

# Constitutional Review, Union Matters and Executive Power: Results from the Afrobarometer Round 5 Survey in Tanzania

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# Road Map



- Afrobarometer
- Survey Methodology
- Demographics
- Constitutional Review
- Lead Constitutional Review
- Union Dissolution
- Separation of Power
- Power Limits and Tanzanian Identity
- Take Away
- Food for Thought

# What is the Afrobarometer?

- The Afrobarometer (AB) is a comparative series of public opinion surveys that measure public attitudes toward democracy, governance, the economy, leadership, identity, and other related issues.
- The AB is an independent, non-partisan, African-based network of researchers.
- The first round of surveys took place between 1999-2001 in 12 countries. The Network is now conducting “Round 5” surveys in up to 35 countries during 2011-2013.
- **Purpose:** To measure popular perspectives on the social, political, and economic environments in each country where it is implemented and across Africa.
- **Goal:** To give the public a *voice* in policy making processes by providing high-quality public opinion data to policy-makers, policy advocates and civil society organizations, academics, media, donors and investors, and ordinary Africans.

## Country Coverage: 1999-2013

- **Round 1, 1999-2001, 12 countries**
  - *Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe*
  - *West Africa: Ghana, Mali, Nigeria*
  - *East Africa: Tanzania, Uganda*
  
- **Round 2, 2002-2003, 16 countries**
  - *Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique, Senegal*
  
- **Round 3, 2005-2006, 18 countries**
  - *Benin, Madagascar*
  
- **Round 4, 2008-2009, 20 countries**
  - *Burkina Faso, Liberia*
  
- **Round 5, 2011-2013, up to 35 countries**
  - *Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Guinea, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Togo, Tunisia, Sierra Leone, Sudan*

# Country Coverage Round 5: 2011-2013



# Who is the Afrobarometer?

- A Pan-African Network of survey researchers and analysts.
- In each country there is a ***National Partner*** responsible for survey implementation. In Tanzania, the National Partner is REPOA.
- Four ***Core Partners*** provide technical assistance and Network management:
  - *Center for Democratic Development (CDD), Ghana*
  - *Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), South Africa*
  - *Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi, Kenya*
  - *Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP), Benin*
- Two ***Support Units*** for capacity building and quality assurance
  - *Michigan State University*
  - *University of Cape Town*
- Round 5 ***Core Funders*** include
  - *DFID*
  - *SIDA*
  - *USAID*
  - *Mo Ibrahim Foundation*

# Survey Methodology

- Nationally representative sample of adult citizens
  - *all respondents are randomly selected*
  - *every adult citizen has an equal and known chance of being selected*
- Face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice
- Standard survey instrument across all countries for comparability
- The survey interviewed 2400 adult Tanzanians; A sample of this size yields results with a margin of error of +/- 2% at a 95% confidence level.
- Field work for Round 5 in Tanzania was conducted between 27<sup>th</sup> May and 30<sup>th</sup> June, in 2012
- Afrobarometer's work in Tanzania is coordinated by REPOA and field work was carried out by REPOA



# Survey Demographics\*



	Weighted	Un-weighted
Mean Age	39.9	39.4
Gender		
Male	50.1	50.1
Female	49.9	49.9
Location		
Urban	30	31.7
Rural	70	68.3
Education		
None	7.9	8
Primary	71.6	69.6
Secondary	16.9	18.4
Higher	3.6	4.0



# Survey Demographics\*

REGIONS	Weighted	Un-weighted
Arusha	4.0	3.7
Coast	2.6	2.3
Dar es Salaam	8.4	7.7
Dodoma	4.9	4.9
Iringa	4.3	4.0
Kagera	5.4	5.0
Kigoma	3.7	3.3
Kilimanjaro	4.4	4.0
Lindi	2.4	2.3
Manyara	3.1	3.0
Mara	3.9	3.7
Mbeya	6.0	5.7
Morogoro	5.3	5.0
Mtwara	3.4	3.0
Mwanza	8.0	7.3

# Survey Demographics\*

REGIONS	Weighted	Un-weighted
North Pemba	0.5	2.0
North Unguja	0.4	1.3
Rukwa	3.2	3.0
Ruvuma	3.4	3.0
Shinyanga	7.9	7.3
Singida	3.2	3.0
South Pemba	0.5	1.7
South Unguja	0.3	1.0
Tabora	4.9	4.7
Tanga	4.6	4.3
Urban West Unguja	1.5	4.0
Total	100	100

# **Afrobarometer Round 5 in Tanzania**

## **Survey Results:**

### *Constitutional Review*

# Constitutional Review

## Key Findings

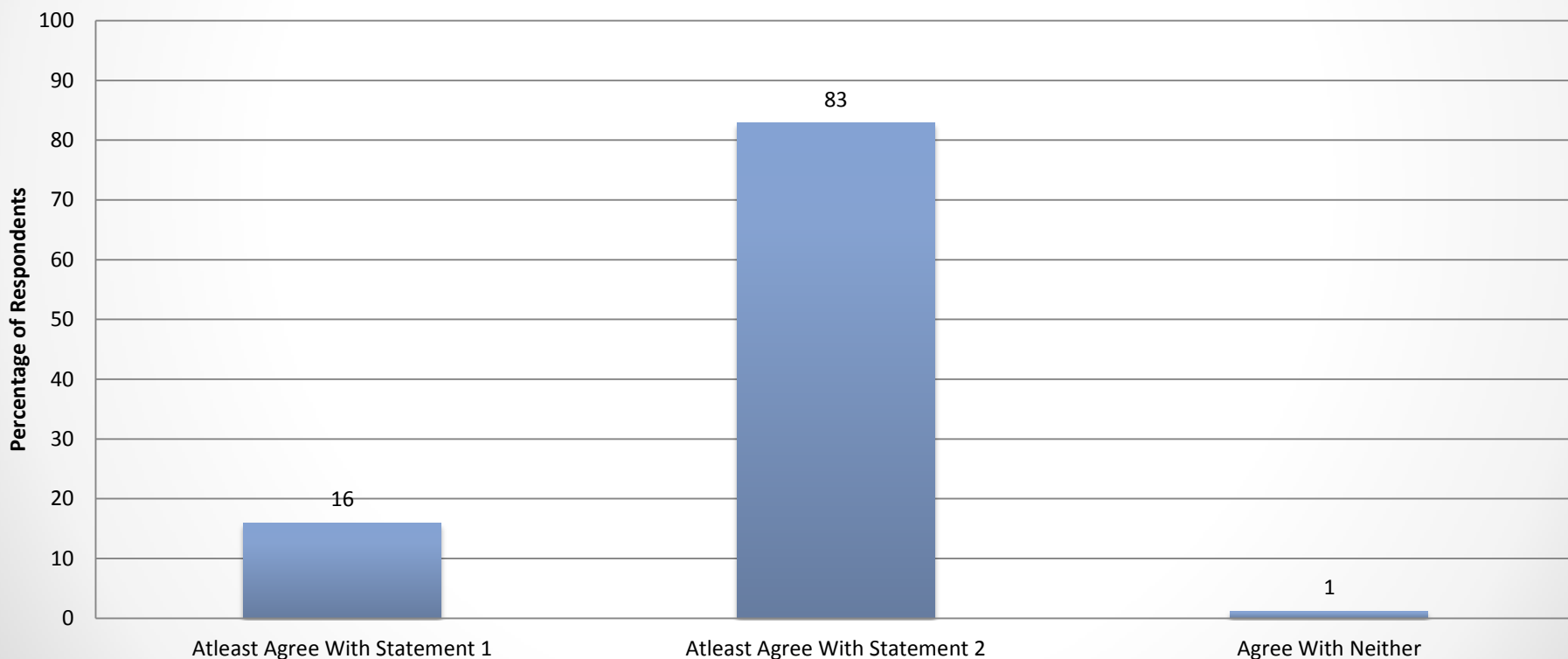
- Tanzanians want constitutional review
- Dissatisfaction with the status quo makes Tanzanians more likely to want to review their constitution
- Educated Tanzanians are relatively more likely to support constitutional review

