

**SOCIAL MEDIA USE IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: ANALYSING  
THE USE OF X IN TANZANIA DURING A NON-ELECTIONEERING  
PERIOD**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

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## **DEDICATION**

This Thesis is dedicated to my wife, Elinatha and our children, Ethan, Evonna and Gian. Apart from being my source of inspiration, they have patiently endured my absence during the study.

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## ABSTRACT

Social media is an integral part of modern life with enormous economic, political, and social implications. Sub-Saharan Africa has received considerable attention regarding the use of social media during elections. Studies have shown that social media is increasingly being adopted and used for democratic activities, especially during elections in most African countries. However, there is a dearth of literature on the use of social media for democratic purposes during the non-electioneering period. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to analyse how Tanzanians use X (formerly Twitter) to foster democracy in the non-election period so as to raise awareness among social media users, proposing ways of enhancing its usage for democratic development. The study sought to answer four questions: How do political parties utilise X to encourage new forms of political communication in Tanzania's public sphere? How do Tanzanians use #KaziIendelea and #KatibaMpya to engage in political discourse in the country? In what ways do Tanzanian activists leverage the various uses of X to influence socio-political change in the country? In which ways does the Tanzanian government use X to promote democratic governance? The conceptual frameworks of democratic listening, online listening, and digital citizenship guided the analysis and discussion of the findings. The research adopted interpretivism and took a qualitative approach, using the case study method. Given the dynamic nature of social media platforms, the population for the study was indefinite. X accounts from three political parties, two activists, the government spokesman, and two popular political hashtags were chosen as part of a purposive sample. The data were collected from X using Twitonomy, which was developed precisely for X research. The data were collected from X using Twitonomy, which was developed precisely for X research. The data were analysed descriptively using Twitonomy and thematically using Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) Miner Lite. Analysis of the selected accounts and hashtags ascertained that Tanzanians frequently used X during the non-electioneering period, detailing the frequency of tweets, the people that users interacted with the most, and the most popular hashtags. Political parties relied on X as their primary medium for political communication and activities. Tanzanians used #KaziIendelea and #KatibaMpya to identify with communities of their liking and engage in political discourse of the course they support. Activists used X for information sharing, democratic advocacy, and driving reforms. Tanzanian government used X to encourage public participation by educating, inspiring, and raising public awareness of national development initiatives. Despite engaging in internet listening, the government's communication was primarily one-sided. The study concludes that social media can be an effective instrument for bolstering democracy outside election seasons, but its efficacy is contingent upon its responsible and skilful utilisation. The study recommends inclusion of digital citizenship in Tanzania's civic education policy, trainings in content creation for activism and political social media, and the government to encourage followers' feedback.

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

ACT	Alliance for Change and Transparency
API	Application Programming Interface
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
DMs	direct messages
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GPS	Global Positioning System
OS	Operating Systems
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TCRA	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority
USA	United States of America

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Analytics:** In this study it is the scientific process of discovering and communicating the meaningful patterns which can be found in data (Techopedia, 2021) to make conclusions about that information (Frankenfield et al., 2022). Data analytics relies on a variety of software tools ranging from spreadsheets, data visualization, and reporting tools, data mining programs, or open-source languages for the greatest data manipulation (Techopedia, 2021).
- Bio:** is a succinct and direct section of a user's profile that provides a brief summary of the individual, including their personality, hobbies, and place of employment, in this case, specifically as it relates to X. It serves as a succinct overview of a user's persona or objectives on X, making it easier for other users to grasp the main points of the account right once.
- Bot** (also known as an Internet bot, web robot, or robot) is a piece of software that uses the Internet to do automated tasks, typically with the goal of massively mimicking human online behaviour like communicating.
- Handle:** A handle is a unique identifier, often preceded by the @ symbol. It is used for public tagging, mentions, and replies. It is usually one word, without spaces, and often reflects the username.
- Hashtag:** A hashtag is a metadata tag that helps users: organize content by topic or theme; join public conversations; increase discoverability of posts;

and track trends in real-time. It is usually written as one word, without spaces, preceded by the # symbol.

**Political communication(s)** is a subfield of political science and communication that focusses on the dissemination of information and how it affects public opinion, news media, lawmakers, and policymakers. It is focused on the creation, communication, impact, and distribution of information within a political context (Ray, 2022).

**Politician:** This study uses Mulinda (2021) definition which regards a politician as a person who engages in politics through leadership, following and sharing political messages on a consistent basis, especially in a political leadership capacity.

**Tweet:** A tweet is a post on X. The act of writing a tweet is called *tweeting* or *twittering*. Tweets can be up to 280 characters for standard users. However, users subscribed to X Premium can post longer tweets, with the exact character limits varying based on their subscription tier.

**Retweet (RT)** is a Tweet that has been reposted. You and other users can instantly share that Tweet with all of your followers by using X's Retweet feature. It is possible for you to retweet other people's or your own tweets. Occasionally, users will start a Tweet with "RT" to denote that they are reposting content from another person.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the study, stating the context of the study, statement of the problem, the aim of the study, research questions, and the assumptions of the study. It also presents the scope of the study and the significance of the study.

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Social media is an integral part of modern life and has enormous economic, political, and social implications (Lukes, 2010; McCay-Peet & Quan-Haase, 2017). According to Cho et al. (2022), social media has brought about major changes to the ways in which people use the media, generating impacts on society, culture, politics, and more. Lukes (2010) added that social media are used by individuals of all ages and are even favoured by companies and organisations as a promotional mechanism; even professional organisations would be remiss to overlook the potential of social media.

This section begins by describing the concept of social media and provides a detailed description of X, the platform explored in this study. The following sections focus on the penetration of the Internet and social media in Africa. The section then reviews the uses and roles of social media in the democratic experience in Africa and concludes with the Tanzanian context.

#### **1.1.1 Introduction to Social Media**

Social media refers to web-based services that facilitate the creation, co-creation, modification, sharing, and engagement of easily accessible user-generated content by individuals, communities, and organisations (McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase, 2017: 17). Hill, Dean, and Murphy (2014) identified four defining characteristics of social media: user-generated content, community, rapid distribution, and open, two-way dialogue.

Social media are categorised in many ways. For this study, the categories summarised from McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase (2017: 18) are considered. Social networking sites, like Facebook and LinkedIn, enable users to do the following tasks: (1) create a public or semi-public profile inside a system; (2) list other users they are connected to; and (3) view and navigate both their list of connections and those made by other users inside the system. The second type of communication is microblogging, such as X and Tumblr, which are services that focus on short updates that are pushed out to subscribers to receive the updates. The third type includes Blogs and forums, for example, LiveJournal and WordPress, which are online forums that allow members to hold discussions by posting messages. The blog comments are similar except they are attached to blogs and usually focus on the topic of the blogpost.

Fourth, users can publish and share different types of media, including images and videos, using services offered by media sharing platforms like YouTube, Flickr, and Pinterest. Additional social features like profiles, commenting, and so forth are available on most services. Fifth, web-based platforms that facilitate collaborative creation, like Wikipedia and Google Docs, let users publish information that can be edited, modified, or reviewed by anybody with access. The sixth is web conferencing, which is a catch-all word encompassing a number of online collaborative services, such as peer-level web meetings, webcasts, and web seminars (sometimes known as "webinars"). Examples are Skype, Zoom, and Google Meet. Lastly, Geo-location based sites like Foursquare, Yik-Yak, and Tinder, provide services that allow users to connect and exchange messages based on their location.

Social media serve different functions, as Manning (2014). First, they allow people to perform identity work through their profiles and reactions. Second, social media allows people to tend to their relationships in different ways. People claim to have met their

wives and best friends via computer-mediated communication networks. Third, social media gives people the ability to do a variety of job-related tasks. Occasionally, they are hired to promote events through social media, such as when a well-known blog or extensive social network circle is involved. Other times, people communicate with their coworkers primarily through email or social media sites, especially when it comes to work-related matters. Fourth, social media platforms let users exchange ideas and/or look for information. This information might be about everything from local politics to disaster aid to political campaigns to where to buy plus size clothes. Fifth, and often in line with information sharing, people can also offer opinions or consider the opinions of others through social media. Finally, individuals can find entertainment on such sites. This study analysed X to measure how this social media platform influences democratic development in Tanzania. The following subsection briefly describes X and provides the rationale for its use in the current study.

**X (formerly Twitter):**

X is a web-based microblogging interactive service that was launched in 2006. X allows registered users to send short status messages to others. It is “specifically designed to broadcast short but regular bursts of content to particularly large audiences well beyond a user’s direct social network” (Murthy, 2018; Ncube, 2021: 2). Xs’ capacity to offer massive numbers of tweets that can be computationally scraped and analysed has given rise to new fields of social science and humanities research. Great is the influence of X that “many journalists, academics, and politicians are virtually dependent on it as a social listening, professional dialogue, and public relations tool, and it is widely considered an essential component of civic infrastructure for emergency communication” (Burgess and Baym, 2020: 4; Ncube, 2021: 2). The “@” feature is key

to X's role as a medium for conversation and is essential for creating, maintaining, and enlivening connections among users (Ncube, 2021: 2).

X users interact through retweets, mentions, and the recently introduced "Spaces". The retweet mechanism allows users to spread information about their preferences beyond the reach of the original followers of a profile. Mentions are tweets that contain usernames or tweets with replies. In X space, real-time audio interaction occurs. It provides a forum for debate and discussion of issues, and users can join as speakers or listeners.

The popularity of using X for social media research, both in academia and industry, remains high; no other platform has attracted as much attention from academics (Ahmed, 2017). In terms of monthly active users, X is not the most popular platform, though. For instance, it comes up at number seven on the list of all daily users in Tanzania (TCRA, 2022). The top two are WhatsApp and Facebook. But a lot of the largest platforms in terms of monthly active users don't release their data on a scale like X. Researchers have come to favour X because of its distinct infrastructure and almost complete data availability, despite the fact that Facebook and WhatsApp have more active user bases. Technological developments have also made cross-platform information sharing possible.

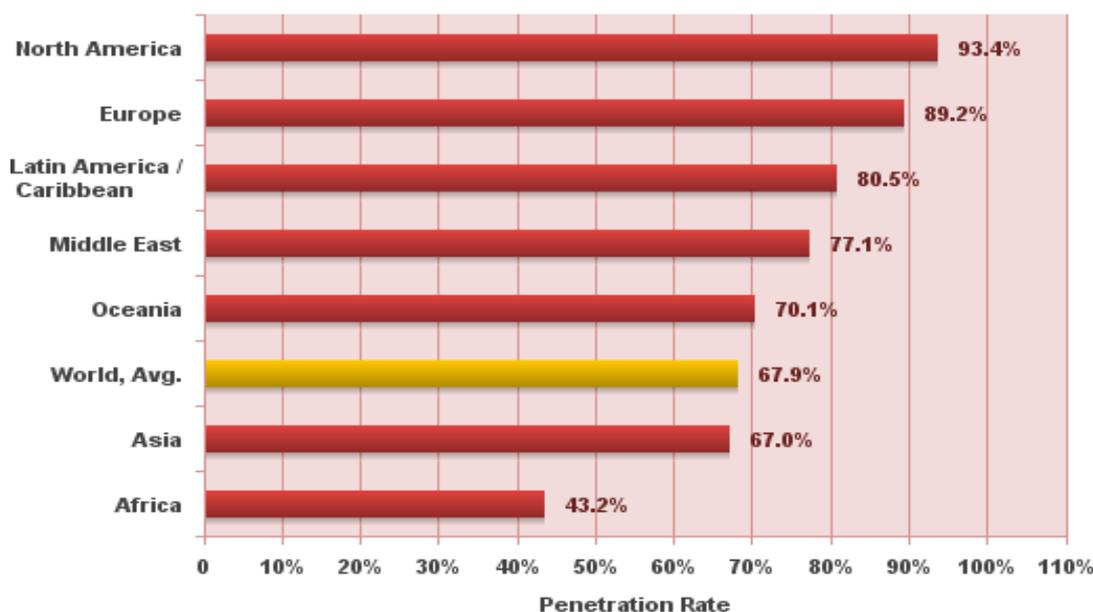
X is estimated to be the second largest platform for political engagement in Africa after Facebook (Munoriyarwa & Chambwera, 2020). Certainly, X has increased the speed, scope and scale of political engagement among politicians, supporters and opponents, and in many ways, X has changed the patterns of civic and political engagement, especially in authoritarian environments where the mainstream media is controlled by ruling regimes (Munoriyarwa & Chambwera, 2020). Furthermore, X offers citizens several opportunities to scrutinise governments, speak back to power and interrogate

the performance of their leaders. Thus, in this process, citizens' engagement with their governments is no longer a one-way process, and the potential capacity of X to re-engage disconnected citizens with their leaders is ensured (Munoriyarwa & Chambwera, 2020). These potentials make X a suitable platform to explore the role of social media in developing democracy during a non-election period.

### **1.1.2 Internet Penetration and Use in Africa**

The emergence of the internet and related technologies has brought profound economic and social change, arguably on a scale paralleled only by the invention of the printing press" (Young & Akerstrom, 2015; Ncube, 2021). The world is witnessing rapid Internet penetration. According to Internet World Stats (2022), as of June 2022, there were 5.4 billion Internet users in the world, recording a penetration rate of 69.0%. In the same period, Africa had 652.7 million Internet users, with a penetration rate of 46.8%. Although increased use of the Internet has been observed in the last decade, Africa is still behind the rest of the world in terms of Internet penetration (see Figure 1.1 below). This disproportion is attributed to factors such as access, cost, censorship, lack of infrastructure, technophobia, and low technological literacy, which limit Internet participation (Ncube, 2021).

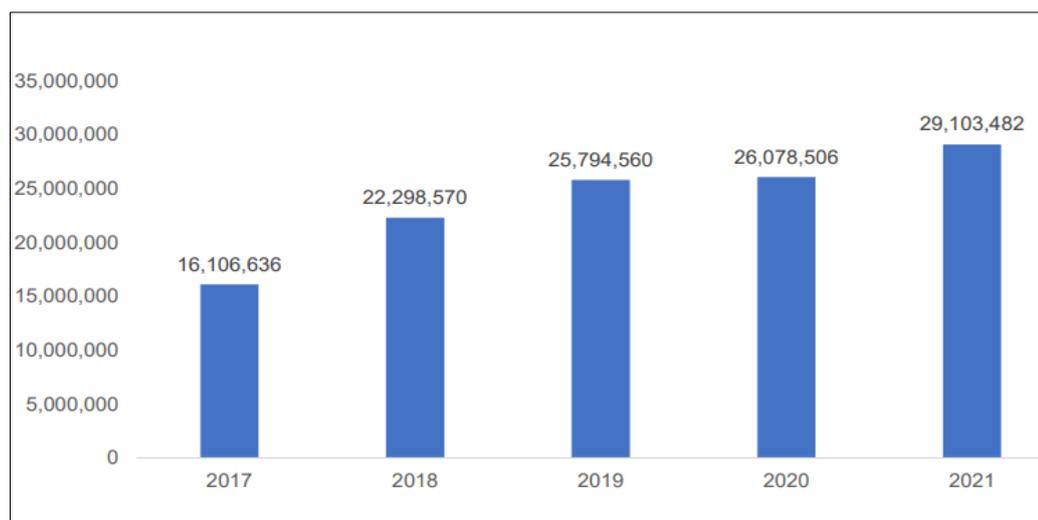
## Internet World Penetration Rates by Geographic Regions - 2022



Source: Internet World Stats - [www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm)  
 Penetration Rates are based on a world population of 7,932,791,734 and 5,385,798,406 estimated Internet users in June 30, 2022.  
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**Figure 1.1: Internet world penetration rates by geographical region in 2022**

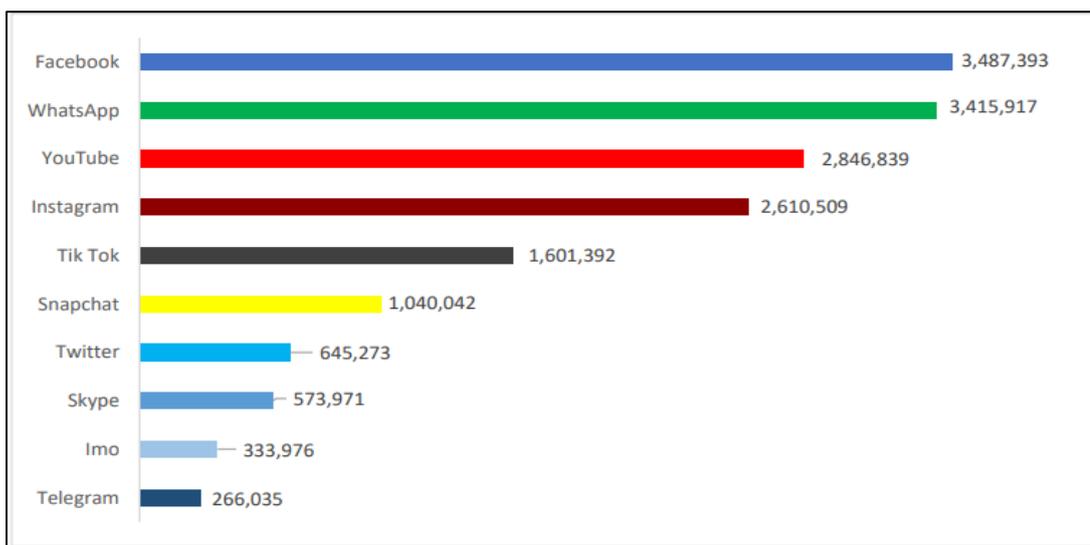
In Tanzania, like other parts of Africa, subscriptions and internet use are increasing. Statistics provided by the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) show that by September 2022, Tanzania had 31.1 million internet subscribers (TCRA, 2022). This implies an Internet penetration rate of 50.4 percent taking to account the 61.7 million total population recorded in the 2022 census (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2022). Considering the past five years, TCRA (2022) reports an average of 17% annual growth in internet subscriptions (see Figure 1.2), where there were 16 million subscriptions in 2017 compared to 29 million subscriptions in 2021.



