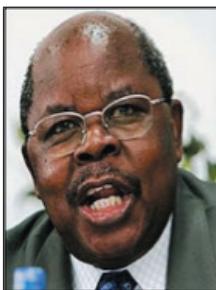
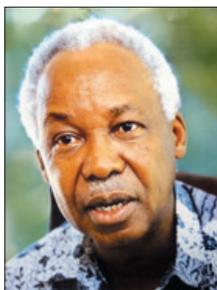




Tanzania towards 2015

Citizen preferences and views on political leadership



1. Introduction

Elections are the ultimate form of political accountability. They offer voters the opportunity to remove unpopular leaders or give them another chance. And they give voters a rare opportunity to make their views heard. The next general elections in Tanzania will be held in 2015. A new president will be elected, along with hundreds of Members of Parliament (MPs). Several hundred politicians will spend months campaigning, trying to win votes.

But what are the issues that matter most to Tanzanian voters? How do they rate the performance of their current political leaders? Are MPs implementing the promises they made in the last general elections and will constituents vote their MPs back? Which political parties and politicians are most (or least) popular? Who do people want as the next President? And is there a longer term trend in voter preferences?

Answers to these questions are generally missing from newspaper headlines and reports. 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 findings are based on the 24th call round conducted in September 2014 (1,445 respondents) (www.twaweza.org/sauti). These data are compared with those from two previous years, using the *Sauti za Wananchi* baseline survey from October - December 2012 (2,000 respondents) and the 10th call round from October 2013 (1,574 respondents).

The key findings are:

- Tanzanians say economic challenges, health and education are the most serious problems facing the country
- Voters remember their MPs' promises, many of which have not been delivered.
- Approval ratings of political leaders are dropping across all parties

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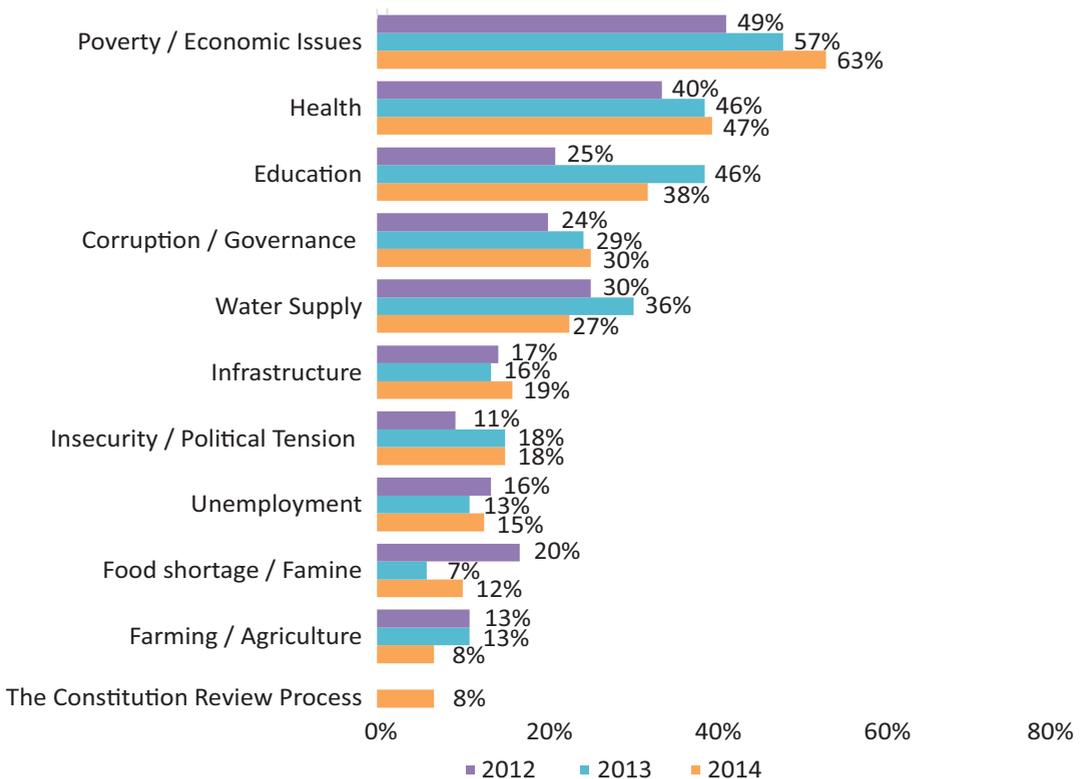
- CCM support is falling but the party retains a comfortable lead over its closest rivals, Chadema and CUF
- Voters have stronger preferences regarding political parties than individual candidates
- No single potential presidential candidate has a clear lead, the field remains wide open

2. Nine facts about voters, issues and representatives

Fact 1: Poverty, health and education are the main problems

When asked to name the three main problems facing Tanzania, citizens across the country raised a range of issues. Figure 1 shows that poverty, health and education rank highest in 2014 and that these problems have been ranked among the foremost national problems for three years consecutively. When looking at trends, the number of people mentioning poverty as an issue has grown over the last three years. People are somewhat less concerned about education in 2014 than in 2013. The public sphere, particularly media, were filled with reports on education quality issues in 2013, which has not been the case in 2014. This may explain the decrease in citizens citing this as a problem. The only time the constitution review process was mentioned as a problem facing the country is in 2014, as that was when there was a lot of coverage on the constitution drafting.

