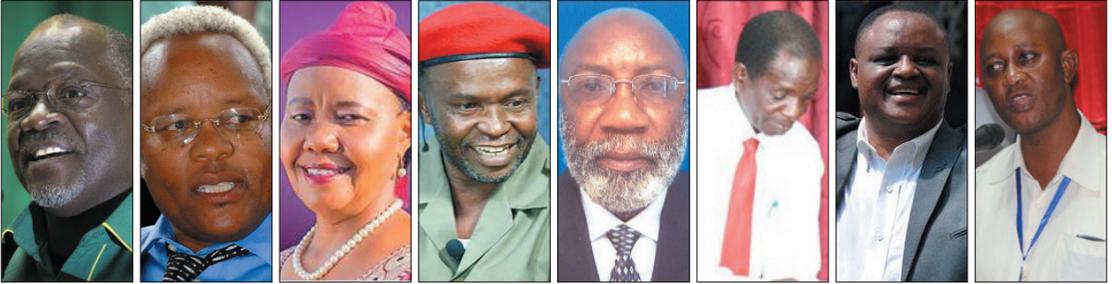




Let the people speak

Citizens' views on political leadership



1. Background

Elections are a rare opportunity for citizens to make their voices heard. Unpopular leaders with poor track records or ineffective policies can be rejected, to be replaced with more inspiring alternatives.

Tanzania is currently in the middle of a general election campaign. At the end of October, voters across the country will go to the polls to elect a new president, over 250 MPs and several thousand local councillors.

The ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party, with John Magufuli current Minister of Works as presidential candidate, is facing new challenges; several leading opposition parties have formed a coalition, known as Ukawa. The members of Ukawa, represented by Edward Lowassa (former Prime Minister and until recently a member of CCM), are:

- Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Chadema)
- Civic United Front (CUF)
- National Convention for Construction and Reform – Mageuzi (NCCR Mageuzi)
- National League for Democracy (NLD)

Other parties, contesting alone, are:

- Alliance for Change and Transparency – Wazalendo
- Alliance for Democratic Change (ADC)
- Chama cha Ukombozi wa Umma (CHAUMMA)
- National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA)
- Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)
- United People's Democratic Party (UPDP)

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But what are the issues that matter most to Tanzanian voters? Have MPs delivered on the promises they made in previous elections? Which political parties and politicians are most (or least) popular? Who do people want as the next President?

2. Methodology

Though it is sometimes tempting to reach conclusions on such matters based on the size of the crowds at political rallies and the resulting newspaper headlines, these can be misleading. A rigorously conducted public opinion poll can provide much more reliable answers.

In this brief, Twaweza's *Sauti za Wananchi*, Africa's first nationally representative mobile phone survey, presents nine facts on political preferences using the most recent data available.

The survey was conducted by mobile phone. In order to ensure that the sample is representative of the whole of mainland Tanzania, mobile phones and solar chargers have been distributed to participating households. Only households in areas lacking mobile phone network coverage are not represented. (Further details of the methodology are provided at the end of this brief, and at www.twaweza.org/sauti).

The findings are based on the first call round conducted between 19 August and 7 September 2015, with 1,848 respondents. At this point, the election campaigns were just beginning, with 8-10 weeks of campaigning still ahead. Respondents were selected using recognised methods of probability sampling as used by research institutions all over the world. The sample covers all regions of mainland Tanzania.

These data are compared with those from survey rounds in previous years, including:

- The first Sauti za Wananchi baseline survey from late 2012 (2,000 respondents)
- Sauti za Wananchi Round 10 from October 2013 (1,574 respondents)
- Sauti za Wananchi Round 24 from September 2014 (1,445 respondents)
- Sauti za Wananchi survey rounds in April (1,316 respondents), May (1,335 respondents), June (1,335 respondents) and July (1,575 respondents) 2015 (Figure 4b only)
- A new baseline survey conducted in July and August 2015 (2,000 respondents)

In each of these surveys, the data is nationally representative for mainland Tanzania. The surveys do not include Zanzibar.