**Figure 1.2: Trend of Internet Subscriptions in Tanzania over the Last Five Years**

**Source: TCRA, September 2022**

However, it should be highlighted that not everyone has access to or uses these Internet technologies due to national considerations affecting audiences, consumption patterns, political cultures, journalism cultures, social media regulations, media regulation, and journalism cultures (Ndlela & Mano, 2020). In Tanzania, growing subscriptions and use of the internet has facilitated increased social media platform users in the country. According to the Internet World Stats, Tanzania had 6.4 million Facebook subscribers by January 2022. Furthermore, TCRA (2022) reported that 3.5 million Tanzanians access Facebook daily, making it the most accessed social media platform in the country. WhatsApp Messenger ranks second with 3.4 million daily users. As shown in Figure 1.3, X occupies the seventh position with 645.2 thousand daily users.



**Figure 1.3: Top 10 Most Accessed Social Media in Tanzania per Day (IP Addresses)**

**Source: TCRA, September 2022**

Kamer (2022) reports that as of 2021, over 13% of Tanzanian citizens surveyed said they regularly sourced news from social media. A quarter of the participants reported that they occasionally get news via platforms such as Facebook, X, and WhatsApp. In general, about 90% of Tanzanians said social media increased public knowledge.

### **1.1.3 Democracy and the Role of Social Media**

A democracy is characterised as a form of governance where the people themselves hold ultimate power and can exercise it either directly or indirectly through representation (Amenyeawu, 2021). Democracy is, broadly speaking, a form of government run by and for the people. Four key components should be included in a democratic system: i) A system of free and fair elections to choose and replace the government; ii) Citizens' active involvement in politics and civic life; iii) Protection of citizens' human rights; and iv) A rule of law where all citizens are subject to the same laws and procedures (Amenyeawu, 2021). The relationship between social media and democracy is examined in this section.

Social media are related to democracy in significant ways. Oginni and Moitui (2015) contended that social media has opened new avenues for greater political participation, thus creating a new social dynamic. A tool that unifies geographically dispersed individuals on virtual platforms through user-generated content. At the global level, internet politics has become part and parcel of the mushrooming global movement for peace, justice, and democracy that has continued to grow since the 2000s (Kahn and Kellner, 2005). Notable examples are anti-war/pro-democracy movements where average citizens used the internet not only to question presidential decisions to go to war but also to organise and protest publicly (Kahn and Kellner, 2005). In the United States, social media use was crucial to Barak Obama's 2008 victory. A recent study (Fujiwara, Müller, and Schwarz, 2022) indicated that X lowered the Republican vote share in the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections. In India and Pakistan, social media have also been used during the election period. In these two Asian countries, social media was used not only to share political messages, but also to silence dissent (Shackle, 2018).

In the African context, social media has been used to bring about democratic revolutions in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt (Abdelghaffar and Hassan, 2016; Aman and Jayroe, 2013; Meral, 2017; Price, 2013; Prokhorov, 2012; Salanova, 2012). The citizens of these countries used social media to organise mass demonstrations that led to changes in existing authoritarian governments. Even in so-called democratic countries in Africa, democracy is simply letting people vote. In these countries, participation, an important element of democracy, is seen in voting during elections. Freedom of expression, a fundamental human right, is denied to citizens in most African countries. The mainstream media, which is supposed to serve as the citizens' watchdog, is controlled by these governments. Therefore, most African leaders cannot be held accountable by

their citizens because they are denied information. Consequently, African citizens resort to social media as means of expression and political activism.

Authoritarian leaders in Africa frame social media as a threat. According to Dwyer and Molony (2021), at least nine African countries, in addition to Chad, have also experienced government-ordered Internet shutdowns since the beginning of 2019. Social media on the continent is entangled with politics and security. Because social media can increase public access to information, political leaders frequently see it as a danger. Moreover, it has the power to rally and subvert leadership (Dwyer and Molony, 2021).

Academic discourse reports on the influence of social media on democracy from two perspectives. On the one hand, social media is seen as contributing positively to democracy. Studies carried out in Kenya revealed that social media played a role in sustaining pre-existing power hierarchies and prevailing stories. According to a study conducted in Burundi by Jean-Benoît Falisse and Hugues Nkengurutse, the general public is rarely involved in public political discussions on Facebook and X. Rather, a few elites who served as middlemen controlled them (Dwyer and Molony, 2021). Social media has proven to be an effective strategy for political communication and campaigns, enabling dialogue between political stakeholders. Furthermore, Amenyeawu (2021) stated that social media impacts elections and democratic discourse through its dialogic features, which helps nations that have adopted democracy make governance fully participatory. Price (2013) added that social media can promote democracy because of its potential to establish and build communities online regardless of location. It can connect people through various formats and platforms, share ideas and information, encourage debates and mobilise action. Political participation was stimulated, and democratic debates were broadened by transgressing hierarchies and

creating more informal communicative networks (Iheagwara, 2013; Ncube 2021). Former president of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan, successfully utilised Facebook to engage with Nigerian citizens during the 2011 presidential elections. He made the unprecedented decision of announcing his presidential candidacy on Facebook. In Zambia, civil society has used social media to monitor incidents related to the 2011 presidential elections (Chatora, 2012; Ncube 2021).

On the other hand, there are arguments questioning what kind of democracy is possible when social media is used. These arguments consider the constraints of technology, how it can be used, and by whom it can be used, and raise issues such as reliability and access (Price, 2013). Authoritarian regimes also use social media to employ various forms of online harassment to muzzle critics, foment propaganda, and distract information and to shut down or distort the information space (Ncube, 2021). In this way, social media is being used as a weapon against democracy. Social media platforms are also instrumental in the spread of fake news intended to cause fear and panic among citizens (Walsh, 2020). The fake news propagated through social media platforms not only harms democracy but also has implications for the economic well-being of a nation (Ncube, 2021).

In conclusion, although social media benefit democracy in several ways, they also make democracy vulnerable. As many citizens engage in conversations on social media that offer great opportunities for sharing events and news, at the same time, it may also spread destructive content that is capable of manipulating public opinion and behaviour.

#### **1.1.4 The Tanzanian Context**

##### **1.1.4.1 The Political Landscape**

Tanzania has been a multiparty democratic country for over 30 years. There is multipartism, and there has been a regular transition of leadership. General multiparty

elections have been held every five years since 1995. However, it has been one party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), which has emerged victorious in all previous presidential elections. Opposition parties have always complained of election rigging by the ruling party. Furthermore, like most Sub-Saharan countries with growing democracies, there is a limit to the freedom of the press and the contents of all information outlets. In the past seven years, the country has seen a dramatic drop in freedom of expression rankings, recorded all-time low media freedom, and conducted probably the worst run election in her history (Mulinda, 2022). In the 2020 general election, for example, opposition politicians turned to social media for communication following the crackdown on traditional media by the government.

Mulinda (2022) argued that the 2020 General Election was marred by many things, but media censorship might have topped the list. He avers that the main opposition presidential candidate, Tundu Lissu, consistently reminded his followers that social media was the only hope following what he perceived as a fear of the mainstream media to air opposition parties' campaigns. On the inauguration of the opposition Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) campaigns, 28 August 2020, the party chairperson, Mr Freeman Mbowe, chased away the national broadcast (Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation – TBC) crew for what he described as sabotage. TBC was accused of cutting sensitive parts of the rally speeches and occasionally providing commentaries when party leaders were addressing pressing political matters. The relationship between the opposition political party and the state-owned media house deteriorated at the end of the election. From that point onward, CHADEMA campaigns were aired mainly through online TV, DARMPYA TV, and social media pages. Other TV stations would only cover opposition stories in brief evening news, while they

would cover full campaigns for incumbent President John Magufuli and his party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

According to Freedom House (2022), Tanzania is rated “Partly Free” in *Freedom in the World 2022*, Freedom House’s annual study of political rights and civil liberties worldwide. Freedom House (2022) contended that, despite the late president receiving 84.5% of the vote in October 2020, the election was noticeably less free and fair than the one in 2015, when he received 58% of the vote. The house goes on to say that there was widespread vote-rigging and fraud in the 2020 election, as well as other irregularities like social media and media outlet suspensions, police use of force against opposition rally attendees, threats of violence against opposition figures, and obstruction of opposition candidate Tundu Lissu's rallies. Accreditation was refused to numerous foreign media outlets as well as to local and international observers.

Tanzania suffered a serious blow to democracy and freedom of expression soon after the 2015 general election in which the late John Pombe Joseph Magufuli was elected the fifth president of the country. He has since banned all open political rallies since 2016, especially the ones by opposition parties. Apart from the more severe state capture of the mainstream media, social media users have also faced close government scrutiny. The late president declared very early in his leadership that he did not like social media. For example, on 28<sup>th</sup> September, 2016, he said “I wish angels to come down one day and shut down all these social networks, so that when they are reopened they find that we have already created our new Tanzania” (Ngurumo, 2018). Such a statement by the country’s highest leader paints social media as the enemy to development and could be regarded as an indirect directive to government organs on how to deal with social media. Consequently, many online TVs were shut down, and

those who wanted to continue to operate had to register and pay annual subscription fees, which many could not afford.

The year 2021 is significant in Tanzanian history. After President John Pombe Magufuli passed away on March 17, Vice President Samia Suluhu Hassan took over. In April 2021, President Samia Suluhu Hassan overturned the ban on online TV, a move that was welcomed as a boon to democracy and freedom of speech. Freedom House (2022) claims that the Hassan administration persisted in censoring and targeting media organisations all year long. The CCM-owned *Uhuru* daily was suspended by the government in August when it revealed that Hassan would not run for office again in 2025. *Raia Mwema*, a weekly journal, was suspended for 30 days in September for allegedly publishing fake information. Political demonstrations were still prohibited.

In July 2021, Freeman Mbowe, the chairman of the opposition Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), was arrested ahead of a speech on constitutional reform and charged with terrorism. Mbowe's arrest sparked campaigns for his release on social media by Tanzanians in the country and the diaspora using the hashtag #MboweSioGaidi (Mbowe is not a terrorist). Following the campaigns coupled with pleads from religious leaders and the international community, Mbowe and three other individuals were freed on March 4, 2022, following the filing of a motion by the Director of Public Prosecutions indicating their intention to dismiss the terrorism accusations against them before the High Court Division of Corruption and Economic Sabotage Offences (Materu, 2022).

#### **1.1.4.2 Media and Communication Law and Regulations**

Tanzania has enacted several laws governing communication and the use of social media, including the Cybercrimes Act (2015), the Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Regulations (2020), and the Media Services Act

(2016). These laws regulate online content, criminalize cyber offenses, and impose licensing requirements for online media. The Cybercrimes Act criminalizes offenses such as spreading false information, data espionage, and unsolicited messages, while the Online Content Regulations require bloggers, forums, and broadcasters to obtain licenses and adhere to strict content guidelines (Article 19, 2020). Additionally, the Media Services Act grants the government broad regulatory powers over media houses and journalists, affecting press freedom and online speech (Internews, 2023). Critics argue that these regulations restrict freedom of expression, as seen in recent actions such as the suspension of Mwananchi Communications Ltd's digital platforms for allegedly publishing content harmful to Tanzania's image (Reuters, 2024).

In 2022, Tanzania introduced the Personal Data Protection Act (PDPA), which took effect on May 1, 2023, to regulate the collection, processing, and storage of personal data (DLA Piper, 2023). The Act establishes the Personal Data Protection Commission (PDPC) to oversee compliance, requiring data controllers and processors to register with the commission and implement security measures. Under the PDPA, personal data must be processed lawfully, transparently, and for specified purposes. The Act also grants individuals rights over their personal data, including access, correction, and objection to certain processing activities (PDPC, 2023). Furthermore, the law imposes restrictions on cross-border data transfers, permitting them only when the recipient country ensures an adequate level of protection or with the explicit consent of the data subject (PDPC, 2023).

The introduction of the PDPA aligns Tanzania with global data protection standards, reflecting its commitment to safeguarding privacy rights in an increasingly digital world. However, concerns remain about how these laws may be used to control online expression and data access. Given the stringent requirements, organizations and

individuals engaging in online communication and social media activities must comply with Tanzania's regulatory framework to avoid legal repercussions. As digital platforms continue to evolve, ongoing scrutiny and potential legal reforms may be necessary to balance regulatory objectives with the protection of fundamental rights such as privacy and freedom of expression.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In recent years, democratic practices in Tanzania have faced several challenges, particularly concerning freedom of expression. One significant example was the restriction on political rallies, imposed immediately after the 2015 general elections. This ban remained in effect until President Samia Suluhu Hassan lifted it on January 3, 2023. During this period, political parties were only permitted to hold rallies during the 2020 general election campaigns. However, even then, mainstream media—both public and private—did not provide equal opportunities for all competing parties. As a result, opposition parties relied heavily on social media as an alternative platform to engage with the public (Mulinda, 2022). Even after the ban was lifted, individual political and social media activists continued to use digital platforms to exercise their democratic rights.

Since 2015, freedom of expression in Tanzania has declined (Mulinda, 2022). This deterioration resulted not only from state control over mainstream media but also from the intimidation and censorship of social media users. For instance, on September 28, 2016, then-President John Pombe Magufuli stated, "I wish angels would come down one day and shut down all these social networks so that when they are reopened, they find that we have already created our new Tanzania" (Ngurumo, 2018). Such statements framed social media as a threat to national development and likely influenced government bodies in their approach to regulating online platforms.

While some scholars have argued that social media threatens democracy (e.g., Anderson & Rainie, 2020; Kreps, 2020; Walsh, 2020), others have emphasized its crucial role in fostering democratic participation, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Mulinda, 2022; Ncube, 2021). In Tanzania, negative perceptions of social media—especially among political leaders—have shaped public discourse on its role in governance. A lack of understanding of emerging communication technologies has contributed to the perception of social media as more of a threat than an opportunity. Quan-Haase and Sloan (2017) contended that social media should be viewed as an integrated and essential part of society rather than as an isolated phenomenon.

This study used X as case study to examined the role of social media in political communication beyond election periods. Given its complex role in influencing democratic engagement outside of election cycles, Tanzania's use of social media for political communication during non-election times merits serious scholarly scrutiny. Even in the absence of election campaigns, social media platforms allow users to continuously socialise politically, learn, form opinions, and participate in civic discourse (Chadwick & Dennis, 2019). These platforms serve as bottom-up methods that allow citizens to watch governance and provide public feedback, in addition to promoting political learning and serving as avenues for policy scrutiny and government accountability (Nyamnjoh, 2020). Furthermore, social media is crucial in shaping political agendas and public issues because it establishes which subjects—like corruption, health, or education—dominate conversations and represent the objectives of the general public (Esser, Stępińska, & Hopmann, 2021).

Digital networks also show latent mobilisation potential during periods of political quiet, acting as organisational bases for demonstrations or civic engagement when sparked by outside events (Tufekci, 2017). Furthermore, Tanzanian political parties,

public institutions, and politicians engage with the public on social media throughout the year, promoting regular communication that is frequently missed when studies are limited to election seasons (Larsson & Moe, 2023). In addition to providing insight into the political functionality of digital communication during times of national urgency, studying social media use outside of electoral contexts allows for the tracking of longitudinal changes and responses to crises like pandemics or corruption scandals (Benequista & Penney, 2022). In Tanzania specifically, where legal frameworks, digital access inequalities, and regulatory controls shape online political behavior, the under-researched nature of non-election political communication presents a compelling gap that deserves systematic academic exploration.

### **1.3 Aim of the Study**

This study analysed how Tanzanians use X to foster democracy in the non-election period to raise awareness among social media users and propose ways of enhancing its use for democratic development.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

To achieve the stated aim, the study attempted to answer the following research questions:

- i. How do political parties use X to encourage new forms of political communication in Tanzania's public sphere?
- ii. How do Tanzanians use #KaziIendelea and #KatibaMpya to engage in political discourse in the country?
- iii. In what ways do Tanzanian activists leverage the various uses of X to influence socio-political change in the country?
- iv. In which ways does the Tanzanian government use X to promote democratic governance?

## **1.5 Assumptions of the Study**

The following are the assumptions of this study:

- i. Social media plays a significant role in political communication.
- ii. Government control has a direct impact on freedom of expression.
- iii. Social media can be both a threat and a tool for democracy.
- iv. Political leaders' perception influence social media policies and public discourse.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this study can be explained in terms of content, geographical coverage, and academic contribution.