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



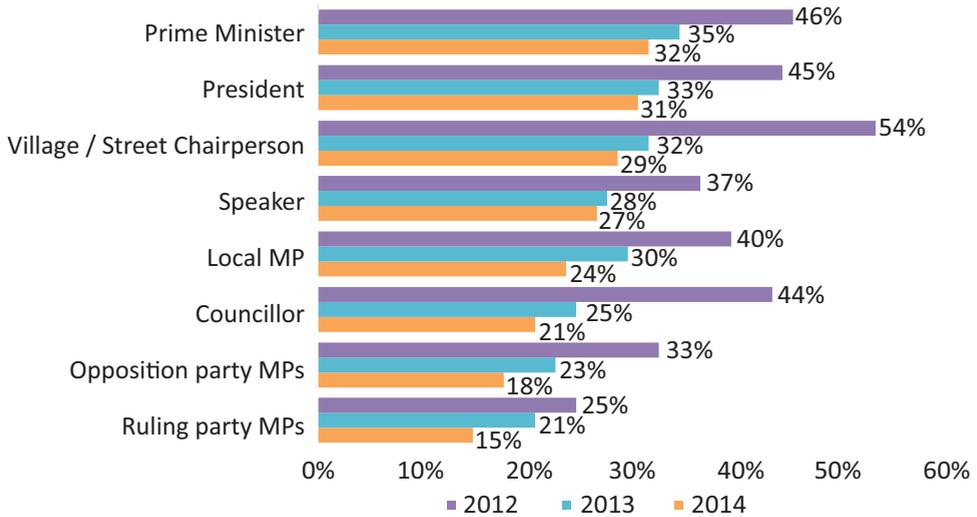
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013) and Round 24 (September 2014)

Fact 2: Approval ratings of political leaders are dropping

Citizens were asked how they rate the overall or general performance of various political leaders - elected and appointed. In nearly all cases the approval ratings (percentage answering 'highly approve') are low and have been dropping since 2012 (Figure 2).

The worst drops from 2012 to 2014 are among village / street chairpersons and councillors, whose approval ratings have dropped by 25% and 23%, respectively.

Figure 2: Approval ratings of elected leader in the country (percentage stating "highly approve")



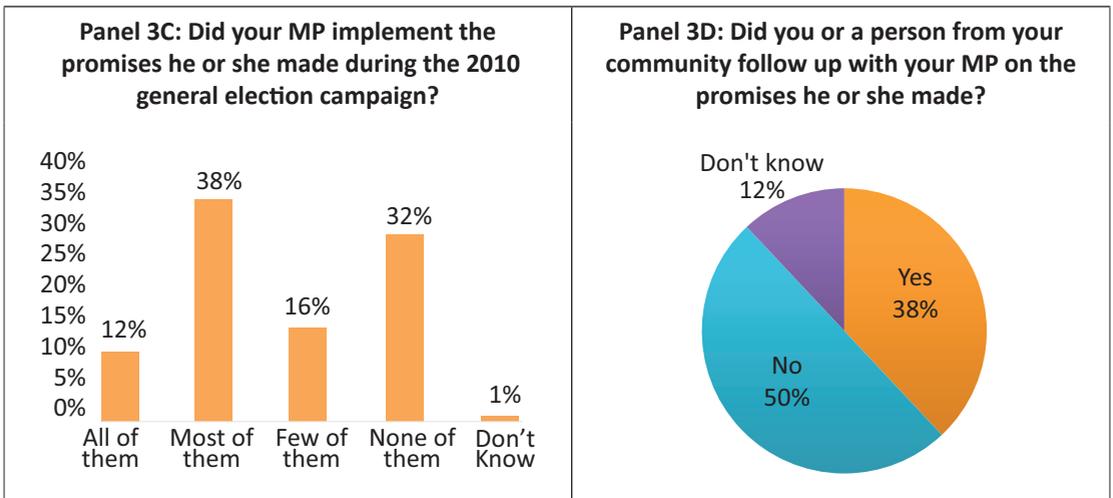
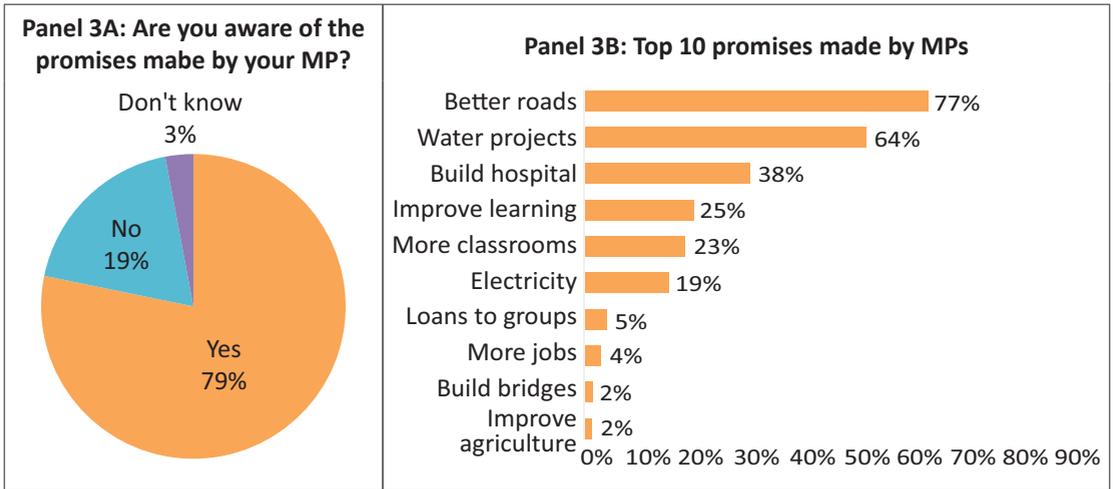
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013) and Round 24 (September 2014)

Fact 3: MPs make big promises, but don't deliver

The last general election, held in 2010, saw 239 MPs elected to represent their constituents' interests. During the election campaign, MPs campaigned to win votes and often made promises to constituents. As Panel 3A illustrates, almost 8 out of 10 constituents (79%) still recall the promises made by their MPs at that time.

Panel 3B shows that in most cases voters were promised a construction project: building or improving roads (77%), building or improving water points (64%), building a hospital (38%) and more classrooms in their constituencies (23%). These promises generally align well with what citizens identified as the problems facing the country (Fact 1). That is, politicians know what their voters want.

Unfortunately, only 1 out of 8 citizens (12%) report that their MP has implemented their promises fully, as shown in Panel 3C. A further 54% say their MP implemented some of their promises, while 32% say their MP implemented none. However, as shown in panel 3D, citizens are doing their part, four out of ten (38%) report that they or others in their community have followed up on these promises with their MP.