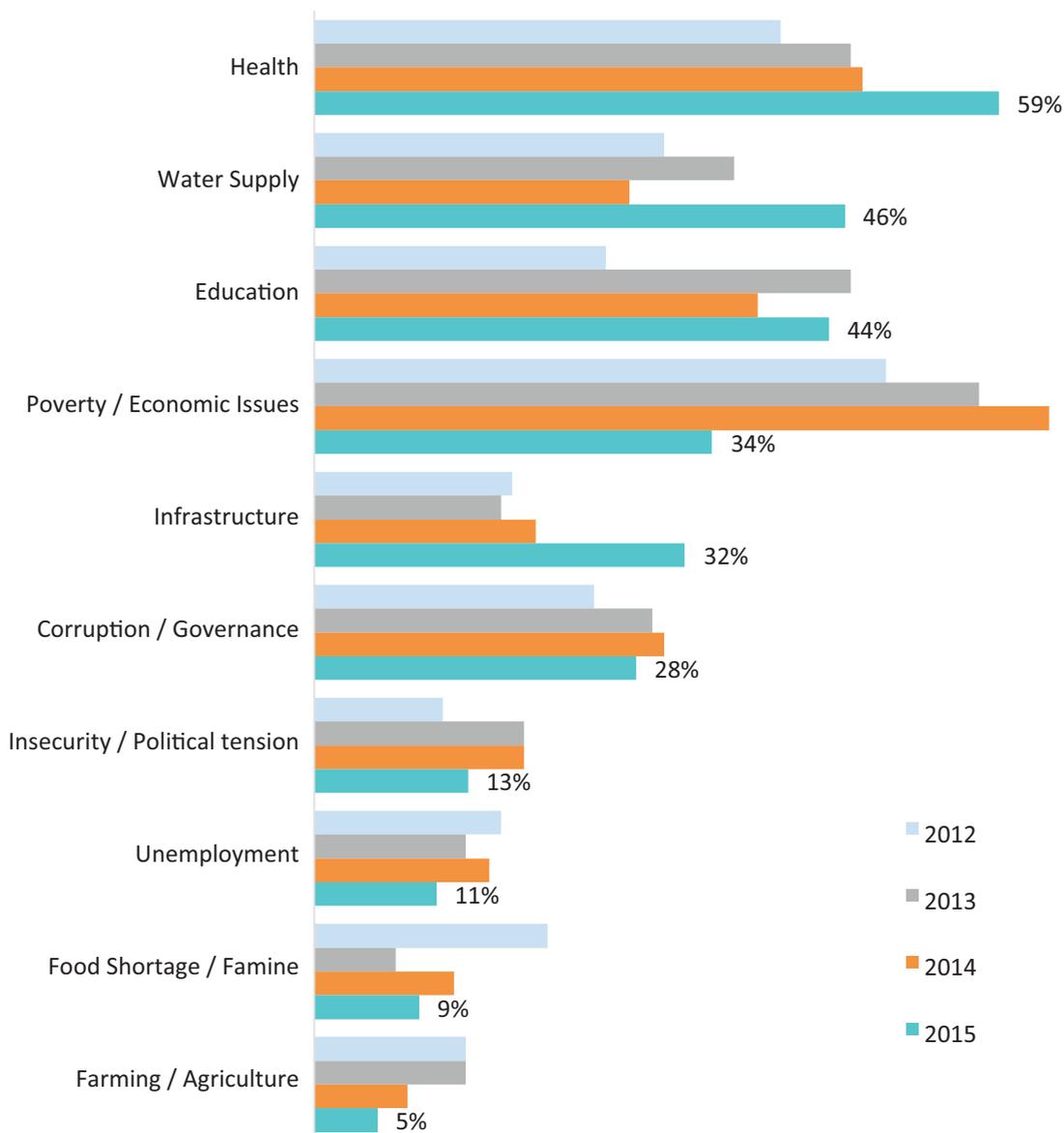
3. Nine facts about voters, issues and representatives

Fact 1: Health, water and education are citizens' main concerns

Citizens are most concerned about public services. Six out of ten mentioned health (59%) among the top three problems, and almost half mentioned water supply (46%) and education (44%) (Figure 1). In all three cases, more people mentioned these issues than in the previous year.

From 2012 to 2014, the problem mentioned most was poverty and economic issues, but this year this dropped from 63% to 34%. This provides useful insight to candidates and parties – to understand where to focus their attention and policies in order to address voters’ real concerns.

**Figure 1: What are the three most serious problems facing Tanzania today?
(percentage of answers indicating problem)**



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi* Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013), Round 24 (September 2014), New Panel Round 1 (August-September 2015)

| | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Health | 40% | 46% | 47% | 59% |
| Water supply | 30% | 36% | 27% | 46% |
| Education | 25% | 46% | 38% | 44% |
| Poverty / economic issues | 49% | 57% | 63% | 34% |
| Infrastructure | 17% | 16% | 19% | 32% |
| Corruption / governance | 24% | 29% | 30% | 28% |
| Insecurity / political tension | 11% | 18% | 18% | 13% |
| Unemployment | 16% | 13% | 15% | 11% |
| Food shortage / famine | 20% | 7% | 12% | 9% |
| Farming / agriculture | 13% | 13% | 8% | 5% |

Fact 2: MPs make big promises, but don't deliver

During election campaigns, parliamentary candidates make promises to the electorate. Most citizens (64%) report that they are aware of promises made during the last election campaign (Figure 2a).

However, citizens also reported that their MP had not implemented their promises. Nearly nine out of ten citizens (86%) said that their MP had implemented either few or none of their promises. Far fewer citizens said that their MP had implemented most of their promises (8%) or all of them (6%) (Figure 2b).

Figure 2a: Are you aware of the promises made by your MP?

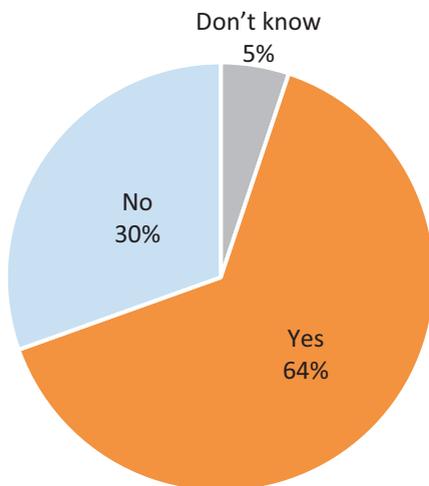
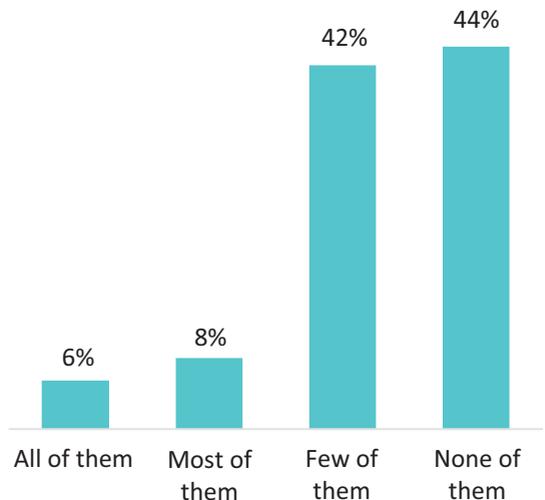


Figure 2b: Did your MP implement the promises that he/she made?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey for Second Panel (July-August 2015)

