1995). *Voice and equality: civic voluntarism in American politics*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Verba, Sidney, and Nie, Norman H (1972) Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality. New York: Harper.

7.2 Interviews

The author interviewed five experts on youth issues in December 2014 in urban Mwanza. The experts worked for NGOs focusing on youth issues in urban Mwanza and are listed below.

Benedicto, Angela (2014) *Director and Lawyer at Wote Sawa Domestic Workers Organization*. Interview conducted by the author at Wote Sawa Domestic Workers Office in Mwanza December 9, 2014.

Bandoma, Masesa (2014) *Project Manager at Wote Sawa Domestic Workers Organization* Interview conducted by the author at Wote Sawa Domestic Workers Office in Mwanza December 10, 2014.

Samuel, Juma (2014) *Mwanza Municpal Community Development, Youth Community Development Officer.* The interview conducted by the author at Mwanza Municipal December 11, 2014.

Wakunga, Kanut (2014) *Pamoja Child and Youth Foundation, Chairman*. Interview conducted by the author at Golden Crest Hotel Mwanza, December 10, 2014.

Maganga, Shaban Ramadhani (2014) *Mwanza Youth and Children Network, Executive Chairperson*. Interview conducted by the author at Mwanza Youth and Children Network's Office in Mwanza December 11, 2014.

7.3 Appendix 1 – Respondents

The author interviewed the 19 respondents during November and December 2014 in urban Mwanza in the two districts of Nyamagana and Ilemela. Below is a list of the respondents.

Respondent	Age	Gender	Level of education	Date of interview
1	21	Male	College	2014-11-29
2	23	Male	College	2014-11-29
3	24	Male	College	2014-11-29
4	23	Male	College	2014-11-29
5	22	Male	College	2014-11-29
6	18	Male	Secondary	2014-11-30
7	24	Female	Secondary	2014-11-30
8	22	Male	Secondary	2014-11-30
9	22	Female	Secondary	2014-11-30
10	20	Female	Secondary	2014-11-30
11	21	Female	Secondary	2014-11-30
12	19	Female	Secondary	2014-11-30
13	21	Female	Secondary	2014-11-30
14	23	Female	College	2014-12-08
15	24	Female	College	2014-12-08
16	21	Female	College	2014-12-09
17	21	Female	College	2014-12-09
18	23	Male	University	2014-12-09
19	20	Male	Primary	2014-12-09