# Constitutional Review

**Statement 1: The constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania served the country well and should be left unchanged**

**versus**

**Statement 2: The existing constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania is rife with inadequacies and should be revised**



# Constitutional Review

- Do Tanzanians want to review the constitution?
  - 83% want the constitution reviewed
- Wrong direction: Tanzanians who said the country is headed in the wrong direction were 71% more likely to want the constitution reviewed
- Satisfied with Tanzanian democracy: Tanzanians who are fairly satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania are 19% less likely to want the constitution reviewed
- Gender: Men are more likely to support constitutional review
- Education: Tanzanians with at least a primary school education are more likely to support constitutional review
- Information: Tanzanians who own a radio are more likely to want to review the constitution, highlighting perhaps the impact of national information dissemination campaigns and opportunities for further information penetration into remote areas of Tanzania

# **Afrobarometer Round 5 in Tanzania**

## **Survey Results:**

### *Lead Constitutional Review*

# Lead Constitutional Review

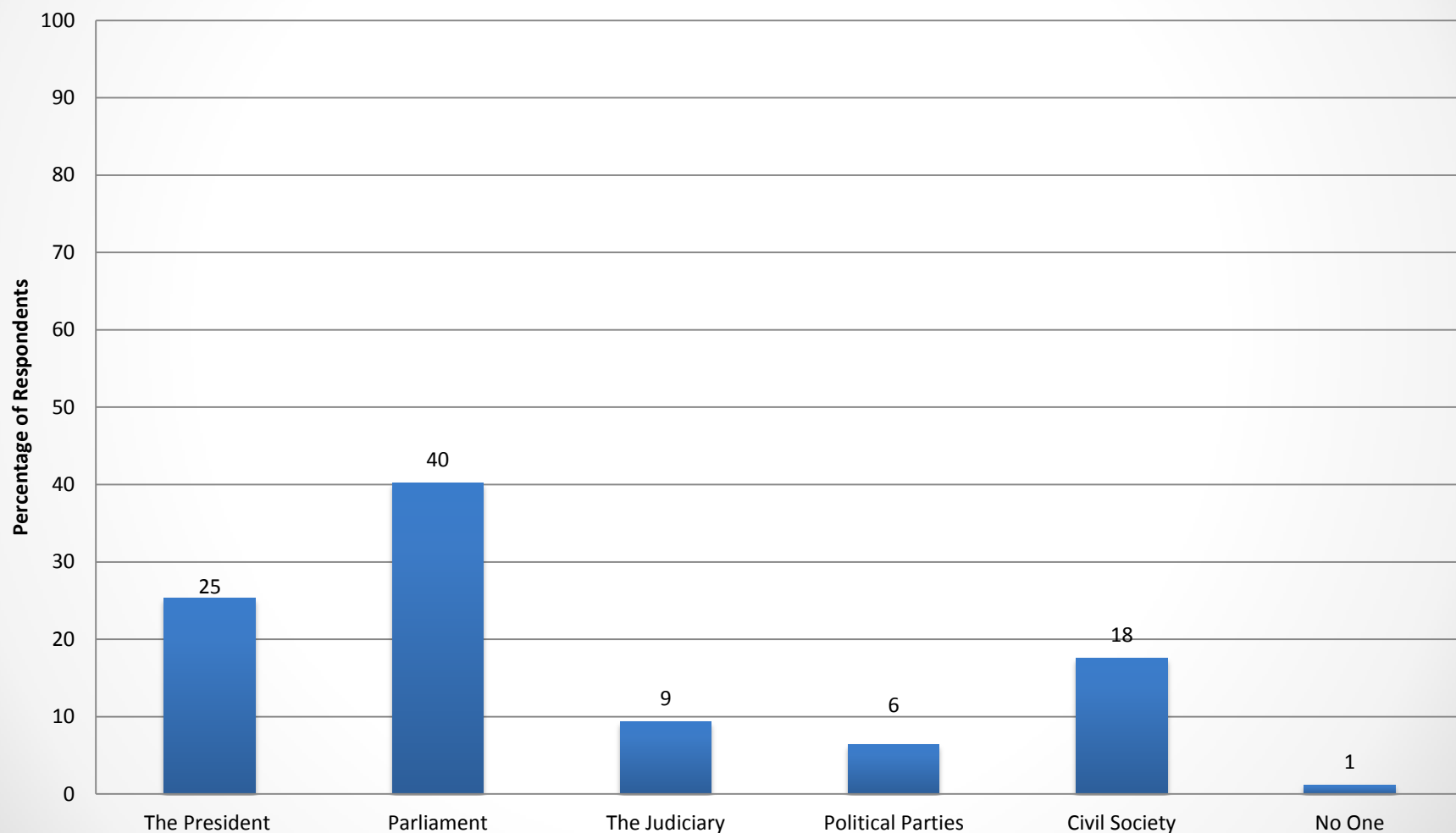
## Key Findings

- Political trust matters in deciding who to lead constitutional review
- Educated Tanzanians want Civil Society to lead the process over the President