### **1.6.1 Content Scope**

This study explores the role social media platform, particularly X, in shaping political communication and democratic engagement in Tanzania. It examines how political parties utilize X to foster new forms of political discourse within the public sphere, particularly in response to restrictions on traditional media and political gatherings. The study also investigates how Tanzanians engage in political discussions through X hashtags, analyzing their effectiveness in mobilizing public opinion and shaping political narratives. Furthermore, it assesses the ways in which activists leverage X to drive socio-political change, focusing on their strategies, influence, and impact on governance and civic participation. Lastly, the study evaluates the Tanzanian government's use of X, exploring whether and how it employs digital platforms to promote democratic governance, transparency, and citizen engagement. Through this analysis, the research aims to provide insights into the evolving role of X in Tanzania's political landscape and its implications for democracy and freedom of expression.

### **1.6.2 Geographical Scope**

The Geographical scope of this study was the United Republic of Tanzania. The data used in this study cover the period from January 1, 2022, to January 5, 2023. It should be noted, however, that being a social media study, users could tweet from across the world.

### **1.6.3 Academic Scope**

This study is about how social media is used in political communication and democracy, with a focus on how Tanzanians use X during a non-electioneering period. More specifically, qualitative (textual) data from X accounts of political parties, the government, activists, and selected hashtags are analysed descriptively and thematically.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This study is significant as it provides practical insights for practice and policy, elucidating the role of social media in bolstering Tanzanian democracy. Building on earlier studies, it offers actual data on how digital platforms influence political communication, activity, and governance (Molina, 2017). The study contributes a Tanzanian viewpoint to international conversations on digital democracy by examining current theories and approaches. Its conclusions draw attention to the advantages and disadvantages of utilising social media for political discourse, directly assisting legislators in developing laws that reduce risks and promote democratic participation. Additionally, the study provides social media users and practitioners with useful suggestions for promoting inclusive political engagement and efficient government, guaranteeing that digital platforms responsibly contribute to Tanzania's democratic advancement.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have introduced the study by providing the background for the study and clearly explaining what the study entails and the context in which it is conducted.

This chapter has shown that although studies have reported the advantages and disadvantages of social media in democracy, most have focused on elections. The assumptions of the study, its scope, and significance are also provided. The next chapter will review the literature and the conceptual frameworks used in this study.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This literature review presents the existing literature and analyses accounts of the influence of social media on elections, governance, and political activism in Africa and its impact on democracy. The sections under this chapter includes: social media as a tool for political communication; social media and governance; social media and activism; social media and democracy; synthesis and knowledge gap; and conceptual frameworks.

### **2.1 Social Media as a Tool for Political Communication**

Social media is playing a significant role in political transformations in Africa because it is drastically altering the political communication landscape (Ndlela & Mano, 2020). In the digital age, African protests against misrule are growing more and more noticeable (Mano & Ndlela, 2020). The proliferation of social media has made election campaigns easier than before. The intense activities on social media platforms may provide channels for quickly reaching supporters and potential voters as well as easy and prompt updates on what is happening on the campaign track (Kamp et al., 2016). X has also become a legitimate communication channel in the political domain because it reflects political sentiment and can be used as a platform for civic political deliberation. It is widely agreed that in 2008, US President Barack Obama successfully used social media in his presidential campaign. Tumasjan et al. (2010) (cited in Ncube, 2021) argue that this success established social media, particularly X and Facebook, as integral parts of the political campaign toolbox. Furthermore, Mthembu and Lunga (2020) noted that electoral commissions in some African countries and other continents have also adopted social media to engage with citizens on issues related to electoral processes, which have significant implications for transparency.

However, Kamp et al. (2016) observed that social media activities contribute rather little in terms of providing substantial information on the parties' and candidates' profiles, programmes, and positions because posts and messages on policy positions and political objectives are mostly overshadowed by discussions on which candidate is pulling the bigger crowds, personal attacks and ridicule, as well as all kinds of rumours and allegations of misconduct, manipulation, and interference in the campaigns. Nevertheless, social media's impact cannot be disregarded because opposition parties have used it in certain circumstances, such as Tanzania.

Smyth (2013) explored how social media perturbed the political landscape by focusing on social media use during elections in Nigeria and Liberia in 2011. The study examined how social media has impacted the democratic process during elections and compares social media discourse to formal election monitoring operations. The study found that social media can serve as a useful instrument for election oversight if civil society cooperation is adequate. Additionally, it was claimed that public confidence in political procedures might be significantly influenced by social media. Smyth (2013) further contended that social media's capacity to overcome the economics of scarcity—which has dominated traditional media in such circumstances—is what gives it its real disruptive power in developing country contexts.

Kamp et al. (2016) noted that political parties significantly extended their social media activities during elections campaigns, and the public appeared to be more receptive than before the beginning of the campaign. They added that the political parties used the platforms constructively to engage party members and respond to queries as swiftly as possible, as well as to connect with the public as a crucial part of campaigning. However, Kamp et al. (2016) observed that individual accounts of presidential

candidates were much more prominent than those of the parties, making the latter almost irrelevant.

In Tanzania, social media platforms—especially X—have become essential for political communication. To interact with followers and the general public, political parties make active use of X. These forums allow parties to communicate with voters and spread their agendas by facilitating conversations on a variety of political topics, from local administration to international concerns (Gamaliel & Ng'atigwa, 2024). But even with this promise, social media's influence is still limited. According to research, opposition parties' internet presences are not much different from the ruling party's, indicating that they have little ability to change Tanzania's political power structure (Babeiya & Magoti, 2023). This underutilisation reveals a discrepancy between the platforms' actual efficacy in changing political engagement and their potential.

There are a number of barriers to Tanzanian political parties' efficient use of social media. Parties' capacity to optimise their online presence is limited by a lack of knowledge about the platforms' strategic potential as well as resource limitations (Babeiya & Magoti, 2023). Tanzania's political system is also unpredictable, which presents difficulties for parties navigating a convoluted and frequently constrictive climate. Opposition tactics have been further influenced by the political environment, which is characterised by growing authoritarianism. In order to get around restrictions on traditional and digital platforms, they have turned to alternative campaigning techniques like walking rallies. All of these issues make it more difficult for social media to be a powerful instrument for political discourse and mobilisation.

Scholars support focused policy and capacity-building measures to improve the use of social media in political communication in order to get past these obstacles. Such actions would give citizens and political parties the tools and resources they need to

engage online more successfully (Babeiya & Magoti, 2023). By interacting with young voters who are active on social media, strategic investments in this platform could increase the reach of democratic participation (Gamaliel & Ng'atigwa, 2024). These measures could improve social media's role in Tanzania's democratisation process by encouraging more inclusive and public discourse, making it a more powerful instrument for civic involvement and political communication.

## **2.2 Social Media and Governance**

Social media has become so powerful that government departments and bureaucracies have had to adapt and embrace platforms as important channels of communication with citizens. Government spokespersons must listen, discuss, and engage citizens online (Kamp et al., 2016). Although it has been accused in some circles of failing to translate online engagement into concrete civic action, social media remains an important channel for advancing critical issues to be addressed in an often endless and sometimes frustrating bureaucracy amid limited space for constructive political and civic engagement like in Uganda. It was also noted that traditional media platforms presented limited and inaccessible avenues for citizen engagement, making political communication a one-way process and consequently rendering the notion of democracy as a deliberative process (Kiranda et al., 2016).

Social media platforms have greatly contributed to overcoming most of the observed limitations of traditional media. It was noted that social media have provided channels for the freely and rapidly sharing of information with the public as well as for obtaining citizen feedback on political and policy issues with minimal transaction costs. This kind of development is seen as allowing politicians to interact with the public. But it is also supported by the assumption that public opinions expressed on social media influence the decisions made by political party leaders and government officials, with social

media serving as a forum for ongoing discussion and communication about these decisions.

Kiranda et al. (2016) examined whether social media-based deliberations have fostered meaningful political dialogue that influences decision-making in political parties and government. They found that social media's ability to effectively shape political communication effectively depends on contextual variables that include but are not limited to the availability of inclusive supporting infrastructure, the existence of a technologically savvy society, and organisational capability to meaningfully coordinate the use of social media to a desired end. In Uganda, the main constraint on the effective use of social media in political communication remains limited access and weak organisational capability.

Wakabi and Grönlund (2015) compared citizen-to-citizen and citizen-to-government participation. They sought to examine the factors that hinder greater citizen-to-citizen and citizen-to-government online participation and explore the implications for greater e-Participation in the future. According to Wakabi and Grönlund (2015), in order to effectively engage in eParticipation, the majority of internet users in Uganda should take on greater roles as content creators, conversationalists, and critics. According to Wakabi and Grönlund (2015), the majority of citizens are viewers, regardless of whether engagement takes place between citizens or between citizens and leaders.

Furthermore, Oginni and Moitui (2015) explored the use of social media for citizen participation in African policymaking. They used Easton's theory of the political system to propose a strategy for improving policy procedures in the digital era. Their key finding was that although social media use has changed how citizens participate in elections, uprisings, protests, and advocacy, civic participation in policymaking is still exceedingly uncommon in Africa. Oginni and Moitui (2015) urge policymakers to

examine public involvement online, enhance investment in telecommunications to include the development of human capital ICT literacy, and modify laws and policies to incorporate technology into regional and national development goals. They conclude that more study is needed to examine the extent of social media use for civic engagement in particular nations or sub-regions of the African continent and to evaluate the effects of telecom investment on human capital, namely, ICT literacy in African nations. This study is relevant to the current research because it informs on the importance and extent of social media usage in enhancing citizens' participation in policymaking.

A summary of the studies reviewed above indicates that social media has become an effective instrument for raising public participation in political discourse, especially when traditional media outlets are unavailable or restricted. Social media is an essential forum for encouraging communication between the public and the government, despite ongoing obstacles such as poor organisational capacities and restricted access, particularly in areas like Uganda. However, removing these contextual obstacles and making investments in enhancing ICT infrastructure and literacy are crucial for social media to have a meaningful impact on policy and decision-making processes. To fully comprehend the influence of social media on civic involvement in various African countries and sub-regions, more research is required. Thus, this study sought to explore the government's use of X to promote democracy in Tanzania.

### **2.3 Social Media and Activism**

The new age of smartphones, accompanied by increasing internet penetration and social media access, is amplifying the methods and intensity of political activism (Kiranda et al., 2016). Social media platforms such as Facebook, X, and YouTube have been used to successfully promote political communication and campaigning. Politicians seeking

elective office positions use social media to launch campaign programmes. Successful citizen-led campaigns on issues of human rights and accountability are also increasingly conducted on social media.

The use of social media among activists are almost as diverse as their venues (Gerbaudo, 2012). According to Gerbaudo (2012: 3), social media “are often used as a means of representation, a tool of ‘citizen journalism’ employed to elicit ‘external attention’, for example, in the use of web livestream services or YouTube videos documenting episodes of police brutality. They are also used internally or locally as means of organisation of collective action and more specifically as means of mobilisation in the crucial task of getting people on the streets” (Gerbaudo, 2012: 3).

According to Paul Mason (quoted in Gerbaudo, 2012), modern activists utilise a "full suite of information tools" that includes the following features: Facebook groups are formed, both overtly and covertly, to create those solid yet adaptable ties. X is used to organise and disseminate news in real-time, eschewing the laborious "newsgathering" processes of the mainstream media. The claims are instantly verified with the help of YouTube and the X-linked photo websites, Yfrog, Flickr, and Twitpic. Key articles are sent over X using link-shorteners like bit.ly (Gerbaudo, 2012: 3).

Murthy (2018) provided a critical starting point for researchers to better understand social media and social movements (activism). He asserts that social media have become increasingly pervasive, adding that many social movements have increasingly seen social media as a means of collaboratively crowdsourcing with diverse stakeholders. Murthy (2018) critiqued available literature on the contribution of social media in social movements as often being trapped in disciplinary or domain-based silos that have inhibited the asking and answering of important inter- disciplinary questions

that ultimately have real consequences for social movements. He observes that social media contributions to the literature on social movements have focused on specific empirical case studies such as the Occupy, the Arab Spring, the Dakota Access Pipeline protests, and Black Lives Matter.

According to Murthy (2018), recent social movements such as Black Lives Matter have transitioned from debates to street actions that have profoundly shaped discussions about race. Social media is becoming more and more valuable to activist organisations for recruiting, public engagement, and campaign organisation. In order to help activists on the ground avoid police surveillance based on Global Positioning System (GPS) tracking, he continues, citing Facebook as an example of how social media users worldwide "checked in" as though they were at a physical protest. This allowed activists to share information effectively across traditional barriers, such as geography.

The way that social movements record and disseminate the knowledge they have amassed from past movements and actions has been altered by social media. Wikis have become an effective tool for "knowledge aggregation from many contributors" and have really "resulted in the reconstruction of expertise" as a result of Wikipedia's success (Murthy, 2018).

Social media can encourage engagement on these platforms and aid in the growth and upkeep of a feeling of community among sizable activist organisations. During the Occupy movement, for instance, X connected organisations that were spread geographically apart (Croeser & Highfield, 2014; Murthy, 2018). While social media platforms might ultimately create a strong "sense of virtual community" (Majchrzak et al., 2013), Murthy (2018) pointed out that in practice, social media can be challenging to integrate in a way that promotes a clear organisational structure. He cited two reasons: first, they frequently need a significant amount of funding to maintain social

media networks; second, they are frequently the target of governmental and other forms of surveillance.

Kalyango Jr. and Adu-kumi (2013) examined whether online and wireless digital media have aided political mobilisation in Africa more than traditional media in the past five years. They also sought public opinion on whether the use of wireless digital media as a tool of political mobilisation and a conduit of communication to complement traditional media in East and West Africa was perceived as important for the ongoing revolutionary phase of democratisation. The study also explored whether and to what extent these social media platforms are perceived by their users as usurping the role of traditional media in mobilising them to participate in the public sphere of engaging in issues of national significance. The study employed semi-structured online in-depth interviews targeting Africans aged 18 years and older in Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Kenya and Uganda. The study reported that social media networks were increasingly becoming a critical component of civic engagement and an ideal mode of communication, as they generate virtual discourse among friends, acquaintances, groups with similar aspirations and with whoever shares one's common interests. Social media networks have helped Africans perform the crucial function of keeping in touch with people from around the world. They also provide a connection with people who are far away, such as politicians and leaders, who would otherwise be difficult to get in touch with. Additionally, they found that social media platforms give low-level cadre workers a platform to connect with middle-class and extremely wealthy internet users through mutual social networks. Through these connections, they can discuss common challenges faced by the community, opportunities that they both have, mutual social gatherings, and political ideologies.

According to Jha and Kodila-Tedika (2019), social activists have promoted democracies in a number of nations by circumventing authorities through the use of social media and the internet. Social media has made it possible to spread such news around the world, forcing governments in many countries to back down in response to international pressure and censure. This is true even though the governments of many countries have responded to this by using ambiguous laws to target these social activists and by restricting content that can be accessed and shared online. As a result, governments grant unfettered access to independent news sources, and in many regions of the world, it has become crucial to be able to post such content on social media without worrying about backlash.

According to O'Brien (2021), resistance has been evident because new technologies have been used to police certain voices, reinforcing existing hierarchies and power structures. Overall, the explosion of social media and digital technologies over the past 15 years has had a significant impact on all facets of society, including activism. He added that the state has played a central role through actions to restrict access to social-media platforms in some cases or target those seen as challenging. However, social movement organisations and civil society have taken advantage of these new opportunities to pressurise their claims. They must achieve this by navigating increasingly complicated and muddy realities and modifying tried-and-true strategies and routines to take advantage of the new opportunities presented by digital tools (O'Brien, 2021).

### **Hashtag Activism**

A hashtag is a brief keyword with the hash sign "#" before the word. It is a label that is used in online communication to group and easily locate content on a certain topic. It may be a single word, abbreviation, a string of letters and digits, or a string of words

strung together without gaps. They may be connected to various subjects, such as nature, holidays, and emotions (Shkvorchenko & Koltsova, 2019). In computer-mediated communication, hashtags have grown in significance, especially in online communities on websites like Facebook and X. They act as message identifiers and enhance communication among community members by strengthening relationships (Mulyadi & Fitriana, 2018). On X, hashtags are used to simplify content and make messages easier to recognise and retweet (Urquizu, 2018).

Hashtag activism refers to the use of hashtags on social media sites like X to support specific causes and participate in social movements (Gureeva & Samorodova, 2021). It enables people to take part in activism by using a particular hashtag to spread knowledge, challenge societal conventions, and raise awareness (Wonneberger et al., 2021). Hashtags allow users to connect with people who share similar interests and concerns, making them effective tools for organising and mobilising support (Wang & Zhou, 2021). However, hashtag activism can also be susceptible to spammers and trolls who exploit hashtags for offensive or hateful motives (Sinpeng, 2021). Despite these difficulties, research has demonstrated that hashtag activism can be successful in bringing about social change and developing online communities that oppose it (Mousavi & Ouyang, 2021).

In sub-Saharan Africa, hashtag activism has become a potent weapon for social change. The mobilisation of activists and the dissemination of feminist rhetoric have been significantly aided by digital technology, notably social media platforms (Sebeelo, 2021). One famous example of how social media activism can get worldwide notice and support is the #BringBackOurGirls campaign against Boko Haram's abduction of Nigerian schoolgirls (Kangere et al., 2017; Ofori-Parku & Moscato, 2018). The influence of hashtag activism is not without difficulties. Institutional norms, local

politics, and contextual realities may have an impact on how internet campaigns are framed, which may limit activists' chosen narratives (Mateos & Erro, 2021). Despite these drawbacks, online campaigning has helped mobilise civil society efforts against terrorism in Nigeria and has had some success (Endong, 2018). Overall, hashtag activism has the potential to strengthen and magnify the voices of activists in sub-Saharan Africa, but careful management of the digital environment is necessary to keep control over problem discourses.

