



Captains of their own ship?

Citizens' thoughts on participation and demonstrations

1. Introduction

Democracy is so much more than elections. It also encompasses giving citizen's meaningful opportunities to participate in key decisions that affect their lives, as well as protection of fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, association and assembly. The right of citizens to hold peaceful demonstrations as a visible sign of their dissatisfaction is thus a core component of any truly democratic society. In many countries, such demonstrations are a regular occurrence – usually on a small scale but occasionally leading to gatherings of well over a million people¹.

There is no established culture in mainland Tanzania of public demonstrations on the streets, with the exception of marches for

awareness raising purposes, either organised by the government or with express government support, and unplanned demonstrations that spring up in direct response to a particular local grievance or opportunity.

Recent years have seen two high profile attempts to mobilise public demonstrations against the government in Tanzania – September 2016 by opposition political parties under the UKUTA banner², and April 26, 2018 by US-based social media activist Mange Kimambi. In practice, neither demonstration materialised on the streets in any significant way, though the run up to both events had significant effects on the political climate in Tanzania.

1 In just the week of April 23-29 2018, for example, significant and peaceful demonstrations were held in Malawi, Spain, Armenia, Nicaragua and South Africa, among many other places.

2 Umoja wa Kupinga Udikteta Tanzania (Alliance Against Dictatorship in Tanzania)

This brief presents data on citizens' views on participation and demonstrations, both in principle and in practice. What do citizens understand by "participation", and to what extent do they actively participate in public meetings? How do citizens feel they can most effectively bring their views and complaints to the attention of those in government? How willing are citizens to participate in public demonstrations on issues they feel strongly about, and do they support the government's decision to ban political rallies and demonstrations? Finally, using data collected in the two weeks immediately before April 26, what were citizens' views on the planned demonstrations – were they aware of the plans, did they support them, and did they intend to participate?

Data for the brief come from Twaweza's flagship *Sauti za Wananchi* survey. *Sauti za Wananchi* is a nationally-representative, high-frequency mobile phone panel survey. It is representative for Mainland Tanzania. Information on the overall methodology is available at www.twaweza.org/sauti. For this brief, data were collected from 1,241 respondents from the 27th round of the second *Sauti za Wananchi* panel, conducted between 15 and 24 April, 2018.

The key findings are:

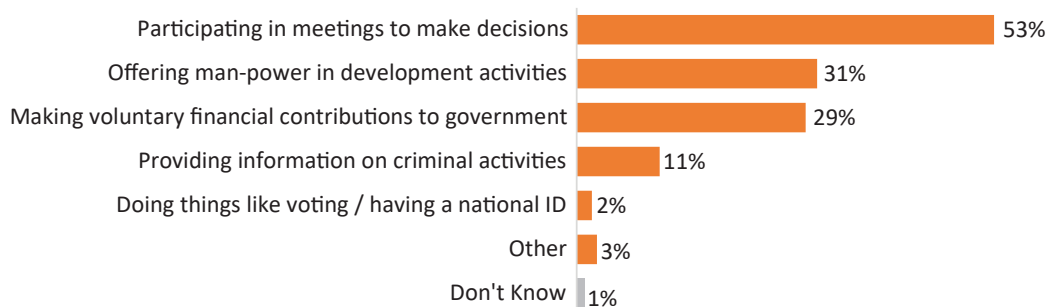
- Citizens define participation as attending meetings and being involved in making decisions
- 7 out of ten citizens report having attended a public meeting held by local government in the past year
- Men are more likely than women to attend public meetings, and far more likely to speak once there
- Most citizens see physical visits to offices as the main way of expressing their needs to government
- 2 out of 3 citizens say they are unlikely to participate in any public demonstration
- 5 out of 10 citizens agree with the ban on political rallies, 4 out of 10 disagree
- 1 out of 4 citizens was aware of planned demonstrations on 26 April, 2018
- Very few citizens (2%) could correctly identify Munge Kimambi as a major mobiliser of the planned demonstrations
- 4 out of 10 citizens supported the planned demonstrations, among those who knew about them already and those who received a short explanation about them during the interview
- 2 out of 10 citizens said they were likely to participate in the 26 April demonstrations
- Public support for the 26 April demonstrations in 2018 was twice as high as support for the UKUTA demonstrations in 2016

2. Nine facts about citizen participation in Tanzania

Fact 1: Citizens define *participation* as attending meetings and being involved in making decisions

Half the adult population (53%) cite participation in meetings and making decisions as a core part of their understanding of citizen participation / *ushiriki wa raia*. Three out of ten citizens also mention providing labour (31%) or making voluntary financial contributions to government (29%). Voting in elections is mentioned by very few (2%).

Figure 1: What does citizen participation in government mean to you?³
(multiple responses permitted)



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

Fact 2: Seven out of ten citizens report having attended a public meeting held by local government in the past year

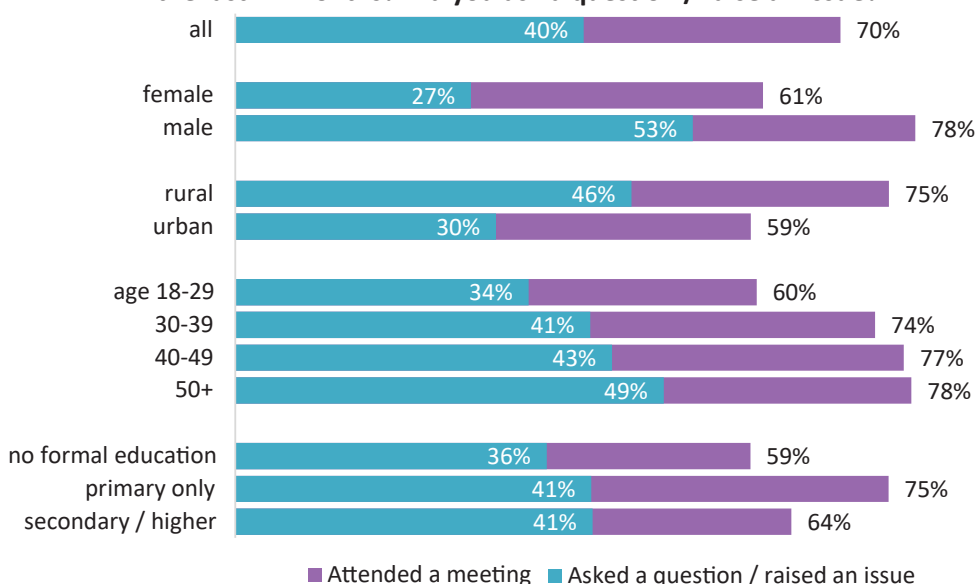
Seven out of ten citizens (70%) report that they have attended at least one public meeting held by local government in the past 12 months. Four out of ten (40%) report having asked a question or raised an issue during such a meeting.