# Lead Constitutional Review

**If the country decides to review the Constitution, in your view, who should lead the process?**

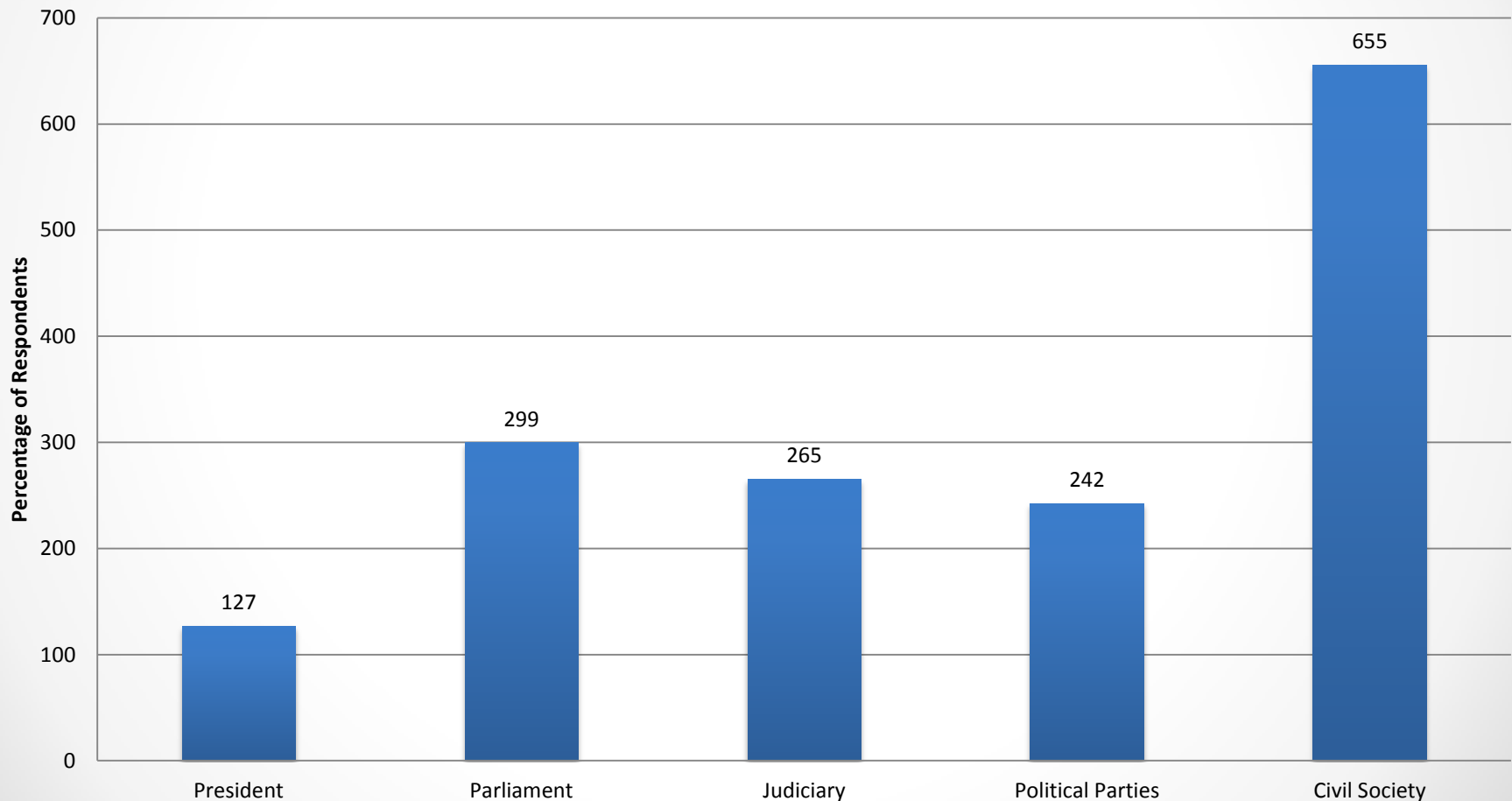


# Lead Constitutional Review

- Support:
  - Parliament (40%)
  - President (25%)
  - Civil Society (18%)
  - Judiciary (9%)
  - Political Parties (6%)
- Education: Tanzanians with at least a Primary School education want Civil Society to lead constitutional review
- President versus Parliament: Trusting CCM makes one 10% more likely to let the President lead constitutional review relative to letting Parliament lead constitutional review

# Lead Constitutional Review

**Support Between Atleast Primary School-Educated Tanzanians and Non-Primary School-Educated Tanzanians on Who Should Lead the Constitutional Review**



# **Afrobarometer Round 5 in Tanzania**

## **Survey Results:**

### *Union Dissolution*

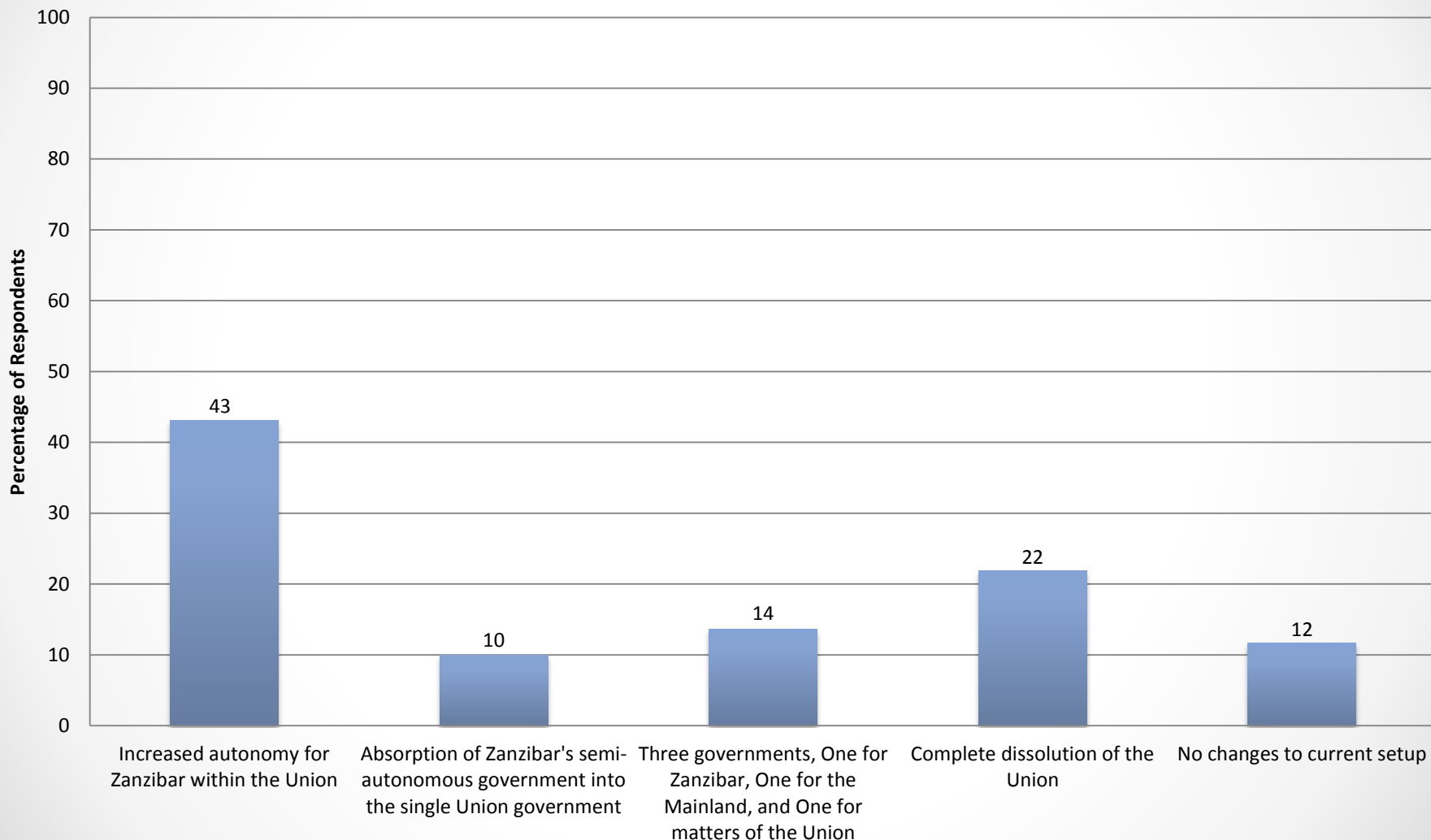
# Union Dissolution

## Key Findings

- Tanzanians do not want to dissolve the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar
- A majority of Zanzibaris do NOT want to dissolve the Union
- CUF supporters are more likely to want to dissolve the Union
- CCM supporters are less likely to want to dissolve the Union

