COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN TANZANIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

by

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Abstract

This research is purely on comparative analysis on political culture and political socialization both in Tanzania and South Africa. On this work the researcher looked at reasons/factors responsible for the continued existence of different society in general and as related to Tanzania and South Africa in particular. The similarities and differences of the two countries were exhaustively discussed. In carrying out the findings, the researcher employed archival/theoretical method of investigation by consulting various relevant materials. Finally, the researcher was able to conclude that the importance of religion and ethnicity cannot be overemphasized in Tanzanian political culture and political socialization while apartheid, centralization of political power and political boycott determines the culture and socialization of political terrains of South Africa.

Key Words: Apartheid, Discontent. Parochial, Prejudice, Stigmatization

Introduction

For every society to continue to be in existence rather than go into extinction, it is imperative to have some beliefs, norms, traditions, culture be it social, economic, political, religious which form their way of life and most importantly must be transmitted from one generation to the other either through a formal or informal means, and finally via some particular agents. Therefore, this work exhaustively compared the political culture and political socialization of two African countries,

Tanzania and South Africa

Political culture may be defined as the political psychology of a country or nation (or subgroup thereof). Political culture studies attempt to uncover deep-seated, long-held values characteristic of a society

or group rather than ephemeral attitudes toward specific issues that might be gathered through public-opinion surveys. (Almond and Verba: 1968).

This work will be considered into two main aspects, namely, 1. Political Culture and 2.Political socialization

Political culture

In Tanzania, two major variables religion and ethnicity serve as domineering determinants driving the political culture of the country. Besides these major variables is the metamorphosis of party system from one party to multi-party system. The 1995 presidential election that produced Mkapa of South Tanzania was attributed to parochialism because he was expected to steer resource to the south once in office (Kelsall, 2008). Thus, the local level ethnic appeal and parochial and factualist ethnic politics constitute part of Tanzanian political culture. The emphasis of voters to choose local candidates is a rational means of ensuring that the elected candidates favored their constituencies once in office. As a result of this, Tanzania voters exhibited a degree of parochialism in their voting behavior. Ethnic and religious backgrounds have serious political significant in voting decisions in Tanzania. Religion has increasingly assumed an important cultural and social position in Tanzania with considerable level of political relations. As a result religion has assumed a clearly visible political role in Tanzania beginning from the transition into multiparty system. Thus, existing and newly emerging religious groups increasingly attempted to gain political influence (Norman, 2009).

Ethnic politics in Tanzania is characterized by the evocation of ethnicity for political purposes in competition with other ethnic groups during elections and campaigns.

There were numerous instances of ethnic campaigning and political rhetoric in the 1995 elections in Tanzania. These were mainly confined or restricted to local level campaigning or even intra-party candidate nomination where candidates commonly sought to discredit competitors on the basis of ethnicity (Gasarasi, 1997; Luanda, 1996). For example, there was an instance in Arusha where National Convention for Construction and Reform – Mageuzi NCCR's Maasai candidate had questioned the right of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM's) candidate Edward Lowassa to run for office in the Maasai constituency considering his Meru background. Again there are reports on the use of vernaculars by CCM candidates to discredit opposition candidates who are from outside their regions of contest. Also, there were small and short-lived political parties such as Union for Multiparty Democracy(UMD) that had an ethnic basis, and thus, received some supports among the Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi (Kelsall, 2008).

Civic United Front (CUF) is as well seen as a Zanzibar-based party and has secured most of its followers on the islands and along the coast of the mainland. Thus, CUF has been accused of having a religious bias in favour of Muslim. In the 1995 presidential election, NCCR-M candidate Augustine Mrema, an ethnic Mchangga, had a substantial followers in his home region of Kilimanjaro and won in all the six constituencies in the region. Thus, NCCR was commonly depicted as a Chagga-dominated party. Similarly, the success of United Democratic Party UDP's John Chayo in his home district of West Bariadi was interpreted as being based on Sukuma ethnicity which in 1995 elections contributed to 67 percent of his total votes. This trend was repeated in 2000 elections (Kelsall, 2003; Rawlence, 2005).

In the 2010 presidential election, CHADEMA's Willibrod Slaa's support was significantly above national average in the districts of Arusha and Manyara in which his ethnic group the Iraqw is dominant such as in Mbulu (62.7%), Karatu (62.1%) and Hanany (53.2%). But due to continued dominance of the ruling party CCM in the multiparty elections since 1995, there is a widespread perception of electoral fraud and vote buying among Tanzanians that led to low voters' turnout and apathy in 2010 elections.