Attendance at public local government meetings is higher among men (78%) than women (61%), but the larger difference comes in terms of making contributions: men (53%) are twice as likely as women (27%) to report having spoken at these meetings.

There are also differences in attendance at public meetings between rural (75%) and urban (59%) areas, and citizens over 40 years old (77-78%) compared to the young (18-29 years) (60%). Citizens with primary education are more likely to attend meetings (75%) than those with no education (59%) or those with secondary education and higher (64%).

³ Percentages in charts may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 2: Have you attended any village / area meeting held by local authorities in the last 12 months? Did you ask a question / raise an issue?



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

The most common topics discussed at these meetings are local public services, including schools (reported by 35% of citizens), water (16%) and health (15%). More general local government matters are also widely discussed, including village development / infrastructure (21%), the village budget (18%), community policing (13%) and cleanliness (12%) (not shown in charts).

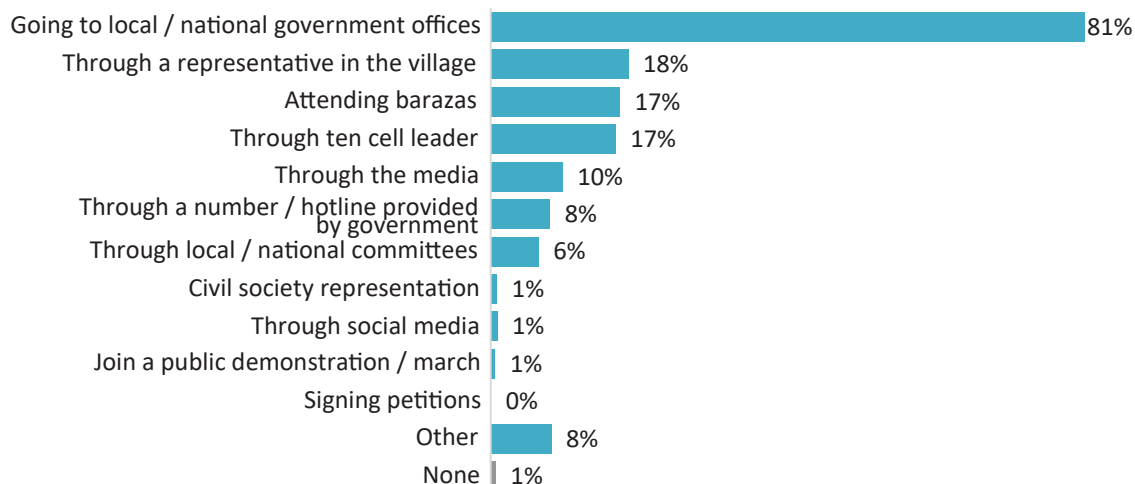
The most common reason for not attending meetings is that people are busy with work (39%), followed by a sense that attending achieves little (23%) (not shown in charts).

Fact 3: Most citizens see physical visits to government offices as the main way they can express their needs to government

Eight out of ten citizens (81%) cite visits to national or local government offices as one of the three main ways they can express their needs to government, far more than any other method. Expressing needs through a village-level representative is cited by two out of ten citizens (18%), and similar numbers also mention attending barazas (public discussions) (17%) or communicating through their ten-cell leader (17%).

Alternative methods that are mentioned less often include going to the media (10%), civil society (1%), social media (1%), public demonstrations (1%) and petitions (0%).

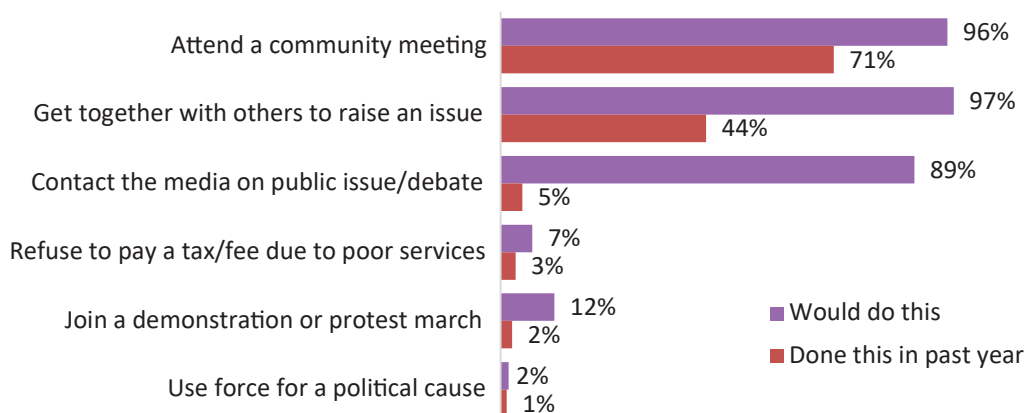
Figure 3: Can you tell me up to three ways available to you, as a citizen, to express your needs to the government?
(up to three responses permitted)



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

Almost all citizens say they would be willing to attend a community meeting (96%) or mobilise with others to raise an issue (97%), though far fewer actually do so in practice. This difference is even more stark when it comes to contacting the media: 89% say they would be willing to do this but just 5% have done so in the past year. A small number (2%) say that they would be willing to use force for political reasons, and a similar number (1%) say they have done so in the past year.

