“You need to trust no one”

–A study of the candidate selection method of the ruling political party of Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the candidate selection method of the ruling party of Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi. The method was changed in 2008. Through interviews made with local politicians, state officials and voters in Babati an understanding of why and in what way the change was made is presented. The thesis also presents an understanding of in what way different stakeholders perceive this change. The changed candidate selection method is examined as part of Tanzania’s democratic consolidation. At the end of the thesis a discussion about obstacles and opportunities for a further democratic consolidation is presented.

The thesis describes how the transformation of the candidate selection method is, by the party itself, presented as a way of widen democracy and fight corruption. While many of the informants believe that the transformation, at least to some extent, have contributed to increased democracy, most of them believe that the actual difference from the previous method is small, since the crucial decisions still are taken by the party elite.

The informants' responses are describing a multi-party system with several major obstacles. They are also, however, describing how the situation slowly is changing for the better.

*Keywords:* Local politics, Babati, democratic consolidation, Julius Nyerere, corruption
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1 Introduction

Why is it important to study the candidate selection method of the ruling Tanzanian party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) or any political party? As the politics around the world is becoming more individual-based the importance of studying candidate selection methods increases. Hazan and Rahat, the leading theorists of democracy within political parties, argue that the importance of studying candidate selection methods have become equivalent to the importance of studying national electoral systems.¹ They emphasize that the candidates that succeed to make their way into the parliament, or manage to get elected to any other important position within the party, will be its representatives and shape the party policy.² They also state that the importance of candidate selection methods is greater in states with more individual-based politics, such as Tanzania.³ Most of the studies presented in the literature on Tanzanian politics approach the subject on a national level. There is unfortunately only a small fraction of the literature written on the subject that focuses on local people's view on the current political situation in the country.

This thesis focuses on the candidate selection method within CCM. In 2008 the party reformed this method and the thesis examines how and why this method was changed alongside with how the change and the new candidate selection method are perceived by different stakeholders.

This introductory chapter will present a historical background followed by the aim of the thesis and a presentation of the research questions. Chapter two describes the methods used and the delimitations made. This in order to describe what has been studied and how the study was completed. Chapter three consists of a presentation of the theoretical framework that forms the basis of the study. Chapter four is a thematic presentation of the results of the study. Chapter five is the analysis and interpretations chapter in which the results are further evaluated and reviewed. Chapter six consists of a discussion chapter and some recommendations for further studies.

² Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.6
1.1 Historical background

Even though Tanzania have been enjoying multiparty elections since 1992 the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), have been largely unchallenged. The party is today characterized by corruption, authoritarianism and the legacy of the single-party era. To understand the current political situation in Tanzania, a short description of Tanzania's post-colonial history is needed.

Jean Grugel describes how party systems of Europe were transferred onto the newly created African nation states at independence\(^4\). The first African elections can, according to Grugel, be seen more as celebrations of independence rather than initial transitions towards democracy. Many of the newly created African states, instead of democratizing, started to move towards authoritarianism. One of the most important underlying reasons for this was, Grugel states, that political leaders misused the cultural and ethnical diversity that exists in many African states. The history of Tanzania differs from this description. Tanzania has to a large extent been able to avoid ethnic conflicts and domestic strife.\(^5\) This is largely due to a political policy whose foundation is that people living in Tanzania first of all should be seen as Tanzanians rather than belonging to different ethnicities and religions. The person that created this policy was a man called Julius Nyerere. His politics is seen as the main reason behind the unity and cohesion that is somewhat typical of Tanzania. The understanding of the legacy of Julius Nyerere is of great importance when studying the current democratization process in Tanzania. The required background story begins in the 1920’s.

The Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was formed in 1929 as a protest movement striving to increase the participation of Africans in the country which at this time was a British Mandate.\(^6\) The name of the country was still, at this time, Tanganyika. Julius Kambarage Nyerere, a secondary school teacher with a degree from the University of Edinburgh, managed to make his

\(^4\) Grugel, J. (2002), p. 171
\(^5\) Ewald, J. (2010), p.223
way to become the president of TAA in 1953. One year later, in 1954, TAA was transformed into a political party called Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU). In 1961, Tanganyika was declared independent and Nyerere became the first president of the country. 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar became Tanzania through unification.

What is important for the understanding of the current political situation in Tanzania, and the reasoning presented in this thesis, is the one-party era that took place between 1965 and 1992. 1965 Nyerere declared that Tanzania should be a one-party state. The policy of his was centered on kujitegema (self reliance) and ujamaa (African socialism)\(^7\), thoughts highly influenced by socialism. In 1974 the party had become superior to all governmental and social institutions. Even the media was under the control of the party.

In 1977 TANU turned into “the Party of the Revolution”, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). This through a merge of TANU, that controlled the mainland, and Afro Shirazi Party (ASP), that controlled Zanzibar. Through the well functioning and elaborate structure of CCM Nyerere tried to implement his political visions.

The end of the one-party era started to approach in 1985 when the Tanzanian government no longer found the socialistic politics economically sustainable. The situation led to the government’s decision to accept loans under the Structural Adjustment Programs implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)\(^8\).

When the Cold War ended, international pressure in order to promote multi-party systems made Nyerere begin advocating multipartism within the party. In 1992 the multipartism was reintroduced and 1995 Benjamin Mkapa was elected president in the first multiparty election. Since then the country has experienced four multiparty elections and CCM has, quite overwhelmingly, won them all.

The election held in 2010 in Tanzania was, by international observers, seen as a democratic election with a high turnout. Observers from EU considered the Election Day to be “peaceful and

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\(^7\) Phillips, K. D. (2010), p.114
\(^8\) Phillips, K. D. (2010), p.115
generally orderly”. The result of the election was that CCM won an overwhelming parliamentary majority, which means that the party retained the powerful position it has had for over forty years. The former foreign minister Jakaya Kikwete was reelected as president and has now hold the presidency since 2005 when he came to power after Benjamin Mkapa who, according to the Tanzanian constitution, had to be replaced since he had been leading the country for two terms.

Havnevik and Isinika describe how Tanzania has been held up as a great example when it comes to structural reforms. They describe how the praise particularly comes from IMF and the World Bank and that it’s based on relatively high economical growth and macroeconomic stability. Havnevik and Isinika describe how a shift in the Tanzanian development towards a more liberal democracy can be linked to the Mkapa presidency.

The international observation of Tanzanian politics seems to stay at a rather national level instead of a local one. To be able to study Tanzanian politics at a local level one might have to find field studies made in different parts of the country. Most of these are, from what I have experienced, quite old and might only function as historical documents. There is, in other words, room for additional field studies that can provide examples of current local politics in Tanzania.

1.2 Aim

The main objective of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the current candidate selection method within the ruling party of Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). This method was changed in 2008 and the thesis composes a discussion of the causes and outcome of that change. The candidate selection method of CCM is studied as part of Tanzania’s ongoing democratization, or rather democratic consolidation. The focus of the study will be the ruling party, CCM, and the aim is to try to highlight the obstacles and conditions for a democratic consolidation. The thesis will, in other words, not only describe the candidate selection method of CCM, but also define the larger context.