# Dissolve Union

**In your opinion, what changes (if any) would you like to see made to the 1964 Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar?**

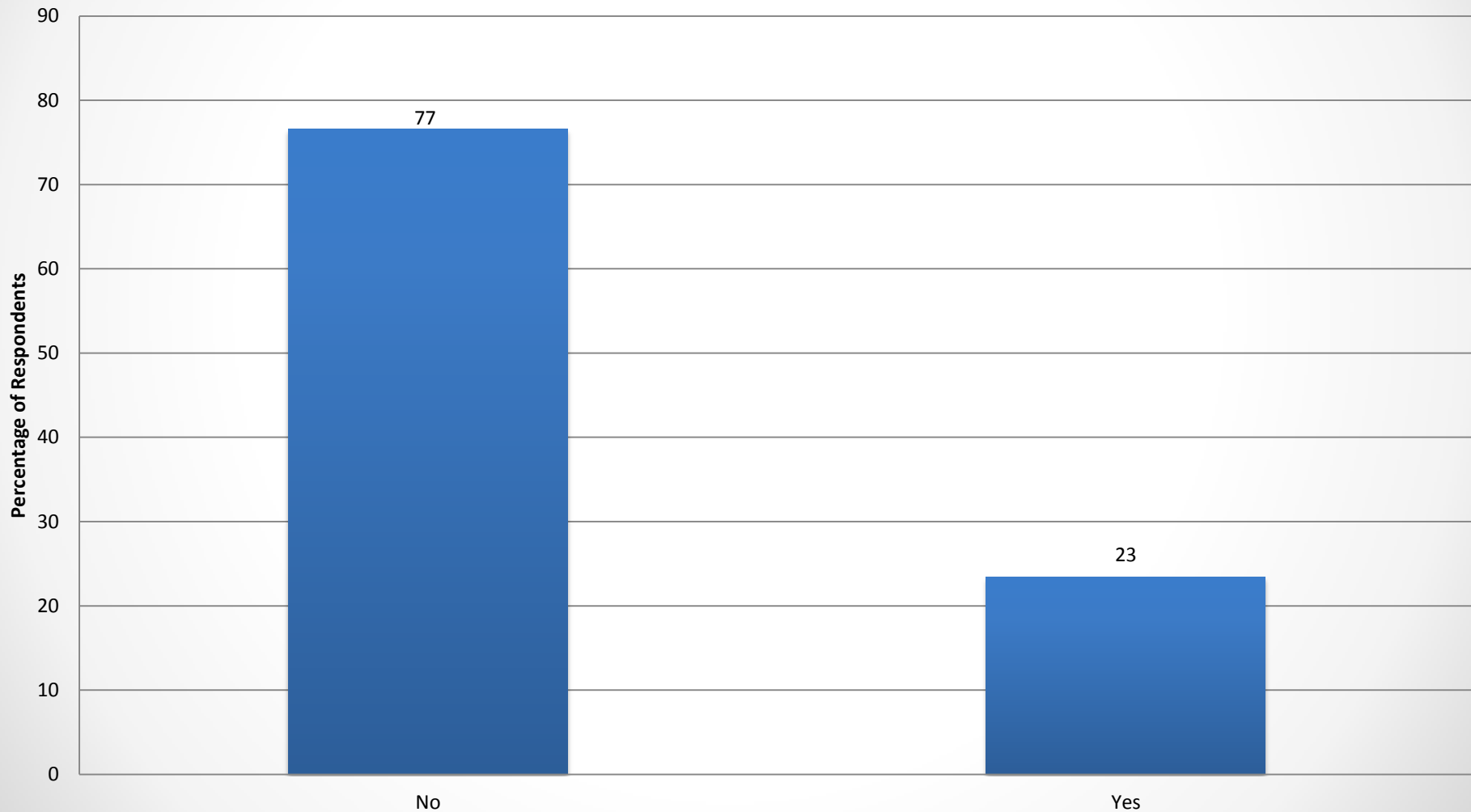


# Dissolve Union

- 88% of Tanzanians do NOT want the dissolution of the union
- Isles: A majority of Tanzanians who reside in the Isles do NOT want the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar to be dissolved, BUT
  - Tanzanians who reside in a district within the Zanzibar islands are almost twice more likely to want to dissolve the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar
- Party affiliation: Tanzanians who support CCM are less likely, while CUF supporters are more likely to want to dissolve the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar

# Dissolve Union

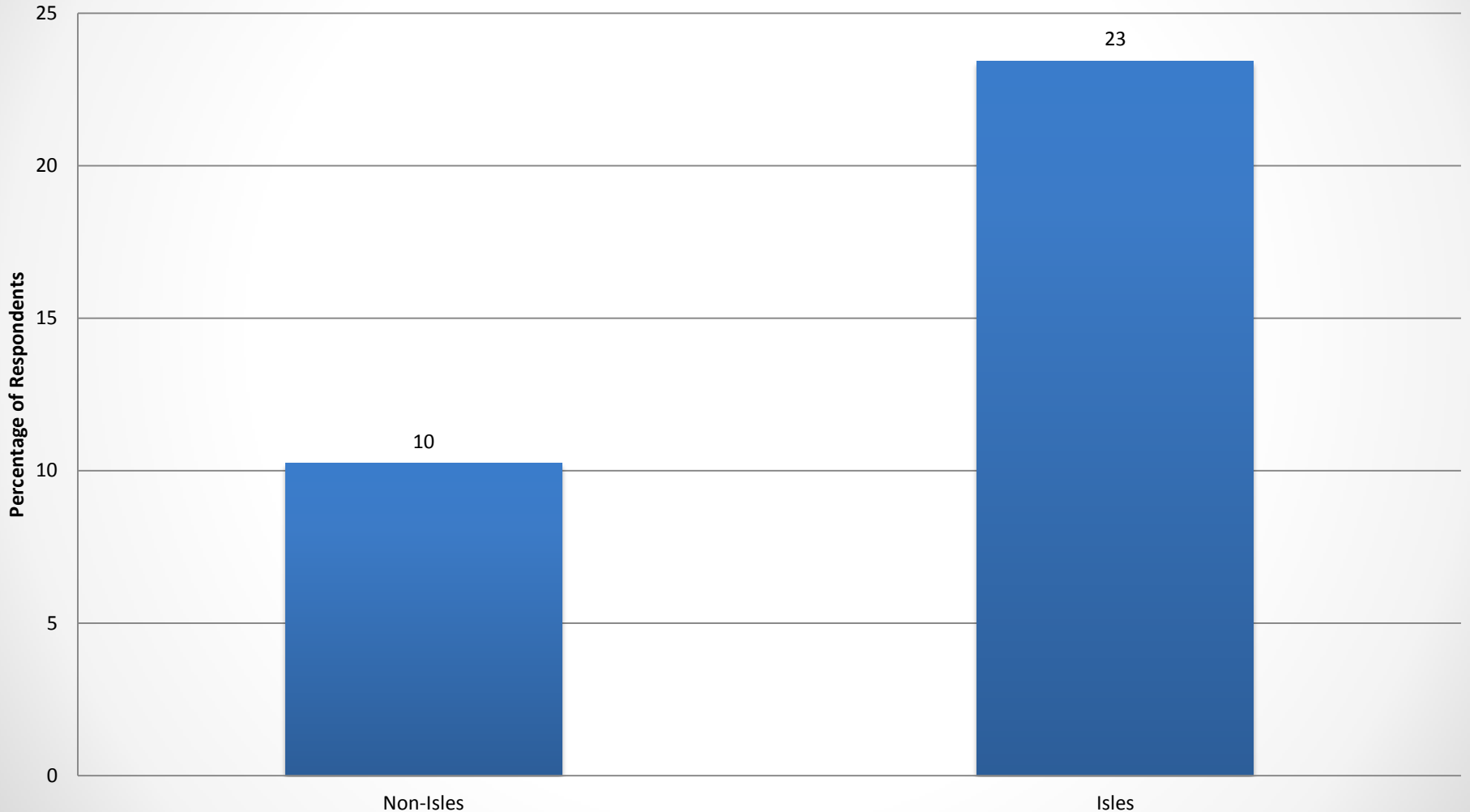
**For Tanzanians Who Reside in the Isles: Do You Want The Union Between Tanganyika and Zanzibar Dissolved?**