**Figure 4: Would you, personally, do any of the following things?
Have you done so in the past year?**



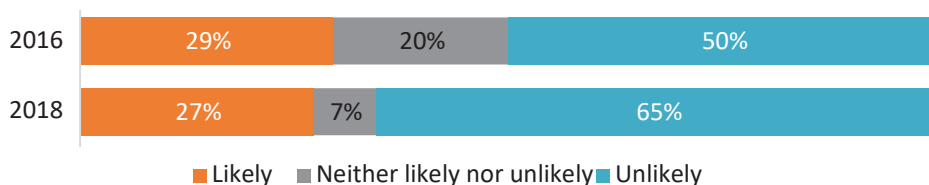
Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

Fact 4: Two out of three citizens are unlikely to participate in demonstrations

A clear majority of citizens (65%) say they are unlikely to participate in a public demonstration on an issue that does not please them. On the other side, one out of four citizens (27%) say they would be likely to participate.

The number who say they are likely to participate in principle has changed little since 2016, but those who say they are unlikely to do so has increased: from 50% to 65%.

Figure 5: How likely are you to participate in a public demonstration on an issue that does not please you?



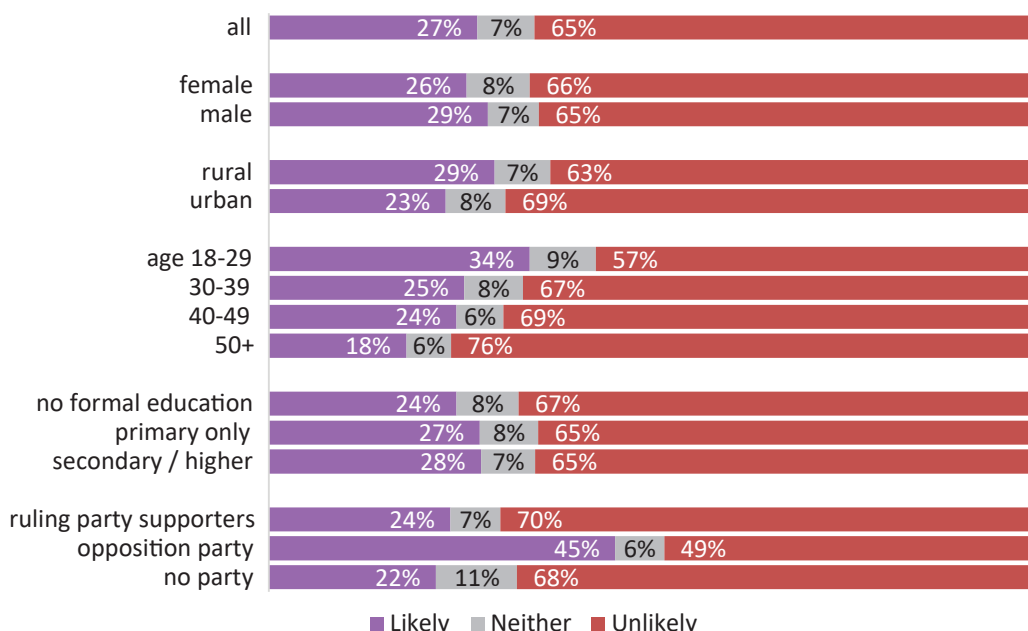
Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018) and Round 11 (August 2016)
Base: all respondents (1,602 in 2016; 1,241 in 2018)

Likelihood of participating in public demonstrations varies a little between demographic groups. There is no difference between the views of women and men, but those living in rural areas are more likely to say they will participate (29%) than those in urban areas (23%).

There is a small difference between different age groups: younger citizens (34%) are twice as likely as older citizens (18%) to say they are likely to participate. The link with education is less clear, though there is some indication that more educated citizens are slightly more likely than those with no education to join a demonstration.

The clearest difference, however, is between supporters of the ruling party and supporters of opposition parties. Nearly five out of ten opposition party supporters (45%) say they are likely to join a demonstration, compared to two out of ten ruling party supporters (24%). Two out of ten of those who support no party (22%) say they would be likely to participate.

Figure 6: How likely are you to participate in a public demonstration on an issue that does not please you?



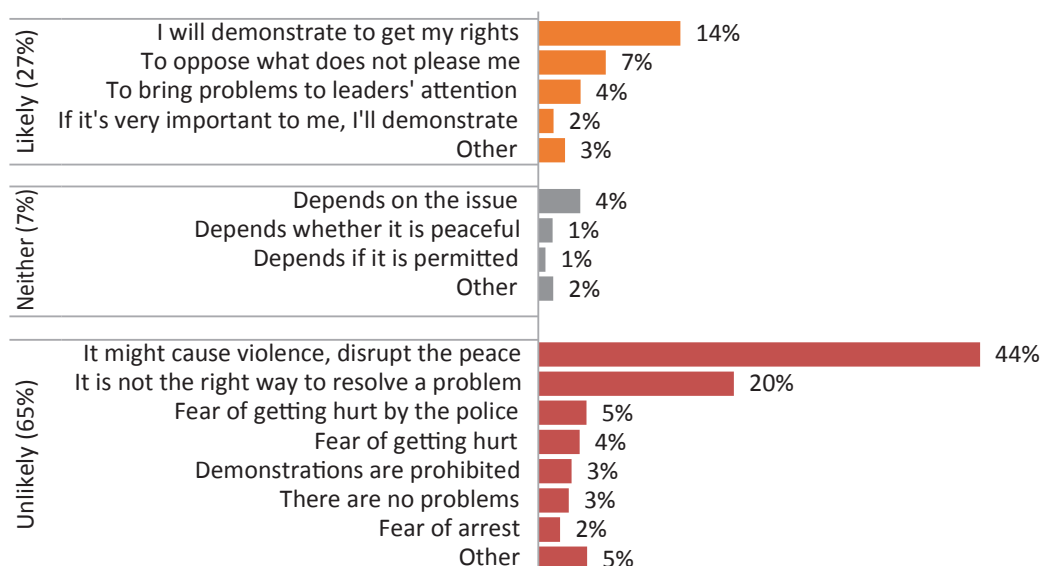
Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)

Base: all respondents (1,241)

The most common reason for being willing to participate in a public demonstration is *to get my rights* (14%).