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9 European Union (2010)
11 The theoretical concept democratic consolidation is further discussed in chapter three.
Through the interviews made, this thesis is meant as a contribution to an increased understanding of the views of the locals concerning Tanzanian politics in general and the candidate selection method of CCM in particular. By examining what personal qualities and experiences local people are looking for when voting for candidates, the thesis is presenting an understanding of how candidates are carrying out their campaigns. The candidate selection method of CCM is treated as a part of the political conditions in Tanzania. The objective of highlighting the candidate selection method of CCM is to problematize the description of Tanzanian politics and to describe the democratic democratization from an African rather than a western perspective.

1.3 Research questions

The questions addressed in the making of this thesis can be divided into those that the thesis intend to answer and those that are located at a higher level, but still are affected by the thesis.

This thesis will answer the following questions:

- In what way was the candidate selection method within Chama Cha Mapinduzi changed in 2008?
- What can be seen as the underlying reasons for the changed method?
- What is the different stakeholders’ perception of the outcome of the changed method?

The thesis should be seen as a contribution to the general understanding of Tanzania's democratization process and questions such as:

- What are the obstacles and opportunities for the democratization of Tanzania?
- What are the connections between local and national policy in Tanzania?
- What kind of political development will we see in Tanzania in the coming years?
2 Methodology Chapter

This methodology chapter consists of a description of how the fieldwork was conducted, the methods used and the delimitations made. I have described the conditions for the field study as accurately as possible and in the way that I have perceived them. The methodology chapter can be seen as guide for performing similar studies in other areas and even in other countries.

2.1 Fieldwork in Babati, Tanzania

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in Babati in Tanzania. Babati is a district located in the Manyara region in the northern part of the country. Babati District is divided into two constituencies; Babati Urban and Babati Rural. My studies were intentionally limited to Babati Urban.

I started out by getting familiar with Babati Town together with my field assistant. This way I got a broad understanding of the available community resources and an opportunity to present the purpose of my thesis to him. Basically this was a nice way to get to know both the area and my field assistant.

The first one or two days I tried to get an overview of the local political structure and describe the objective of the thesis for my field assistant. We, however, started making interviews almost right away. The main method for collecting empirical data was using semi-structured interviews with local politicians, state officials, voters and people with special knowledge and/or insight in local politics. The sampling was made in cooperation between me and my field assistant. I described for him what kind of interviews I wanted to make and he took contact with potential informants, described the purpose of the fieldwork and booked interviews. This method resulted in a sample consisting of three politicians within CCM, two politicians within the oppositional party CHADEMA (Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo), one representative from the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and three local people in Babati Urban.
The total number of informants was in other words eight. CHADEMA is the main oppositional party right now and that is why I and my field assistant choose to interview politicians from this particular oppositional party. The interviews were designed to address the informant’s views of Tanzanian politics in general and the candidate selection method of CCM in particular.

My field assistant is a secondary school teacher who teaches politics. He lives in Babati and has a good understanding of the focus of the study. He should be seen as a contributor and a participator of the fieldwork rather than merely a translator or interpreter, even if he, if necessary, also represented the role of the latter. Together we discussed interview technique, interview questions and comprehensions of the answers of the informants. I want to emphasize my field assistant’s importance for this thesis and to highlight his ability to act impartially and professionally throughout the field study. However, it should also be said that I have inevitably been somewhat influenced by my field assistant’s views and prior understanding of the studied subject.

Like most qualitative studies this one is mainly based on interviews. The interviews were semi-structured in the sense that they were relatively loosely designed and adapted to comply with what the interviewed person himself or herself thought was interesting to talk about. This way I got hold of information concerning issues that I, in the beginning, wasn’t familiar with. In other words, the method helped me broaden my perspective. The approach also meant that new interview questions were created along the way. If needed and if possible I met with an informant more than one time if I felt that I had additional questions or needed some clarifications. The interviews were structured around different themes and I also had some ready-made questions. The initial interview questions are attached in the end of this thesis.  

Two of my classmates were making field studies about similar topics; one focusing on the opposition and one on the perception of corruption. The three of us shared the same field assistant and in some cases, we interviewed the same person. In these cases, we could prepare for the interview together and, after the interview, discuss the answers we got to see if we understood the answers in the same way. This method was strengthening the reliability since it reduced the risk of misinterpretations and misunderstandings.

12 Attached to this thesis; 8.1 Interview guide, p.39
A method that I used for strengthening the reliability is so called triangulation. McCracken et al. describes the method as a way of using “several different sources” to test the reliability of a result.\textsuperscript{13} My interpretation of this method was to test the reliability of a certain statement of one informant by examine if at least two other informants were confirming the same information or data.

The interviews have been combined with direct observations. By this I refer to the more informal ways of absorbing information. By conducting the fieldwork on site rather than e.g. conducting telephone interviews from Sweden, I wasn’t dependent only on the answers from the formal interviews. On-sight I also had the opportunity to participate in more informal conversations and was able to make observations of things that did not come up during the interviews. When I had a meeting with a politician I could e.g. observe how he or she was dressed and how he or she was conversing with his or her employees.

The study is limited both geographically and in terms of subject. Regarding the geographical delimitation I have chosen to interview people living and working in Babati Urban. This delimitation was made in consultation with my field assistant and can be justified by the fact that it in this area is a higher concentration of both elected politicians and civil servants. The thematic delimitation has been made so that the focus lies on how different people in the mentioned geographical area perceive the candidate selection method within Chama Cha Mapinduzi. The results from this study can on one hand, due to the above described limitations, not be seen as universal for Tanzanian politics. On the other hand, the study provides an example of how people in that specific geographical area perceive the current political situation. The study is also, quite obviously, limited to the period of time when the study was made.

When presenting the results of the interviews, in the result chapter, the informants will be anonymous. The main reason for this is a wish to protect the informants from being exposed to any kind of retaliation for statements that they have made during the interviews. The informants are therefor, when needed, only briefly described with emphasis on their connection to the studied topic.

2.2 The use of secondary sources

The secondary sources used in this thesis consist mainly of literature describing democracy and democratization in general and the ongoing democratization of Tanzania in particular. There is much written on democracy and democratization. I, however, experienced difficulties in finding literature that handle candidate selection methods. *Democracy within Parties - Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences* is written by Hazan and Rahat who are the leading theorists in this particular field. They have made a thorough study of candidate selection methods and are seen as authority figures on this topic. While most of the secondary sources used in this thesis contribute to the background description and the framing of the study, Hazan and Rahat’s book makes a significant contribution to the theoretical basis for the thesis’ main arguments.

3 Theory

To put this study in a larger context this chapter will constitute a description of the theoretical concepts surrounding the thesis. To describe the theoretical context I use some classic and contemporary development theories combined with contemporary research. The theoretical framework presented here consists of two parts. The first part starts with a rather general description of democratization and a more detailed description of democratic transition and democratic consolidation. The second part of the theory chapter is a presentation of the contemporary research regarding candidate selection methods within political parties.

3.1 Democracy and democratization

In order to describe democratization, a theoretical discussion about different views on democratization providing a problematized view on democracy is needed. I believe that the processes of democratization in developing countries often are compared to the prevailing liberal meaning of democracy that is dominating the literature of the subject. By using a wider and more problematized way of describing democratization a more fair and complex view of local politics in Tanzania can be presented.

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Grugel describes two somewhat conflicting approaches to defining democratization in developing countries.\textsuperscript{15} At one hand she argues how “the globalization and governance approach” is describing democratization as a process encouraged by external institutions in order to create a stable market within the country. On the other hand she argues that “modernization-influenced approaches” describes poverty as the main obstacle for democratization. Grugel does, however, point out that democratization has taken place, e.g. in Latin America, despite widespread poverty.\textsuperscript{16} Poverty does not, in other words, make democratization impossible even if it represents a significant obstacle.