The #BringBackOurGirls movement and its success in Nigeria's fight against terrorism were critically evaluated in Endong (2018). The study explains how digital activism has been used by Nigerian civil society organisations to mobilise both endogenous and exogenous institutions against the terrorist organisation Boko Haram. The #BringBackOurGirls movement was launched in response to the May 2014 abduction of 276 schoolgirls by Boko Haram from the northeastern Nigerian hamlet of Chibok. Millions of people from all around the world, including Heads of State, their wives, and famous people, swiftly joined the campaign in support. Endong (2018) concluded that the #BringBackOurGirls initiative successfully generated awareness and garnered backing from a myriad of voices across the globe. Nevertheless, the study also recognises that the movement has faced criticism for being mere "clicktivism", and that its efficacy in combating terrorism in Nigeria remains a matter of debate. The study conducts a thorough evaluation of the campaign and its transnationalization, highlighting its accomplishments and limitations.

Uwalaka (2020) investigated the function of connectivism and clicktivism in Nigerian political involvement and participation. The study focuses on the use of social media by Nigerian youth and civil society organisations to further their #nottooyoungtorun legislative campaign. The bill was an effort to change the constitution to lower the age

requirement for candidates for political office in Nigeria, led by young Nigerians. The study examined 12,763 tweets and Facebook posts posted using the hashtag #nottooyoungtorun. The age limit for running for election in Nigeria has been reduced because of constitutional amendments.

Uwalaka (2020) makes the case that clicktivism, a term referring to low-risk, low-cost activities carried out via social media with the intention of bringing about change, increasing awareness, or simply providing satisfaction, significantly contributed to the campaign's success. Social media was used to inform and humiliate lawmakers into supporting the bill and to inform supporters of the bill. The results demonstrate that clicktivism is a relevant form of political engagement and participation. By substantially applying the logic of connective action theory, the paper makes the case that collective and connective acts were combined in the campaign, expanding the logic of connective action's theorisation in the process.

To contribute to the development of a body of knowledge in the field of digital activism and political communication, Uwalaka (2020) recommended additional investigations of clicktivism and the logic of connective action in Nigeria. This will aid in theorising these notions and hypotheses at a deeper level. The study concludes that social media, particularly for young people who are frequently excluded from traditional political processes, can be a powerful tool for political involvement and participation.

The reviewed studies above have established that social media activism is a legitimate form of political participation. They have also established that achievement of social media activism varies from one place to another depending on the social, cultural and political environment of the place. The literature has finally recommended further research on social media activism, which motivated conducting this study.

## **2.4 Social Media and Democracy**

Democratic ideals and social media are closely related. Kamp (2016) makes the case that the emergence of the Internet and social media can democratise contemporary societies by taking into account factors such as information access, democratic principles, and participatory engagement. Salanova (2012) contended that although social media can be an effective instrument in bringing about political change and a major player in the organisation and activation of grassroots movements, they are neither the protagonists or the forces behind revolution. She adds that new media tools are a double-edged sword that can be used either to overcome authoritarian regimes or to manipulate politics. Lastly, she argued that the impact social media can have on collective action may vary depending on the socio-political context of a given country and that such media may not always have the power needed to shape new democracies.

Aman and Jayroe (2013) assessed the role of ICT and social media in the transition to democracy in Middle East and North Africa countries. They found that ICT and social media played a large part in the Arab awakening, especially in calling for and coordinating demonstrations against the regimes. ICT and social media were the last resort because the main stream media and the Internet in those countries were heavily controlled by governments.

Prokhorov (2012) studied the role of social media (Facebook) in the Egyptian revolution of 2011, focusing on possible political development consequences that may emerge as a result of such a revolution. The results show that Facebook during the 2011 revolution in Egypt proved to be mobile, easily accessible, uniting, and non-controllable, enabling citizens to freely share their opinions and facilitating the overthrow of the President and consequently the authoritarian regime led by him.

Jha and Kodila-Tedika (2019) argue that there are multiple ways in which social media and the internet, which are forms of new information and communication technologies (ICTs), can strengthen democracy. First, in nations with imperfect, formal democratic systems, the internet enhances citizens' capacity to exchange information with their governments, which is likely to be beneficial for democracy. Second, unlike one-way communication permitted by conventional platforms like newspapers, radios, and televisions, multi-way communication via the internet and social media is more difficult to regulate. ICTs, including the internet and social media, promote transparency and accountability by enabling citizens to report and expose wrongdoings, thereby potentially reducing the frequency of human rights violations because they are more likely to be found. Third, social media can be used by civil society to reach a larger audience to mobilise protests against government attempts that may weaken the democratic freedom of citizens, for example, during the Arab Spring. Moreover, it is contended that people are more inclined to take action in reaction to personal stories posted by friends and family on social media than from stories that appear in traditional media, where the victim is a stranger.

In a cross-sectional study involving 125 nations, Jha and Kodila-Tedika (2019) empirically investigated the connection between social media and democracy. They found a substantial, positive relationship between social media use and democracy, finding that democracies are stronger in nations where Facebook usage is more widespread. Furthermore, because weaker democracies are a common feature of low-income nations, Jha and Kodila-Tedika (2019) reported that social media has a stronger impact on democracy in low-income countries than in high-income countries. As a result, social media may empower the people living in these nations far more. Lastly, Jha and Kodila-Tedika (2019) found that the coefficient of internet penetration is not

statistically significant when social media is taken into account, indicating that the internet's influence on democracy stems from the fact that it permits the usage of social media.

Numerous studies have been carried out in East Africa to evaluate the influence of social media on civic involvement and political communication (Aine, 2016; Hadji, 2016; Kamp, Messerschmidt, and Rugambwa, 2016; Kiranda, Mugisha, and Ojok, 2016). The contribution of social media platforms, such Facebook and microblogs like X, to improving political communication and campaigning in Uganda was covered by Kiranda et al. (2016). According to the study, social media had neither positive or negative effects on political communication. Its capacity to influence political communication in a useful way is contingent upon contextual factors such as the presence of an inclusive supporting infrastructure, a technologically literate populace, and organisational capacity to effectively coordinate the use of social media towards a desired goal. Kiranda et al. (2016) also noted that the primary barriers to the efficient use of social media in political communication are restricted access and inadequate organisational capacity.

Tallam et al. (2014) discussed the role that new media has played in Kenya's democratic transition. They evaluate the claims made in several academic articles that new media have created a new public sphere. Tallam et al. (2014) presented Ushahidi, a mobile phone case study in Kenya that was developed to record acts of violence and display them on a map using Google maps, a well-known web mapping service. The programme allows users from all over Kenya to transmit reports via laptops, mobile devices, or any other type of digital data connection, providing both the community and outside assistance agencies with crucial information. Tallam et al. (2014) further discussed the use of new media tools during the constitution-making process in

Kenya, where Uchaguzi, a customised version of Ushahidi, was used. They sent 1,400 SMS messages from all throughout the nation to the shortcode 3018 during the referendum reporting instances of violence, irregular voting and other peaceful actions. Tallam et al. (2014) concluded that new media have become potent tools for democratisation by shattering the initial boundaries of one-way communication and giving both the rich and the poor equal possibilities.

## **2.5 Synthesis and Knowledge Gap**

The reviewed Literature makes it apparent that Sub-Saharan Africa has received considerable attention regarding the use of social media during elections, covering topics ranging from using social media to observe and monitor elections (Tsandzana, 2019; Ahiabenu II, 2014; Smyth, 2013), using digital technologies to mobilise voters in urban and rural areas (Mare & Matsilele, 2020; Mthembu & Lunga, 2020; Muzee & Enaifoghe, 2020); using social media as platforms for debating and campaigning during elections (Munoriyarwa & Chambwera, 2020; Ngange, 2020); using social media as a tool for advancing a political agenda, interactions, relationships, and winning elections (Boateng et al., 2020); and social media influence in the creation, dissemination, and consumption of political messages (Ndlela, 2020; Dzisah, 2020; Mano, 2020). The reviewed studies have shown that social media is increasingly being adopted and used for democratic activities, especially during elections, in most African countries except for Eswatini. These studies reveal that social media are useful platforms for political discussion and activism, enabling ordinary citizens who are normally persecuted to develop political voices and provide alternative narratives against bad leadership before, during, and after election campaigns.

Although the reviewed studies have shown social media as an important tool for democracy building, there are notable challenges. Social media platforms increase

disinformation by posting and sharing fake news, which poses a huge threat to democracy. Several Internet and democracy scholars have questioned how citizens can make informed decisions when they are continually bombarded with fake news (Mthembu & Lunga, 2020).

The majority of the examined research seems to have concentrated on social media use during election seasons. The literature on the use of social media to pursue democratic goals outside of the election season is scarce. Thus, the goal of the current study was to investigate Tanzanians' use of X during the non-election season.

## **2.6 Conceptual Frameworks**

This section discusses Democratic Listening (Dobson, 2012, 2014), Online Listening (Molina, 2017), and Digital Citizenship (Richardson & Milovidov, 2019) as conceptual frameworks for the present study. Freedom of expression and participation are key features of democracy. The proliferation of social media has enabled the existence of a new type of online public sphere where citizens can engage in dialogue about politics and governance (Ncube, 2021). In these political dialogues, it is assumed that those engaged are listening to each other. However, in the form of the political discourse known as democracy, good listening has been almost completely ignored (Dobson, 2012; Ncube, 2021).

Ncube (2021) argued that digital citizens should adhere to and practise democratic listening on online platforms to improve their democratic prospects. Hintz (2017) defined digital citizenship as the self-enactment of people's role in society using digital technologies; thus, it has empowering and democratising characteristics.

In the context of democracy, listening is done to achieve political equality, which is a fundamental value of all democratic conditions (Bassel, 2017). O'Donnell et al. (2009)

added that listening provides a means of moving beyond questions of speaking and voice to advocate for issues of dialogue and meaningful interaction across difference and inequality. Consequentially, this research settles on the concept of listening by examining the influence of social media on democratisation processes.

### **2.6.1 Democratic Listening**

The concept of democratic listening denotes a democratic society's inclusive and courteous approach to communication and understanding. It emphasises the importance of actively listening to diverse perspectives, promoting dialogue, and fostering empathy among individuals with differing opinions and backgrounds (Dobson, 2012). Democratic listening entails fostering a climate in which all voices—regardless of ideology, social standing, or political allegiance—are heard and valued. It necessitates that people set aside their prejudices, practice open-mindedness, and engage in productive conversations. The objective is to create understanding, overcome barriers, and cultivate a culture of democratic involvement rather than necessarily arriving at a consensus or agreement.

Various scholars have identified some important principles of democratic listening. To promote deliberative democracy, citizens must listen to one another (Dobson, 2014). Second, listening should be viewed as a means of comprehending and gaining knowledge from many perspectives, thus strengthening the democratic process as a whole (Morrell, 2018). Third, inclusive listening ensures that all voices are heard and considered (Li, 2010). Democratic listening also entails appreciating the contributions of marginalised groups, such as Indigenous communities, and actively engaging with many points of view (Silverman, 2013). The last step is to institutionalise and incorporate democratic listening into democratic structures and practices (Waller et al.,

2015). Democratic listening can help create a society that is more inclusive and participative by abiding by these tenets.

Dobson (2012) contended that to achieve democratic objectives, the role of listening must be evaluated in connection with four central themes of democratic theory and practice: legitimacy, disagreement, understanding, and empowerment.

#### Legitimacy:

Like most democratic African countries, Tanzania has been ruled by one political party, *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), since the inception of multiparty elections in 1995. Recurring concerns over the legitimacy of the CCM government emerge after every general election. The issue of contention has been whether the appointment of an electoral commission by the president makes it difficult for candidates to be free and fair. As a result, opposition parties have always been accused of election rigging. Opposition and political activists are advocating for a new constitution to ensure democracy.

#### Disagreement:

Listening can also help people to cope with deep disagreements and rifts (Ncube, 2021). There are always disagreements within and between political parties. Disagreements result from power struggles in which individuals jostle for the leadership of the party or the country. Bickford (1996), cited in Ncube (2021), argued that political listening leads to the connection between parties that conflict with one another. Democratic politics requires this connection to make politics possible. Any democracy needs to emphasise "relationship-building, sharing divergent understandings, developing reciprocity, perhaps even empathising with those with whom one disagrees" (Dobson, 2012; Ncube, 2021:66).

### Understanding:

Dobson's (2012) third principle for listening is that it can lead to better understanding. Understanding is essential to one of modern democracy's principal objectives: effectively representing people's interests (Ncube, 2021). Effective representation leads to the empowerment of citizens.

### Empowerment:

Dryzek (2002) asserted that the best way to silence and disenfranchise people is to refuse to listen to them. Therefore, Dobson (2012) argued that listening can empower and include. The political processes of democracy would benefit if the political community were listened to. Thus, listening plays an overall key role in creating a vibrant and plural public realm.

### Good Listening:

Good listening must become an integral part of governance to improve democratic responsiveness (Sorenson et al., 2019; Ncube, 2021). According to Sorenson et al. (2019), good listening requires three things to be successful in the pursuit of democratic societies: (1) listening must be sincere in its aim of dialogue; (2) good listening resists the inclination to preconceive the nature, values, and opinions of those being listened to; and (3) good listening does not necessarily require agreement with a speaker's point of view; rather, it allows for the conflicts and differences inherent in politics to result in joint action.

### Modes of Listening:

*Reciprocal listening*: reciprocal listening is a type of reciprocal listening that involves listening and responding to comments and direct messages (DMs) posted on social media, as opposed to a broadcast-only model that leaves no room for dialogue with their contacts (Crawford, 2019).

*Background Listening*: an act of ‘tuning in’ where a X user simply follows—but never engages—a range of people who post updates that can be useful advice, amusing anecdotes, or interesting links. This reflects part of their engagement with and on social media. These shared updates are scanned quickly and are not focused on. This means that background listening is when “commentary and conversations continue as a backdrop throughout the day, with only a few moments requiring concentrated attention” (Crawford, 2019: 528).

*Delegated listening*: When professional micro-bloggers are hired to communicate and maintain an online presence on behalf of politicians or other businesses. Politicians usually task their staffers to update their X accounts, but most businesses comprehend the benefits of using social media “to forge a closer relationship with customers, gain information about products, and enhance public personae” (Crawford, 2019: 531).

*One-way Listening and Two-way Listening*: These two modes of listening intersect with two principal functions of language: transaction and interaction. Transaction’s main purpose is the transfer of information, while interaction serves to maintain social relations (Lynch and Mendelsohn, 2013). Ncube (2021) argued that a society in which only some citizens speak or expect to be listened to would fall short of the normative standards of democracy.

Therefore, democratic listening is pertinent to this research because it provides a fundamental paradigm for assessing democratic engagement and discursive justice in social media settings such as X.

### **2.6.2 Online Listening**

Online listening, as conceptualized by Molina (2017), is an active and strategic process of monitoring, interpreting, and responding to digital communication within online

environments. It transcends mere observation of online messages, encompassing deliberate engagement and meaning-making by political actors, organizations, and audiences. This process is integral to understanding the dynamics of digital interactions in political contexts, emphasizing the role of strategic communication in virtual spaces. Online listening is distinguished by a number of important characteristics. It is purposeful and strategic, allowing political communicators—including campaigns, political parties, and non-governmental organizations—to learn about stakeholder feelings, new concerns, and public opinion. It is also dynamic and interactive, with feedback loops where future communication plans are shaped and informed by internet observations. Additionally, to improve its accuracy and efficacy, online listening is data-driven, using digital tools and analytics to track hashtags, mentions, trends, and sentiments across several platforms.

According to Molina (2017), listening is an essential element of democracy because it precedes political deliberation, which involves forming well-reasoned opinions by revising opinions based on new information and claims expressed by others. To address these reflections, rational argument and critical listening are important. The Internet and social media provide advantages that encourage political discussion, such as overcoming geographical boundaries, lowering expenses and obstacles for those wanting to engage in political discourse, and lessening reluctance for those who shy away from conflict or prefer anonymity. Moreover, due to the high level of interaction on the Internet and social media, it is possible to have lively conversations in which participants can actively participate.

Studies (for example, Ruíz et al., 2011) have confirmed that online platforms, such as newspaper comment sections, can be utilised to engage in thoughtful political discussions, and online communication conducted through text can be as deliberative

as face-to-face communication in terms of achieving rationality, which is an ideal element in discussions. However, there are contrasting viewpoints that claim that the use of the Internet and social media does not necessarily translate to the advancement of democracy. These positions are supported by the existence of significant obstacles to realising the deliberative ideals of online discourse, such as the digital divide between those who use these social media and those who do not, the rudeness of some participants that stifles online debates, and the homogenisation and selective exposure of the networks where users interact (Molina, 2017; Zamith & Lewis, 2014). Moreover, due to social media algorithms that curate content based on users' ideological leanings and interests, online discussions frequently take place in echo chambers, where users are only exposed to views that agree with their own. This can result in the spread of false information and impact electoral processes (Molina, 2017).

Notwithstanding these criticisms, online political discussions through digital media offer both advantages and disadvantages that should not be minimised because they enable public spaces for politics and new ways for people to become (digital) citizens, contributing to a better understanding of political communication processes (Molina, 2017). Political communication researchers should consider the popularity of social media features with users to fully understand the significance of the online listening phenomenon. These characteristics can also help determine the scope of the activity. For instance, research on these interactive cues has already been conducted in relation to political protests and online social media expressions. Harlow (2011) and Papacharissi (2014) noted that during political upheavals, social media elements such as likes and retweets help people express their support for a cause and that these expressions can further shape people's behavior when they observe others using these interactive cues.