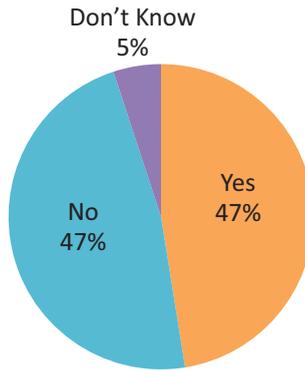
Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey- Round 24 (September 2014)

Fact 4: Almost half of current MPs (47%) risk being voted out

The next general elections are expected to be held in late 2015. Eight out of ten Tanzanians report that they know the names and parties of their Members of Parliament (data not shown).

When asked if they would vote their current MP back into parliament, almost half of all Tanzanians (47%) said they would not – see Figure 4. Almost all respondents who said they would not vote for their MPs also reported that their MP had implemented either a few or none of their promises from the last election.

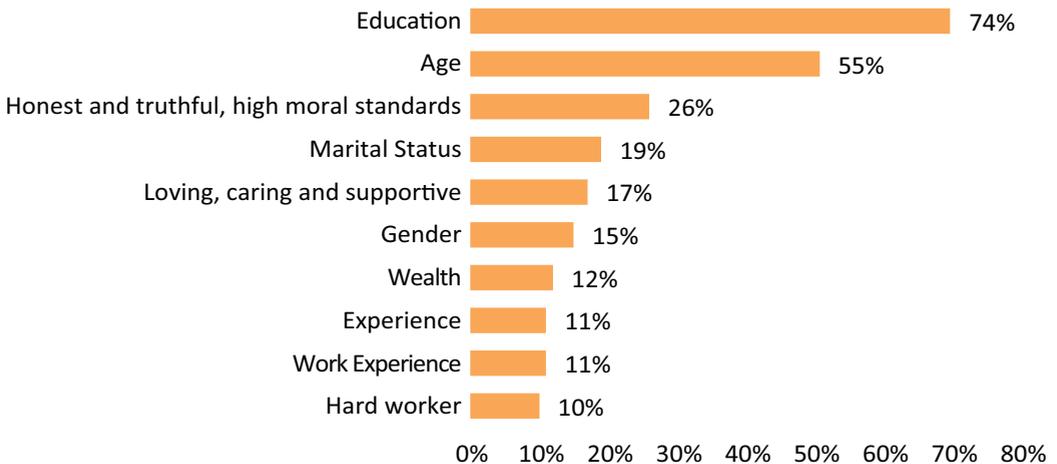
Figure 4: Do you intend to vote to re-elect your local MP?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey- Round 24 (September 2014)

Sauti za Wananchi asked about the qualities people look for in an MP. Almost three out of four citizens (74%) mention that they would look at the candidate’s level of education (Figure 5). Half of these expect MPs to have a Bachelor’s degree at minimum (data not shown). The candidate’s age was the second most important issue; more important than appearing honest, trust-worthy, or moral. Three out of four of those who mentioned age first thought MPs should be 40 years old or above (data not shown).

Figure 5: The most important qualities for an MP



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey- Round 24 (September 2014)

Fact 5: In 2015 CCM leads but with reduced margins

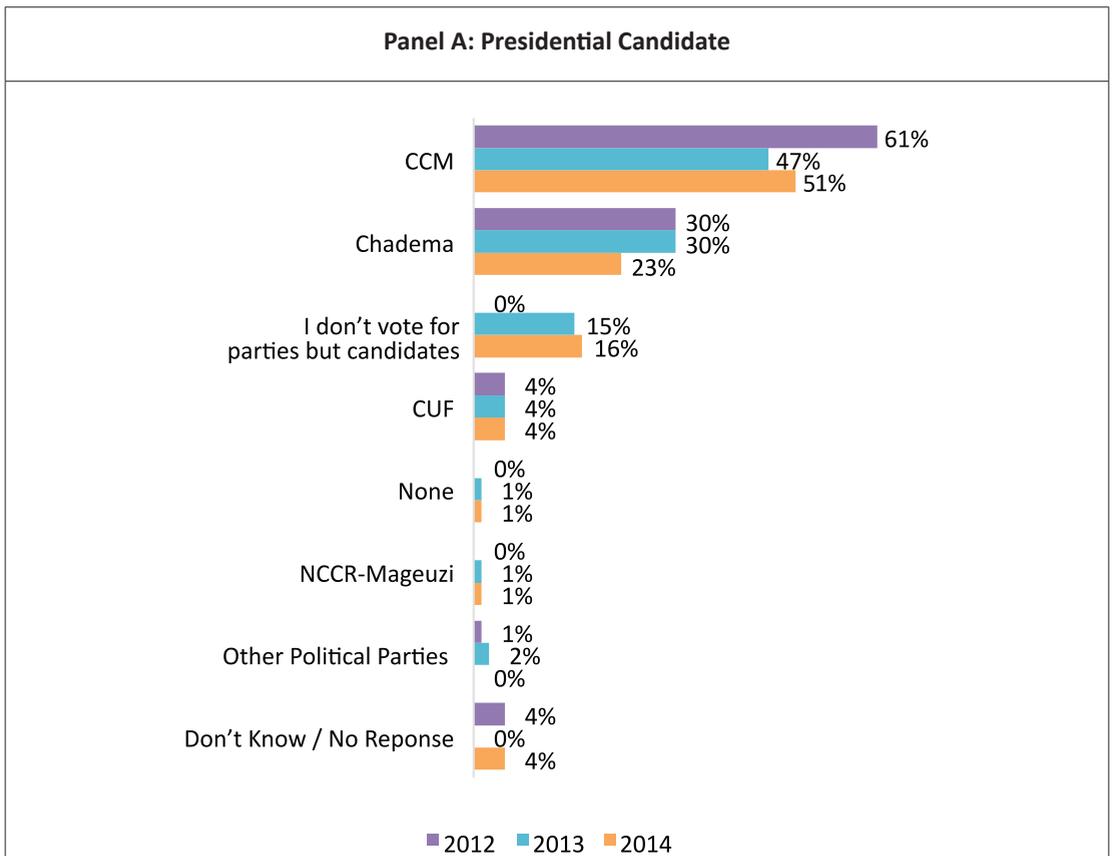
In the past general elections, political parties frequently used the Kiswahili idiom “Mafiga Matatu” (similar in meaning to “a three legged stool”), asking voters to vote for candidates from one party in the presidential, parliamentary and council elections. *Sauti za Wananchi* asked for voters’ preferences in each of these elections, as well as their party affiliation. The results in Figure 6 show that there is a consistent pattern of party preferences between the three types of elections.