Another example of studying democratization is ranking all the countries in the world according to different categories. This is being made by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) and the result is called the Democracy Index.\textsuperscript{17} The five categories they use are: “electoral process and pluralism”, “civil liberties”, “the functioning of government”, “political participation” and “political culture”.\textsuperscript{18} The countries are classified as “full democracies”, “flawed democracies”, “hybrid regimes” or “authoritarian regimes”. Tanzania is, according to the Democracy Index 2010, a “hybrid regime” and as rated as number 92. Sweden is regarded a “full democracy” and honored with the fourth place in the ranking. EIU describes how Tanzania is one of the countries that are on the verge of being indexed as a “flawed democracy” rather than a “hybrid regime”.\textsuperscript{19} By comparing the Democracy Index 2010 to the Democracy Index 2008 you will see that Tanzania, based on EIU’s assessment, has become more democratic.

Democratic transition, as it is used in this thesis, is a description of the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic rule. Although it sounds simple, the definition needs further clarification to be applied correctly. Jean Grugel describes how the understanding of democratization has been changed over time.\textsuperscript{20} She argues that the studies of democratization initially, in the 1970s and 1980s, focused on the transformation from a non-democratic rule to a

\textsuperscript{15} Grugel, J. (2002), p. 175
\textsuperscript{16} Grugel, J. (2002), p. 176
\textsuperscript{17} Economist Intelligence Unit (2010)
\textsuperscript{18} Economist Intelligence Unit (2010), p.1
\textsuperscript{19} Economist Intelligence Unit (2010), p.27
\textsuperscript{20} Grugel, J. (2002), p.3-5
representative government. This way of studying democratization was however changed as it became evident that some states, for some reason, failed to make the transition and some states even collapsed on the way. Democratization theorists now focused on the factors that either tended to strengthen the democratization process or weaken it. Grugel describes how the focus shifted from transition to consolidation. While the focus of transition studies was to try to understand why some states started to develop towards a more democratic rule while other states didn’t, the focus of democratic consolidation was the strengthening of an already existing democracy. The aim, in other words, went from trying to understand what leads to democratization to understand what makes a democracy strong and lasting, rather than weak and unreliable.\footnote{Grugel, J. (2002), p.3}

### 3.2 Candidate selection methods within political parties

Methods for selecting candidates are transformed much more often than national electoral systems. The reason for this is that the regulation for internal selections of candidates generally is very loose.\footnote{Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.10} In most states the parties themselves decide the rules for selecting candidates while the regulation of the national electoral system usually is more extensive.\footnote{Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.4}

Who can then become a candidate? The fact that political parties, in most states, are free to set up rules on who can be selected means that they can e.g. decide that a person must hold a membership or pay a fee to get to contest. Hazan and Rahat argue that there are rules that make the selection of candidates more or less inclusive. The figure below consists of a scale that begins at a point that marks a completely inclusive process. The longer you come to the right on the scale the more exclusive the process becomes. As the figure shows the most inclusive process is the one that allows all citizens to compete. Requirements for membership make the process more exclusive and additional requirements take the process even further to the right on the scale. Examples of additional requirements are; having to have reached a certain age or having to have held membership in a certain number of years.\footnote{Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.20}

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\footnote{Grugel, J. (2002), p.3}
\footnote{Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.10}
\footnote{Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.4}
\footnote{Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.20}
When can one say that a democratization of a candidate selection method is taking place? Or in other words; how can a democratization of a candidate selection method be measured? Hazan and Rahat argue that a democratization of the candidate selection method is taken place when (1) restrictions in order to have a more inclusive candidacy are being reduced, but also when (2) the electoral process is made more inclusive by involving more people in the selection of candidates.\(^{25}\) This raises two main dimensions in the study of methods to select candidates. I will refer to them as “candidate requirements” and “the electoral process”. The first dimension refers to who can be selected as a candidate and the second refers to who gets to make the selection.

To determine how inclusive a particular selection method is, one can try to place it on the scale below. The focus here is on the selectorate, i.e. who makes the actual selection.\(^{26}\)

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\(^{25}\) Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.31

\(^{26}\) Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.35
are more complicated. They also present different models of methods for selecting candidates. The multistage method is one of these models and it is characterized by a procedure where the candidates must be judged by more than one selectorate as exemplified below.

4 Results

This chapter constitutes a thematic presentation of the results of the study. The results consist of the responses I received during the semi-structured interviews combined with information from secondary sources. The answers from the interviews are presented in such a way that it should be clear what the respondents were fairly consistent on and in which cases there were disagreement. Although there are some clarifications made in this chapter, analysis and interpretations are largely saved for the next chapter.

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The results are divided into the following thematic subchapters: Nyerere, the ideal leader; The character and structure of Chama Cha Mapinduzi; The electoral process; Candidate requirements; The perception of the changed method; The opposition’s ability to challenge; Corruption within Tanzanian politics; Political consolidation; and Obstacles and opportunities. The themes are selected so that the first two subchapters will offer an understanding of the history and character of the party, the continuing three subchapters consist of a description of the changed candidate selection method of CCM, and the last four subchapters describe the informants’ view of the current political situation in the country and thoughts about the future. This design aims to not only describe the candidate selection method of CCM, but also to define the larger context.

4.1 Nyerere, the ideal leader

The legacy of Nyerere is still playing an important role according to the informants. One informant said that in areas with low education people only know that Nyerere was good and that he led Tanzania to independence. Therefore they vote for CCM. None of the informants said anything negative about Nyerere during the interviews. When he was mentioned he was consistently referred to as an ideal leader. When something negative was described related to Nyerere it was directed against the way CCM uses his legacy to consolidate their leading position. Three of the informants told me that CCM, before the 1995 election, to win votes spread the rumor that Benjamin Mkapa (who was the president of Tanzania between 1995 and 2005) was the son of Nyerere. One of the interviewed CCM officials talked about the changes that are needed within CCM. He said that people with good positions in the party promote their friends and their own children. He said that CCM was a very good party at Nyerere’s time and that the party need to recover and become like it was before. The image of Nyerere as the ideal leader is however not only held by the ruling party. One of the politicians within the main oppositional party, CHADEMA, told me that CCM no longer is following the policy that were advocated by Nyerere and that CHADEMA will fulfill the wish of the old national leader when they come to power. The image of Nyerere as the ideal leader is today used by both CCM and the opposition. His leadership is the archetype to which all other political leaders are constantly compared.
4.2 The character and structure of Chama Cha Mapinduzi

CCM's legacy from the single-party era was a repeated theme during the interviews. This legacy is in many ways quite obvious. It can e.g. be seen if you study the structure of the party. Many of the informants described how CCM has adopted the structure of the public administration. Below is a figure that shows the structure of CCM as described by the informants. The figure shows the structure from district level and down, but it should be noted that there are two levels above this, namely regional and national level. The CCM-structure is presented next to the structure of the public administration, this to show how CCM has retained the structure that it once was a part of.

The general view on CCM among the informants is that it is a conservative party that has a lot of problems with corruption and hierarchy. This seems to be the view of the opponents to the party.
as well as people within CCM. A party official describes the party structure as pyramid shaped with the party chairperson on top and the ten-cell-leaders at the bottom. He describes how the information works in both ways; top-down and bottom-up.