The most common reason for being unwilling is concern that demonstration could lead to violence or disruption of the peace (44%), followed by the argument that demonstrations are not the right way to resolve disagreements (20%). Smaller numbers also say they are unlikely to participate due to a fear of being hurt by the police (5%) or others (4%), arrested (2%), or because the government has prohibited demonstrations (3%).

Figure 7: Why are you likely / unlikely to participate in a public demonstration on an issue that does not please you?
(multiple responses permitted)



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)

Base: all respondents (1,241)

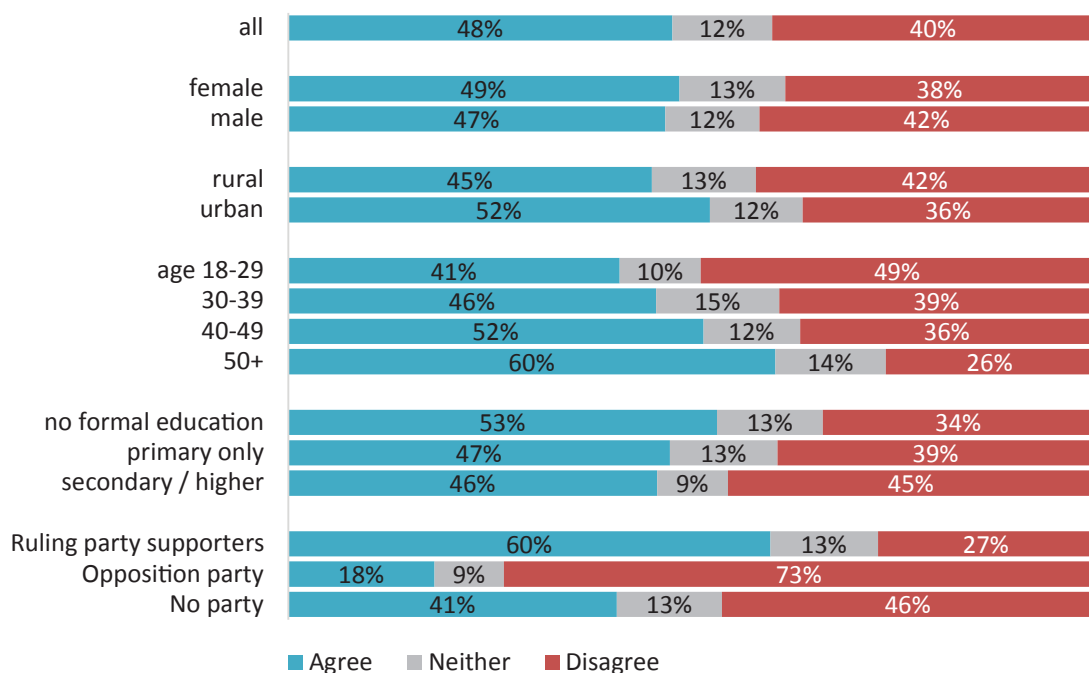
Fact 5: Five out of ten citizens agree, and four out of ten disagree, with the ban on political rallies

Half of citizens (48%) support the government's decision to ban public political demonstrations and rallies outside of elected representatives' own constituencies, compared to four out of ten (40%) who disagree with the decision.

Young people (41%) are less likely than older citizens (60%) to agree with the ban. And supporters of the ruling party (60%) agree with the ban in much greater numbers than supporters of opposition parties (18%). It is, however, worth noting that a significant number of ruling party supporters (27%) disagree with the ban.

Those in rural areas (45%) are slightly less likely to support the government decision than those in urban areas (52%), less educated citizens are slightly more likely (53%) than the more educated (46%) to support the ban.

Figure 8: Do you agree with the government decision to ban any political public demonstrations/rallies?



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

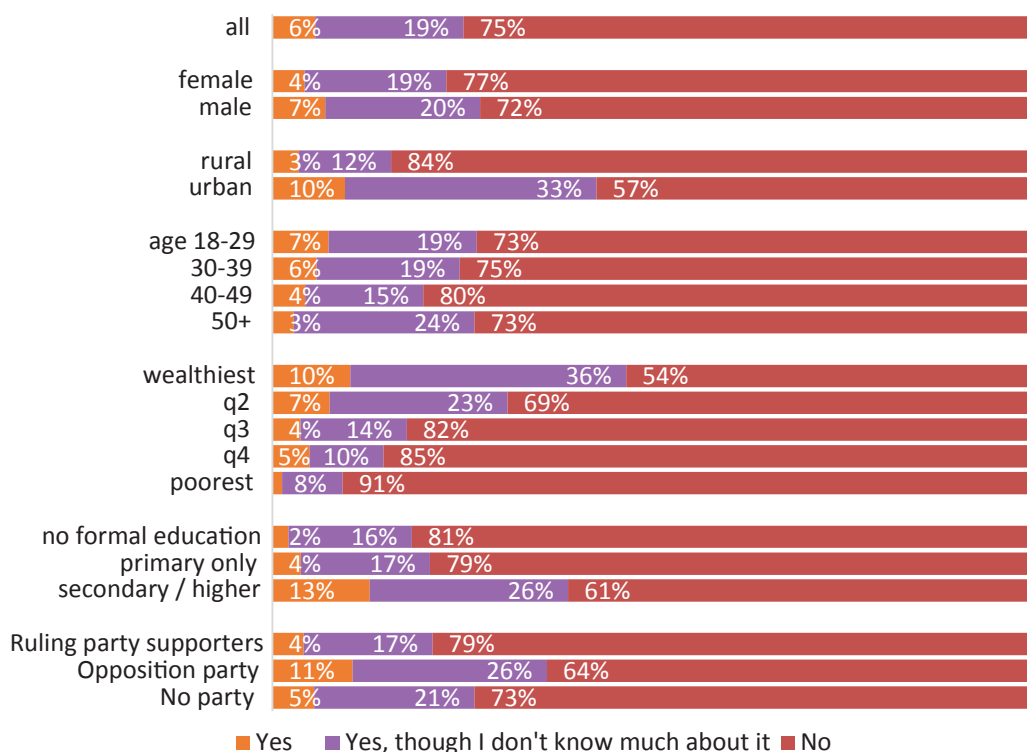
Fact 6: One out of four citizens had heard of demonstrations planned for April 26