The data essentially show three headlines. First, in 2014 CCM retains a comfortable lead over the opposition in all three types of elections. This is particularly marked for the presidential election: according to these results. The data show that if the election was held in September 2014, CCM would win the elections even if all the opposition parties joined forces and fielded one presidential candidate and all those who vote for candidates not parties voted for this candidate.

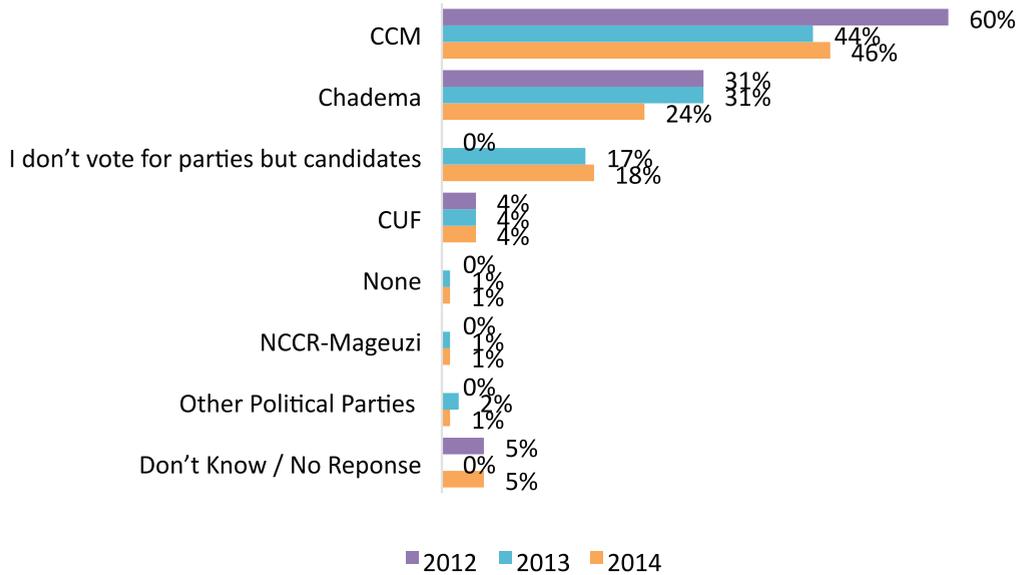
Second, CCM is losing vote share – but the same is true for Chadema, their main competitor. Between 2012 and 2014, they both suffered a similar fate according to the MP data in Panel B: CCM’s vote share drops from 60% to 46%, Chadema’s share drops from 31% to 24%. That is, both parties are faced with a loss of about a quarter of their 2012 vote share.

Third, the declining vote share of the two leading parties is balanced by a growing share of citizens who intend to vote based on individual candidates, rather than party affiliation. The share of voters reporting “I don’t vote for parties but for candidates” has gone up from close to zero in 2012 to 17% on average for the three positions in 2013 and 2014. At the same time more citizens report that they have no party affiliation: this was 0% in 2012 and is 10% in 2014 (Panel D).

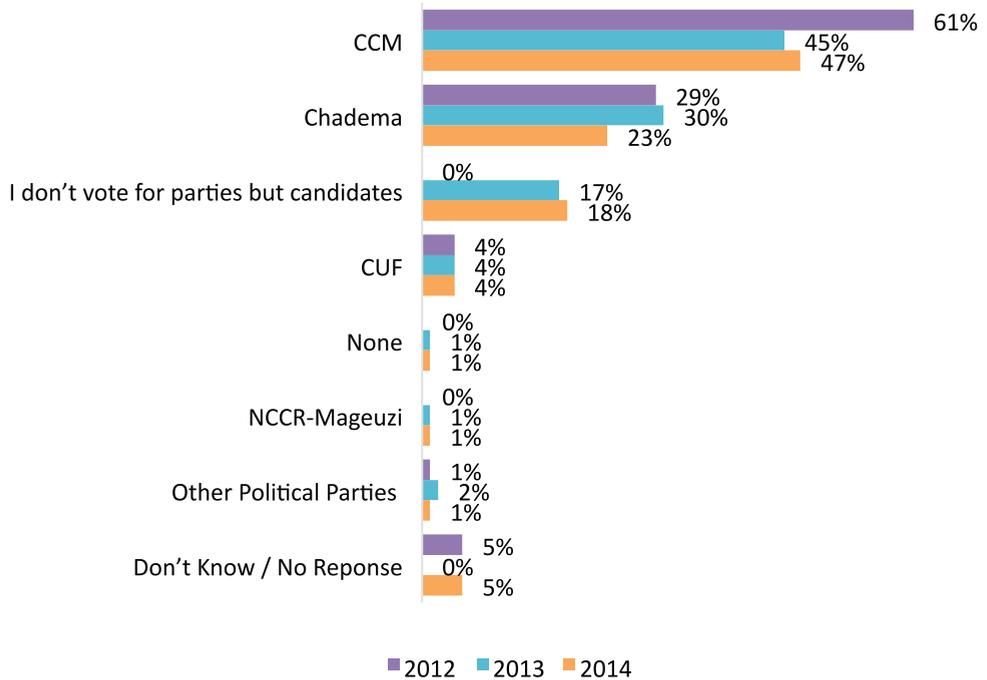
Figure 6: If the election was held today, which political party’s candidate would you vote for?