Fact 3: Almost all citizens say that they intend to vote this year

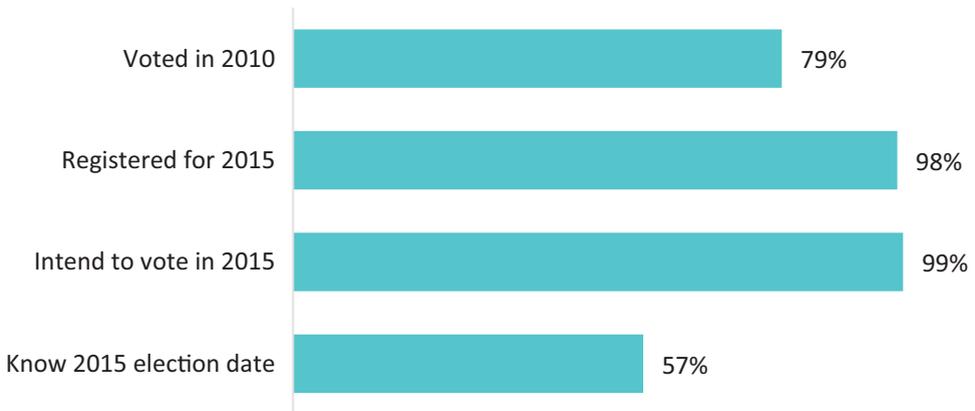
In 2010, only 43% of registered voters actually voted in the presidential election. This was much lower than in previous elections in 2000, when 84% voted, and 2005, when 72% voted.

However, when asked whether they voted in 2010, eight out of ten respondents (79%) say that they did (Figure 3).

Almost all citizens (98%) now say that they have registered to vote, and an even higher number (99%) say that they intend to exercise their right to vote in October.

Interestingly however, only 57% were able to correctly state the date of the election: 25 October.

Figure 3: Did you vote in 2010, are you registered, and do you intend to vote?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, New Panel Round 1 (August-September 2015)

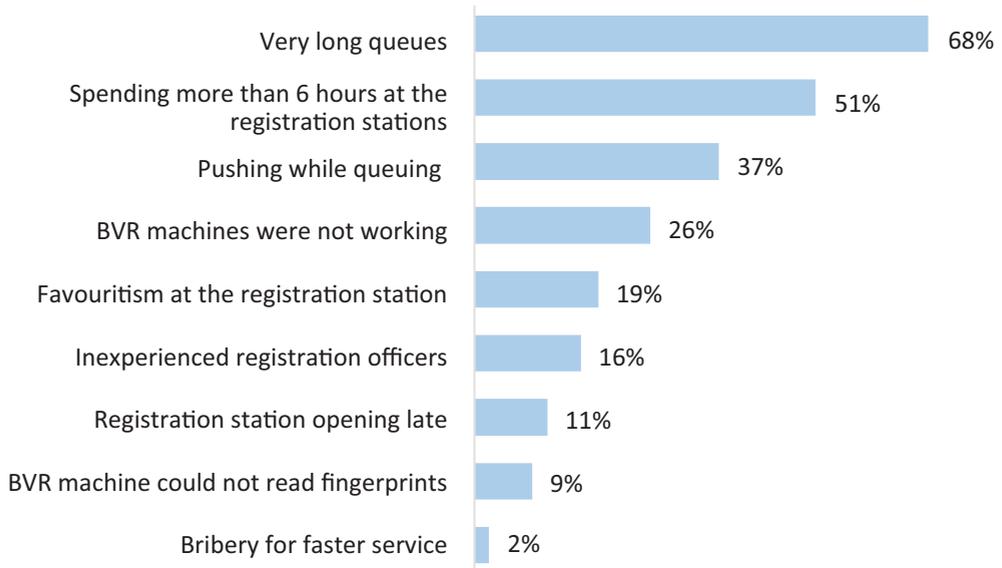
Fact 4: For many, voter registration was frustrating but successful

The recently concluded biometric voter registration exercise, known as BVR, was a newly introduced process to improve the voter register and reduce opportunities for electoral fraud. It was a difficult process, initially put on hold for several weeks when BVR kits were delayed. Later, when the BVR kits arrived, the media reported numerous complaints with the registration process.

Most citizens report experiencing or witnessing several problems when they went to register (Figure 4a). The biggest challenge was the time it took to register: two out of three respondents (68%) report that there were very long queues, and over half (51%) report that some people spent more than six hours registering.

People also had or saw problems with people pushing them while in queues (37%), BVR machines that failed to work (26%), favouritism at the registration station (19%) or a lack of experience on the part of the BVR operators (16%).

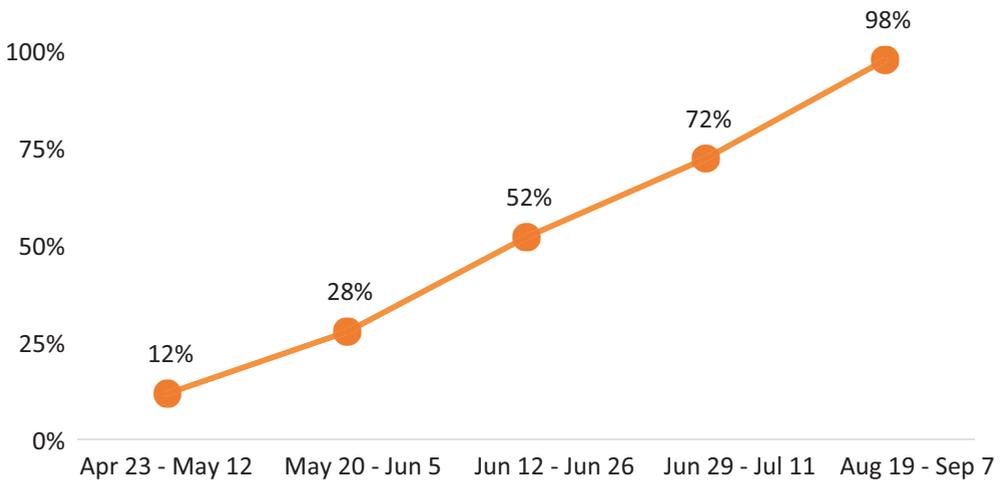
Figure 4a: Which, if any, of the following problems did you face or witness during the biometric voter registration process (BVR)?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, New Panel Round 1 (August-September 2015)

Nevertheless, on one of the most important measures – the number of registered voters – this survey found a positive outcome. Almost all (98%) of those asked in late August and early September said that they had already registered to vote. In previous survey rounds, the proportion of registered voters was lower, but the number rose steadily during the registration process (Figure 4b).