Asked in mid-April⁴, five out of twenty citizens (25%) was aware of planned public demonstrations on April 26, 2018. The majority of this group (19%) said they were aware, but didn't know much about it, while just one out of twenty (6%) were confidently aware of the planned demonstrations.

Awareness of the planned demonstration was slightly higher among men (27%) than women (23%). But it was three times higher among residents of urban areas (43%) than rural (15%) and five times higher among wealthier citizens (46%) compared to the poor (9%).

⁴ Data collected between April 15 and 24, 2018.

Figure 9: Are you aware of a call for citizens to participate in public demonstrations countrywide on 26 April 2018?



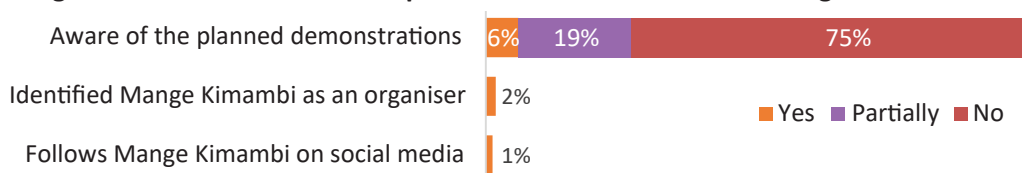
Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)

Base: all respondents (1,241)

Among the population as a whole, very few (2%) were able to identify US-based social media activist Munge Kimambi as the main mobiliser of the planned demonstrations, and even fewer (1%) say they follow Munge Kimambi on social media.

More citizens (3%) incorrectly identified someone other than Kimambi as the main mobiliser (not shown in charts).

Figure 10: Public awareness of planned demonstrations and Mange Kimambi:



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)

Base: all respondents (1,241)

Among those who said they were aware of the planned demonstrations, half (54%) said the demonstrations were being called because of poor leadership. Three out of ten (30%) mentioned actions against freedom of expression by the current government, and others thought the demonstrations were about poor economic management (17%) or to oppose reckless killings by the government (12%) (not shown in charts).

Fact 7: Four out of ten citizens supported the planned demonstrations

After being read a short explanation of the planned demonstrations and their goals⁵, four out of ten citizens (42%) said they support the demonstrations planned for April 26.

Support was stronger among some groups that are usually strong supporters of the ruling party: those in rural areas (45%), for example, were more supportive of the demonstrations than those in urban areas (36%), and the poor (48%) more than the rich (38%) (not shown in charts). However, support was stronger among younger citizens (48%) who are traditionally less likely to support the ruling party, as compared to older citizens (29%).

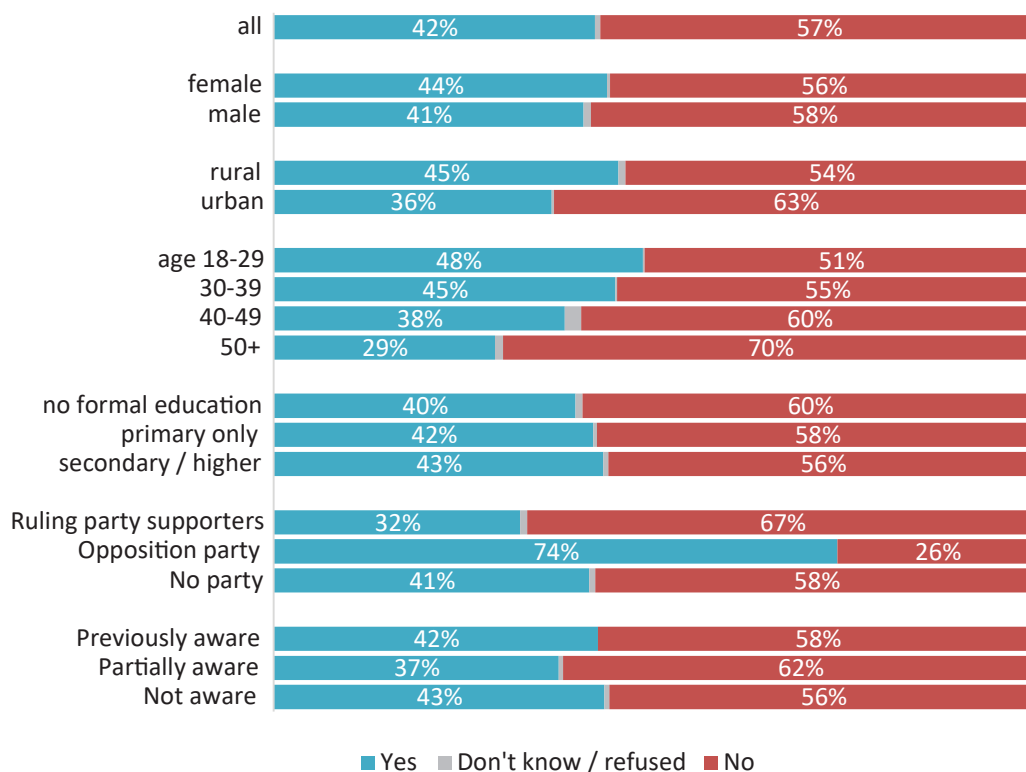
Support for the demonstrations was much higher among opposition party supporters (74%) than among supporters of the ruling party (32%).