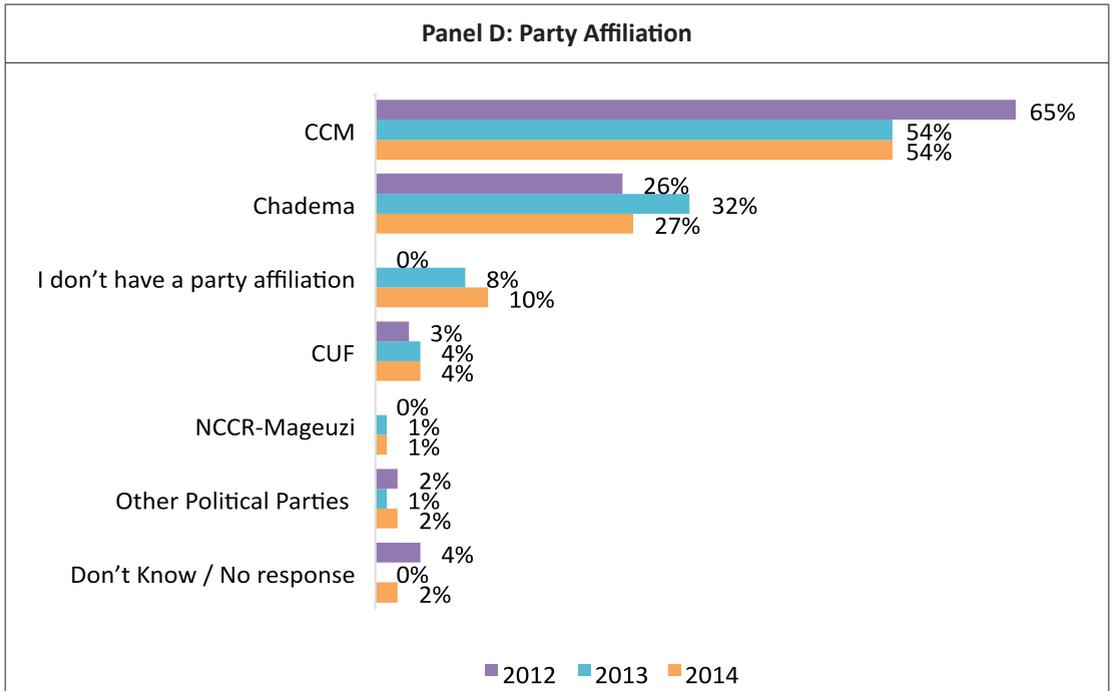


Panel B: Member of Parliament



Panel C: Councilor



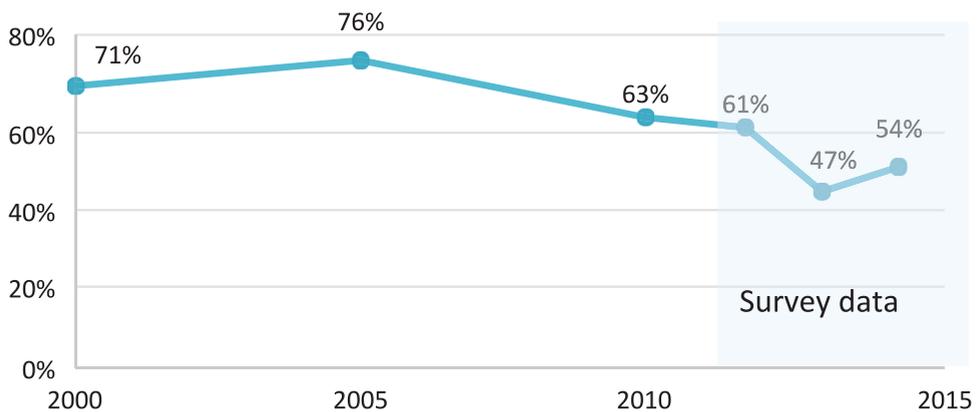


Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013) and Round 24 (September 2014)

Fact 6: CCM dominance cannot be taken for granted

What are the longer term prospects for the ruling party? Figure 7 shows a trend in the votes for president, combining data on results from the last three general elections with the three rounds of *Sauti za Wananchi* political poll data. While the poll data show a drop in the CCM vote margin in 2013, the most recent data point suggests a movement towards the 2010 support level.

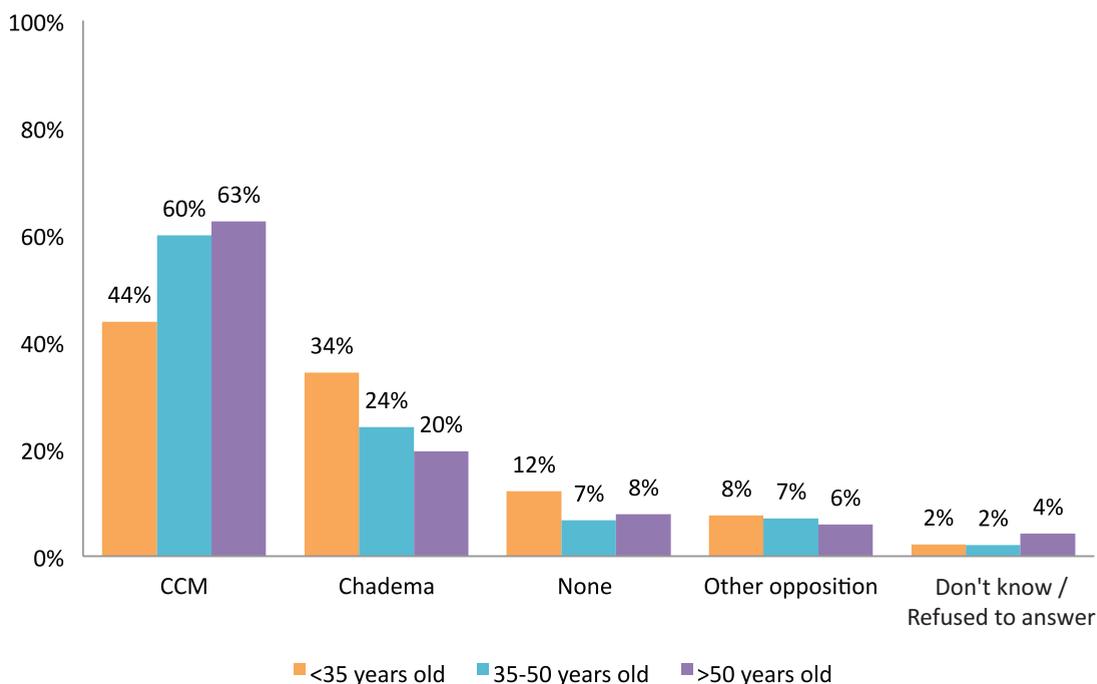
Figure 7: Presidential Election CCM vote share trends and recent poll results



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013) and Round 24 (September 2014)

Figure 8 presents the distribution of party affiliation over age groups. This shows that Chadema support is strongest among young people (below 35 years), while a larger percentage of older voters (35 years and above) support CCM. Furthermore, a relatively higher percentage of young voters do not yet affiliate themselves with a party - and may therefore be considered swing voters. This distribution of party affiliation over age groups – if constant over time – would give a future “demographic dividend” to the opposition, particularly in the face of fast population growth.