Figure 4b: Are you registered under the new voter registration system known as BVR?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, April-July 2015, New Panel Round 1 (August-September 2015)

Fact 5: CCM remains the most popular party

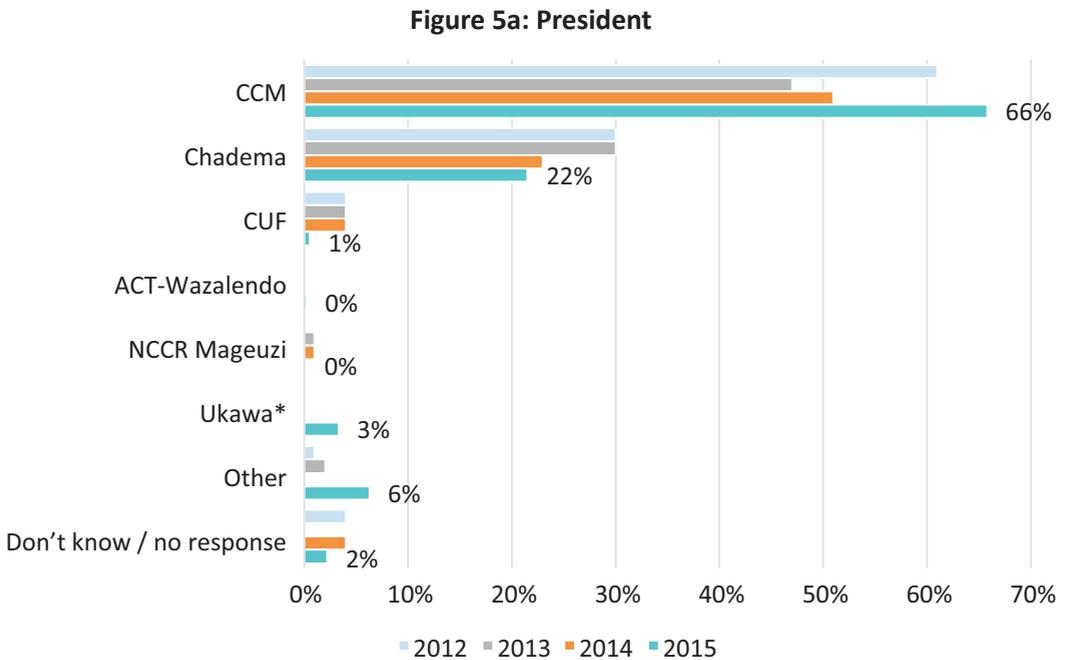
Sauti za Wananchi asked how voters expected to use their votes for the Presidency, for MPs and for Councillors. In particular, without mentioning the names of any candidates, which party’s candidate did respondents plan to vote for?

In all three cases (Presidency Figure 5a, MP Figure 5b, Councillor Figure 5c), more than 6 out of 10 respondents said they intend to vote for the CCM candidate.

Support for Chadema has been dropping slightly since 2013.

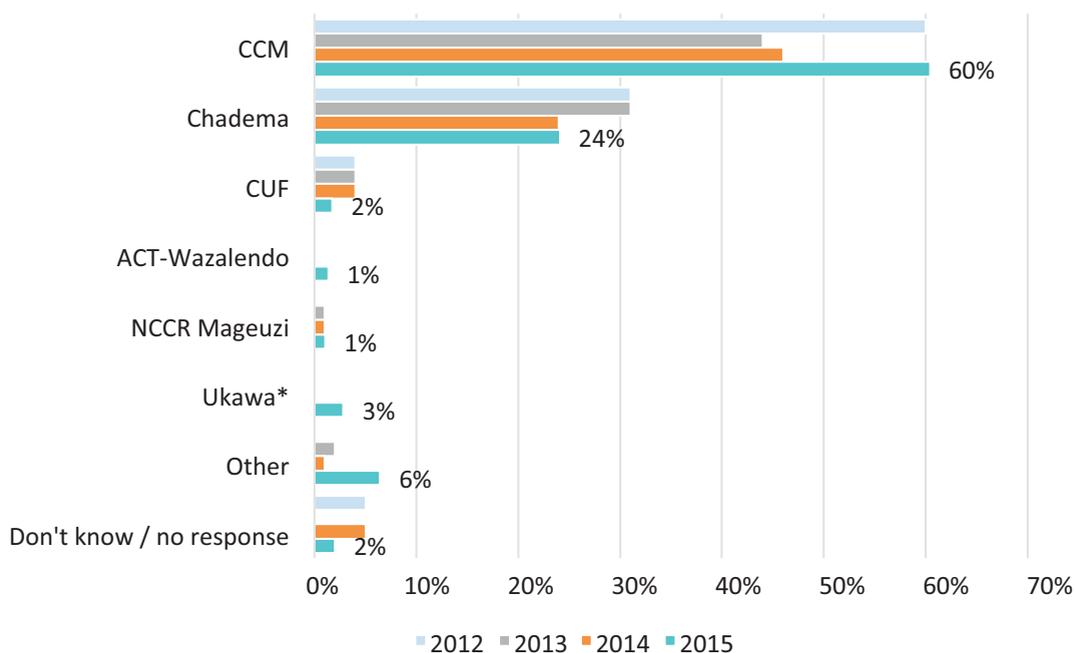
In 2014, the *Sauti za Wananchi* political opinion poll found that between 16% and 18% of respondents claimed not to have any party affiliation in their choice for President, MP or Councillor. In 2015 this was not reported by any respondents.