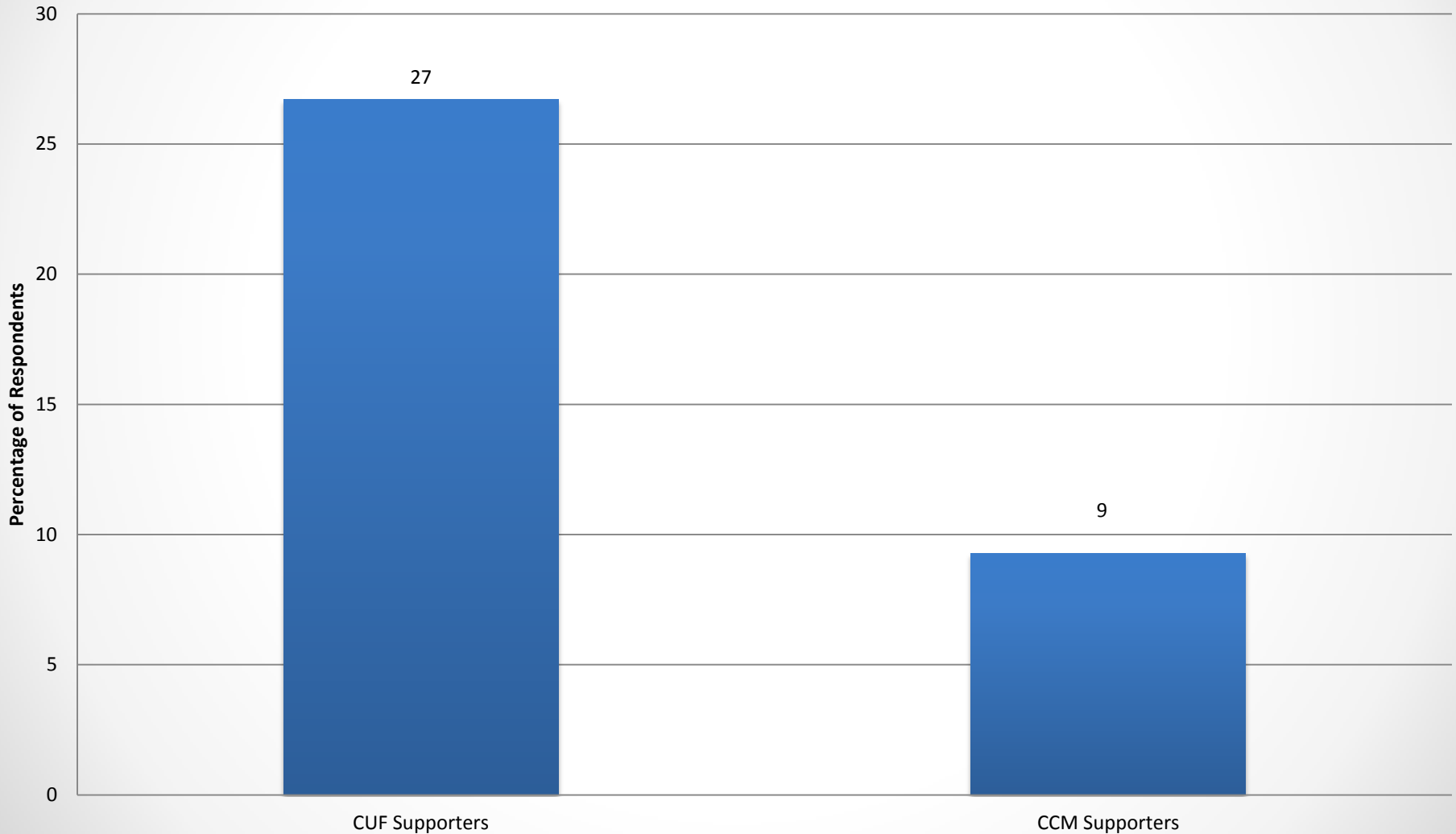
# Dissolve Union

**Tanzanians Who Want the Union Dissolved Who Do Not Live in the Isles  
versus Tanzanians Who Want the Union Dissolved Who Live in the Isles**



# Dissolve Union

Percentage of Support for the Dissolution of the Union Among CUF and CCM Supporters