![Figure 7: The structure of CCM](image)

The National Executive Committee, NEC, was by the informants described as the most powerful part of CCM. “Everything is decided within NEC”, one informant said. Another person, a CCM official, told me how the party is organized around different social groups. As an example he told me about women organizations within the party. He said that women voters are in majority and that women therefore are a very important target group. According to him the party is also reaching the youth through these women organization, since the women are considered the ones who are taking care of the children and the youth. The party has, however, also a youth league where members between the ages 18-35 are engaged. The CCM official told me that the members of the youth organization are strong believers in CCM and that they are taught that “no CCM, no Tanzania”. The members of the youth league can be seen as aspirants for the parent organization which has members with the ages 35 and up. Even if the youth is an important
target group it might be hard for young people to make a carrier in the party. The CCM official told me that Nyerere thought that Jakaya Kikwete (who is the current president of Tanzania) was too young for the presidential position in 1995 (when he was 44 years old) and that is why he was not selected as chairman of the party until 2005. Another CCM official said that CCM has the ability to groom people for power. “Leaders must be prepared” he said. He told me that the presidential candidates that followed Nyerere up to Kikwete were prepared by Nyerere, but that now there are no more prepared candidates.

The latter CCM official told me that he would like to get a higher position within CCM. The problem is, he told me, that he doesn’t have anyone in his family that has a good position within the party. He told me that the party system is dominated by people with influence, money and parents in important positions. This was later confirmed by several other informants. When I asked him if he believes that some people go into politics because of money he said that businessmen often strive to become Members of Parliament (MP’s) because of their own interest and not for the interest of the people. When I asked him about the internal power structures within CCM he showed me different kinds of books that conclude the party guidelines for different parts of the politics of the party. There were e.g. books that conclude the party guidelines for finance, discipline, local government and so on. To me it seemed that the books indicated a top-down structure with guidelines coming from the National Executive Committee. When I asked about this he confirmed it but also said that there is a lot of power within the different levels and that each level decides different things.

Another CCM official said that CCM has adopted a structure that makes it possible to affect people at a local level. The lowest body of the party structure is the Ten Cell Leader. The Ten Cell Leader was an important part of the single-party system and was then used to communicate the policy of the party to the people of Tanzania. Today the Ten Cell Leaders are also used to bring information from the people up in the political structure. A Ten Cell Leader can be described as a representative of ten households and even if you are not a member of CCM you have a Ten Cell Leader. My field assistant told me that the forms and questionnaires at e.g. hospitals and banks include a field were you’re supposed to write the name of your Ten Cell Leader. He said that your Ten Cell Leader is like your address.
A Ten Cell Leader is elected to sit for five years. The function of the Ten Cell Leader is to hold monthly meetings where the members of the Ten Cell discuss problems. As an example one of the CCM officials told me that the discussions can concern a household in the Ten Cell that can’t afford to send their children to school. Then Ten Cell Leader is then supposed to try to find a solution to the problem. The main function of The Ten Cell leader is however, according to the CCM official, to get people to like CCM.

I later interviewed a Ten Cell Leader who had been in the position for almost ten years. As she saw it there are three main functions for a Ten Cell Leader; spreading information from the top to the Ten Cell, spreading information from the Ten Cell to the top and to solve problems within the ten households. I then asked her what kind of issues the people within the Ten Cell bring to her. She told me that it is usually issues like misunderstandings between married people, advice for divorce, neighbor quarrel and other things that often are concerning domestic issues rather than party politics. If an issue can’t be handled within the Ten Cell it is brought to the next level within the CCM structure, namely the sub-village committee. During the internal candidate election within CCM the Ten Cell Leaders mobilize party members to vote, the Ten Cell Leader told me. During the general election the work for the Ten Cell Leaders are even harder, she said. The job is, as expected, to make as many people within the Ten Cell as possible vote for the CCM candidates.

4.3 The electoral process

In 2008 Chama Cha Mapinduzi changed their candidate selection method. In the general election the Tanzanian people vote for President, Member of Parliament and Ward Councilor. They also vote for Ten Cell Leader, but not in connection the general election. The mechanism that was changed in 2008 did not affect the selection of candidates for the presidential post, neither the selection of Ten Cell Leaders. The presidency goes to the Chairperson of the party who still is selected within the National Executive Committee. The Ten Cell Leaders are selected by election within the Ten Cell. The changes made in 2008 affected in other words only the selection of candidates to Member of Parliament and Ward Councilor. Before the change the candidate selection method consisted of the District Committee that made recommendations that had to be approved by the Regional Committee while the final decision was made by the National Executive Committee (NEC). The informants described how the change in 2008 meant that all of
the members of the party now are selecting the candidates for MP and Ward Councilor through an internal election.

I asked one of my informants how to apply to become a contestant for the Member of Parliament candidacy. He told me that you have to begin with applying and paying a fee. Another informant, a local voter, described how the different candidates for Member of Parliament and Ward Councilor, after they have applied and been approved, are running campaigns before the internal election to try to win the sympathies of the people.

As a candidate you need a permit to campaign under the supervision of the party. The members of the party will, after the campaigns are over, vote for the leader that they find most suitable. After the internal election, and the counting of votes, the three candidates that got the most votes are announced. These three candidates are then reviewed by the District Committee. The members of the District Committee then make recommendations to the Regional Committee who, in their turn, review the candidates again before the matter is passed on to the National Committee who has the last say. Now as before the National Committee can make any decision they want no matter what previous instances have recommended. A CCM official described to me how the old method meant that only a few of the members of the party were involved in selecting the candidates. The change of the structure meant, according to him, that all of the members of CCM got mandate to select candidates through the internal election.

A secondary school teacher in geography told me that she was invited together with her students to count votes during the internal CCM election in 2010. Before the election the candidates held a short introduction. After the introduction the members of the party were given the opportunity to vote for the candidate they found most suitable. According to the school teacher the election was functioning very well. To avoid bias they students got to count the votes in a different region than they are living in themselves.

4.4 Candidate requirements

When I asked one of the CCM officials what kind of qualities the party and the people look for in a candidate he said that financial capability is the most important quality. He also said that it is important to have “natural popularity”. When asked what he meant he said that it is a great advantage if your father has a reputation of having done good things for the society. His own
father used to be a Chairperson in CCM. He said that people might vote for a candidate just to show gratefulness to the family if the family are considered to have done good things for other people. The CCM official told me that it is very rare to be in in his position within the party and at the same time be as young as he is. He described how young people don’t dare to apply to become a party candidate. He said that young people often believe that they need to be rich and to have high social status to compete. He also talked a lot about social status and said that he often gets asked if he is married, how many children he has and if he has got a big house. He told me that people in his position are expected to be 45 years old or more, to be married, to have many children and to have a big house. In some parts of Tanzania, he said, it might even be advantageous to have more than one wife. Having a big family, he argued, shows that you can keep a family together and being a good leader. Age is also important, he continued. He told be that “Being an elder in Africa is the same thing as being wise”. “Age shapes a person”, he said. I also asked him if a candidate with a lot of money is more likely to become a candidate. He then told me that it is so, but that you also have to be morally accepted. When I asked what he means by that he said that the voters and the party look at the way you live. He said that it is a good thing if your father has done a lot of good things for the people. It is also good, he argued, to come from an accepted clan. If your father has done something bad, on the other hand, this will haunt you, he said. He gave an example of a friend who had a father who one time beat a woman for letting her cattle graze his land. The father was punished and sent in exile. The friend later applied to become a Ward Councillor candidate. He had experience, education and many of the other looked-for qualities. When the story about his father was revealed, however, he was excluded from the competition.