Figure 5: If the election was held today, which political party’s candidate would you vote for?



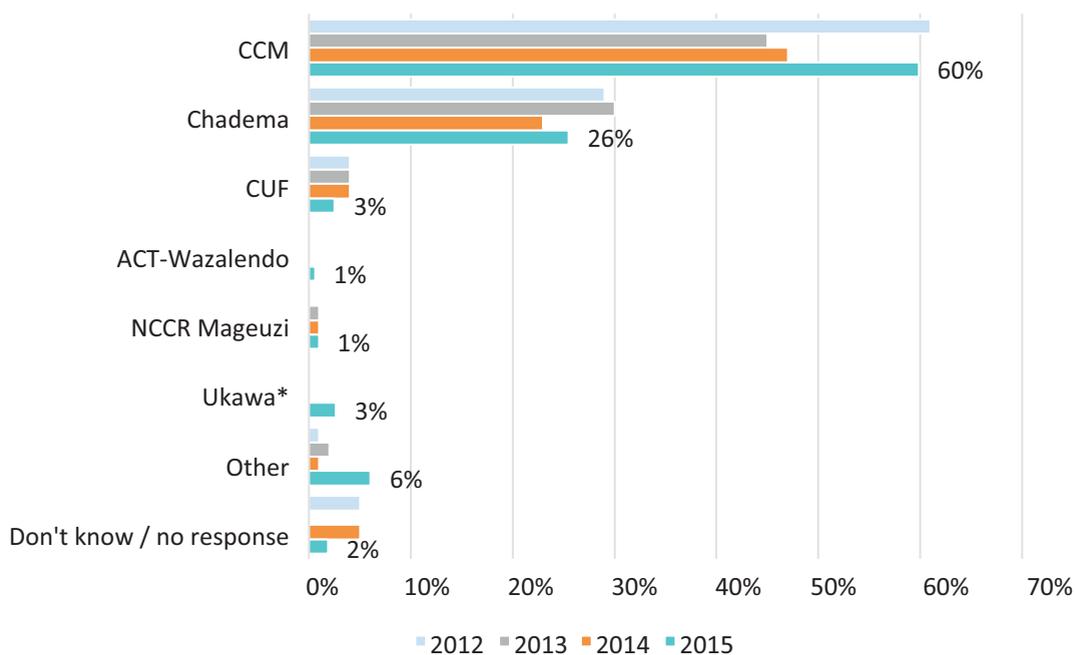
| | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| CCM | 61% | 47% | 51% | 66% |
| CHADEMA | 30% | 30% | 23% | 22% |
| CUF | 4% | 4% | 4% | 1% |
| ACT-WAZALENDO | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| NCCR MAGEUZI | 0% | 1% | 1% | 0% |
| UKAWA* | 0% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| OTHER | 1% | 2% | 0% | 6% |
| DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE | 4% | 0% | 4% | 2% |

Figure 5b: Member of Parliament



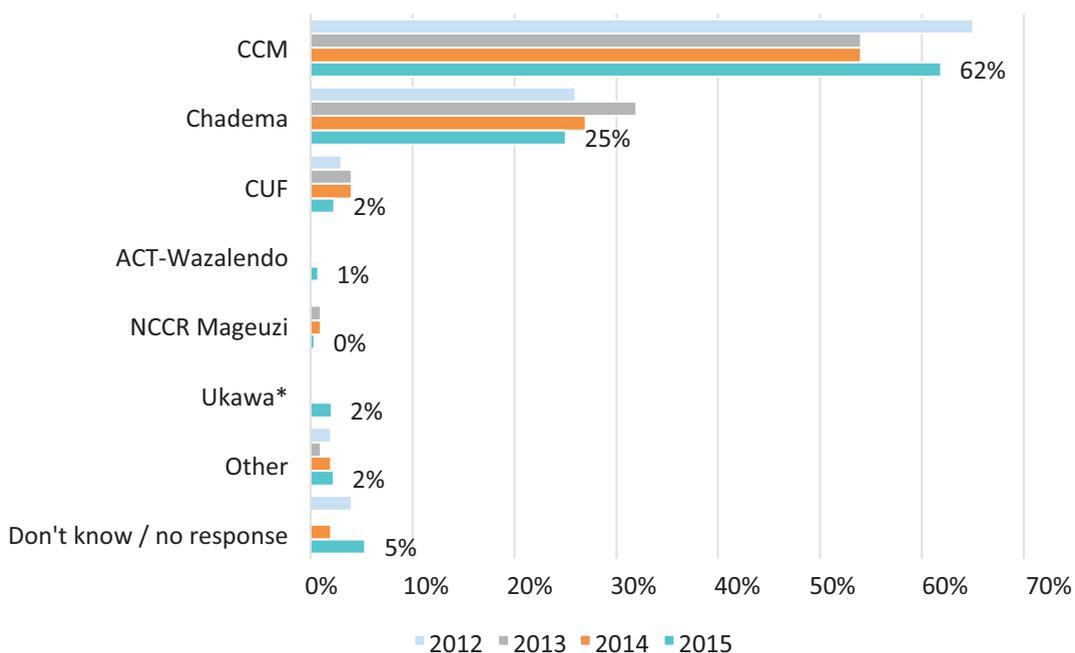
| | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| CCM | 60% | 44% | 46% | 60% |
| CHADEMA | 31% | 31% | 24% | 24% |
| CUF | 4% | 4% | 4% | 2% |
| ACT-WAZALENDO | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| NCCR MAGEUZI | 0% | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| UKAWA* | 0% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| OTHER | 0% | 2% | 1% | 6% |
| DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE | 5% | 0% | 5% | 2% |

Figure 5c: Councillor



| | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| CCM | 61% | 45% | 47% | 60% |
| CHADEMA | 29% | 30% | 23% | 26% |
| CUF | 4% | 4% | 4% | 3% |
| ACT-WAZALENDO | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| NCCR MAGEUZI | 0% | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| UKAWA* | 0% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| OTHER | 1% | 2% | 1% | 6% |
| DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE | 5% | 0% | 5% | 2% |

Figure 5d: Which political party do you feel closest to, if any?



| | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| CCM | 65% | 54% | 54% | 62% |
| CHADEMA | 26% | 32% | 27% | 25% |
| CUF | 3% | 4% | 4% | 2% |
| ACT-WAZALENDO | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| NCCR MAGEUZI | 0% | 1% | 1% | 0% |
| UKAWA* | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| OTHER | 2% | 1% | 2% | 2% |
| DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE | 4% | 0% | 2% | 5% |

* Though Ukawa is not a registered political party, it is included here to indicate the extent to which people think of it as equivalent to a party.

Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013), Round 24 (September 2014), New Panel Round 1 (August-September 2015)

All parties with at least 1% in one category in any year are listed separately. Respondents were asked the question and their answers were noted down and coded. A list of options was not provided.

Fact 6: The official status of Ukawa is not well understood

The coalition of opposition parties, Ukawa (Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi, or Defenders of the People’s Constitution), brings together four political parties – Chadema, CUF, NCCR Mageuzi and NLD – to fight the election on a common platform, with a single candidate from one of the constituent parties contesting every post. The principle is to unite the opposition vote.

However, the coalition is not a registered political party and the name ‘Ukawa’ will not appear on any ballot paper. Nevertheless, almost half of citizens (49%) perceive Ukawa as a registered political party (Figure 6a). Even more (57%) expect to see the name ‘Ukawa’ on the ballot paper (Figure 6b).

This may add an element of uncertainty around voters’ reactions on election day, unless the campaigns and voter education work to correct these misperceptions.

Figure 6a: Is Ukawa among the registered political parties in Tanzania?

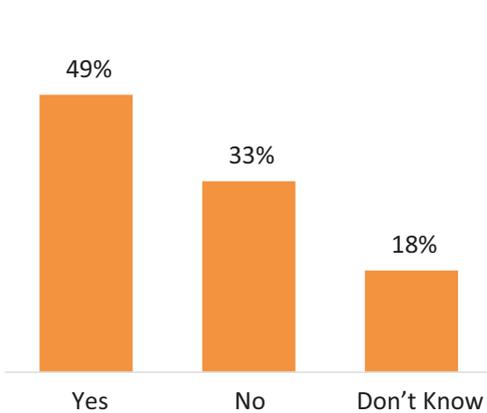
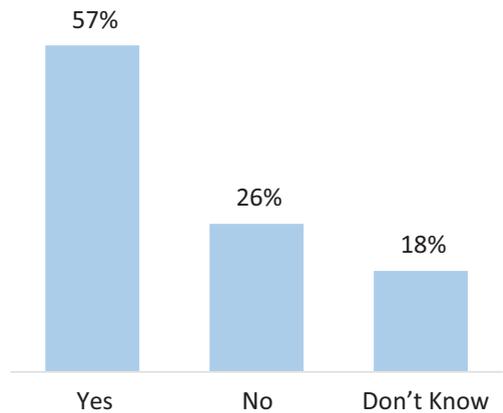


Figure 6b: Will Ukawa appear on the ballot paper during the 2015 elections?

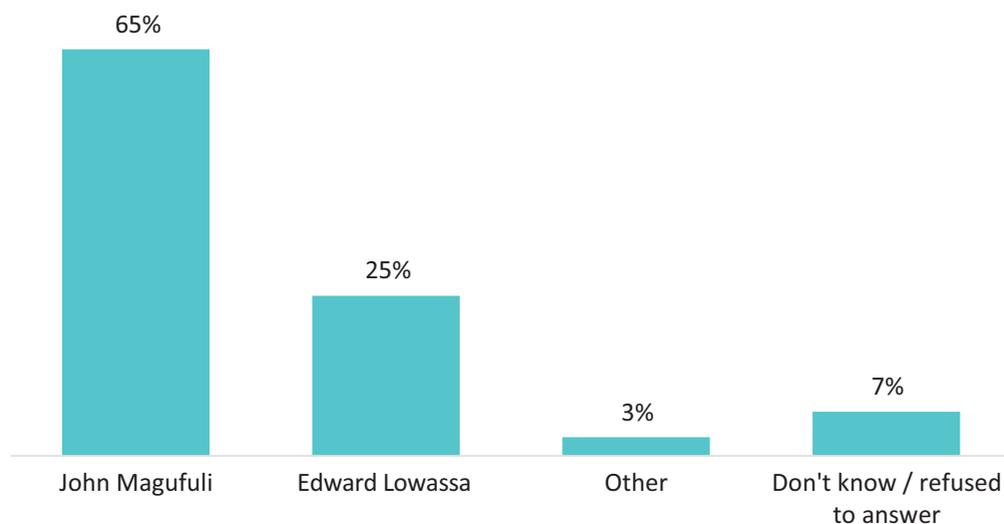


Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, New Panel Round 1 (August 2015)

Fact 7: John Magufuli leads the opinion poll

When asked by *Sauti za Wananchi* who they would vote for if presidential elections were held today, two out of three respondents (65%) said that they would vote for John Magufuli, the CCM presidential candidate (Figure 7). One out of four (25%) said they would vote for Edward Lowassa, the candidate representing Chadema and the Ukawa coalition. Just 3% said that they would vote for another candidate, and 7% either did not know who they would vote for or refused to state a name.

Figure 7: Apart from President Kikwete, if presidential elections were held today, who would you vote for if that person was a candidate?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, New Panel Round 1 (August 2015)
Respondents were asked the question and their answers were noted down and coded.
A list of options was not provided.

It should be noted that the questionnaire for this survey was prepared before some of the other opposition parties (outside the Ukawa coalition) had nominated their candidates, including ACT-Wazalendo.