# **Afrobarometer Round 5 in Tanzania**

## **Survey Results:**

### *Separation of Power*

# Separation of Power

## Key Findings

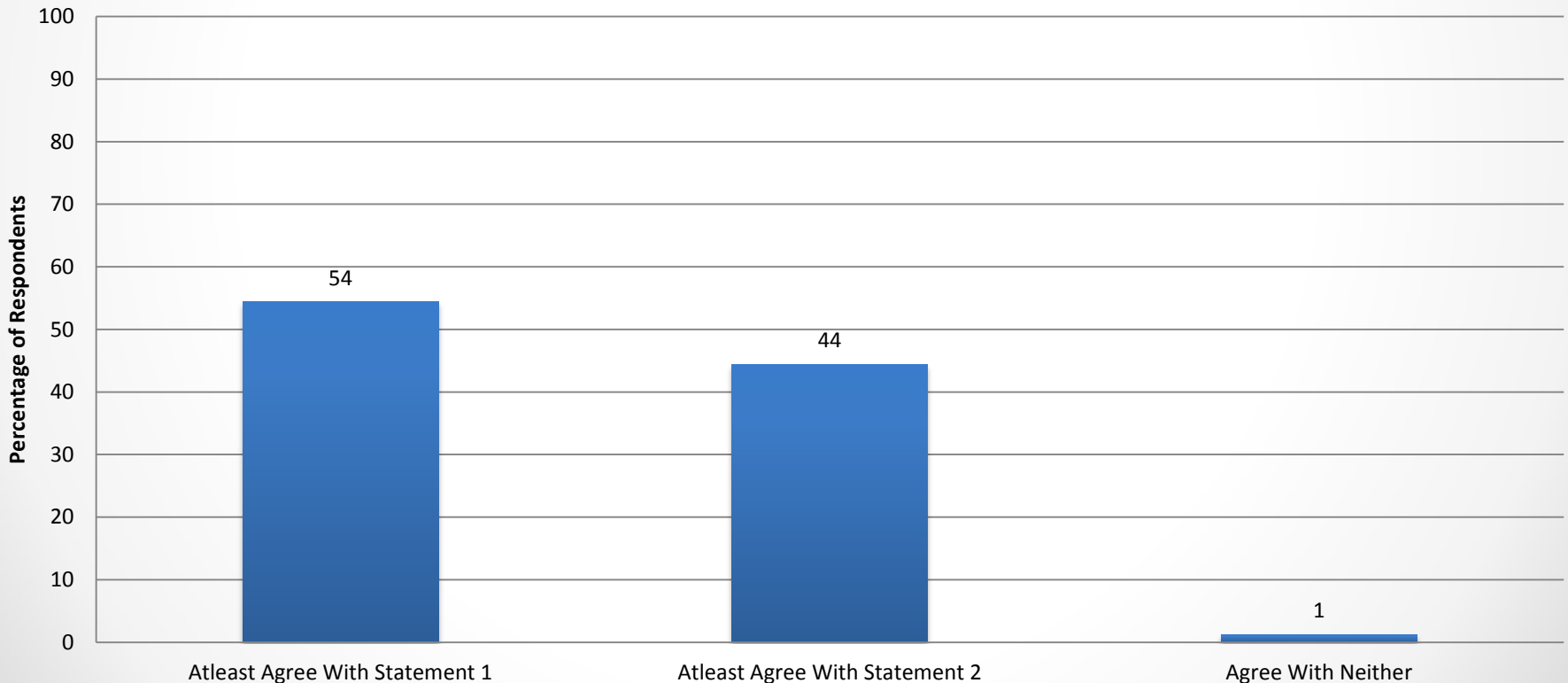
- Tanzanians want Cabinet Ministers appointed outside of Parliament
- CHADEMA and CUF supporters are more likely to support this separation of power
- Approval of one's Member of Parliament makes one less likely to support this separation of power

# Separation of Power

**Statement 1: In order to guarantee the separation of powers between the Executive and the Legislature, Cabinet Ministers should only be appointed from outside Parliament**

**versus**

**Statement 2: The current practice of appointing Cabinet Ministers from Parliament should remain**

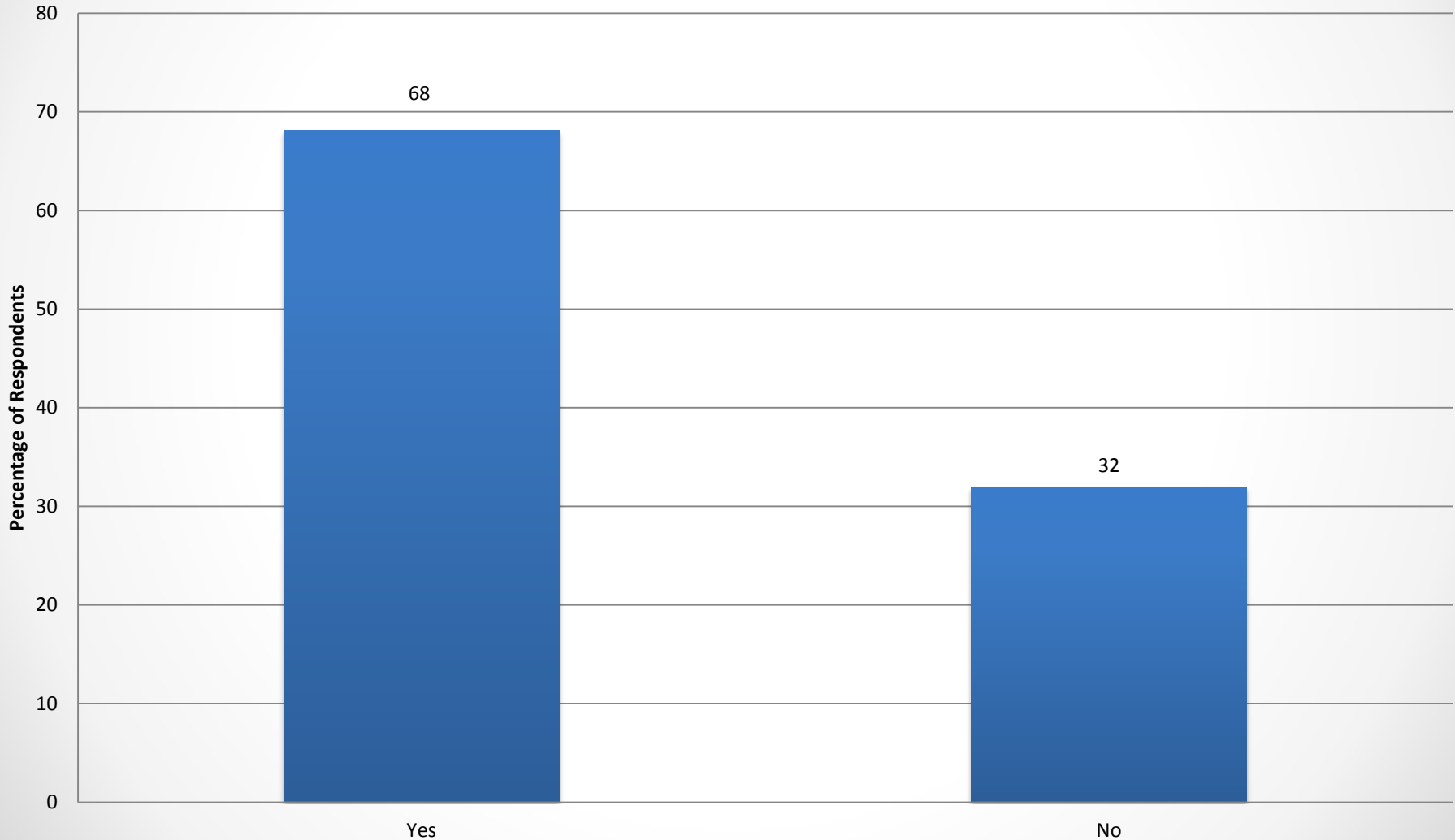


# Separation of Power

- 54% of Tanzanians want Cabinet Ministers appointed outside of Parliament
- CHADEMA supporters are more likely to want Cabinet Ministers to be appointed outside of Parliament
- CUF supporters are also more likely to want Cabinet Ministers to be appointed outside of Parliament
- Tanzanians who approve of their local Member of Parliament are less likely to support the idea that Cabinet Ministers be appointed outside of Parliament