Religious sentiment on the other hand was evident in 2010 elections and featured prominently in pre-election campaigns. In comparison to ethnicity, religion plays a relatively minor political role in voting behavior in Tanzania. This was why there were no discernible ethnicity nor clear religious tendencies in terms of party support in the first multiparty election in 1995. But it was widely believed that in the run-up to the 1995 election that CUF was a Muslim party based on massive supports from the Sheikhs. Similarly, there were instances where Christian churches had embraced NCCR-M or CCM. Yet there was no clear voting pattern of religious support for any party in the 1995 elections (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Mbogoni, 2005).

However, religious sentiment had their part in the polemic political rhetoric and campaigns and debates revolving around the possible OIC membership and the establishment of the Kadhi (Muslim) Courts. For example, the pastoral letter released by the Roman Catholic Church to urge members to make informed choices before the 2010 election was interpreted to influence voting decisions of members in favor of the opposition and against CCM. In reaction to this, an Islamic group Barazakuu issued a circular drafted by over one hundred imams from all over the country urging Muslims to vote for a candidate who would look after the interest of the Muslim community. For example, Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) is believed to be Christian-dominated in terms of party leadership structure and as well elicit more supports from Christians than Muslims or other religious groups. Actually, CHADEMA has a slight over representation of Christians in terms of party leadership structure, Members of Parliament MPs and administration, and is more popular in Christian-dominated regions than in the country on average. Based on the 2010 elections, for example, CHADEMA on average had a slight inclination towards Christian-dominated regions and was unsuccessful in Muslim dominated regions. There seem to be some considerable convergence between CHADEMA's political agenda and the electoral issues highlighted by the church (Gahnstrom, 2012).

Attributes of political culture in South Africa

There has never been a polity recorded not to have a belief system inherent in the people in the whole history of mankind. The concept of culture is a central theme in human existence. According to Agbude (2010), the past, present as well as the future of a polity is a product of the kind of beliefs, disposition and orientations that runs in the psyche of the people and their people. Political culture is an important mediator or intermediary between civil society and the state. It is a connection between the behavior of the systems and the behavior of individuals and accommodates a system of collective mutual perception of the rights and obligations.

South Africa historic apartheid laws and regimes that drove the system for decades have influenced the nature of it political culture today even in the post-apartheid era. South Africa has had a peculiar history of racial segregation. Apartheid being an ideology of superiority bred the culture of prejudice, stigmatization, stereotype, discrimination, marginalization, oppression, frustration, discontent, lack of respect for human rights, systemic racial classification and societal divisions, strife, conflict, suffering, brutality, violent crime, hatred, fear, fire arm, guilt, revenge and political intolerance. It also left legacies in the post-apartheid era, that had made the culture of reconciliation and adversarial politics coexist uneasily (Gibson & Gouws, 2003:5; Stinson, 2009; Jagwanth, 2002). The paradigm of dehumanization manifested in all facets of life. Adam and Moodley, (1993:57) referred to the terrains of the dehumanization as the ten legacies of apartheid. According to them they are: legal scientific, social, sporting, aesthetic, sexual, cultural, educational, economics, and psychological. During the apartheid, one can describe South Africa's political culture as that of minority white dominance against a liberation struggle. It was a militant form of nationalism.

Years after apartheid, all these manifestations of apartheid are still prevalent in the modern day political culture of South Africa. Today, political campaign debates for political offices have been based on the problems of poverty, unemployment, and the wealth gap and land redistribution amongst others which are legacies built and developed during the apartheid era. Secondly, after years that the apartheid system collapsed, the culture of violence and aggressive responses to issues still prevails. People still react in with hatred, intolerant etc. In 2008, the country witnessed an atrocious wave of xenophobic/intolerant which was an expressions of economic discontent and a response to the difficult socio-economic conditions of many poor South Africans aggravated by uncontrolled immigration of foreigners, political election campaign rhetoric, 2009 municipal worker protests (Zondi, 2008:26-35). Increasing economic marginalization has caused growing discontent among South Africa's poor and constitutes a major threat to the formation of a cohesive national identity (Stinson, 2009:2). In many regards, economic inequalities have worsened and are accompanied by a widespread rise in crime and violence which is still very present feature on the minds of many South Africans. In 2009 for instance, Julius Malema, the African National Congress (ANC) youth league leader declared they will kill for Jacob Zuma to win the elections by all means.

The structure of the government is highly centralized. The country has a large and impenetrable bureaucracy which has resulted in the government being too remote from the population and access to the government also is difficult (Jagwanth, 2003:14). This culture of social differentiation between the leader and the ruled has been invoked from the pre apartheid era. Also, the culture of political corruption and inefficient bureaucracy generates perceptions of government unaccountability, ineffectiveness and inadequacy within civil-society. Trust in institutions of government is decreasing. This serves to erode the legitimacy of the state and fosters feelings of political marginalization. Though South Africa is a democracy, its historical legacy has contributed to an effective dominant-party political system by the ANC that makes minority parties feel politically marginalized (Stinson, 2009:57-59).