Figure 8: Party affiliation, by age groups



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Round 24 (September 2014)

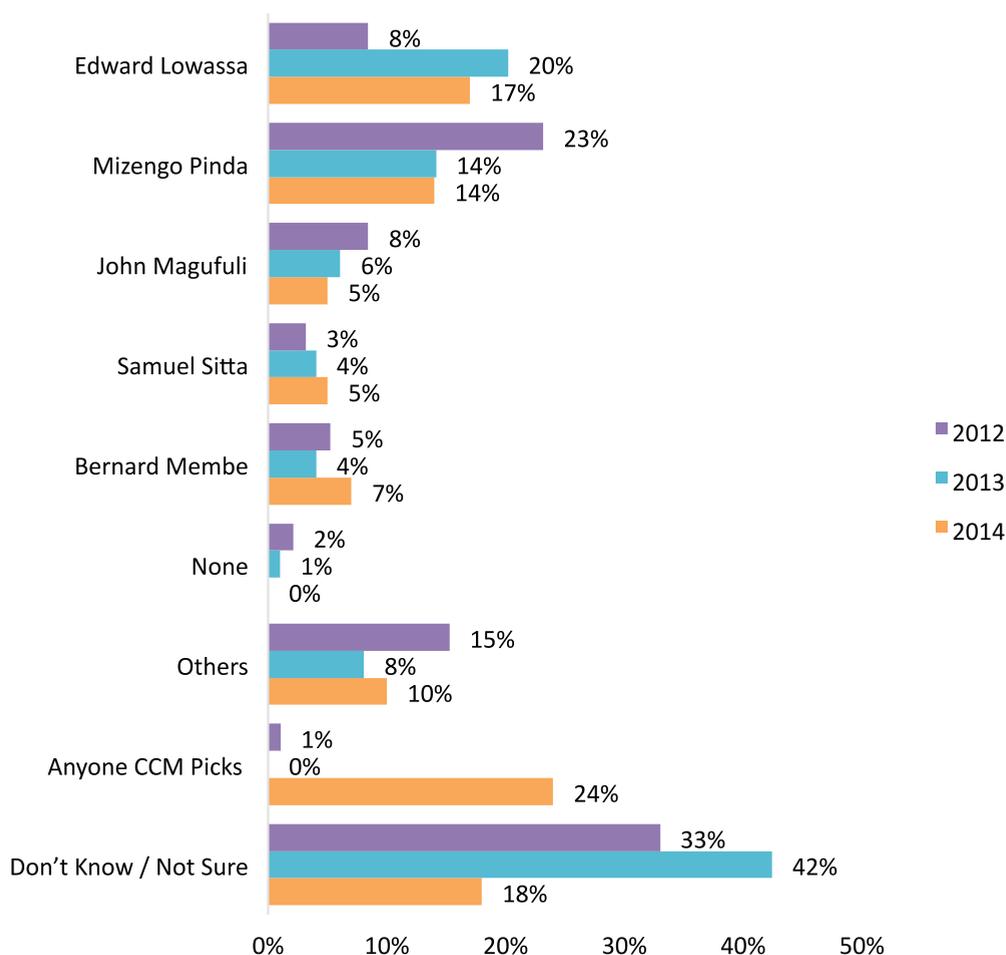
Fact 7: The race for CCM candidate is wide open

Over the last year, pressure has been mounting within the ruling party, CCM, on who will be the party’s presidential candidate in 2015. The ruling party’s regulations prohibits aspirants from formally announcing their interest in running for the presidency until the party authorises them to do so. Nevertheless, a number of the CCM presidential hopefuls have declared their intention to run for the Presidency.

Those respondents identifying themselves as CCM supporters were asked who should be CCM’s next flag bearer. The biggest group by a large margin (42%) in 2012 said they were not sure, but that number has reduced to 18% in 2014; see Figure 9. A number of respondents (24%) did not provide a specific name but mentioned that they would support the candidate that the party endorses.

Those that identified specific individuals mostly pointed to the former Prime Minister, Edward Lowassa (17%), and current Prime Minister, Mizengo Pinda (14%). Lowassa appears to have overturned the advantage that Pinda held in 2012. These figures likely reflect wide name recognition, since Prime Ministers play a key role in national affairs and the Parliament and receive regular media coverage. No other potential candidate received over 10% in 2014. Notably the largest share (24%) went to ‘anyone CCM picks’, suggesting that the real choice will be determined by CCM’s own internal processes and politics, rather than political opinion.

Figure 9: Who do you think should be CCM’s next flag bearer?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Round 24 (September 2014)

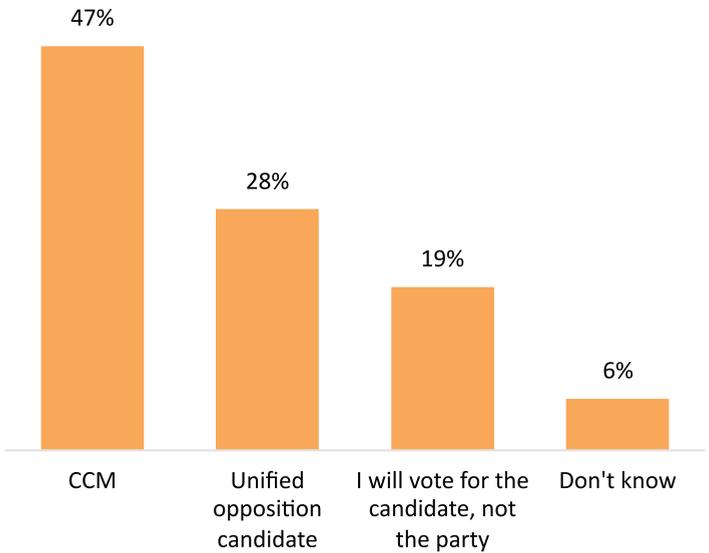
Fact 8: A united opposition has a chance in the next general election

During the Constituent Assembly sessions, a number of opposition political parties formed a union under the name UKAWA (Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi). UKAWA is made up of CUF, Chadema and NCCR Mageuzi and some of the 201 Constituent Assembly members. Recently, political parties under UKAWA announced that they will field only one candidate in races for president and other key posts.