In summary, Molina's online listening paradigm is applicable to this research since it offers a strong perspective on how political communication is changing. This strategy encourages a more responsive, data-driven, and interactive interaction with the public by incorporating digital technologies. It highlights how online listening has the power to change political discourse and provides scholars with an invaluable resource for examining how strategy, technology, and public opinion interact in digital spaces.

### **2.6.3 Digital Citizenship**

Digital citizenship pertains to the capacity to participate constructively, analytically, and proficiently in the digital realm. This involves utilizing one's abilities in effective communication and creation to practice social engagement in ways that uphold human rights and dignity while utilizing technology responsibly (Richardson & Milovidov, 2019). According to Richardson and Milovidov (2019), digital citizenship and involvement encompass a range of activities, including exploring, communicating, learning, and working, as well as creating, consuming, sharing, playing, and socializing. Digitally literate persons who respect human rights and cultural diversity can adapt to novel and everyday difficulties in the areas of education, employment, leisure, and inclusion in society. Digital citizenship is essentially the appropriate and moral use of technology, especially in online environments such as social media. In order to connect with digital environments in a polite, responsible, and safe manner, users should adhere to a set of values, norms, and behaviors. The objectives of digital citizenship include the development of positive online relationships, user privacy and security, and a safe digital environment.

Scholars (Isman & Gungoren, 2014; Richardson & Milovidov, 2019; Sadiku et al., 2018) have summarised the behaviours, elements, or domains underpinning digital

citizenship. These components of digital citizenship can be understood in the context of social media as follows:

- i. **Online conduct:** When communicating with people through social media platforms, digital citizens must uphold ethical and polite behaviours. This entails showing compassion, empathy, and respect for others and abstaining from cyberbullying, hate speech, or harassment. Maintaining a positive online environment requires awareness of how words and actions affect others.
- ii. **Privacy and security:** Online users should be aware of the importance of protecting their private data and respecting the privacy of others. This requires exercise of caution when sharing private information, creating secure passwords, and paying attention to social media privacy settings. Another essential component of digital citizenship is respect for other people's privacy and consent when sharing their content or personal information.
- iii. **Media literacy:** Developing media literacy abilities to evaluate and analyse content found on social media is a must for being a responsible digital citizen. This includes assessing the accuracy of sources, confirming their reliability, and being aware of the possibility of false information, propaganda, or fake news. Sharing accurate and trustworthy information promotes a well-informed digital society and helps preserve the integrity of online dialogues.
- iv. **Digital footprint and reputation:** Online users are aware that their actions create a digital trail that may have lasting repercussions. It is crucial to be careful with the stuff that one posts, shares, or comments on because it can affect both their personal and professional lives and shape their online reputation. Digital citizens take ownership of upholding a positive online reputation because they are aware that their actions reflect their character and values.

- v. **Responsible content creation:** Digital citizens must be aware of the strength and effectiveness of social media and the responsibilities that come with producing and sharing material. They work hard to provide accurate, truthful, and accountable information while adhering to ethical standards and copyright regulations. They also consider how their content might affect other people, thereby preventing the spread of harmful or inaccurate information.

The expansion of communication channels via the Internet has improved democracy (Busch et al., 2018). The new ways of interaction enabled by the Internet are reducing the information asymmetry between politicians and citizens. These new methods enable broader participation in societal discussions and enhance countries' democratic qualities (Ncube, 2021). Consequently, social media can exert lasting effects on political communication and participation. Theiner et al. (2018) argued that political communication must be differentiated from political participation. The former involves the transport and exchange of political messages and information, while the latter aims to shape (directly or indirectly) the political actions and the decisions of political actors (elites, office holders, or candidates). Therefore, in this study, Digital Citizenship is a critical concept for understanding the quality, ethics, and impact of political communication on social media, highlighting the role of individuals not just as content consumers or creators, but as active democratic participants in the digital public sphere.

The combination of digital citizenship, online listening, and democratic listening offers a strong conceptual framework for investigating how Tanzanians use X to promote democracy outside of election seasons. The study's assessment of Tanzanian users' attention to marginalised and diverse voices in political discourse is made possible by democratic listening, which encourages inclusive democratic engagement outside of election cycles. In order to influence political awareness and responsiveness in the

digital public sphere, online listening sheds light on how individuals, activists, and institutions track, analyse, and strategically react to digital interactions. Digital citizenship, on the other hand, sheds attention on the calibre and moral principles of user engagement and emphasises how responsible, courteous, and informed online conduct supports long-term democratic growth. Together, these concepts support a comprehensive analysis of social media's role in shaping democratic culture, guiding practical recommendations to enhance civic awareness and engagement in Tanzania's evolving digital landscape.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I reviewed literature related to the present study, particularly the use of social media during elections, social media and governance, and the use of social media for activism. It is clear from the research that has been evaluated that the majority of them concentrated on using social media during the election season. Literature on the use of social media to pursue democratic goals outside elections is scarce. The chapter also presented democratic listening, online listening, and digital citizenship as conceptual frameworks for this study. The following chapter presents the study methodology.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodological approaches used in this social media research. It accounts for the philosophical paradigm; the research approach; the research design; and the study population, sampling procedure, and sample size. It also provides details of the methods and procedures used for data generation and analysis. Finally, this section presents the ethical considerations for the study.

### **3.1 Philosophical Paradigm**

According to Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2016), a paradigm is a collection of fundamental and widely accepted presumptions that form the basis of a group's frame of reference, method of theory, and operational procedures. This study adopted an interpretive research paradigm. According to interpretivism, all avenues of reality are socially constructed. Instead of seeking impartial, objective reality, interpretive researchers attempt to comprehend events through the meanings people have given to them. As a result, interpretivists support relativism and hold that neither reality nor truth is free from social construction (Hair et al., 2020). Research conducted under the interpretive paradigm primarily focuses on how humans try to make sense of their environment. The researcher's concern is to understand the fundamental meanings attached to social media and democracy. Central to this paradigm is the belief that reality is socially constructed and subjective and can be perceived in different ways by different people (Saunders et al., 2016). The researcher's intent was to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this study, the researcher listened to or observed carefully what people were saying and their meanings of social media and democracy.

### 3.2 Research Approach

There are three main research approaches, qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods that provide specific directions for procedures in a research study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study adopted a qualitative approach. This approach “seeks to generate an understanding of the various possible meanings of the subject (social media and democracy) in its natural setting” (Jwan & Ong’ondo, 2011: 3). Salmons (2016), cited in Salmons (2017), defines qualitative research as an umbrella term used to describe ways of studying perceptions, experiences or behaviours through participants’ verbal or visual expressions, actions, or writings.

According to (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), a subject or phenomena deserves a qualitative approach if it has to be investigated and comprehended since there has not been much research done on it or because it involves a sample that has not been studied enough. When a researcher is unsure of the key variables to look at, qualitative research is quite helpful. This kind of method might be required because the issue is novel, it has never been applied to a specific sample or population, and current theories do not apply to the specific sample or population that is being studied.

As a research methodology, qualitative research has the following benefits as summarised from Ncube (2021) and Tracy (2020). First, Tracy (2020) argued that many researchers are only too eager to leave their homes or places of business and travel to the field. Second, qualitative research is excellent for examining settings that we are fascinated but do not have a "valid" reason to enter. Third, qualitative research uncovers cultural practises that conventional surveys or experiments may overlook. Fourth, qualitative research can highlight important concerns that can then be investigated using more organised techniques. Fifth, qualitative research must access implicit, taken-for-

granted, and intuitive understandings of culture. Sixth, effective qualitative research aids in developing a better understanding of society, culture, and institutions.

Therefore, a qualitative research approach is well-suited for this study because it allows for an in-depth exploration of complex social dynamics, contextual nuances, and individual perspectives that quantitative methods may overlook. By employing methods like case study, researchers can capture the lived experiences, motivations, and cultural factors influencing how Tanzanians engage with political content on platforms like X, WhatsApp, or Facebook. This approach is particularly valuable in Tanzania's diverse socio-political landscape, where linguistic variations, urban-rural divides, and historical censorship shape online political discourse. Qualitative methods enable researchers to uncover subtle themes such as trust in digital information or the role of social media in amplifying marginalized voices, providing rich, contextualized insights into how social media shapes political communication in this specific setting.

### **3.3 Research Design**

Research design refers to the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical manner (Ncube, 2021). This ensures that research problems are effectively addressed and provides a roadmap for data collection, measurement, and data analysis. Once the research problem has been effectively addressed, the conclusion can be used to measure the validity of the research.

This study used a case study design. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), case studies are a design of inquiry found in many fields, especially evaluation, in which the researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case, often a programme, event, activity, process or one or more individuals. Cases are limited by time and activity, and

researchers gather comprehensive data over an extended period of time utilizing a variety of data collection techniques.

A case study was applied in this study by selecting X as a case study to explore how social media is used in political communication in Tanzania. In addition, six X handles and two hashtags were selected to answer the research questions. This was done with the understanding that when social media is the object of research, the particular platform, handles, or hashtags selected can be cases (Gruzd et al., 2022; Sloan et al., 2022).

A case study design was preferred in this social media study due to its various strengths. First, it makes it possible to examine online groups and their dynamics, providing information about the use of social media in political settings (Suhendra et al., 2020). Second, the use of diverse approaches, the capacity to explore online communities, and the opportunity to gather knowledge from prior research adds to the advantages of case study design in social media research (Johannessen, 2020). Lastly, the use of case studies in social media research allows for the exploration of complicated phenomena, real-time data collection, and in-depth analysis of phenomena (Vaast & Urquhart, 2018).

Notwithstanding the strengths of case study design in social media research as explained above, case study design in social media research has several limitations. As case studies rely on subjective interpretations, one drawback is the potential for bias in data collection and analysis, which may prevent them from offering a thorough knowledge of the phenomenon (Tan & Yuen, 2018). The second limitation is that case studies, which offer a picture of a particular moment in time, might not be able to portray the dynamic and growing character of social media platforms and applications

(Johannessen, 2020). Finally, case studies are frequently based on a small sample size and particular circumstances; therefore, they may not be generalisable to other contexts (Vedel et al., 2020).

### **3.4 Study Population**

In social scientific research, a population is a cluster of people, events, things, or other phenomena that you are most interested in; it is often the “who” or “what” that the researcher wants to be able to say something about at the end of his/her study (Blackstone, 2012). Blackstone (2012) added that populations in research may be rather large, but they are typically a little less vague. Finding an appropriate sample and condensed size for large-scale study, like social media research, can be difficult (Piña-García, Gershenson & Siqueiros-García, 2016; Ohei & Chukwuere, 2022). To the extent that social media material distills or summarizes more comprehensive talks that are also captured by surveys, traditional population coverage may not be necessary for social media content to accurately anticipate social phenomena (Schober et al., 2016). Therefore, given the dynamic nature of social media platforms, the population for this study was indefinite. The unit of analysis for this study was X accounts and hashtags.

### **3.5 Sampling Procedures and Sample Formulation**

A sample is a group of individuals or occurrences from which data is actually collected by the researcher (Blackstone, 2012). With a reasonable degree of confidence, researchers can draw conclusions about populations that are significantly bigger than their sample size attributable to certain sampling techniques. Other sampling techniques try to facilitate theoretical contributions from scholars instead of generalisations about big populations.

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As a qualitative study, this study adopted nonprobability sampling techniques. Nonprobability sampling refers to sampling techniques for which a person's or event's likelihood of being selected for membership in the sample is unknown. Given the uncertainty of the likelihood of selection, it is difficult to determine with nonprobability samples whether a sample represents a larger population or not. However, representing the population is not the goal of nonprobability samples. Nonprobability samples are not picked arbitrarily, despite the fact that they do not accurately reflect the entire population (Blackstone, 2012).

This study chose the purposive (also judgmental) sampling strategy because of its strength in generating robust and dependable data, despite the numerous forms of nonprobability samples, including snowball, quota, convenience, and purposive samples. When creating a purposive sample, a researcher first identifies the precise viewpoints they want to investigate and then looks for study volunteers that represent the entire spectrum of those viewpoints (Blackstone, 2012). The sample size is decided by the researcher using their own judgement. Utilising this approach allows for a thorough comprehension of the study objective, and the investigator uses their own judgement in choosing participants for data collection (Ohei & Chukwuere, 2022). Purposive sampling provides researchers with the justification to make generalisations

from the sample under investigation, whether such generalisations are theoretical, analytic and/or logical in nature. To answer the research questions, six X accounts and two hashtags were selected, as described below.

### **3.5.1 X Accounts (handles)**

In this study, the social media accounts of three popular political parties in Tanzania: Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT Wazalendo), Chama Cha Mapindunzi (CCM), and Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) were purposively selected. Their accounts are @ACTwazalendo, @ccm\_tanzania, and @ChademaTz, respectively. These parties were selected because they have been consistently participating in elections in Tanzania and have active social media accounts. On the other hand, two social media activists' accounts, @MariaSTsehai and @fatma\_karume, were also purposively sampled. These two accounts were selected because they had the largest number of followers and have consistently been advocating for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law in Tanzania.

To determine how governments use social media to promote democracy, this study collected data from the X account of the Chief Government's Spokesperson (@TZMsemajiMkuu). This account was purposely selected because it not only posts information about the government but also shares (retweets) government leaders' and institutions' posts. This account is the official channel for most central government communications.

### **3.5.2 #Hashtags**

The X hashtag has become the most prominent platform for communicating and discussing elections. X hashtags allow users to design politically themed practises on social media (Munoriyarwa & Chambwera, 2020). Bruns and Burgess (2015) cited in

Munoriyarwa and Chambwera (2020: 78), stated that “the most widely recognised mechanism for the coordination of [election coverage] is the hashtag; a largely user-generated mechanism for tagging and collating those tweets which are related to a specific topic”. The hashtag feature has been crucial in bringing people of similar interest together regardless of geographical boundaries.

The hashtags explored in this study are #KatibaMpya and #KaziIendeleo. These hashtags were selected because they have dominated online conversation among Tanzanians since the beginning of the current government. They were the most popular hashtags in Tanzanian political communication landscape during the time of the study.

### **3.6 Methods of Data Generation**

Social media have become an integral part of everyday life and have significant economic, political, and societal implications. New media technologies generate new forms of data that are of significance for social research, as well as new methods and techniques for analysing such data (McCay-Peet & Quan-Haase, 2017). According to Salmons (2017), social media sites enable users to post content, share ideas, and create common interest groups and networks; features that enable qualitative researchers to observe user interactions or communicate directly with participants. Therefore, social media platforms have become a significant source of data not only for a growing number of scientists from many academic disciplines, but also for many more applied researchers (Janetzko, 2017).

Quan-Haase and Sloan (2017) contended that social media studies require a re-orientation of how we think about data and its relationship with the social world. Their contention is based on the fact that the role of social media data in academic work is incidental because as much data exists and proliferates, whether observed or not, it is

not created solely for the purpose of research. However, this does not diminish the value of recording and shedding light on a range of social phenomena, including attitudes, intentions, identity, networks, opinions, locations, and representations. Therefore, in social media research, Ncube (2021) recommends embracing Quan-Haase and McCay-Peet's (2017) 'interdisciplinary approach', which draws on methodological traditions from across and outside the social sciences, computer sciences, and humanities.

This research used digital methods that incorporated qualitative research methods. Qualitative research entails exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Salmons (2016) used the term *Qualitative e-research* to describe "methodological traditions for using Information and Communication Technologies [including social media] to study perceptions, experiences or behaviours through participants' verbal or visual expressions, actions or writings" (2016: 6).

The term "digital methods" seeks to capture recent developments in Internet-related research, summarised as approaches to the web as data sets (Ncube, 2021). Snee et al. (2016) defined digital methods as "the use of online and digital technologies to collect and analyse research data" (2016: 1). This concept encompasses both a wider interest in using digital tools to engage with all facets of modern social life as well as research that analyses online phenomena. As an umbrella term for tool-based methods employed in the digital humanities and e-social sciences, 'Digital methods' is a technique for studying societal change and cultural conditions using online data by making use of available digital objects such as the like, share and retweet buttons (Ncube, 2021).

There are several of tools available right now for social media research. Researchers at Toronto Metropolitan University's Ted Rogers School of Management's Social Media

Lab developed a list of more than fifty social media research tools, which they have made available in their Social Media Research Toolkit (2022). Only technologies that have been utilized in peer-reviewed academic studies are included in the toolkit, which is updated yearly. The majority of the provided tools can be used for free and require little to no programming. The use of these tools can help researchers better understand changing patterns of communication and shed light on how people meet, communicate, and develop social relationships (Gruzd et al., 2022).

In this study, Twitonomy was used to collect valid, objective, and accurate data from X. Twitonomy is an X analytics tool with both free and paid (premium) versions. The tool can be used as a web or mobile application and uses the search application programming interface (API). According to Janetzko (2017), APIs are emerging as they are about to find their way into the toolbox of social science methods. He adds that their unique potential is to pave the way for studying psychological, social, economic, and political phenomena via social networks. According to the Social Media Lab (2022), Twitonomy ranks sixth with 1130 citations on a list of 52 social media research tools.