There is no major difference in support for the demonstrations between those who were already aware of the plans (42%) and those who were not previously aware (43%).

5 “There are efforts underway to prepare nationwide peaceful demonstrations on April 26, 2018 with the aim of opposing poor governance of the fifth phase government. The main complaints are the restriction on freedom of speech and expression, fall in employment and the poor state of the economy, deliberate abuse and extra-judicial killings. The demands are for a fully independent electoral commission, for a new national constitution, and for the Presidents of Tanzania and Zanzibar to resign.”

This explanation was created by Twaweza using information from the social media accounts of Mange Kimambi.

Figure 11: Knowing what the 26 April 2018 demonstrations are about, do you support them?

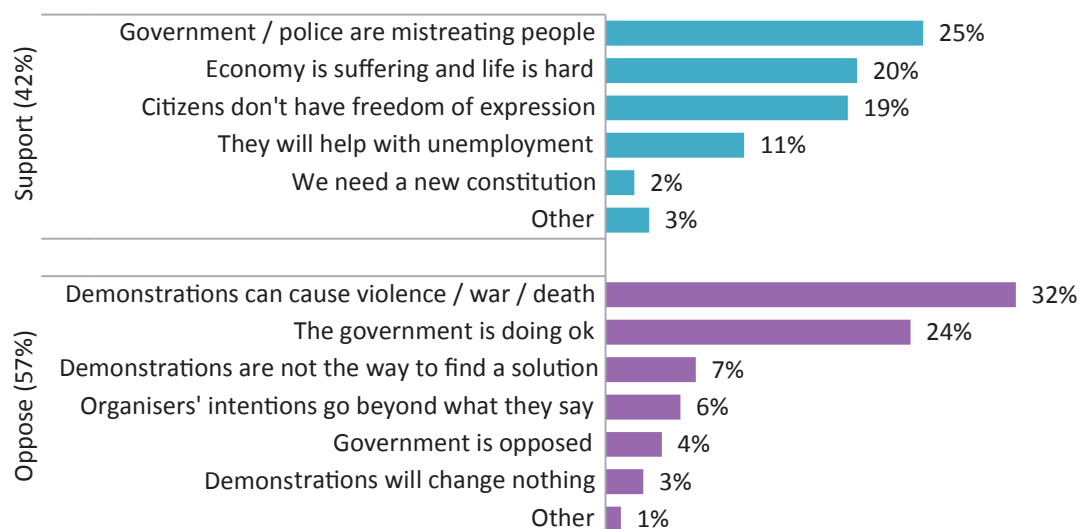


Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

One out of four citizens (25%) said they support the planned demonstrations because the government or the police are mistreating people, and substantial numbers pointed to economic difficulties (20%) or the lack of respect for freedom of expression (19%).

Three out of ten citizens (32%) said they opposed the demonstrations because of the risk of violence, while others said there was no reason to demonstrate as the government is doing fine (24%).

Figure 12: Why do you support / oppose these demonstrations?
(multiple responses permitted)



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

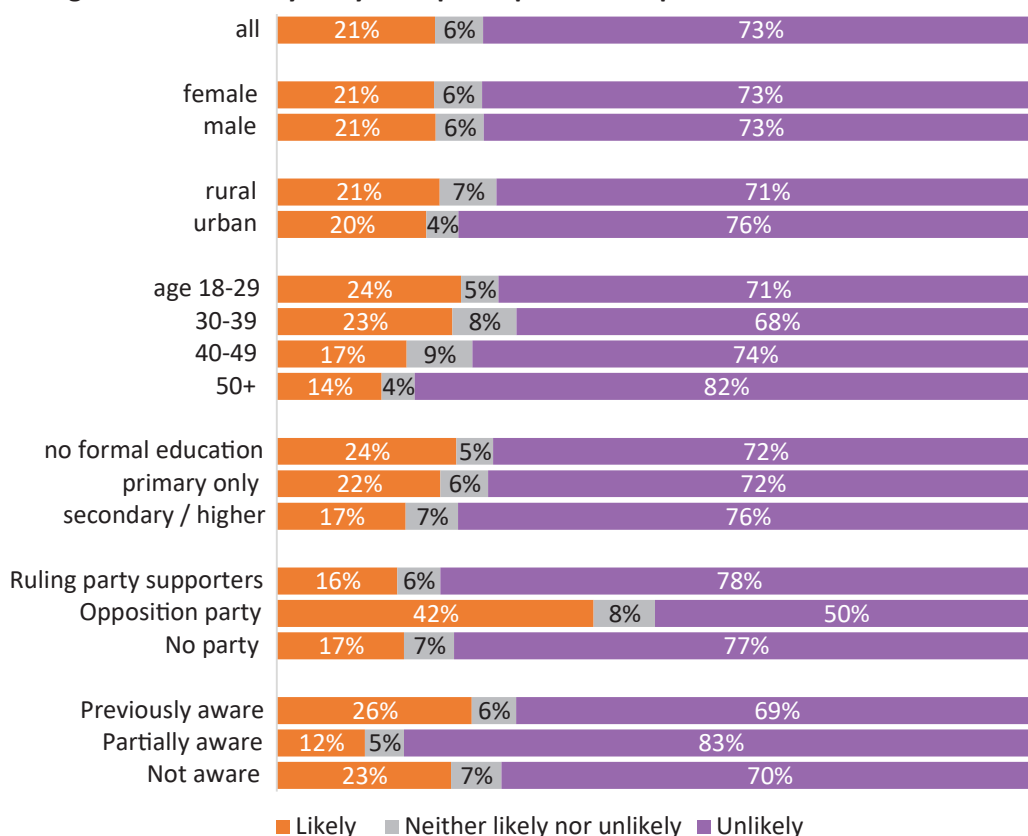
Fact 8: Two out of ten citizens said they were likely to participate in the April 26 demonstrations

Two out of ten citizens (21%) said they were *likely* to participate in the planned demonstrations. Seven out of ten (73%) said they were *unlikely* to participate.