Further, the survey asked people who they would vote for if the elections were held on that specific day, and data were collected in late August and early September. At this point, the election campaigns were just beginning, with 8-10 weeks of campaigning still ahead. The survey is not a prediction of the election result. It shows only that John Magufuli of CCM held a lead in public opinion at the start of the campaigns.

Fact 8: The gender, age or location of voters all have limited influence on their preferences

Levels of support for John Magufuli and Edward Lowassa can be broken down into different sections of society.

Support for Magufuli is very slightly higher among female voters than among men (68% and 62%) (Figure 8a). Conversely, support for Lowassa is slightly higher among male voters than among women (28% and 22%).

Similarly, support for Lowassa is very slightly higher in urban areas than in rural communities, while Magufuli is a little stronger in rural areas than in towns and cities (Figure 8b).

In both these cases, the difference in levels of support for the two candidates between men and women, and between people in rural and urban areas, is very small or statistically insignificant.

Younger people (33%) are two times more likely to say they would vote for Lowassa than older people (15%) (Figure 8c). Support for Magufuli is highest among those aged over 50 (76%), and lowest among younger voters (57%).

People with more schooling report that they are two times more likely to vote for Lowassa than those with fewer years of formal education (Figure 8d). The opposite is true for Magufuli, whose support among those with less schooling is higher than his support among those with secondary education or above.

Nevertheless, in all these categories, support for John Magufuli of CCM is found to be higher than support for Edward Lowassa of Chadema and Ukawa.

Figure 8a: Female and male voters

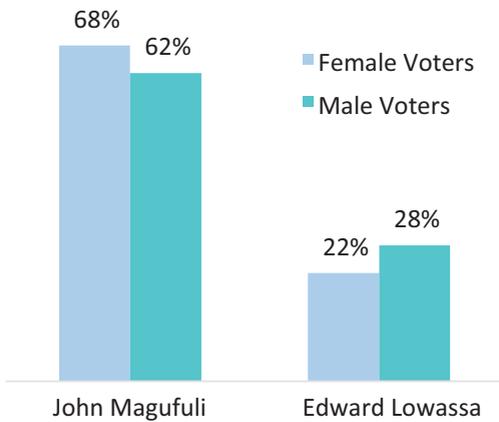


Figure 8b: Residents of rural and urban areas

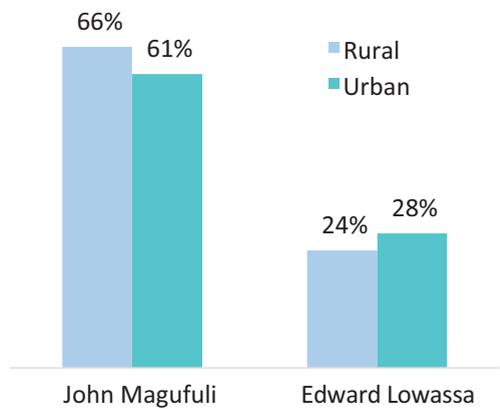


Figure 8c: Different age groups

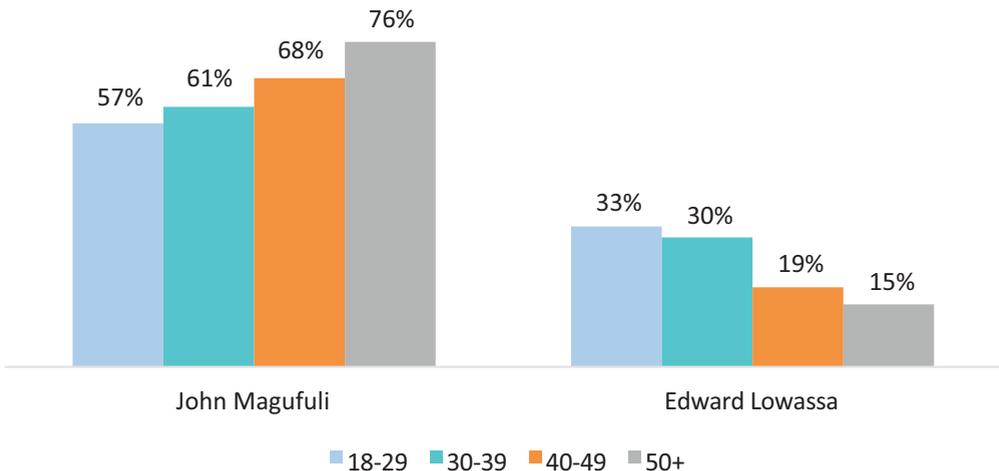
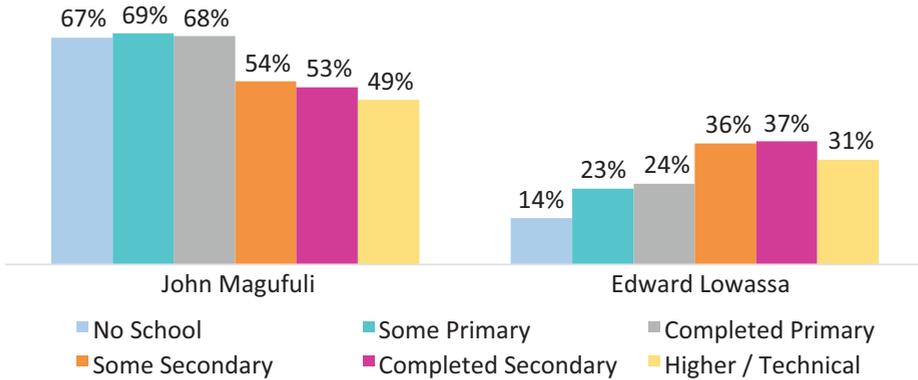