Twitonomy was used to gather two types of data. The first type consists of analytics data, which is generated once the researcher searches for a keyword (in this study X account or hashtag) and retrieves relevant information. This activity was done for all the selected accounts and hashtags. Twitonomy provides visual analytics, including metrics such as tweet frequency, retweets, replies, mentions, and commonly used hashtags. Additionally, it offers insights into user activity, such as the number of tweets per day, retweets, user mentions, replies, shared links, and favourited tweets. These analytics reports were saved in PDF format for further analysis.

The second type of data consists of textual data, which includes tweets from the selected accounts and hashtags collected for qualitative analysis. While Twitonomy's free version allows unlimited analysis of user accounts, keyword searches require a premium subscription, which costs \$19 per month or \$199 per year. This study utilized the premium version, enabling the researcher to mine and save textual data from the selected accounts and hashtags in PDF and Excel formats for deeper qualitative examination.

To determine the effectiveness or validity Twitonomy as a data generation tool, the present study used the tool to collect data from #UhuruWaKujieleza and @16DaysTanzania as examples to demonstrate how Twitonomy delivers in-depth accounts and hashtag analytics. The results are presented below:

#### **@16DaysTanzania**

The @16DaysTanzania X account, which is dedicated to the 16 Days of Activism against GBV Campaign, was searched using Twitonomy on December 22, 2022. According to thorough Twitonomy analytics, @16DaysTanzania joined X as user #1192407062082473985 on November 7, 2019. The bio for @16DaysTanzania also noted that 1213 tweets had been posted. @16DaysTanzania followed 1107 X users, while 786 users followed @16DaysTanzania. Between 20 November and December 22, 2022, @16DaysTanzania tweeted 287 times or 8.70 times per day.

According to Twitonomy statistics, @16DaysTanzania retweeted @WiLDAFTz 84 times, which is the most. The most replies (2 total) were sent by @16DaysTanzania to @Dr\_DGwajima and themselves. @maendeleojami and @unwomentanzania were the users who were mentioned by 16DaysTanzania the most (7 each), and @16DaysTanzania used the hashtag #pingaukatiliokoamaisha the most (23 times).

Tweets from @16DaysTanzania that received the most retweets had 14 retweets and 25 favourites. The hours and days of the week @16DaysTanzania was logged onto X are additional information provided by Twitonomy. Additionally, Twitonomy showed the operating systems (OS) used by the account; in the case of @16DaysTanzania, it was X for Android 284 times.

### **#UhuruWaKujieleza**

Twitonomy was used to look for the hashtag #UhuruWaKujieleza (meaning freedom of expression) on January 5, 2023. A total of 568 tweets using the hashtag #UhuruWaKujieleza were visible in the recently released comprehensive analytics for the hashtag from December 26, 2022, to January 5, 2023. 86 users published the 568 tweets. The estimated number of persons who could have seen the tweets was 27,353,273. The individual with the most followers on the #UhuruWaKujieleza hashtag was @MariaSTsehai, who had 1,155,283 followers. One of Tanzania's political and human rights campaigners (@lifeofmshaba), who had 377,206 followers, was the most engaging user. With 58,006 followers, @NamdiAzikiwe was the most active user. The most common language was English. The tweet that received the most retweets (20) and favourites (60) was the most popular tweet.

Reviewing the textual data mined using Twitonomy, I found that the tool produced a maximum of 3200 most recent tweets of a searched X account or hashtag. The challenge to this approach is that not all tweets were useful to the study; therefore, I had to embark on a vigorous data cleaning process to retain tweets that contained information relevant to the study. Another challenge was that when a tweet was not native to the respective X account (meaning it does not originate from that account), its retrieved text tended to be incomplete (ellipted). To resolve this issue, I used the URL provided for each tweet

to access the complete text from X for each incomplete tweet that I determined to contain relevant information.

The social media data collected for this study was primarily in Kiswahili, English, or a combination of both through code-mixing and code-switching. Given this linguistic variation, it was necessary to standardize the dataset to ensure consistency in analysis. After the data cleaning process, all non-English content was carefully translated into English. This translation was done to create a uniform dataset that would facilitate a smooth and coherent thematic analysis. By ensuring linguistic consistency, the study aimed to minimize interpretation challenges and enhance the accuracy of identifying key themes within the data.

### **3.7 Credibility**

In this study, credibility (in other sources trustworthiness) is defined as the extent to which the report is believable. According to Adu (2019), if qualitative analysis's conclusions are derived directly from data, they are more believable. He asserts that developing credibility involves methodically deriving conclusions from pertinently obtained data and presenting them with data-supported evidence. Adu (2019) proposed three tactics required to increase qualitative research findings' credibility: establishing consistency, being systematic, and encouraging transparency.

#### **3.7.1 Establishing consistency**

Ensuring consistency entails acting in ways and choosing data analysis options that are consistent with the selected research methodology, underlying assumptions, and philosophical framework (Adu, 2019). The notion that there are numerous realities that are influenced by the traits of our experiences, and our knowledge is based on time and context underlies the choice of a qualitative approach as the research methodology for

this study. This qualitative study confined itself to interpretivism, adopted a case study method, and selected appropriate findings and presentation format.

### **3.7.2 Being systematic**

Being systematic involves choosing a data analysis tool that will assist the researcher during the data analysis stages and ensure that the data analysis steps are consistent with the research methodology (Adu, 2019). In this study, the process began by cleaning, translating, reviewing, and importing the data into QDA Miner Lite during the data analysis implementation stage. Then, codes, categories, and themes were created in accordance with the inductive thematic analysis technique. The delivery step, where the results are provided, is the last stage. All these properly thought-out stages not only produce data-driven results but also make it easier for users to believe the findings.

### **3.7.3 Encouraging transparency**

According to Greckhamer and Cilesiz (2014), transparency entails the researcher being open about personal and subjective experiences with the qualitative analysis process. It begins by thoroughly describing to your audience every step you took while conducting the analysis. Along with documenting your actions, notetaking about your thoughts, analytical processes, and decision-making logic is critical so that they can be shared as needed (Adu, 2019). Sharing all of these process records "...allows readers to assess a study's rigor and the reliability of its findings" (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014: p. 426). In addition, sharing some of the researchers' best techniques will also benefit future researchers.

Therefore, the credibility of this qualitative research findings hinges on the methodical and transparent approach, as outlined by Adu (2019) and Greckhamer and Cilesiz

(2014). By establishing consistency with the chosen research methodology, being systematic in data analysis through tools like QDA Miner Lite and inductive thematic analysis, and encouraging transparency through detailed documentation of processes and decision-making, this study could produce believable, data-driven results. These strategies not only strengthen the reliability and rigor of the study but also provide a framework for future researchers to build upon, ensuring that qualitative findings are both trustworthy and impactful.

### **3.8 Data Analysis**

This study used thematic analysis, a widely used qualitative research technique. Inductive thematic analysis was conducted. This method represents a qualitative data analysis approach that centres on the identification of patterns, themes, and categories in unstructured or open-ended data (Adu, 2019). This method is in contrast to deductive coding, which adopts predefined codes based on existing theories or literature (Burnard et al., 2008). Inductive coding enables the emergence of themes and categories from the data without preconception.

The inductive thematic coding process comprises several steps. First, researchers familiarise themselves with the data by reading and rereading, which facilitates gaining an overall understanding of the data and identification of initial impressions or ideas. Second, the researchers begin the coding process by identifying and labelling meaningful units of data. Third, once a considerable amount of initial coding has been completed, researchers begin to search for patterns and connections among different codes. Fourth, as themes emerge, researchers review and refine them. Fifth, after finalising the themes, the researchers create a thematic map or matrix that visually represented the relationships and connections among the different themes. Sixth,

throughout the coding process, researchers select and compile supporting evidence, such as relevant quotes or examples that illustrate each theme. Lastly, once the thematic coding is complete, the researchers interpret and analyse the findings, exploring the meaning and significance of each theme, considering how the themes relate to the research objectives or questions and drawing conclusions based on the analysis.

Inductive thematic analysis was preferred by the researcher because it represents an effective way to uncover new insights, generate novel theories, or gain a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon based on the data itself. It is a flexible and iterative process that encourages exploration and discovery, enabling researchers to capture the richness and complexity of qualitative data.

I used QDA Miner Lite in the inductive thematic analysis. QDA Miner Lite is a user-friendly software programme created for qualitative data analysis (Provalis Research, 2023). This software offers a complete set of tools for managing, analysing, and visualise qualitative data for researchers, analysts, and social scientists. Users can import different data formats, such as documents, photos, audio files, and videos, and organise them into an organised database using QDA Miner Lite. With the software's robust coding and categorisation features, users can assign codes to specific text or media file sections, create categories, and quickly access and examine coded material.

The simplicity of using QDA Miner Lite is one of its main advantages. Researchers with different degrees of technical knowledge can use the software because of its user-friendly interface. Researchers may conduct in-depth analyses and sift through their data to find patterns and themes through its wide variety of analysis tools, which include text search, coding retrieval, and matrix coding queries (Adu, 2019). Charts, word clouds, and hierarchical diagrams are just a few of the powerful visualisation choices

that QDA Miner Lite provides to aid in the discovery and presentation of research findings.

Despite these advantages, QDA Miner Lite does have some limitations (Provalis Research, 2023). The number of codes and documents that may be studied is restricted with the QDA Miner Lite version compared to the full version. Additionally, although the software supports elementary statistical analysis, it may not be as feature-rich as software designed specifically for statistical analysis. The lack of collaborative options in QDA Miner Lite is another disadvantage for research teams working on qualitative data analysis projects.

QDA Miner Lite is generally an excellent qualitative data analysis tool, particularly for independent researchers and small projects. It is a useful tool for organising, coding, and analysing qualitative data because of its user-friendly interface, thorough analysis capabilities, and visualisation possibilities. However, researchers may need to consider the full edition of QDA Miner or other software solutions for large-scale projects or teams that require extensive statistical analysis or collaborative tools.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

Social media provide researchers with a huge opportunity to gather data that would otherwise have taken much time and resources to obtain. Yet this opportunity is accompanied by responsibility to ensure that the collection and reuse of such data is conducted to the highest possible ethical standards (Townsend & Wallace, 2016). Therefore, this section discusses ethical considerations when conducting this social media research.

Townsend and Wallace (2016) outline four key areas of ethical concern regarding social media data. The first is the extent to which such data should be considered public or

private data. Key to this argument is the standpoint that social media users have all agreed to a set of terms and conditions for each social media platform that they use, and within these terms and conditions, there are often clauses on how one's data may be accessed by third parties, including researchers. If users have agreed to these terms, the data can be considered in the public domain. However, public information does not justify its ethical use.

According to Townsend and Wallace (2016), When certain sites demand that data units only be reproduced in their original form and given credit to the original poster, this becomes much more difficult. They exemplify that a password protected 'private' Facebook group can be considered private, whereas an open discussion on X in which people broadcast their opinions using a hashtag can be considered public. Questions about whether the data are public or private can determine the extent to which researchers are ethically bound to seek informed consent from social media users.

The second area of ethical concern regarding social media data is informed consent. Informed consent is a critical component of the ethics of all types of research (Townsend & Wallace, 2016). Social media-based research poses problems related to informed consent from participants. In many cases, a social media user's data are accessed and analysed without informed consent having first been sought. 'Participants' in such research are rarely aware of their participation. Acquiring informed consent becomes more problematic for larger data sets and can seem virtually impossible for aggregate data containing thousands or even hundreds of thousands of data units. Further, it is tempting to conflate a social media user who has agreed to the terms of conditions of the platform (many of which include clauses on the accessing and re-use of data by third parties) with informed consent in the research. The British

Psychological Association (2013) found this to be problematic, especially because many social media users report that they have not read the terms and conditions properly. The association also adds that important aspects of informed consent, such as the right to withdraw, are becoming more complicated in social media research. For example, deleting a post or account equates to withdrawal from research; should a researcher be aware of this event when it occurs? In summary, when working with social media data, there are some conditions in which researchers will be more ethically bound to seek informed consent, such as when accessing data that social media users expect to be private.

The third key consideration in research ethics is anonymity. This is particularly important in qualitative research practise or when data sets are shared outside the original research team (Townsend & Wallace, 2016). There have been concerns about anonymity and online data. Kleinberg (2007) highlighted the potential for anonymity breaches using social network data. With traditional forms of research, it is generally straightforward to anonymise data so that research participants cannot be identified. However, anonymising data is more complex when using social media data (Townsend & Wallace, 2016). Anonymisation procedures are still evolving for aggregated or big data, and it is difficult to anonymise individual data extracts (such as Tweets) when they are reproduced in publications or presentations (Townsend & Wallace, 2016). When certain sites demand that data units only be reproduced in their original form and given credit to the original poster, this becomes much more difficult.

Different issues also arise for different data types. For example, the information contained within a text-based unit of data differs from what can be extracted from images, audio-and video-format social media data. Given that social media companies

tend to store data and meta-data for long periods and that much of this data is searchable, anonymisation in secondary use of data in some cases becomes challenging. When data sets are exported to outside coders and research collaborators, additional challenges come up. Issues of anonymisation become more critical when data sets or individual units of data are published, for example, online, in journal papers, and at academic conferences. When sensitive subject matter is involved, protecting the identity of uninvited participants becomes even more important. This is especially true when revealing such material to new audiences and settings could put social media users at risk.

Lastly, related to concerns about identity breaches is the risk of harm that researchers may potentially place on their research subjects. Markham et al. (2012) proposed that a researcher's responsibility towards his or her participants increases with an increased risk of harm to those participants or an increased vulnerability of individuals or groups online. This risk of harm is most likely where a social media user's privacy and anonymity are breached, and is also greater when dealing with more sensitive data, which when revealed to new audiences might expose a social media user to the risk of embarrassment, reputational damage, or prosecution (Townsend & Wallace, 2016).

Another important concern that social media researchers should be keen on is the republishing of quotes taken from social media and republished without paraphrasing because these quotes can easily be traced back to their original locations and expose the identity and profile of the social media user from which they originate. This is important when dealing with sensitive or potentially embarrassing data. Therefore, where data deals with very sensitive topics, it is important to revisit the other concerns, ensure that confidentiality and anonymity are fully protected and consider whether or not to seek

informed consent. Risk of harm might not be present in all instances in which a researcher wishes to cite social media data, for example, when such data are shared by public bodies or organisations, or when the social media user clearly aims for broad readership (e.g. by using hashtags in X) (Townsend & Wallace, 2016).

There are conflicting views regarding informed consent when conducting online research. From a public social media platform's perspective, information shared without passwords or membership restrictions can be used in research without the need for informed consent. The other view is that efforts should always be made to secure informed consent from individuals whose information is being used. The perspective that a researcher takes mostly depends on the topic, website, and sample population. Regardless of the stance a researcher takes on informed consent, obtaining it from individuals can in practise be very difficult (Beninger, 2017). Twitter's Privacy Policy (2020) indicates that academics may utilise tweets as part of their study, despite the fact that the availability of this public data raises ethical issues. This means that neither the researcher nor the users involved in the study normally obtains permission from X users before using their tweet datasets. As a microblogging and social networking service, X asserts that it values free and open communication. As a result, they claim that they are dedicated to offering academic researchers access to unmatched public conversational data. X asserts that regardless of whether it pertains to the humanities, social and political sciences, psychology, data, or computer sciences, if it exists, it has likely been discussed on X.

In this study, the researcher used pseudonyms, especially when using information that is perceived to pose a risk to the user. Such participants may exist when replying or commenting on public figure tweets. The researcher ensures confidentiality by treating

the information collected for the sole purpose of the intended research. Lastly, to ensure that the information used does not risk the safety of participants, the researcher paraphrased direct quotations, especially when they involve sensitive information.

### **3.10 Conclusion**

This chapter presented the methodology of the study. It has provided a thorough explanation of the selection process and justification of the research processes and methods employed in the current study. This study adhered to interpretivism philosophical paradigm and adopted a qualitative approach. A case study was used as the research strategy of inquiry. The sample for this study was purposely selected, and the data were generated using a digital tool called Twitonomy. This chapter also describes the research process to help other researchers who might want to conduct similar studies. It also discussed ethical considerations pertaining to this study. The next chapter presents and analyses the findings of this study.

## CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the findings of the study. The data for this study were collected from selected X accounts using Twitonomy. The data were generated and analysed in two ways. The first is the analytics done using Twitonomy, which provided a descriptive analysis of selected accounts and hashtags. The second way is when the textual data generated using Twitonomy is analysed thematically as described by Adu (2019). Before coding, the data were cleaned and translated from Kiswahili to English. During cleaning and translation, the researcher became familiar with the data. The data were coded inductively, with codes emerging from the data. The generated codes were then grouped into themes. The findings are presented according to the research questions guiding the study, starting with the analytics and then thematic analysis results.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- (i) How do political parties use X to encourage new forms of political communication in Tanzania's public sphere?
- (ii) How do Tanzanians use #KaziIendelea and #KatibaMpya to engage in political discourse in the country?
- (iii) In what ways do Tanzanian activists leverage the various uses of X to influence socio-political change in the country?
- (iv) In which ways does the Tanzanian government use X to promote democratic governance?

## **4.1 Description of the Ways Political Parties use X to Encourage New Forms of Political Communication in Tanzania's Public Sphere**

This section presents findings in line with the data generated from three selected political parties' X accounts which are @ACTwazalendo, @ccm\_tanzania, and @ChademaTz, in response to the first research question: *How do political parties utilise X to encourage new forms of political communication in Tanzania's public sphere?* The data analysed covered the period from January 01, 2022 to January 05, 2023. Results are presented starting with the Twitonomy analytics, followed by the emerging themes.