In practice, the demonstrations largely did not go ahead as planned.

Less educated citizens (24%) and the young (24%) were more likely than the more educated (17%) and older citizens (14%) to say they were likely to participate in the demonstrations. There were no real differences between women and men, or between those in urban and rural areas.

Figure 13: How likely are you to participate in 26 April 2018 demonstrations?



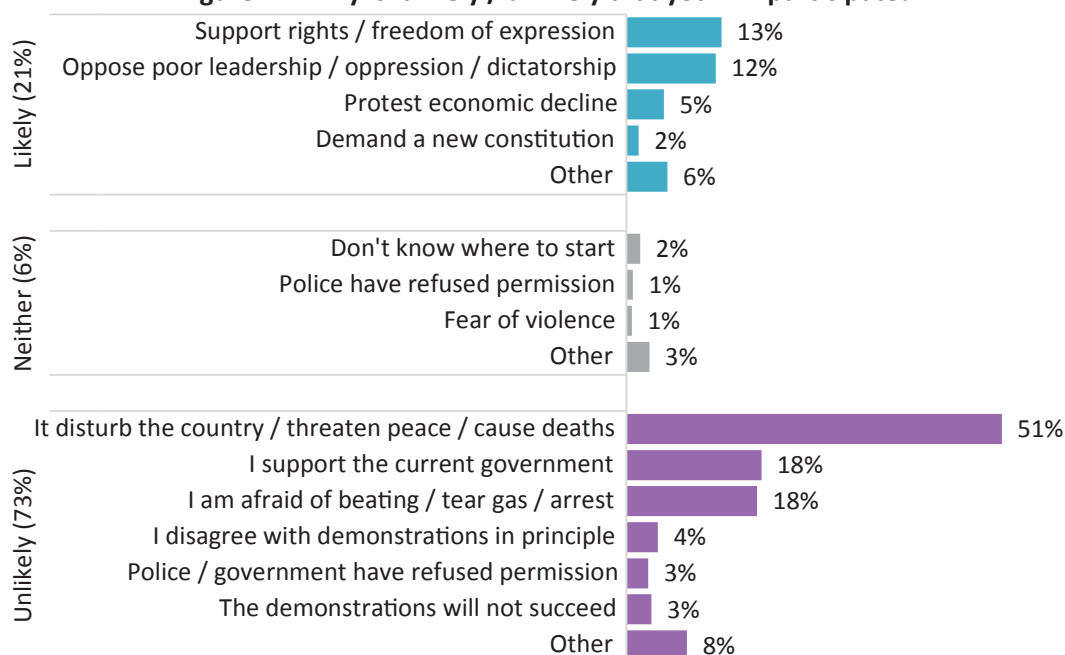
Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)

Base: all respondents (1,241)

The main reasons given by those who said they were likely to participate were to support freedom of expression (13%) and to oppose poor leadership (12%).

The main reasons given for not participating were concerns that it would lead to violence (51%), support for the government (18%) and fear of being beaten / tear gassed / arrested (18%).

Figure 14: Why is it likely / unlikely that you will participate?



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)

Base: all respondents (1,241) (multiple responses permitted)

Fact 9: Support for the April 26 demonstrations was twice as high as support for the UKUTA demonstrations in 2016

Support for demonstrations in principle has declined since 2016, but support for the demonstrations planned for 26 April was notably higher than support for the UKUTA protests of September 2016.

Those who say they are unlikely to participate in any public demonstration rose from half (50%) in 2016 to two out of three (65%) in 2018.

Fewer than two out of ten citizens (16%) were aware of the UKUTA demonstrations in the two weeks before they were planned to take place. Awareness of the planned April 26 demonstrations was higher, with close to three out of ten citizens (25%) aware.

Public support for the 2018 demonstrations was markedly higher than in 2016: four out of ten citizens (42%) in 2018, compared to two out of ten (18%) in 2016.

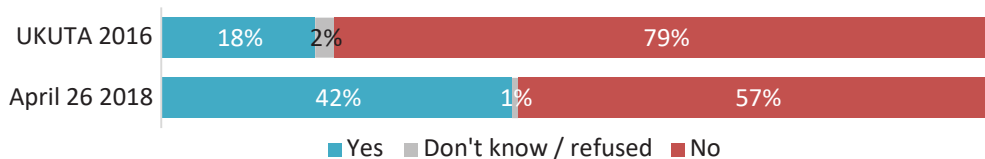
Similarly, twice as many citizens said they were likely to participate in the 2018 demonstrations (21%) than in 2016 (9%). However, neither 2016 nor 2018 saw major public demonstrations materialise in practice.

Figure 15: Public awareness and support for planned demonstrations in September 2016 and April 2018:

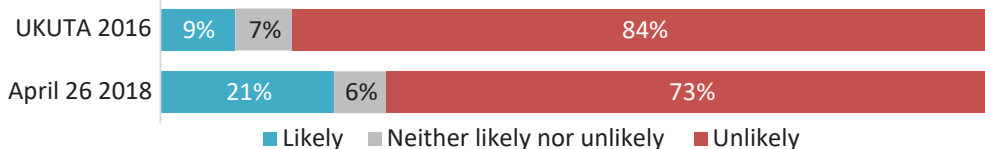
Are you aware of a movement called UKUTA (2016) / a call for public demonstrations countrywide on 26 April (2018)?



(After an explanation of the planned demonstrations)
Do you support these demonstrations?



How likely are you to participate in the 26 April 2018 / UKUTA 2016 demonstrations?