In order to measure the viability of a unified opposition, *Sauti za Wananchi* asked the following question, “In the upcoming 2015 presidential election, assuming we have a unified opposition that puts a presidential candidate forward, who would you vote for?”. Figure 10 illustrates that (in September 2014) almost half (47%) of the respondents would vote for CCM while almost a third would vote for a single opposition candidate.

Who will win the next presidential election is thus partly determined by the “swing” voters: that is, those people who mention that they vote for the candidate rather than the party. This groups’ votes are dependent on the quality of the candidates. If these votes are split between CCM and the opposition, CCM will win the presidency with a considerable vote margin. There will only be a threat to CCM victory if all swing voters vote for the united opposition, which is an unlikely scenario, unless there was to be a significant set of new developments.

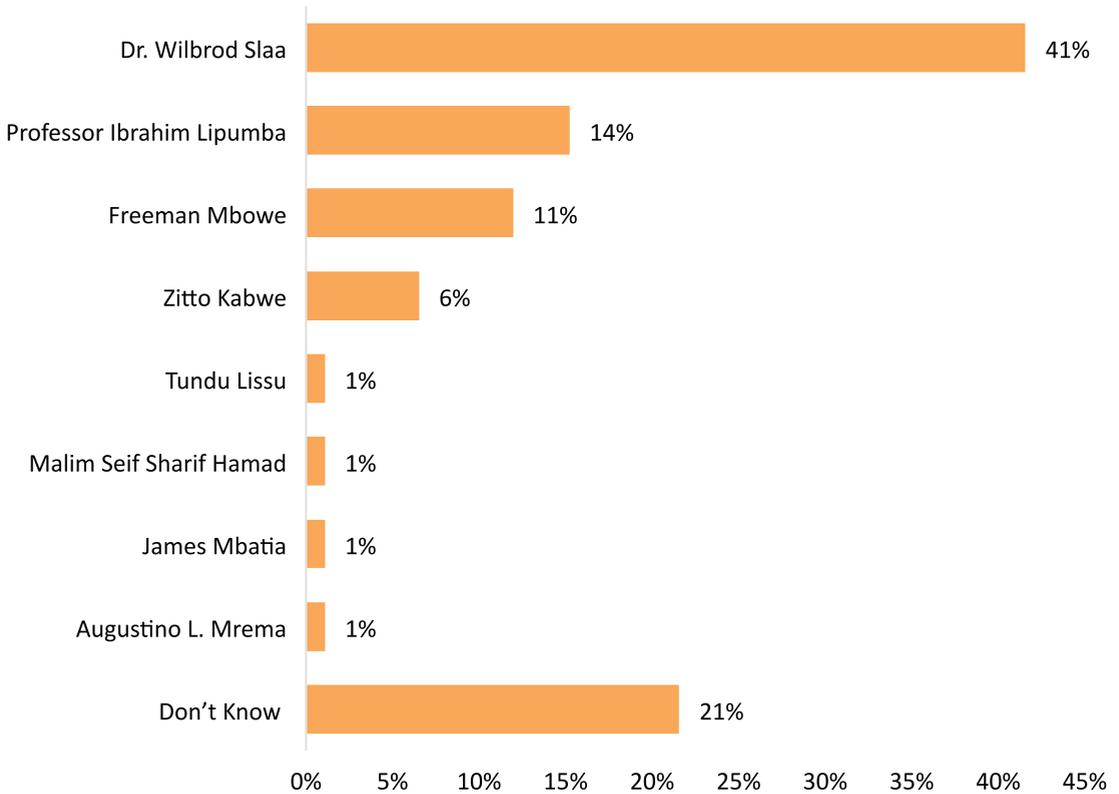
Figure 10: In the upcoming 2015 presidential election, assuming we have a unified opposition that puts a presidential candidate forward, who would you vote for? (2014)



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Mobile Phone Survey- Round 24 (September 2014)

When the group that mentioned that they would vote for a unified opposition were asked who should be the presidential candidate, Wilbrod Slaa (Chadema) was mentioned by 4 out of 10 (41%). Other names of opposition leaders that scored more than 10% were: Ibrahim Lipumba (14%) of CUF and Freeman Mbowe (11%) of Chadema (Figure 11).

Figure 11: In case the opposition unites as a multi-party grouping, who should the united opposition name as their presidential candidate?



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013) and Round 24 (September 2014)