### **4.1.1 Analytics for Accounts of the Three Selected Political Parties**

Twitonomy was used to analyse @ACTwazalendo, @ccm\_tanzania, and @ChademaTz. The results are as follows:

#### **4.1.1.1 @ACTwazalendo**

Alliance for Change and Transparency, also known as ACT Wazalendo, is a political party with a well-known X account with the handle @ACTwazalendo. This is the party's second account after their first verified account was banned by X. In addition, the account is used to display descriptive statistics by attaching screenshots. Figure 4.1 presents the portable document format (pdf) analytics for @ACTwazalendo.



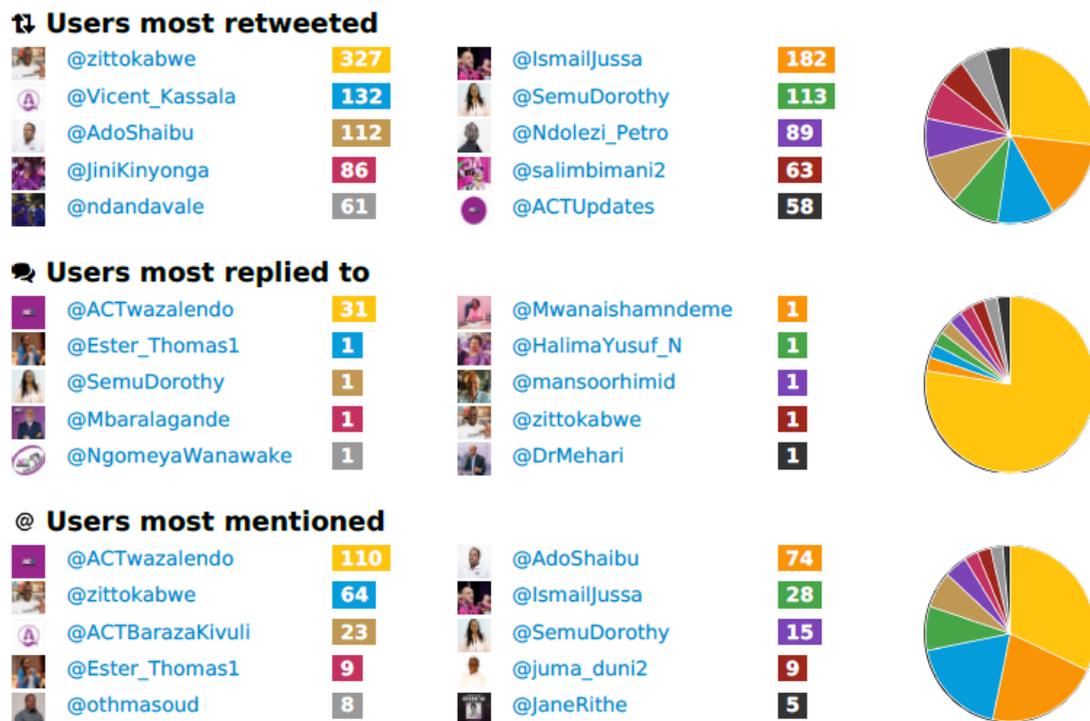
**Figure 4.1: @ACTwazalendo's Bio and Analytics**

The analysis revealed that @ACTwazalendo is a leading opposition party that joined X on October 20, 2018. @ACTwazalendo has 13,121 tweets, 10,823 followers, and follows 166 users. It was found that @ACTwazalendo was involved in 3,198 tweets posted between June 3, 2022 and January 5, 2023. During this period, @ACTwazalendo registered an average of 14.74 tweets per day. A high number of tweets per day indicates that the account is active on X. It is also evident that 2,749 of the accounts' tweets were retweeted, representing 86% of the analysed tweets. The higher the number of retweets, the more frequently the user interacted with others. The analysis further revealed that @ACTwazalendo was mentioned on an average of 0.14 per tweet, and 1% of the analysed tweets were replied to. This also indicates how @ACTwazalendo interacted with other X users.

Figure 4.1 further indicates that @ACTwazalendo used 517 hashtags, an average of 0.16 hashtags per tweet. The higher the number of hashtags, the more likely a user's tweets are to be found in a search. It further indicates that 12.6% of @ACTwazalendo's tweets were retweeted 2,835 times by others. The higher the number, the more the user

is considered a valuable source of information by others. Further into the analysis, Figure 4.1 shows that 13.1% of @ACTwazalendo's tweets were favoured a total of 4,836 times, an average of 11.51 per favoured tweet. The more the users' tweets are favoured (liked), the more the user is considered a valuable source of information.

Figure 4.2 shows the X handle of the ACT party leader, @zittokabwe, as the user who was most frequently (327 times) retweeted by @ACTwazalendo. Additionally, @ACTwazalendo received the most responses (31 replies) and mentions (110 mentions) on X.



**Figure 4.2: Users most Retweeted, Replied to, and Mentioned by @ACTwazalendo**

The most popular hashtags used by @ACTwazalendo are shown in Figure 4.3. The top two hashtags were #TheFutureIsPurple (186 times) and #WeAreTheFuture (95 times). 'The future is purple.' Aims to communicate a message that the future of Tanzania is going to be determined or dominated by the ACT party; the main corporate colour of

which is purple. It is also significant that #ACTKiganjani, which was used 73 times, is the third most popular hashtag on @ACTwazalendo and represents the party's digital membership and services registration campaign.



**Figure 4.3: Hashtags Most Used by @ACTwazalendo**

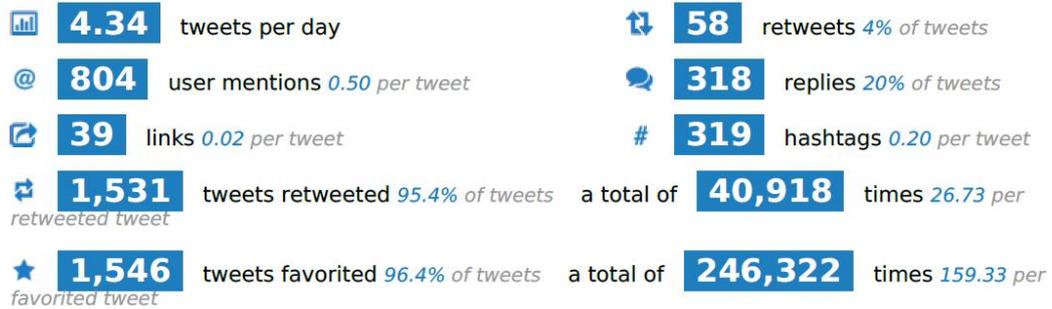
Finally, the analytics indicate that @ACTwazalendo's most retweeted tweet was retweeted 26 times and that the most liked tweet was liked 92 times. Other illustrative statistics from Twitonomy show the days of the week and times of the day that @ACTwazalendo uses X. They also show that X for Android is the service @ACTwazalendo uses the most to tweet. The full analytics are provided in the Appendix in PDF.

#### 4.1.1.2 @ChademaTz

The primary opposition party in Tanzania is called Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo, or CHADADEMA. @ChademaTz is the party's X account handle. According to Twitonomy statistics, the main opposition party @ChademaTz joined X on June 5, 2015, with the user ID 3309230189. @ChademaTz has 696,416 followers, 19,521 tweets, and 9 accounts that it follows. The analytics for the party's X account are displayed in Figure 4.4.


**@ChademaTz** CHADEMA Tanzania   
 19,521 tweets 9 following 696,416 followers 135 listed  
 Joined Twitter on June 05, 2015 as user #3309230189  
 The Main Opposition Political Party in Tanzania 🇹🇿  
<https://t.co/rqn6qkXfSq> Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 77,380 followers/following 0.19 listed/1,000 followers

**1,604** tweets from January 01, 2022 to January 05, 2023



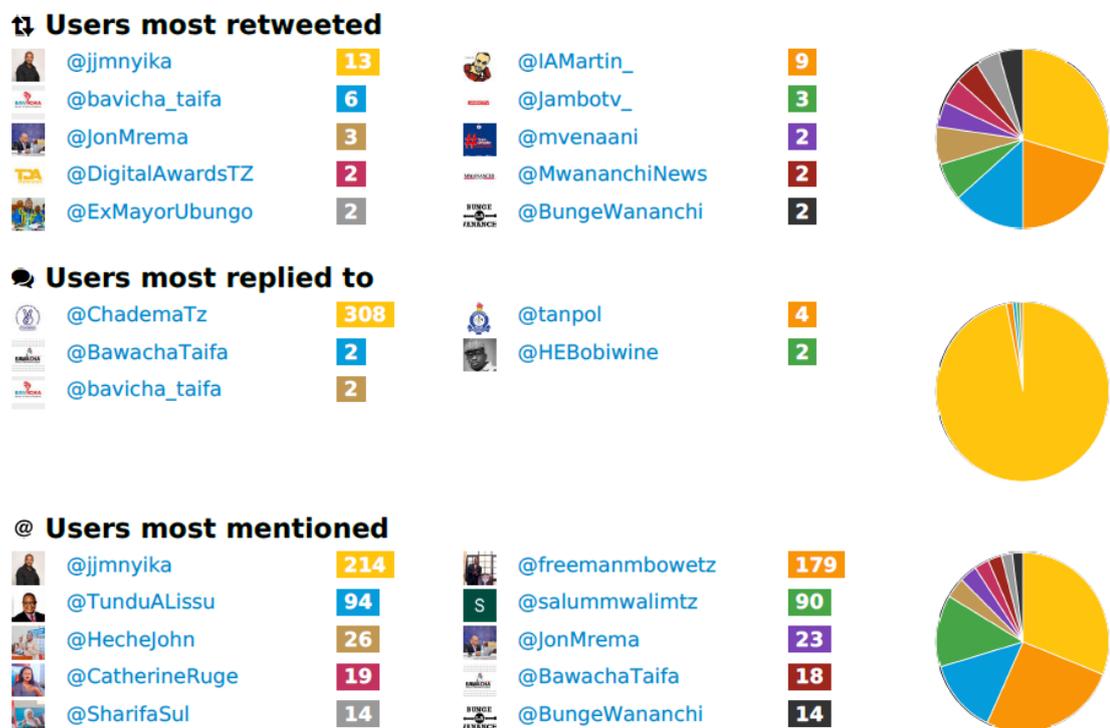
**Figure 4.4: @ChademaTz Analytics**

Additionally, according to the analytics, @ChademaTz participated in 1,604 tweets posted between January 1, 2022 and January 5, 2023. Throughout this time, @ChademaTz averaged 4.34 tweets per day. The more tweets are sent per day, the busier is an X account. Furthermore, 58 of the account's tweets, or 4% of the tweets examined, were clearly retweeted. The higher the number of retweets, the more frequently the user interacted with others. The analysis further revealed that @ChademaTz was mentioned 804 times, an average of 0.5 mentions per tweet, and 20% of the analysed tweets were replied to. This also indicates that @ChademaTz was interactive with other X users.

Figure 4.4 further indicates that @ChademaTz used 319 hashtags, an average of 0.20 hashtags per tweet. The higher the number of hashtags, the more likely a user's tweets are to be found in a search. It further indicates that 95.4% of @ChademaTz's tweets were retweeted a total of 40,918 times by others. The high percentage of retweets implies that @ChademaTz is considered a valuable source of information by other X

users. Further into the analysis, Figure 4.4 shows that 96.4% of @ChademaTz's tweets were favourited a total of 246,322 times, an average of 159.33 per favourited tweet. This high like rate adds to the fact that @ChademaTz is a valuable source of information for X users.

Figure 4.5 shows the X handle of the CHADEMA party Secretary General, @jjmnyika, as the user who was most frequently (13 times) retweeted by @ChademaTz. Additionally, @ChademaTz replied mostly to itself (308 replies).



**Figure 4.5: Users most Retweeted, Replied to, and Mentioned by @ChademaTz**

It is also interesting to note from Figure 4.5 that @ChademaTz mostly mentioned its top leaders: the Secretary General, @jjmnyika (214 mentions); the National Chairperson, @freemanmbowetz (179 mentions); Vice Chairperson, Tanzania Mainland (94 mentions); and Deputy Secretary General, @salummwalimtz (90 mentions) on X.

The most popular hashtags used by @ChademaTz are shown in Figure 4.6. Of more interest are the top four hashtags: #KatibaMpya (108 times), which is campaigning for a new constitution in Tanzania; #JoinTheChain (48 times), which was the party's fundraising campaign; #MboweSioGaidi, meaning 'Mbowe is not a terrorist.' (19 times), which was campaigning for Mbowe's release; and #ChademaDigital (18 times), which was the party's digital membership and services registration campaign.

#### # Hashtags most used



**Figure 4.6: Hashtags most Used by @ChademaTz**

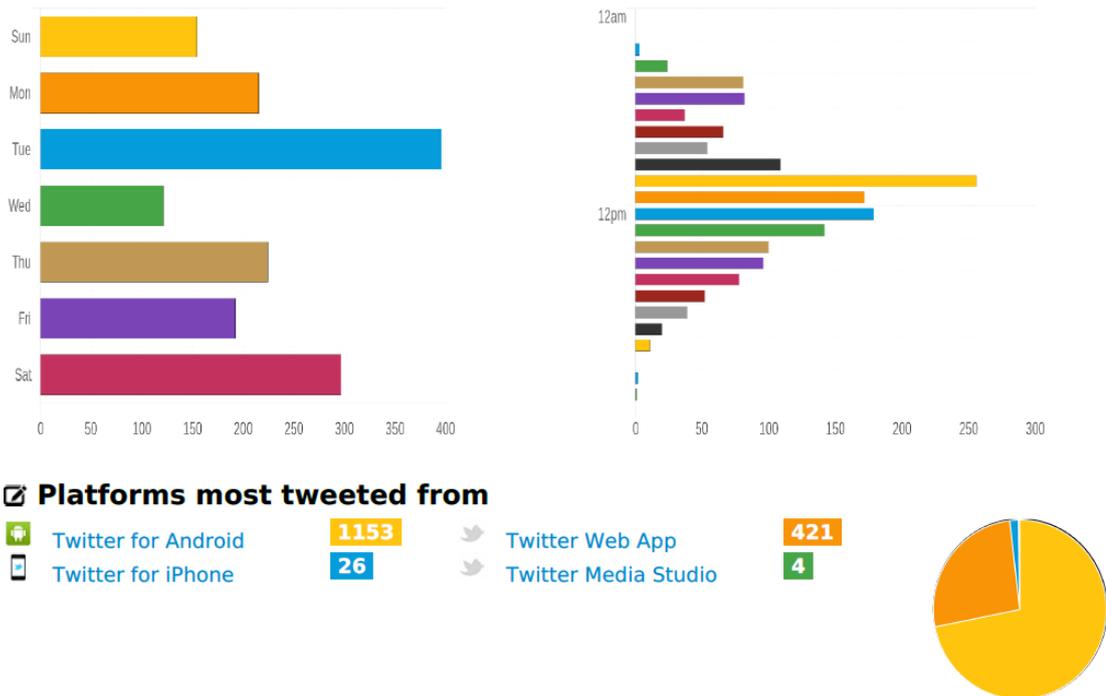
Further, the analytics indicate (Figure 4.7) that @ChademaTz's most retweeted tweet was retweeted 396 times and was also the most favoured tweet (2,256 times).

#### 🔔 Tweets most retweeted



**Figure 4.7: Tweets most Retweeted and Favoured by @ChademaTz**

Finally, the days of the week and hours of the day at which @ChademaTz uses X are illustrated in Figure 4.8. In addition, Figure 4.8 demonstrates that @ChademaTz most frequently uses X for the Android device. The appendix contains a PDF version of the complete analytics.



**Figure 4.8: Days of the week, Hours of the day, and platforms on which @ChademaTz uses X**

**4.1.1.3 @ccm\_tanzania**

Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), as its bio in Figure 4.9 reveals, is Tanzania’s governing party, founded on February 5, 1977. With the handle @ccm\_tanzania, the party joined X on March 14, 2011, (user number 266127553). The party has tweeted 14,727 tweets, is following 3 accounts and has 801,508 followers.