Another culture is the culture of political boycott and the use of repression by the state. Boycotts were a very common form of contentious action in South Africa (Lodge, 1983:156). For example, the bus-boycotts in Evaton and Alexandra created a domino effect in Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and East London calling for change. The Bus Boycott of 1940 in Alexandra forced the bus companies to reduce the fare (Lodge, 1983:157). It was the two day nation-wide boycott of 1984 that brought the apartheid regime to the negotiation table (Gurney, 2000:123-144). This boycotting act remains a political tool in the hands of South African citizen in this post-apartheid period. For instance, in 2009, there was the Poor People's Alliance's boycott of the 2009 presidential election under the slogan "No Land! No House! No Vote!" (Losier, 2009). The reaction of the state against such grassroots organizations has been repression and violence has it was in the apartheid era.

Conclusively, on the aspect of the culture of voting, there has been an increase in the disposition of eligible citizens toward voting. As opposed to the policy of limited franchise that dominated most of the apartheid era, people now express their fundamental human right to decide who they want to represent them in government (EISA, 2009; IDEA, 200I9; RSA, 2009a).

Political socialization of the two countries compared

On political socialization of Tanzania the following contributions can be made; The conventional agents of political socialization in Tanzania are:

The family

During the period of Ujama, the family (both nuclear and extended) and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) as the principal political party in the struggle for sovereignty in the East African state Tanganyika (now Tanzania) TANU were very instrumental in the propaganda and propagation of the ideology. The TANU youth league branches in schools were mandated to ensure that the students and teachers were closer to Tanzania's socialist thinking. The ruling political, TANU was divided into cells in order to reposition it to be effective in carrying out the role of political socialization and mobilization. People were encouraged to form cultural troupes to propagate the Ujama policies (Wangwe, 2005).

The schools

The state control of the media, schools, political party, civil society organizations and suppression of trade unions and interest groups during the period of Ujama, helped in the tasks of national integration, national unity and nation-building. During this period the role of interest groups was seriously downplayed. The school has remained one of the most important agents of political socialization in Tanzania even in the post-Ujama Tanzania. The Tanzanian government has ensured continuous relevance of school as a process of internalizing vital national values and ideologies through the curriculum (Mhlauli, 2012). For instance, a major contributing factor to the successful construction of national identity in Tanzania is the use and promotion of Swahili as a national language and language of instruction in primary schools. As a result of compulsory use of Swahili in primary schools, it has helped in fostering the development of national political culture. It has also facilitated inter-elite and inter-ethnic communication (Gahnstrom, 2012).

During the Ujama period, the state nationalized many private schools, large number of which belonged to the Catholic Church. By nationalizing the schools the government intended to ensure that firstly a secular socialist education would be provided to students, and secondly to create educational opportunities for Muslims. The curriculum of civic education in primary and secondary schools was geared towards educating citizens to be patriotic and nationalistic. It was also aimed at promoting unity and ideology of Ujama and other national values.

The public school curriculum during Ujama period was fashioned and aggressively employed as a nation-building tool. The curriculum stressed common Tanzania history, culture and values, and inculcates students with a strong sense of national and pan-African identity. Political education was also included in the curriculum to inspire pan-Africanism and socialist political philosophy adopted by Julius Nyerere with emphasis on Tanzania national identity. The policy of education for self reliance was formulated in order to ensure that education was in line with the principles in Arusha Declaration or ideology of Ujama or African socialism. Universal Primary Education (UPE) free education and adult education enabled government to facilitate political socialization and mobilization (Wangwe, 2005).

Religious groups

Another notable agent of political socialization is religious groups. For example, Christian Churches played a substantial role in the run-up to the 2010 elections by providing voters' education to their members. The church leaders have emphasized their role in educating people

to choose the right leaders. The bishop's document had guided the congregation in educating people to elect leaders with the right qualities or to vote for the right person (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002).

Even the Islamic groups have not been left out on the task of politically educating members. Just before 2010 elections, an Islamic group Barazu kuu released a cirucular drafted by about one hundred Imams educating Muslims to vote for the candidates who will represent their interest. The Islamic religion provides political education and mobilization during Friday prayers urging members to vote for Muslim candidates regardless of a party affiliation. There have been campaigns in the Mosques where members were taught to vote for the ruling party, CCM (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Gahnstrom, 2012).