To get people to vote for you, the CCM official said, you need to publicize yourself. He told me that this e.g. can be made by putting up posters. To run a campaign of course you need financial resources, he said. He also told me that you need a car to make yourself mobile and several cellphones connected to different cellphone networks and charged with a lot of money so that you can communicate smoothly. You also need to be connected to people with influence, he said. An efficient campaigning method is, according to him, to capture institutions with a lot of people, e.g. schools. He also said that it is good to have connection to areas where they brew traditional beer. This to be able to give away free beer, hopefully in return for peoples votes.
Every person is a potential voter, he said. To be connected to elders is important, he continued, since they have a lot of influence in the society. According to the interviewed CCM official they function as political messengers and are able to speak for you the whole day through since they don’t work. As payment, he continued, you can give them food and beverage. He also said that you need to be careful when you are involved in politics. “You need to trust no one”, he said. He told me that he can’t drink alcohol with his political colleagues since he can’t be sure if they are not just trying to make him say something. He also talked about superstition. He said that some people believe that witchcraft is used to affect people. He believes that superstitious people are voting for a certain candidate just because they are afraid that they would otherwise be affected by a curse.

The personality of the candidates is very important, according to the CCM official. He said that voters sometimes vote for the opposition instead of CCM even though they believe in CCM. This, if there is a candidate from the opposition with a more appealing personality. CCM is therefore, he said, putting a very strong candidate against weaker persons within the party to make to strong candidate appear more appealing.

I asked another CCM official what he considered to be the most important qualities that the party and the people look for in a candidate. He then told me that a candidate needs to have several characteristics. He emphasized the importance of having a high level of education. He said that the heightened importance of education probably is a cause of globalization. Other qualities that he mentioned was having good ideas, discipline, popularity, a good position in the society, being able to face the locals and having a good understanding of the problems in society. According to him it is also of great importance that the candidates do not have any problems. When I asked what kind of problems he meant he said that a candidate can’t have been in prison or been accused of drug dealing or similar crimes. He said that most of the candidates have reached the age of about 45 since they need to be experienced and have the proper education. He summed up the answer about important qualities of a candidate with saying that a candidate needs to be able to translate the problem of the people and apply proper methods to meet the problems.

When I interviewed an official from the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau, PCCB, she said that candidates often think that they can get votes by bribing people. As she sees
it, however, people take the bribe but don’t give the bribing candidate the vote. This because peoples’ increased knowledge of the political game. “You can’t bribe a person with t-shirts and caps”, she says.

4.5 The perception of the changed method

The mechanism of selecting candidates was according to a local voter changed to suppress corruption and widen the democracy within the party. A CCM official told me, however, that the people that announce the winners are employed by the president. He also told me that, to be secured, you need to belong to CCM. A civil servant that is also a member of the opposition, he continued, can be fired immediately if he or she has made some kind of mistake. This is however not the case if you belong to CCM, he argued.

Several of the informants said that the changed candidate selection method was good and that it meant more democracy. At the same time many of them said that the final decision is still made by the National Executive Committee.

Some informants could see negative consequences with the change. A CCM official told me that a lot of people from the opposition bought membership in CCM and voted for weak candidates within CCM. This to increase the chances for the candidates of the opposition at the general election. The CCM official said that they succeeded to make weak CCM candidates win over strong ones in many districts.

According to the PCCB official there were lots of reports in connection with the internal election of CCM. No similar reports were made against other parties. She said that she thinks that candidates now are starting to learn that money is not all you need to be elected.

A local voter told me that the changed candidate selection method of CCM meant that better candidates were selected, in the sense that they were known by the people. The problem, as he saw it, was that the party might loose candidates with higher education if these kind of candidates are not known by the people. The new method is of course also more costly, he said. He also said that the method allows the district committee and the regional committee to make recommendations but the final decision is still taken on national level. According to him this makes it possible for a candidate, who initially got most of the votes, to in the end lose against a
candidate that the party elite found more suitable. The local voter told me that candidates often are decided on forehand, and that the candidate selection method is just a “brainwash”. According to him this might cause people to feel mistreated and make them cross over to the opposition. He gave Dr. Wilbrod Slaa, the General Secretary of CHADEMA, as an example. He is one of the strong figures that have a past in CCM but now is a part of the opposition. According to the local voter CCM is trying to give the appearance of being transparent. He is however skeptical. “They can’t shut the door on corruption”, he said.

The change of the candidate selection method was, according to a CCM official, made to avoid conflicts. He also told me that the change was made to prevent corruption and to meet the wish of the people. He talked about the influence of other nations and continents. He also stressed that local candidates are very important since people are voting for personality before ideology. According to him, more people were attending the internal election of CCM than the general election. The biggest change is, according to the CCM official, that more people are involved in selecting the candidates and that the changed structure has lead to candidates with a bigger popularity among the people. He also said, however, that the change also has made CCM loose strong people who have decided to cross over to the opposition.

Another local voter agreed with earlier informants about the changed candidate selection method being a positive change that widened democracy and fought corruption. According to him it would be even better if the members of the party could decide for themselves without the final decision having to be taken by the party elite.

The secondary school teacher that I interviewed said, like many of the other informants, that she had heard rumors about corruption in connection to the candidate selection within CCM. She also told me that the winning MP candidate of CCM, Kisyeri Chambiri Werema, hasn’t been heard of since he became the MP of Babati Urban. One of the CCM officials told me that he is not very fond of Chambiri. He said that he believes that he bribed a lot of people. He heard that some people in Babati were offered cars, money or motorbikes. “Corruption helped him to win” he stated. One of the local voters told me about rumors saying that Chambiri spent around 800 million Tanzanian shillings (about 520 USD) to become the MP of Babati Urban. Another CCM official said, however, that the party is treating all the MP and councilor candidates equally and
that anyone can compete. According to him Chambiri won because he was showing a lot of interest for the people. He admitted that the party still has huge problems with corruption but to him the new mechanism for selecting candidates makes it harder to bribe your way forward in the competition. A local voter told me that he finds this new method very corrupt and that you can’t be the winner if you don’t have enough money. He believes that the corruption within the mechanism for selecting candidates will be the end of CCM.

4.6 The opposition’s ability to challenge

I met with three CHADEMA officials in their temporary district office. It was basically just a room with no equipment what so ever. One of the CHADEMA officials told me that they are preparing a new office and that their documents now are kept in the homes of the party members. Even if the office was just temporary, it gave a picture of the big differences in assets between CHADEMA and the ruling party. One of the CHADEMA officials said that the main strategy of the oppositional party is to reach people at the grass root level and to educate voters. I asked if they are using Ten Cell Leaders as CCM. He then told me that they have Foundation Leaders that take care of about 50 households and that these 50 households are divided into sub-divisions with ten households. The main duty of the Foundational Leader, he said, is to convince the people to be members of CHADEMA and also to report local activities. To me it sounded like almost the same structure as the one of CCM but the CHADEMA official told that there are great differences. According to him the Foundational Leaders are having meetings much more often than the Ten Cell Leaders of CCM.