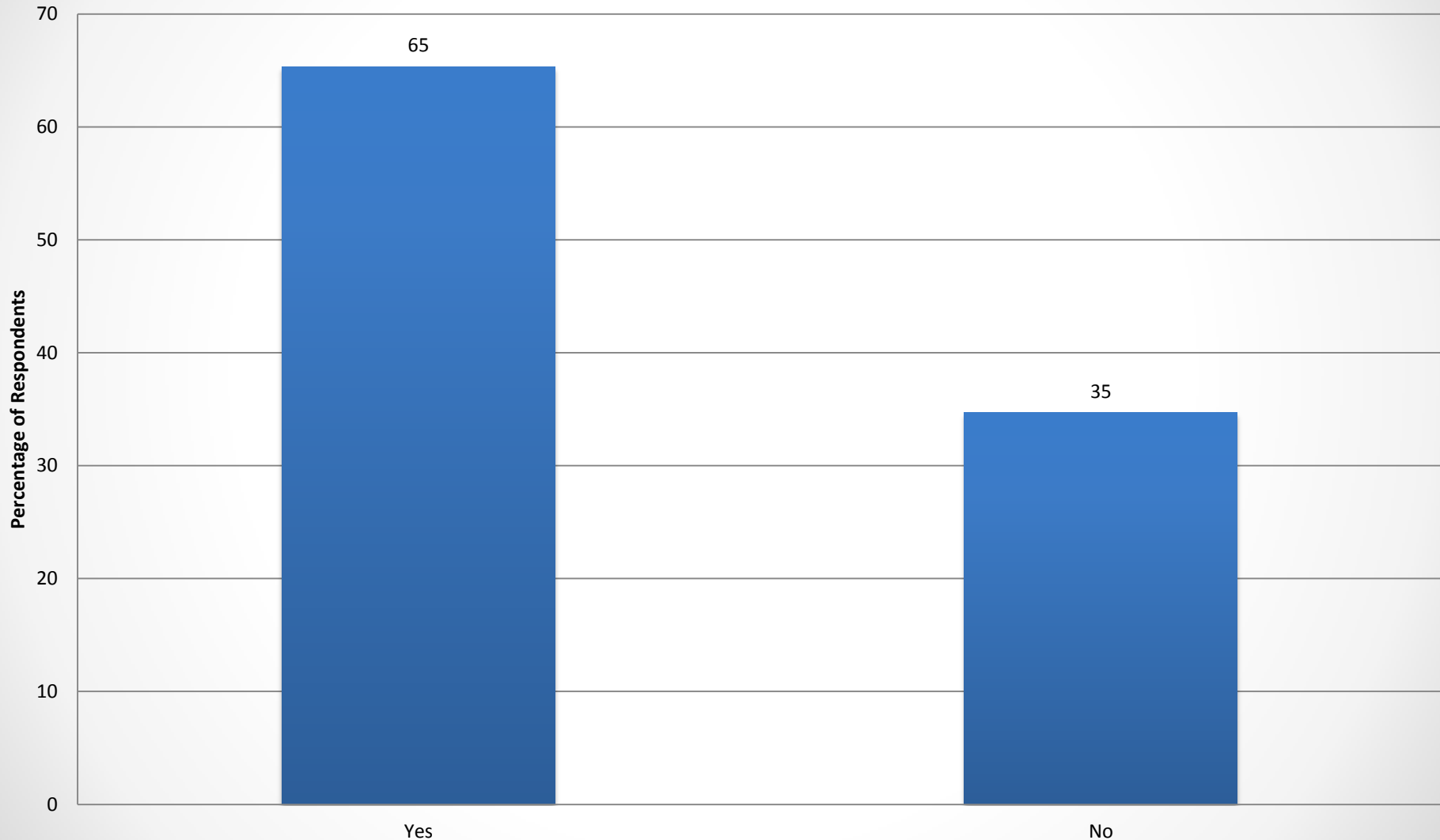
# Separation of Power

## CHADEMA Support for Cabinet Ministers to be Appointed Outside of Parliament



# Separation of Power

## CUF Support for Cabinet Ministers to be Appointed Outside of Parliament





# **Afrobarometer Round 5 in Tanzania**

## **Survey Results:**

### *Power Limits and Tanzanian Identity*

## Key Findings

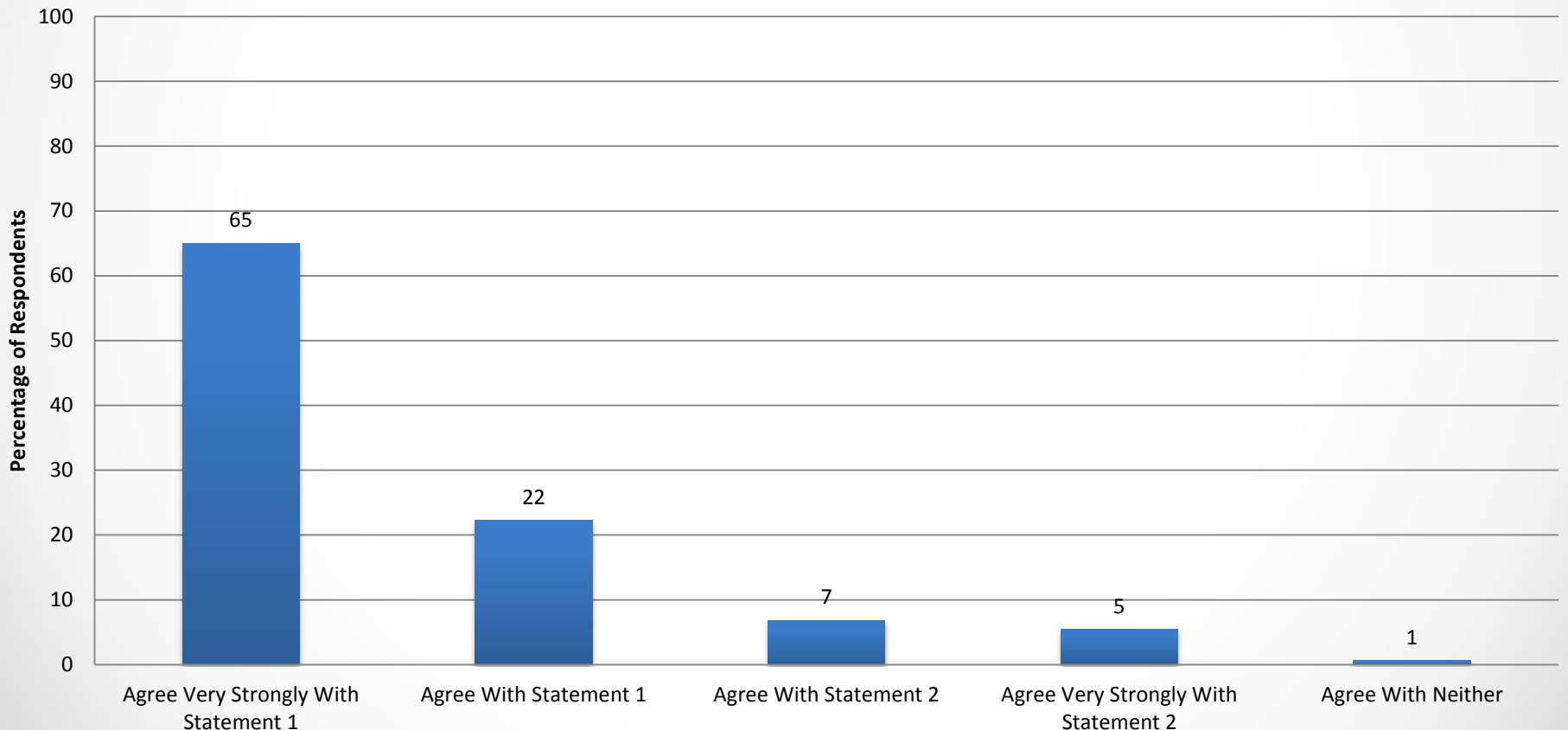
- Tanzanians want the President to continue to be restricted by two term limits
- Few Tanzanians have a rigid and strict idea of who constitutes a Tanzanian citizen
- Tanzanians support the idea of dual citizenship