Figure 8d: Level of education completed



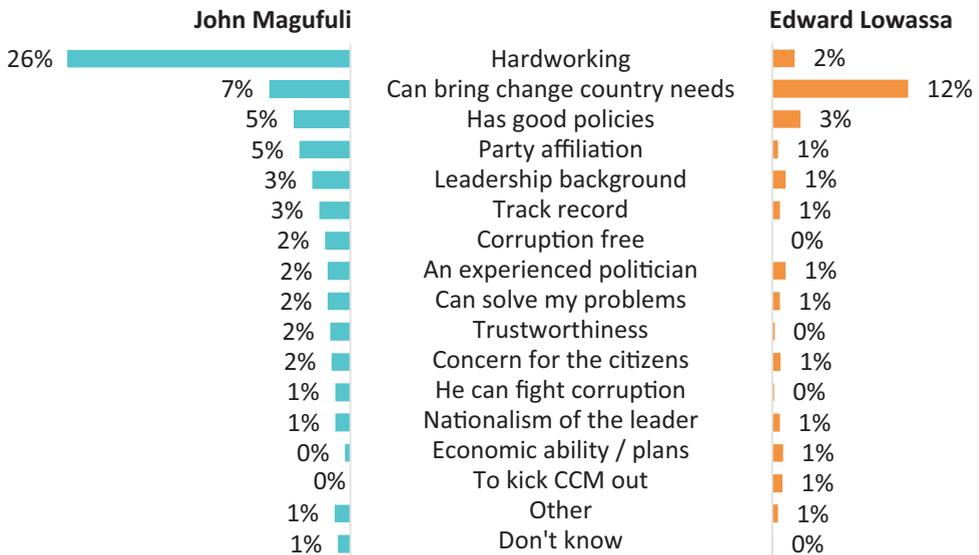
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, New Panel Round 1 (August 2015)
 Respondents were asked the question and their answers were noted down and coded.
 A list of options was not provided.

Fact 9: John Magufuli’s supporters see him as “hardworking”, Edward Lowassa’s supporters say he “can bring the change Tanzania needs”

In the case of John Magufuli, his most popular quality is that people see him as “hardworking”. One out of four respondents (26%) said that they would vote for him for this reason.

In Lowassa’s case, citizens see him as capable of bringing the change that the country needs. One in eight respondents (12%) said that they would vote for him for this reason.

Figure 9: Why would you vote for this candidate?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, New Panel Round 1 (August 2015)
 Percentages are calculated from total number of respondents,
 not limited to those who express support for the specific candidate

4. Summary of key findings:

- Fact 1: Health (mentioned by 59%), water (mentioned by 46%), and education (mentioned by 44%) are the public's main concerns, largely consistent with previous years.
- Fact 2: MPs make big promises, but don't deliver; 64% of citizens remember the promises their MP made in the last election and 86% of citizens report that MPs have delivered few or none of their promises.
- Fact 3: Almost all citizens (99%) say that they intend to vote in this year's election but only 57% could correctly state the date of the elections.
- Fact 4: For many, voter registration was frustrating but successful. The largest problem was long queues, reported by 68% but 98% say they are now registered.
- Fact 5: CCM remains the most popular party with more than 60% of citizens reporting that they will vote for the CCM candidate for President, MP and Councillor.
- Fact 6: The official status of Ukawa is not well understood: 49% of citizens think that Ukawa is a registered political party and 57% of citizens think that the name 'Ukawa' will appear on the ballot paper.
- Fact 7: John Magufuli leads the opinion poll with 65% of citizens reporting that they would vote for him for President if the election was held on the day of the opinion poll, before campaigning had begun.
- Fact 8: The gender, age or location of voters all have limited influence on their preferences. Nonetheless all groups overall express stronger support for John Magufuli.
- Fact 9: John Magufuli's supporters see him as "hardworking", 26% of citizens will vote for him for this reason, while Edward Lowassa's supporters say he can "bring the change Tanzania needs" - 12% of citizens will vote for him for this reason.

5. Methodological notes

Sauti za Wananchi is a mobile phone panel survey representative of the population of Tanzania Mainland (Zanzibar is not included in this survey). The principles underlying the sample design are exactly the same as traditional face-to-face surveys, and are used by respected research institutions all over the world.

The survey uses random probability sampling, where every member of the population has an equal probability to be selected in the sample. This randomly selected sample of the population is used to estimate the average and distribution of a characteristic, attitude or opinion in the entire population with statistical confidence. This is a standard statistical approach which provides the foundation for scientific survey research and political polling around the world. The approach is used by statisticians and social scientists to study human behavior and opinions, be it in National Statistical Agencies, such as NBS in Tanzania, at universities, and in global private research firms such as Gallup, Pew Research, and Ipsos Synovate.

For *Sauti za Wananchi* sampling, two reporting domains, urban and rural, were defined. Subsequently a sample of 2,000 households was drawn in three stages, with random selection at every stage:

- 200 enumeration areas (EAs) were selected randomly from across the whole of mainland Tanzania
- 10 households were selected randomly from a list of all households in each EA
- One adult respondent was selected randomly in each household

Each household was provided with a phone and access to a solar charger. A call centre agent contacts each household every month with questions on a wide range of topics.

Household and respondent observable characteristics are used to correct the survey estimates for non-response by reweighting, a standard statistical procedure in panel surveys.

The findings in this brief are based mainly on the first call round of a new panel, conducted in late August and early September 2015, with 1,848 respondents. For these poll results the margin of error is 2.5%. For example, if we estimate that candidate X is preferred by 10% of Tanzanians, the confidence interval is 7.5% to 12.5%. We are 95% certain that the true popularity of candidate X among the whole adult population of mainland Tanzania sits within this interval.

Many things will happen between the time we conducted the survey in late August and early September 2015 and the election in late October. It is impossible to predict the outcome of the election with any certainty. This data is simply a snapshot of politicians' popularity at this point in time, at the start of the election campaigns. It gives political leaders a sense of where they currently stand with the voters. But there is plenty of opportunity for parties and candidates who scored low in this poll to catch up and overtake those who scored highly, and for those who scored higher to lose popularity.

For more information visit www.twaweza.org/sauti, where a more detailed methodology is available, along with other materials including questionnaires and full datasets.