I asked another CHADEMA official about her opinion on the role of the Ten Cell Leaders of CCM. She told me that they play a very important role and that CHADEMA is trying to copy that structure. She said that they don’t, however, have the same resources and can’t manage to have a Foundational Leaders in every village. This was later confirmed when I interviewed a Ten Cell Leader of CCM. I asked her about her relation, as a Ten Cell Leader, with the Foundational Leaders of CHADEMA. She then told me that CHADEMA unfortunately don’t have people on this level in Babati Urban. The CHADEMA official, however, said that for the general election in 2015 they will have both Foundational Leaders and candidates on every level so that people will be free to choose who to vote for. She continued by telling me that the Ten Cell Leaders within CCM are not paid but that they are getting some clothes and some money around the time
for the general election. According to her many of the Ten Cell Leaders of CCM are angry and feel that the party is using them. To not make the same mistake CHADEMA will give their Foundational Leaders some money. Not a lot, she said, but at least some tokens.

One of the interviewed local voters said that Tanzania is starting to come a long way. According to him, NCCR-Mageuzi (National Convention for Construction and Reform–Mageuzi) was the first oppositional party to give CCM a hard time. CCM fought back though. “No one prepares his own funeral”, he said. According to him CCM made NCCR-Mageuzi unpopular by spreading propaganda in which they told the people that NCCR-Mageuzi were enemies of the government. In year 2000 the Civic United Front, CUF, was the oppositional party that challenged CCM the most. CUF kept challenging CCM until 2010, the local voter told me. The efforts to make CUF weak were there, he said, but people were more aware this time. Nowadays CHADEMA is the oppositional party that constitutes the biggest challenge for CCM. The local voter said that CHADEMA got strong by educating people about their rights. He also said that people is starting to learn what multi-party democracy really means. The aspects of multi-party democracy are, according to him, starting to be known and CHADEMA is trying to tell the people what the government is supposed to provide. CHADEMA got a quite good result in the 2010 election and, according to the local voter CHADEMA might get even more people into the parliament in the election 2015.

According to one of the CHADEMA officials the people have started to realize that the opposition can do a better job then the ruling party. She said that many people are starting to believe that CCM died with Nyerere and that the party now has lost its way. People used to welcome leaders from CCM, she said, but today many fear the corrupt and hierarchic machinery of the party. According to her, fear of the ruling party is the reason that most of the people don’t want to tell who they vote for. She also told me that CHADEMA have drawn accusations against CCM for tampering with the votes and rigging the election. CCM candidates were, according to the CHADEMA official, handing out beer to people that were going to vote for the opposition in order to make them to drunk to vote.

One of the CHADEMA officials told me that the candidates within CHADEMA are selected by the party itself. The ward counselor candidates are e.g. selected within the Ward Executive
Committee. This system bears a resemblance to the old candidate selection method of CCM. The CHADEMA official said, however, that not only the Ward Executive Committee decides but that everyone in the party is welcome to vote for ward councilor. He also said that the same goes for the selection of MP candidate on district level. When I asked him about the new candidate selection method of CCM he said that the richest candidate still is more likely to win, despite the change. He said that the only difference is that the candidates now need to bribe a bigger number of people. The old system is more comfortable, he said. According to him there is no corruption within CHADEMA and as long as the candidates are accepted and appreciated by the members he can’t see a problem with this method for selecting candidates.

One of the local voters said that CCM used to be a party for peasants and workers but that it now has become a party for rich people. He told me about a CCM meeting where young party members revolted against older party members and that the reaction to this was that they were asked to leave the meeting. According to him this is a kind of attitude within CCM that makes young people cross over to the opposition.

When I asked one of the CHADEMA officials about the changed candidate selection method of CCM she told me that this change is good since it widens the democracy. According to her CHADEMA would like to follow this example but the problem is that there is no proper registration of the members of the party. Right now, she said, the candidates are selected by the party but, at the same time, the party is trying to listen to the requests of the members.

Another CHADEMA official told me about his view of the ideological difference between CHADEMA and CCM. He said that CCM call themselves communistic and say that they are practicing self-reliance, even though they in reality do everything in a capitalistic philosophy. CHADEMA on the other hand, he said, believe in liberal politics. He told me that CHADEMA wants the water to be nationalized but that they otherwise largely accept modern philosophy and privatization. They don’t have any double standards, he said. The opportunities of the party are, according to him, that they involve people in their politics and that they are very transparent. All the expenditures, he said, are transparent. He said that he think that this will be a winning point as long as CCM don’t have this kind of transparency.
A local voter said that CCM is putting its trust in the power of the party structure and that they are not worried. No other parties have Ten Cell Leaders, he said. However, he argued, CHADEMA will get more and more Foundational Leaders. He also said that CHADEMA is educating people all the time and not only when they are trying to get votes. This approach will lead to that the ideas of the party will stick, he said. He called the methods of CHADEMA “quite scientific”. CHADEMA is according to him also connected to partner parties in the UK, the USA and Sweden. “They’ve got friends”, he said. He also talked about wealthy members within the party.

According to one of the CHADEMA officials the popularity of Dr. Slaa depends on his transparency and, of course, the disclosures he have made of corruption within CCM. The CHADEMA official said that she doesn’t believe that religion and ethnicity affect people’s choice of candidates. According to her, people look for transparency and good leadership. She said that many people are crossing over from CCM to CHADEMA. She told me that a membership card is functioning as an ID and that a lot of people have a CCM membership just of old habit. According to her, however, people are now starting to turn in their CCM-ID’s and getting a CHADEMA membership instead.

Another CHADEMA official said that you can’t separate personality from ideology. CHADEMA is therefore, as much as all the other parties, dependent on strong candidates. They are therefore trying to find as strong candidates as possible. He said that CHADEMA is using
information about corruption scandals where the government has been involved. This to make people understand the character of CHADEMA.

One of the interviewed local voters told me that CHADEMA is more popular among poor people since rich people are afraid of loosing their power.

4.7 Corruption within Tanzanian politics

When I asked one of the CCM officials how he defined corruption I got quite puzzled by the answer. According to him there are two kinds of corruption; one good and one bad. He said that bad corruption is when two CCM candidates are competing against each other by trying to buy votes. Good corruption, he argued, is corruption used to make a CCM candidate win over a candidate from the opposition. Even my field assistant got stumbled by this answer and after the interview he said that he found it very strange that a CCM official would say something like this. He said that even if this way of thinking might be common within CCM, one wouldn’t expect that a CCM official would be so open with an opinion like this. The CCM official gave me, however, quite a mixed message. He said that giving things like t-shirts and caps before the general election is corruption. He also said that the people who disclose corruption are heroes and that all of the leaders within the opposition have disclosed corruption. According to him corruption can make a person with money but no education to win over a person with no money but a high level of education.

The interviewed PCCB official said that Tanzania had great problems with corruption after the independence in 1961. According to her the corruption was inherited from the colonial era. She defined corruption as when a person is gaining personally from doing or not doing something. According to her most of the corruption in Babati lies within the local government, the courts and the police. The custom of bribing people to win their votes is like a tradition according to her. She told me that the Election Expenses Act from 2010 defines corruption during elections. She described how the law is forbidding parties from “giving thanks”, e.g. after the election giving away gifts to people that voted for you. She also told me that the results sometimes are rigged.