# Power Limits

**Statement 1: The Constitution should limit the President to serving a maximum of two terms in Office**

**versus**

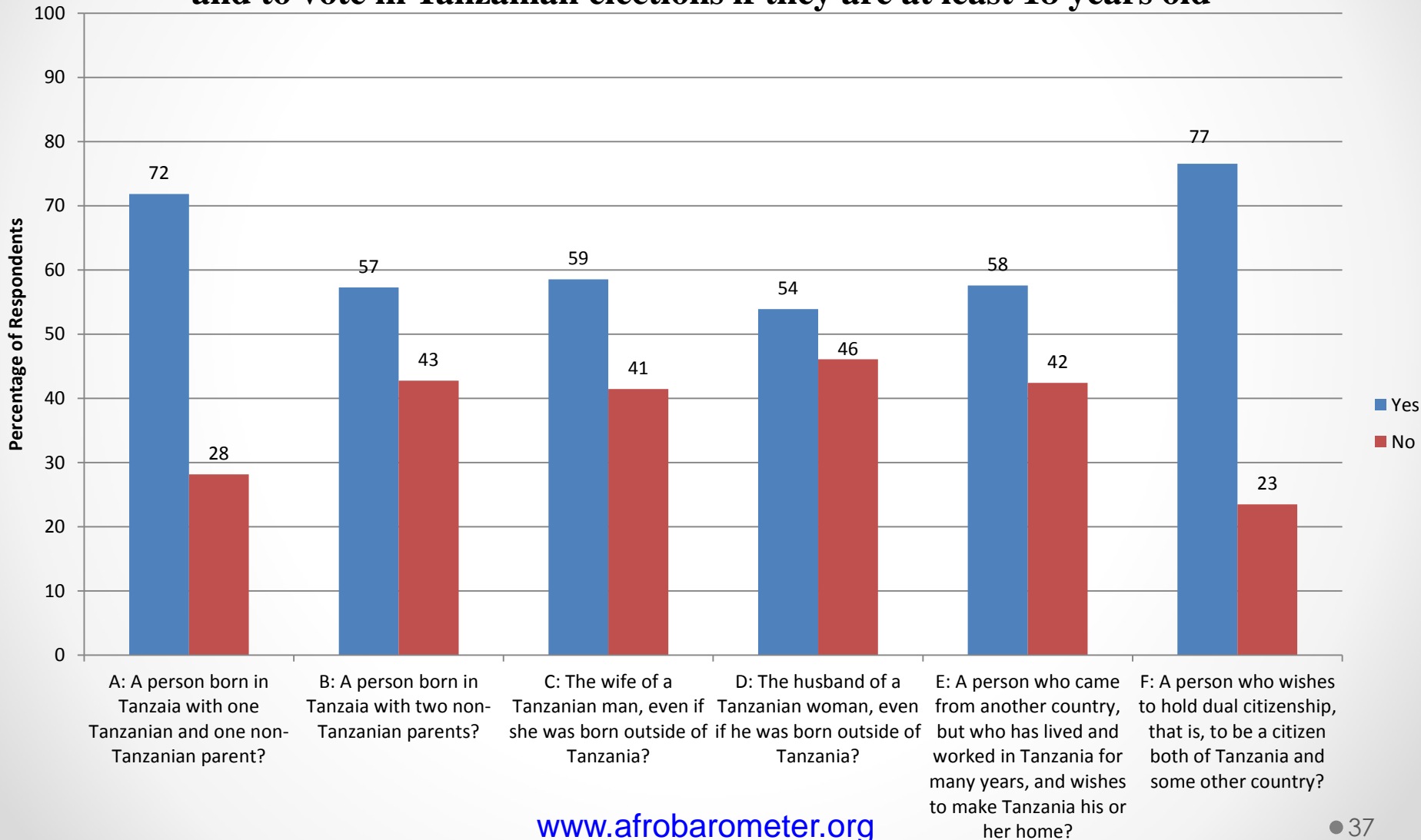
**Statement 2: There should be no constitutional limit on how long the President can serve**



- About 87% of Tanzanians want the Presidential term to be two terms, as is the status quo
- Only about 12% of Tanzanians felt that there should be no constitutional limits to the Presidential term
- The remaining 1% agreed with neither statement

# Tanzanian Identity

**In your opinion, which of the following people have a right to be a citizen of Tanzania? A citizen would have the right to get a Tanzanian passport and to vote in Tanzanian elections if they are at least 18 years old**



- In all questions about what constitutes a Tanzanian citizen, those who responded “Yes”, outnumbered those who answered “No”
- Dual Citizenship receives high support among respondents
- The closest spread between those who answered “Yes” and “No” is in the scenario of “The husband of a Tanzanian woman, even if he were born outside of Tanzania”----54% said these individuals still constitute a Tanzanian citizen, while 46% thought not

# Take Away

1. A majority of Tanzanians want Constitutional Review
2. A majority of Tanzanians want Parliament and the President to lead constitutional review
3. A majority of Tanzanians do NOT want to dissolve the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar
4. A majority of Zanzibaris do NOT want to dissolve the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar
5. A majority of Tanzanians want Cabinet Ministers drawn outside of Parliament
6. Opposition supporters are most likely to seek this separation of power
7. A majority of Tanzanians want the President to continue to be limited to two terms
8. Tanzanians support dual citizenship

# Food for Thought

- Rejection of review reflects discontent in Tanzanian democracy
- Education is important for democracy to thrive
- Discourse on Union matters involving peoples of the Isles is urgently needed
- Opportunities include:
  - Looking at views on the envisioned East African Federation
  - Further analysis on the Union matters



# Ahsanteni Sana



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