Fact 9: The presidential race is wide open

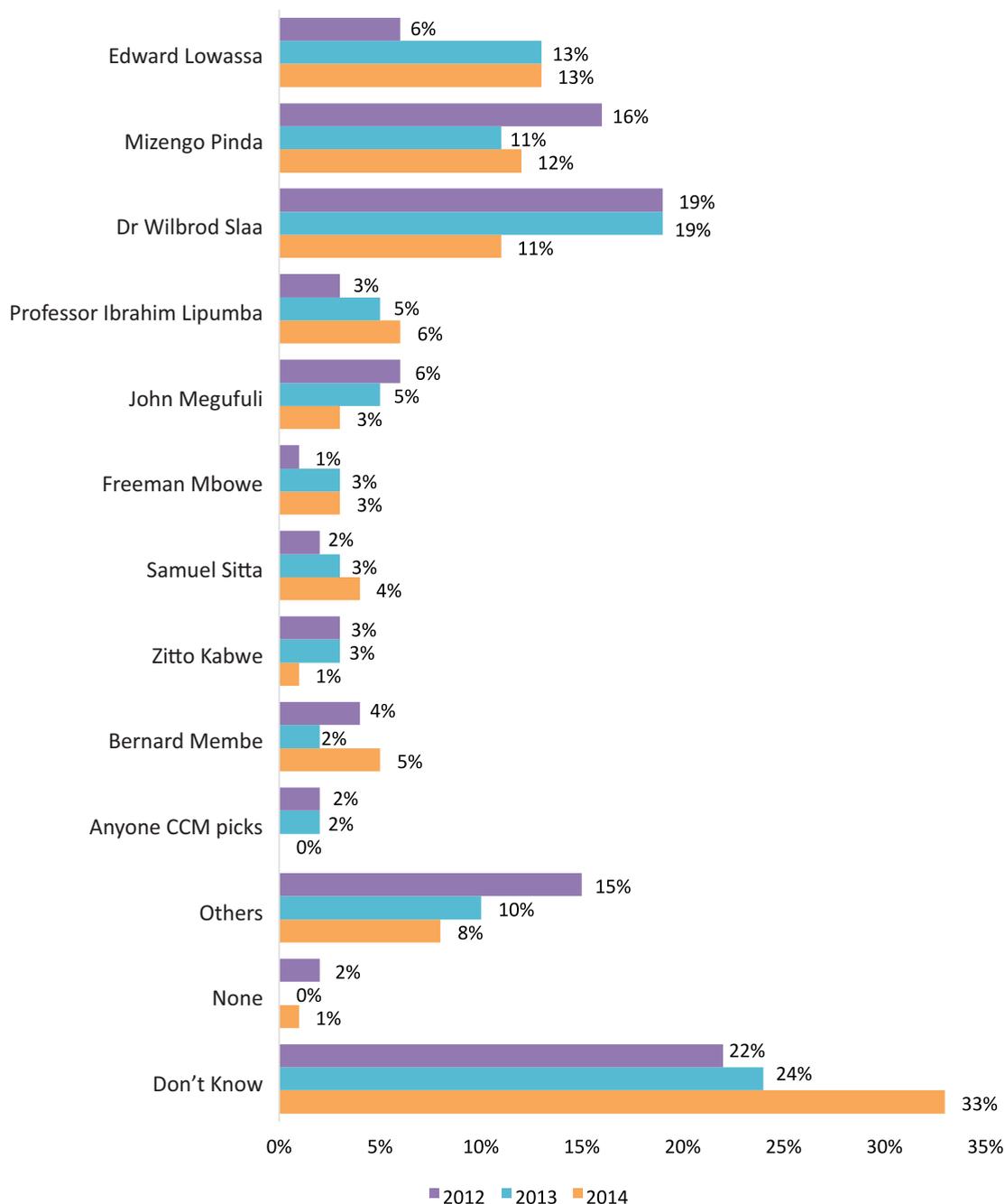
Tanzania’s current constitution allows the President to hold office for only two terms. This means that, at the end of President Jakaya M. Kikwete’s second term in December 2015, he will have to make way for a new president.

Respondents were asked the following question: If the presidential elections were held today, who would you vote for if that person was a candidate? In 2014, the political figures who scored the highest in response to this question were Edward Lowassa (13%) of CCM, Mizengo Pinda (12%) of CCM and Wilbrod Slaa of Chadema (11%). Other political leaders mentioned by more than 5% of the respondents in 2014 were Ibrahim Lipumba (6%) of CUF and Bernard Membe (5%) of CCM (Figure 12).

However, as before, the biggest single category of responses was “don’t know”. One out of three potential voters (33%) selected this option (Figure 12), which is about the same as the top three candidates combined. This suggests that the race is wide open, that Tanzanians are not yet convinced by the obvious candidates, and are keeping their options open. That said, party

preference, as shown in Fact 5, is likely to play an important role. The field could further be thrown wide open should a major CCM player split from the party and join the opposition.

Figure 12: Apart from President Kikwete, if the presidential elections were held today, for who would you vote for if that person was a candidate



Source of data: *Sauti za Wananchi*, Baseline Survey (October – December 2012), Round 10 (October 2013) and Round 24 (September 2014)

3. Conclusion

These results from September 2014 show that CCM continues to have the greatest support among citizens on the Mainland. It no longer commands the huge lead in popular support over other parties that it once enjoyed, but it is still the most popular party in various categories, including party affiliation (54% versus 27% for the main rival) or the presidential elections (54% versus 23%).

The brief also shows that no single political figure within CCM has a clear lead to be presidential candidate for 2015. Similarly, it has shown that no potential presidential candidate from any party has a clear lead when we phrase the question in terms of individual candidates' names.

A recent phenomenon is the growing group of undecided voters, which is much larger than the number of supporters of any individual candidate. This suggests that Tanzanians have not made up their minds yet or been convinced by any of the leading candidates, and that any candidate who makes a compelling case and organizes support could win, from among current listed or any new candidates. That said voting patterns tend to follow party preferences. The question therefore is whether personalities will trump party preferences; if so, the elections will be harder to call.

Sauti za Wananchi further identified the issues that Tanzanians consider to be the most important problems facing the country. The leading concerns were poverty, health, education and water. This suggests that presidential aspirants could gain traction by asking themselves what they can do to solve these problems, and how they can convey their ideas for solutions that are convincing to voters.

The data also shows that voters are aware that political candidates often make promises that they fail to keep. To prospective political candidates this signals that voters will not simply believe whatever promises are made to them during the 2015 campaign. Politicians at every level should be challenged to come up with transparent, measurable and credible key policy commitments and lock in future public audits of results achieved.

The election in 2015 is likely to be among the most tightly contested in Tanzania's history, both at presidential and parliamentary levels. Candidates will need to work hard to earn votes, and as such, voters have a better chance than ever before to make their voices heard. An open question is whether public debate and basis of voting will be well informed and focused on citizen interests, based on issues rather than personalities and illegal inducements.

Note on Methodology

Sauti za Wananchi is a mobile phone panel survey (MPPS) representative of the population of Tanzania Mainland (Zanzibar is not included in this survey). The principles underlying the sample design of this survey exactly are the same as traditional face-to-face surveys. 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: first 200 enumeration areas (EAs) were selected randomly, then 10 households were selected randomly from a list of all households in each EA, then 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. For more information visit www.twaweza.org/sauti