A local voter told me that there was a lot of corruption in connection to the internal candidate selection of CCM. He told me that people were bribed in order to vote for a certain candidate.
According to him the contestants usually bribe people by giving tokens, money, food and clothes. In his opinion clothes given for a certain purpose is corruption. He said that candidates give things to people before the elections and usually not after the election. According to him most of the people that are fighting corruption are corrupt themselves and that this goes for the PCCB as well. He also said that people that disclose corruption might blow the whistle in the wrong direction. “To me they are doing a game” he said. To him the so called whistleblowers are not heroes and he doesn’t take them seriously. Dr. Slaa makes an exception though, he said. He told me how Dr. Slaa has become a household name in Tanzania and that there are very few people like him. “He’s sincere”, he said.

When I asked one of the CHADEMA officials about the work of PCCB she told me that she is very unhappy with it. She said that PCCB officials are making phone calls to warn CCM members before they come to make controls. Corruption is one of the most important issues for CHADEMA, she said. She told me that CHADEMA talks about corruption every time they have a rally or a meeting. “With corruption you can’t have democracy”, she summed up.

4.8 Political consolidation

One of the CCM officials told me that the freedom of speech was very limited during the Mkapa era (1995 - 2005). But today, he said, educated people are discussing political issues and trying to challenge the government in debates on TV. Parties are according to him today free to influence the people. As an example, he said, CHADEMA have a lot of rallies where they are free to talk about their politics. A few days later the media reported about Dr. Slaa being admitted by the police for having given a speech in which he, according to statements, had drawn parallels between Tanzania and the ongoing protests in Egypt. The freedom of speech might in other words be less limited in Tanzania today but it seems like much remains to be done.

Another CCM official said that a lot of people vote for certain candidates because the have the same religion, origin or comes from the same part of the country. This, he said, is a sensitive issue since the legacy of Nyerere makes it inappropriate to talk about issues concerning a certain religious or ethnic group. There is also, he told me, more or less a tradition in Tanzania that the president is supposed to be a Muslim if the former one was a Christian and so on. This is,
however, not written in any law. Since the first president was a Christian and the next one was a Muslim the people of Tanzania just expect it to continue like this, he said.

One of the local voters said that it takes guts to tell someone who you vote for since you don’t want to be enemy of your friends if the vote for another party. According to him people tend to say that they vote for CCM even though they don’t. This in order not to become someone’s enemy. However, he said, this is a question of generation. He said that young people of today are more open with who they vote for since they are educated, broad minded and can defend their point.

4.9 Obstacles and opportunities

One of the CCM officials said that the reason for the superior position of the party is its policy and strong history. He told me about how Nyerere and the independence are both strongly associated with the party.

Another CCM official said that the function of the Ten Cell Leader is to win the confidence of the people, to solve local conflicts and to report to higher levels within the political structure. As an example he described the function for the Ten Cell Leaders in connection to the general election in 2010. He said that the Ten Cell Leaders knew who had the right to vote and that they sometimes get asked to identify who will vote for CCM and who will vote for the opposition. When all the Ten Cell Leaders of a district then have a meeting it is possible to give a preliminary result of the election. The result is then reported upwards in the structure and on national level decisions are made about how to target areas where the party's popularity is lower. A common strategy in these kinds of areas is to hand out t-shirt, caps and kangas (African garments). When clothes have been handed out the Ten Cell Leaders might sometimes question why people are not using the clothes they were given. On the general election day, the CCM official told me, the Ten Cell Leaders are paid to mobilize people to go and vote. They are also obligated to report how many of the people in the Ten Cell that went and vote. From the report it is then possible for the party to make a preliminary assumption of the outcome of the election. The CCM official said that CCM wouldn’t win without this function and that it would make a big success for CHADEMA if they could manage to build up a similar structure.
One of the CHADEMA officials said that CCM are not happy with the growing influence of CHADEMA. According to him CCM are sabotaging meetings held by CHADEMA. He said that the weak economy of the party is a big obstacle. He told me that CHADEMA is getting subsidies from the government since they are one of the parties with over 5% of the votes. Their other source of income for the party is membership fees. CCM on the other hand, he said, gets a higher subsidy and have better premises since they took over a lot of the buildings from the single-party era.

One of the local voters said that CCM is known as a corrupt party and that this has become a strong weapon for the opposition. I asked if he thought that CCM would manage to stay in power if they became “clean” whereupon he looked at me and said; “can a bull get rid of its hump”. CCM is still strong in Babati according to the local voter but he said that it is just a matter of time. According to him the main reason that CCM is still strong is that they are more prepared. He also stated that CHADEMA now is preparing systematically and that they have a good chance to win in the general election 2015.

When I asked a local voter about his opinion on the future of CCM he said that “the grave has already been dug”. He also said that the uncertainty of who will become the next presidential candidate for CCM can create an opportunity for Dr. Slaa and CHADEMA.

Another local voter said that there is no real democracy as long as there is corruption. According to him some people were bribed for as low as a bag of sugar during the election. He emphasized that you, by voting, are giving people the power to make decisions for five years.

Some informants talked about a rumor saying that Dr. Slaa was the actual winner of the presidential post. When I asked one of the CCM officials about this, however, he said that there were no complications preventing Dr. Slaa from becoming the president of Tanzania.

One of the CHADEMA officials said that there is no democracy at all in Tanzania. He said that the multiparty system was prepared during the single-party system. “The democracy is fiction” he said and told me that CCM and the government just wants to make it look like a democracy. The constitution needs to be changed according to him. He said that the supervision committee is chosen by the government and therefore is bias. He also said that he believes that it actually is
impossible for the opposition to take the power with this constitution and that the main ambition for the opposition therefore should be to change the constitution.

According to one of the local voters the multiparty system is functioning quite well. The government is now changing, he said. He told me that he finds it positive that even the current president, Jakaya Kikwete, has admitted to the people that the opposition isn’t entirely bad. He has heard that many oppositional parties said that the constitution hinders the democracy. He however believes that the democracy in Tanzania is picking up very fast even if the current constitution is favoring CCM. According to him CCM is like a second government in the sense that the same people are in the party as in the government.

One of the CHADEMA officials said that she feels that there is no real democracy in Tanzania. She told me about political leaders from the opposition that have been put in jail for making rallies. This, she said, clearly shows that there is no democracy and freedom of speech.

5 Analysis and interpretations

This analysis and interpretations chapter will answer the questions presented in chapter one. The questions will be answered one question at the time. The chapter also functions as a summary since the answers consist of a clarification and an interpretation of the statements made by the informants.

*In what way was the candidate selection method within Chama Cha Mapinduzi changed in 2008?*

The change in 2008 affected, according to the informants, only the selection of candidates to Member of Parliament and Ward Councilor. The transformation meant that all of the party members now are included in the selection of these two types of candidates. The current method, as it was described by my informants, can be categorized as a multistage method, i.e. a method in which the candidates have to face several selectorates.29 The informants described that the main difference from the previous method is that the party members now are representing an additional first selectorate in the process. In total, the method now consists of four different

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selectorates; the party members, the district committee, the regional committee and the national committee. When the first selectorate, the party members, have chosen three candidates, the candidates have to face the three remaining selectorates that have been kept from the previous candidate selection method.