Source: *Sauti za Wananchi*, mobile phone survey, Round 27 (April 2018)
Base: all respondents (1,241)

3. Conclusion

Perhaps Tanzanian citizens do not like demonstrations? That is one possible conclusion of this brief. Few citizens spontaneously mention demonstrations as a means of bringing their concerns to the attention of those in government. A clear majority say they would be not willing to join a demonstration on any issue they feel strongly about – including a majority of opposition party supporters. And more citizens support the government ban on political rallies and demonstrations than oppose it. This conclusion is evidenced by the lack of any meaningful presence of demonstrations on the streets on 26 April, 2018.


There are other plausible reasons for that low turnout. This includes the highly visible police presence on the streets on 25 April, coupled with the fears already being expressed by citizens that the demonstrations could lead to violence and participating could put personal safety at risk. More particularly, however, several findings in this brief are worth noting, for the light they shed on the challenge of mobilising public action on the streets of Tanzania.

First, mobilising large numbers of citizens is not easy. Just 6% of the population were confidently aware of the planned demonstrations, and only 2% were able to correctly identify Mange Kimambi as the mobiliser. Mobilising citizens in large numbers needs multiple public figures lending support, multiple strategies and widespread media coverage. Organising a demonstration from Los Angeles by Instagram may not be the best way of mobilising people in large numbers.

Second, there is a mismatch between awareness of planned demonstrations and support for them. Women, the poor and those living in rural areas were all less likely to be aware of the plans than men, the rich and those in urban areas. But those who were less aware were also more willing to say they support the planned demonstrations. In other words, the demographic groups that are less well-connected to the media (including social media) are the groups that would have been most likely to participate in demonstrations had they known about them.

Third, the biggest reason citizens give for opposing or not wanting to join demonstrations – both in general and on 26 April in particular – is fear of violence (rather than support for the government). This includes both fear of the personal consequences of being caught up in a confrontation and a more general desire to maintain peace and stability. As long as citizens see demonstrations as violent and dangerous, it will be difficult to persuade them to go out into the streets.

Finally, the data presented here also provides clear evidence of widespread public sympathy for the causes Mange Kimambi and her supporters were mobilising around. Support for the demonstrations is twice as high as it had been for the August 2016 UKUTA demonstrations, which



focussed on a similar (though less specific) list of complaints. As noted above, moreover, those who do not support the demonstrations or said they were unlikely to participate said this was more because of fear of violence rather than because of disagreement with the organisers' aims.

Citizens have grievances, they just don't feel that demonstrations are the best way to raise them. Or at least, not when they feel that joining would put both personal safety and national peace at risk.

4. Methodology

What is Sauti za Wananchi?

Sauti za Wananchi (Voices of Citizens) is mobile phone initiative designed to regularly collect views and perceptions on issues of public interest from a broad cross-section of Tanzanian citizens. Launched in 2013, the initiative allows survey data to be gathered quickly and efficiently, at low cost. The methodology of the Sauti za Wananchi survey is explained briefly below. The full approach paper, which goes into greater depth on methodology and data collection, is available at twaweza.org/sauti.

How is it done?

The survey has two main phases:

1. Baseline survey (Household Survey)

This stage involves randomly selecting and enlisting participating households and respondents. Household and individual data is then collected to form a baseline, where mobile phones and solar chargers are then distributed to the selected individuals. Data collected in the 2015 Baseline Survey was done through a traditional household survey using face-to-face Mobile Data Collection (interviewers recorded responses through a mobile system).

2. Mobile phone survey (CATI)

In this second phase, respondents selected during the baseline are contacted on the mobile phone given to them in monthly call rounds on various topics of public interest. Data collection in the mobile phone survey is done by call centre agents using Computer Aided Telephonic Interviews (CATI). These data are then analysed and synthesized into briefs which are launched to the public and made available on the Twaweza website (twaweza.org/sauti).

Sampling – Making tasty salad

To understand sampling, one can ask: how many bites of a salad does one need to check how it tastes? Do you need to eat the whole salad or just a bite or two? Even though there are lots of different ingredients all mixed in together, we can determine the taste of the whole by tasting a small part of it. In essence that is the meaning of *sampling*.

The target population for Sauti za Wananchi is all adults (18+) living in Tanzania Mainland. Sauti za Wananchi uses a standard three stage survey sampling design to recruit 2,000 respondents for the call rounds. Although 2,000 might sound like a small sample for a nation of over 45 million, the number of respondents is large enough to ensure a 95% confidence interval and a small margin of error. This rigorous procedure of random sampling ensures that the panel is nationally

representative. In comparison, surveys and polls like Afrobarometer, Gallup, and Pew have sample sizes of 2400, 1000-2000, and 1500 respondents respectively³.

Sampling for Sauti za Wananchi can be broken down as follows:

Stage one - 200 Enumeration Areas (EAs) are randomly sampled countrywide. EAs are the smallest sampling survey areas in rural and urban settings defined by the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, and using this sampling frame allows for a nationally representative split between rural and urban EAs. Stage two - In each sampled Enumeration Area, all households are listed and 10 are selected randomly.

Stage three - One respondent (18+) is randomly chosen from all adult household members in each selected household.

How can we be sure that what you report represents the country?

The critical element is random sampling; since any Tanzanian over 18 years of age has an equal likelihood of being selected as a respondent, the survey can be considered representative. Other types of surveys may have larger sample sizes but be less representative because of the way in which respondents are selected. For example online surveys may gather hundreds of thousands of responses but because only 14% of the country has access to the internet, these types of surveys can never be representative of the whole of Tanzania. Twaweza has compared the demographic profiles of our sample with the census and we find our sample matches in terms of age groups, rural and urban distribution, gender and education levels.

³ <http://www.afrobarometer.org/countries/tanzania-0>, <http://www.gallup.com/178667/gallup-world-poll-work.aspx>, <http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/sampling/>