The media

Mass media is also vital in political education and mobilization in Tanzania. These include the newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations in short both print and electronic media. During the period of Ujama, mass media which was wholly owned by the state were used in propagating and promoting the ideology. For example, the Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) as an instrument of political socialization, political mobilization and propaganda was embedded in its functions such as to inform, educate, mobilize, unite and promote national values, ideology and objectives.

Since political liberalization, there are twelve registered radio stations in the country, of which only radio Tanzania is state-owned or national and run by the government. The Radio Tanzania has traditionally been used for educating the

people on various issues. While Radio Tanzania is good for reaching rural audiences, the privately owned Radio stations are alternative means to target the Dar es Salaam audiences as much more people seem to be attuned to it. All the private radio stations in Tanzania are run by churches except for two commercial radio stations in Arusha and one in Mwanza (Lange, Wallevick and Kiondo, 2000).

Thus, in the post-Ujama Tanzania, the mass media have continued to play a vital role in political education with the liberalization of the sector. Political parties make use of the media for political campaign. The new and latest dimension to media is the social media with the use of internet made possible through the ICT revolution.

The number of newspaper has exploded since political liberalization. On the side of Swahili newspaper, there are about nine dailies and 41 newspapers that are issued one to eight times a month. The largest daily is Majira with a circulation of 30,000 copies. The state-owned Uhuru which was before political liberalization the only accepted newspapers, has a circulation of 11,000 only, while Daily News and the Guardian have 12, 000 each. The press is said to constitute the real political opposition in Tanzania often publishing stories on fraud and mismanagement on the side of politicians, the press does not still operate completely independently, because of the attempts to censor cartoons (Large, Wallevik, and Kiondo, 2002). There are seven television broadcasting companies in the country, all established from 1994 onwards. The last television station to be launched was the National Television which became operational only in 1999. Five of the stations are based in Dar es Salaam and two others are in Morogoro. In addition, there are nineteen television cable networks of which all except one are based in the northern part of the country. All the major stations feature news in Swahili and several of them produce debate program on current issues which area also used in awareness programmes (Lange, Wallevik and Kiondo, 2000).

The Trends of Political socialization in South Africa

From the above instances the fact remains that the present political culture of South Africa are products of history, social reality as well as Apartheid-era construction. However, efforts of political socialization to reform the national identity, build a united political community that transcends racial and ethnic awareness, and pursuing a new national consciousness, common identity and values have been on since the fall of apartheid (Mandela, 1994). The political socialization in South Africa are carried out by various agents at various levels all working concurrently to achieve the best for the country. These agents of socialization include the family, media, peers, education, religion, age, and political parties. The family is definitely the primary agent of political socialization. In bringing up younger folks, adult family members often pass on their political views and opinions to them. This often makes children develop political views which are similar to those of their family members which might be detrimental to the society or help it grow. Furthermore, the media made up of the newspapers, television and radio are other agents. As an agent of socialization, the media played a vital role during apartheid. During this period, Afrikaner papers were pro-nationalist while the English newspapers were pro-opposition. Radio and television

service were under the control of the SABC which was formed by parliament which was a propaganda instrument of the government during the apartheid (Kotze, 1986:422). Observing such major events such as assassinations, elections or wars can also influence how people feel towards politics.

However, they have been the major mediums through which the government educates the people on various political and civic issues. Basically, such education is based on the value systems of the country which aims at reconciling all the people as a single nation and under a common identity despite their different language, culture and beliefs (Stinson, 2009). Some of the socialization strategies include embracing a new philosophical and political ideology of reconciliation from 1990. Also, on April 27th 1994 a new national flag was introduced in the new South Africa, in 2000 new national coats of arms was adopted. It depicted the democratic change in South Africa and a new sense of patriotism (RSA 2009b).

The role of religion on South Africa's political culture cannot be over emphasized. Various fractures of the Christian faith have taken diverse positions towards South Africa's politics. Apartheid was promoted through some church services like the Dutch Reform Church, White English speakers within the Anglican or Catholic Church took anti-apartheid stance and beliefs. The Zionist Christian Church could not take a stance against apartheid. Religion in South Africa has been used during apartheid to influence political culture and is still being used in current day South Africa. However, its role has transformed over time from being used by the nationalist government too now being used by the ANC government.

Conclusively, it becomes an indisputable fact that from the comparative study of that political culture of the two countries under study are quite different based on some factors such as geographical location, peoples orientation and exposure, believes, norms, traditions etc. and which results in different political culture and political socialization that forms and shape peoples disposition towards politics. Be that as it may, on the aspect of political socialization the process of transmitting their values, norms and traditions as well as culture in general seems to be the same as the agents looks alike and similar although what is being transmitted not the same

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