The figure below shows the current candidate selection of Chama Cha Mapinduzi. The first selectorate, marked with a rectangle, represents the major difference compared to the previous method.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 9: The current candidate selection method of CCM
What can be seen as the underlying reasons for the changed method?

The underlying reasons for the changed method are by the interviewed CCM officials described as a wish to widen democracy and fight corruption. Several informants said that they think it is positive that CCM has changed their candidate selection method and that the method indeed now has become more democratic. Some informants also said that they believe that the new candidate selection method, at least to some extent, is preventing corruption. Hazan and Rahat argue that a more transparent candidate selection method can create a positive democratic image of the party. They state that if a party that have democratized its method for selecting candidates has a good result in a general election, other parties are likely to copy the model. This theory is, to a large extent, confirmed by the informants of this thesis. Several of the informants, both within CCM in within CHADEMA, told me that CHADEMA already have plans to try to copy the new candidate selection method of CCM.

Other informants were, however, more skeptical of the new method. They described how the final decisions still are taken by the party elite. The changed candidate selection method can be seen as a way for the party elite to control the path of the party and make the party follow a certain policy-line. The method can e.g. be designed to eliminate candidates that are considered disloyal to the policies of the party. Hazan and Rahat describe how the elite in political parties sometimes use the internal selection of candidates to control the members and keep the party united by adapting a candidate selection method that promotes people who sympathize with the party's ideology and eliminates people that oppose it. The informants gave me some examples of what Hazan and Rahat call “more demanding eligibility requirements”. They are referring to the requirements involving qualities that aren’t compulsory but that will increase ones chances of becoming a candidate. I was told about attributes such as being a person of good character, being known to be a good leader, having reached the age of at least 45, being married, having children, having a good economy and having highly regarded parents.

What is the different stakeholders’ perception of the outcome of the changed method?

The informants did describe several positive outcomes of the changed method. According to a secondary school teacher, who was invited together with her students to count votes during the internal CCM election in 2010, the election was functioning very well. The majority of the informants said that the new method means a higher level of democracy. That more people are included in the selection of candidates can, with reference to Hazan and Rahat, be described as an increased inclusiveness of the party selectorate.\textsuperscript{33} Another positive result that was mentioned was that the changed method will help reduce corruption in connection to the selection of candidates. Several of the informants said that it has become harder to bribe your way forward in the candidate competition. The interviewed PCCB official said that she think that candidates now are starting to learn that money is not all you need to be elected. A local voter told me that the changed candidate selection method of CCM meant that better candidates were selected, in the sense that they were known by the people.

The change will also, according to a CCM official, help avoiding conflicts within the party. He also said that the party, by changing the mechanism, has met the wish of the people. According to him the party now treats all the MP and councilor candidates equally and allows anyone to compete. The current MP of Babati Urban, Chambiri, did, according to the same CCM official, win because he was showing a lot of interest for the people.

The informants did also, however, describe a number of negative outcomes of the changed method. A CCM official told me that a lot of people from the opposition bought membership in CCM and voted for weak candidates to increase the chances for the candidates of the opposition. Another problem that was presented is that the party might loose candidates with higher education if these kinds of candidates are not known by the people. It was also mentioned that the new candidate selection method is more costly the old one.

Some of the informants outside of CCM told me that the final decision still is taken on national level and that the change therefore not is that significant. One of the local voters even told me that candidates often are decided on forehand and called the candidate selection method a

\textsuperscript{33} Hazan, R. Y. & Rahat, G. (2010), p.35
“brainwash”. Even if the interviewed CCM officials said that corruption has been reduced with the help of the new structure, many of the informants told me about rumors concerning corruption in connection to the CCM candidate selection in 2010. The rumors also said that the winning MP candidate bribed a lot of people.

Hazan and Rahat argue that the method for selecting candidates reflects the character and inner conflicts of a party. The informants describe the political structure of CCM as corrupt and hierarchic. This is, taken from the answers of the informants, also the case of the current candidate selection method. Hazan and Rahat state that fierce competition between candidates can lead to increased corruption and money used to win the sympathy of voters. The informants all agreed that corruption and money is a big part of the political game. According to the answers of the informants the intense competition between candidates is caused by the politics being individual-based. This, in turn, can be explained with the heritage of the cult of personality that surrounded Julius Nyerere. Competition between candidates may lead to that the party in question gets an increased media attention and a reputation of being internally democratic. This, of course, if the focus is in the competition itself rather on any potential corruption scandals.

6 Discussion

6.1 Ending discussion

The answers of the informants quite strongly indicate a perception of further consolidation taking place. Most of the responses indicate hope and a belief in a widened democracy in Tanzania. Some of the answers are, however, more discouraged and emphasizes the superiority of CCM. Politics is too unpredictable and dynamic to be able to predict the future with certainty. The information from the informants, however, provides an indication of an increased political awareness among the Tanzanian people. Several of the informants talk about a higher level of education, young people who dare to make demands, improved conditions for the parties in

opposition and a ruling party that begins to lose its superiority. If these perceptions are in compliance with reality, there is a good chance that another party than CCM will be the winner of the Tanzanian general election in 2015. Several of the informants experience that an actual transfer of power is taking place in Tanzania. Even if they find the process very slow, they feel that the opposition gains in popularity. Most of the informants agree that a higher level of education and accessibility to information are the main reasons behind the transfer. Several of them said that people are becoming more aware. All of the informants agreed on that this change is positive, even the ones within CCM. The CCM officials did, however, describe the transformation as a process that will put more pressure on the ruling party and generate a positive change that will bring back the former strength of the party.

6.2 Recommendations
This thesis has described the ongoing democratic consolidation in Tanzania with emphasis on the changed candidate selection method of CCM. The difficulty I experienced with finding similar studies leads me to recommend others to pick up where this thesis ends or to make similar studies in other areas or other countries. I also welcome more studies that describe development and democratization from local people's perspective since it in my opinion is a shortage of this type of studies.
7 Reference list


8 Attachments

8.1 Interview guide

(The interview questions presented here were only used as an initial guide for the interviews. Additional questions were created and used during the fieldwork.)

General information about the informant:
- Name
- title/position
- (age)

Questions for CCM and CHADEMA officials:
- How would you describe the structure of CCM?
- How are the candidates at the different levels selected within CCM?
- What qualities and experiences are necessary for candidates on the different levels?
- In what way was the candidate selection method of CCM changed in 2008?
- Why was the method changed?
- What was the result of the changed method?
- What internal power structures exist within CCM? (top-down/bottom-up)
- How do these power structures affect the party as a whole?
- How does the internal power structure affect the selection of candidates?
- What was the initial function of the ten cell leaders?
- What is the function of the ten cell leaders today?

Questions for local voters:
- What qualities and experiences do you think are important to be selected as a candidate?
- Is there a connection between traditional power structures and power structures within CCM today?
  - What connection?
- How would you describe the obstacles and opportunities for running a campaign as a candidate?
- How do you run a successful campaign as a candidate?
- What are the most important qualities for a candidate?
- What is your opinion on the changed candidate selection method of CCM?
- Are the candidates important for the outcome of the general election?
  - Why? /Why not?
- If yes: Are the personal qualities of the candidates more important than the ideology of the party?
- Is there a connection between traditional power structures and power structures within CCM today?
  - What connection?
Questions to PCCB:

- Do you think corruption exist in connection to the election?
- Do you think corruption exist in connection to the internal selection of candidates within CCM?