### @ccm\_tanzania's tweets analytics



**@ccm\_tanzania** Chama Cha Mapinduzi

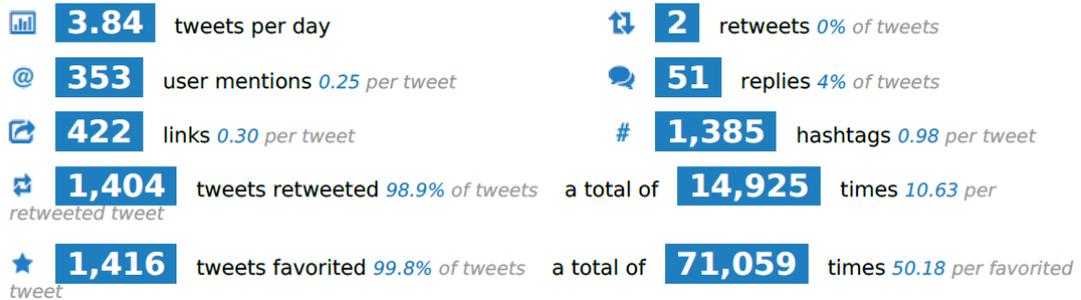
14,727 tweets 3 following 801,508 followers 211 listed

Joined Twitter on March 14, 2011 as user #266127553

Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) - #Tanzania's governing party, founded on 5th February 1977. Membership: 15 million | <https://t.co/KzE7LIVgt9>

<https://t.co/XFsl2Qg9M9> Tanzania 267,169 followers/following 0.26 listed/1,000 followers

**1,419** tweets from January 01, 2022 to January 05, 2023



**Figure 4.9: @ccm\_tanzania's Tweet Analytics**

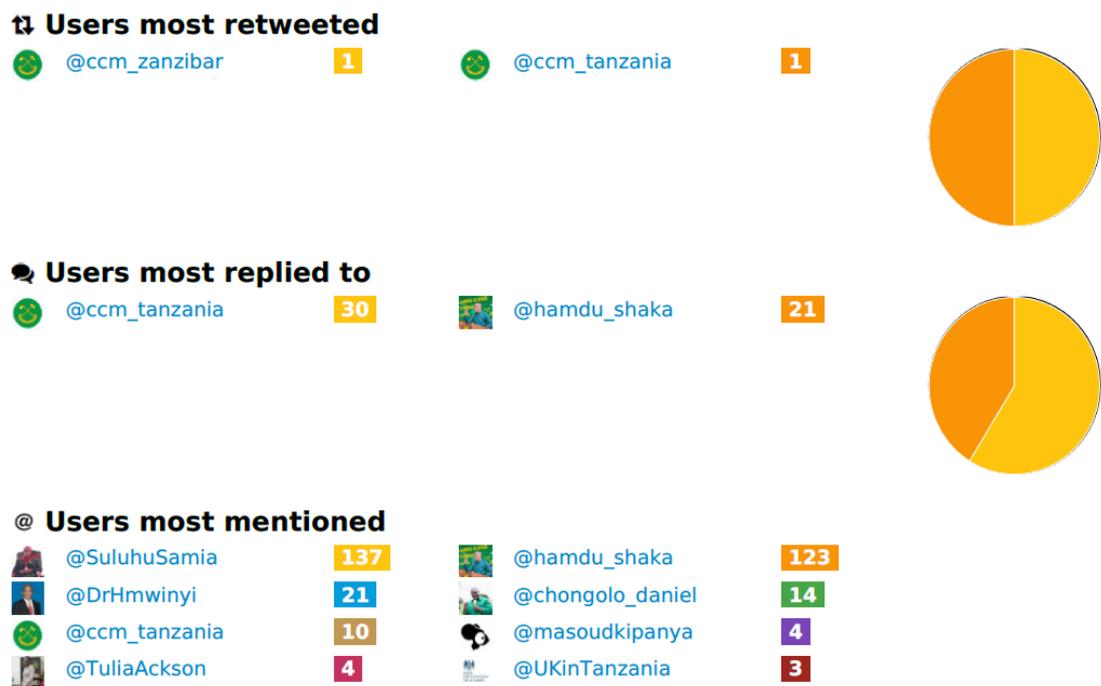
As Figure 4.9 reveals, the party engaged in 1,419 tweets during the analysed period (January 1, 2022 to January 5, 2023). In this period, the party registered an average of 3.84 tweets per day and it retweeted 2 tweets only. Further, @ccm\_tanzania received 353 user mentions (average of 0.25 per tweet). It was also replied to 51 times, representing 4% of the tweets.

The analytics in Figure 4.8 further indicate that @ccm\_tanzania shared 422 links, an average of 0.30 links per tweet. The higher the number of links, the more likely the user is to be a source of information to others. It is also evident that @ccm\_tanzania used 1,385 hashtags at a rate of 0.98 hashtags per tweet. This high number of hashtags increased the likelihood that @ccm\_tanzania's tweets would be found via a search.

Figure 4.8 further indicates that 1,404 tweets, equivalent to 98.9% of @ccm\_tanzania's tweets, were retweeted 14,925 times by others. The high percentage of retweets implies that @ccm\_tanzania is a valuable source of information for other X users. Further into the analysis, Figure 4.8 shows that 1,416 tweets, which represents 99.8%

of @ccm\_tanzania's tweets, were favourited 71,059 times, an average of 50.18 per favourited tweet. This high like rate confirms that @ccm\_tanzania is a valuable source of information for X users.

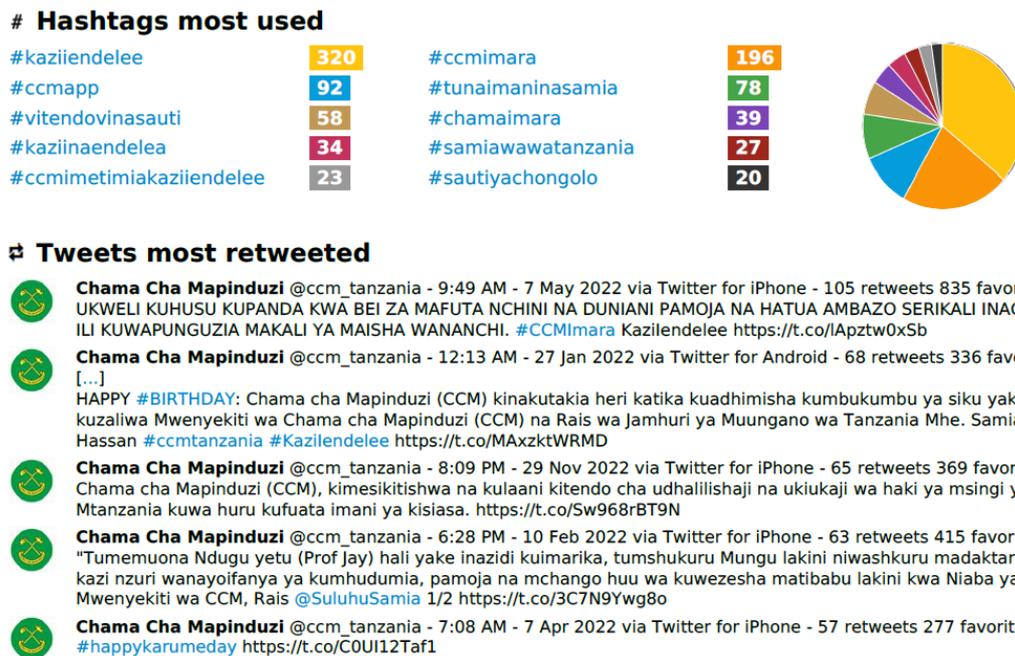
The analysis reveals that over a duration of one year, @ccm\_tanzania retweeted only two times and replied to itself the most (30 times), as shown in Figure 4.10. It is also evident that the account's top mentions are the party leaders. Worth noting are @SuluhuSamia, the party's national chairperson (137 mentions), and @hamdu\_shaka, the then NEC secretary, ideology and propaganda (21 mentions).



**Figure 4.10: Users most frequently Retweeted, most replied to, and most mentioned by @ccm\_tanzania**

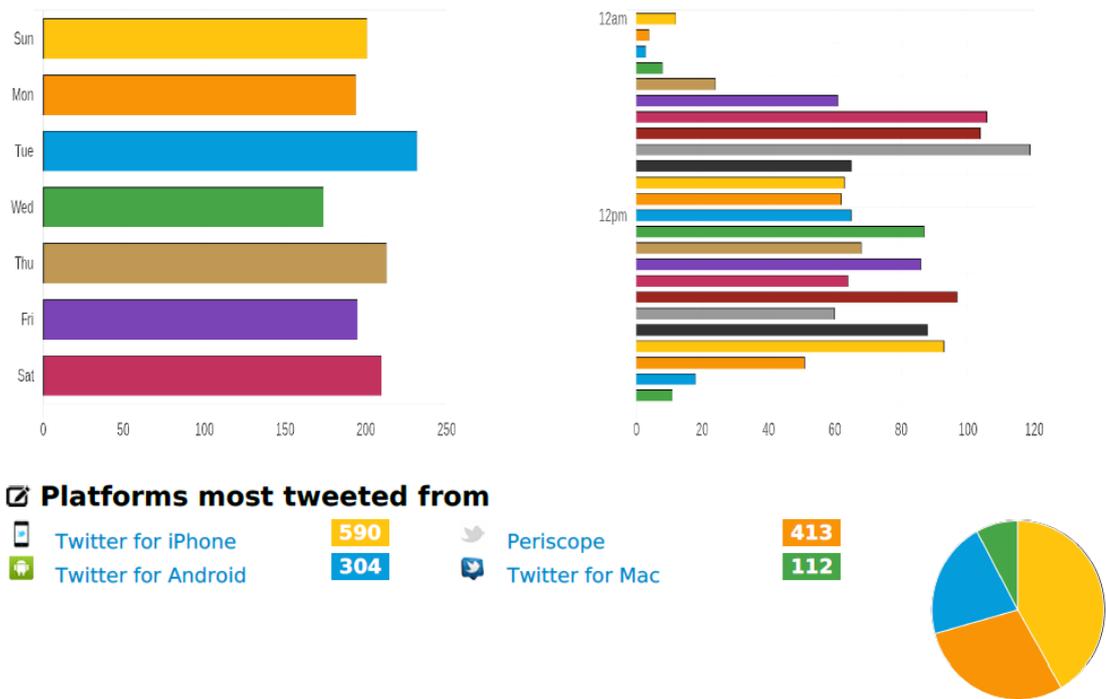
Figure 4.10 displays the most widely used hashtags for @ccm\_Tanzania. The four top hashtags are as follows: #KaziIendeleee, which means "Work should continue" and has been used 320 times. This is used to support the sixth phase of the government led by President Samia Suluhu Hassan, along with the hashtag #CCMImara (196 times), which means CCM is strong, #CCMApp (92 times), which campaigns for CCM

members to subscribe to the party's App, and #TunaImaniNaSamia (78 times), which literally means "We have faith in Samia" and is used to support the president. Figure 4.10 further indicates the tweet that was most retweeted (105 times) and most liked (835 times).



**Figure 4.11: Hashtags most Used and Tweets most Retweeted by ccm\_tanzania**

Finally, the days of the week and hours of the day at which @ccm\_tanzania uses X are shown in Figure 4.11. Additionally, Figure 4.11 demonstrates that @ccm\_tanzania tweets from four platforms: X for iPhone (590 times), Periscope (413 times), X for Android (304 times) and X for Mac (112 times). The appendix contains a PDF version of the complete analytics.



**Figure 4.12: Days of the week, Hours of the day, and platforms used by @ccm\_tanzania on X**

#### 4.1.2 Findings on the Use of X by Political Parties

In order to explore how political parties use X to promote new types of political communication in Tanzania’s public sphere, the present study uses thematic analysis. The intriguing findings of the inductive thematic analysis, which reveal the underlying themes and patterns that emerged from the X data gathered using Twitonomy during the study, are presented in this section. A total of 6,221 tweets covering the period between January 1, 2022 and January 5, 2023, were gathered from @ACTwazalendo, @ChademaTz, and @ccm\_tanzania. The following themes emerged from the analysis, accompanied by relevant quotes from the data.

##### 4.1.2.1 Political Parties’ Use of X for Information Dissemination

Political parties have used their social media platforms, particularly X, to disseminate information. This is an overriding theme where various types of information are shared by political parties via the platform. The types of information noted to be shared include

announcements, breaking news, press releases, press conferences, retweeting news from mainstream media, holiday greetings and commemorations, and political messages from parties or political leaders. Some of these are illustrated below.

*Announcements:* All three political parties that were studied used X to announce various events. The following extracts were extracted from each account:

*Tomorrow December 29, 2022, Secretary General of Chadema Hon. @jjmnyika will be the official guest at the Special General Meeting, which will bring together the Nyamagana and Ilemela constituencies, which will be held at Maduhu Square Hall, starting at 10:00 a.m. @ChademaTz.*

*Party Building Tour and listening to the people in Kigoma Region will be led by the General Secretary, Brother @AdoShaibu. The Secretary General will be accompanied by the Secretary of the Department of Peace, Brother @MoobabuACT. #Blitzkrieg #WeAreTheFuture #TheFutureIsPurple #ACTKiganjani @ACTwazalendo*

*Secretary General of CCM Mr. Daniel Chongolo will have a 9-day visit to Shinyanga and Simiyu regions starting with Shinyanga Region on May 27, 2022. #ZiaraYaKuimarishaChama #ChamaImara #KaziIendeleo @ccm\_tanzania*

These three examples demonstrate that X was used as a medium to convey announcements to the members and the general online community.

*Breaking News:* X is used to report urgent and important events, such as natural disasters and political upheavals, and provides real-time information. In this study, CHADEMA used X to break news on at least four occasions. One such feature is presented below:

*#BREAKINGNEWS: The Director of Public Prosecutions, DPP, has withdrawn all charges of economic sabotage and terrorism against Chairman of the Party Hon. @freemanmbowetz and his three colleagues in the High Court Division of Corruption and Economic Sabotage. He has stated that he has no intention of continuing with the case. @ChademaTz*

The release of the CHADEMA Chairman and his colleagues was urgent and unexpected, especially because in the previous court session, it was determined that

they had a case to answer. The case has also attracted national and international attention. Therefore, the tweet about their release qualifies as breaking news.

*Press Conferences and Press Releases:* Political parties have used X not only to call for press conferences but also to disseminate information to the public through press releases. This was carried out by releasing (a screenshot of) an official document or by livestreaming the conference via X. The analysis also revealed that the parties used their X account to stream livestreaming party events. Below is an extract from @ACTwazalendo:

*PRESS RELEASE Proceedings of the Special Committee Session: The Special Committee of the Central Committee of the party in Zanzibar has instructed the members of ACT Wazalendo to listen to their views on the future of the Government of National Unity in Zanzibar. #WeAreTheFuture #TheFutureIsPurple @ACTwazalendo*

From the above extract, it is evident that X is used to communicate decisions of the Party leadership to the members and the public.

*Obituary and Condolences:* Political parties also use their X accounts to communicate sad news like deaths of their leaders or party members. The aim is to offer support and remain connected to their members and the public during difficult times. Below are extracts from @ACTwazalendo and @ccm\_tanzania:

*OBITUARY: The @ACTwazalendo party is sorry to lose its Morogoro Regional Chairman, Mr. Mwinyi Abdallah Madega, who died yesterday 10/10/2022 Mloganzila National Hospital while receiving treatment. We pray to Allah to make him sleep in a good place in paradise. @ACTwazalendo*

*CONDOLENCES: CCM has received with great sadness and shock the news of the death of Honourable Dr. Mwinyi Haji Makame, who was once the Representative of Dimani Constituency and Minister in various Ministries in the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. #SisiniwaMwenyeziMungunakwakeTutarejea. @ccm\_tanzania*

The above extracts are instances in which political parties use their accounts to express their support for their members during times of tragedy.

*Holiday Greetings and Commemorations:* Not only during difficult times but also during holidays and festive events, parties use X to support their members. As such, holiday greetings and commemorative messages are posted on the platforms of the parties, as the extracts below illustrate:

*#SALAMU: HAPPY EID EL FITRI. Chairperson of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and President of the United Republic of Tanzania Hon. @SuluhuSamia Hassan wishes all Muslims in the country a happy Eid el Fitri. #EidMubarak #KaziIendelee #TunaImaniNaSamia @ccm\_tanzania*

*"I wish you a happy New Year's holiday. May you have a year full of love, unity, and more justice. Of all the rights, the basic right. The main message, the main agenda, the main project, and the main task of 2023 should be the work of enabling Tanzania to get #KatibaMpya and #TumeHuruYaUchaguzi." @jjmnyika @ChademaTz*

A closer examination of the two extracts reveals that holiday greetings comprise more than greetings. While the CCM tweet also showed support to the government and the president using #KaziIendelee and #TunaImaniNaSamia hashtags, the CHADEMA tweet included the party's political agenda to campaign for a New Constitution (#KatibaMpya) and an independent electoral commission (#TumeHuruYaUchaguzi).

*Sharing Political Messages:* X is used by all political parties studied to disseminate political message to the public. While this kind of communication is the most used, I present at least one extract from each studied account below:

*RT @Nipashetz: #HABARI The National Electoral Commission (NEC) has reinstated musician and activist Vitali Maembe to run for council, Dunda Ward, Bagamoyo district in Pwani region through @ACTwazalendo after he appealed against the decision of the Bagamoyo election administrator to remove him. #NipasheHabari @ACTwazalendo*

*"Considering that situation, if CHADEMA had taken the leadership, it had planned to carry out major reforms to increase and improve the infrastructure and systems for providing health services [Health System Reform], and then to establish an integrated health insurance system for all providing quality health services fully [Comprehensive and Quality Health Services], who ensure that everyone gets health*

*services without financial constraints when they need those services [Financial Risk Protection]." Hon. Ashura Masoud @ChademaTz*

*OUR TOMORROW IS GOOD! The government has planned to ensure that it improves and repairs the electricity infrastructure in order to relieve the citizens from the issue of power outages in the future. #KasiYaAwamuYaSita #SamiaKazini #KaziLendele @ccm\_tanzania*

The above three extracts show that political parties use X to convey their political messages that are of interest to various aspect of the people's lives. Whereas the @ACTwazalando's tweets is on by-election, the @ChademaTz's message is about reforms in the health services and the @ccm\_tanzania's tweet is on the CCM government's plan to resolve electricity challenges in the country.

***International Cooperation's:*** Thematic analysis reveals that political parties use social media share information that help to build and strengthen collaborations with the international allies. The following two extracts illustrate:

*Today Hon. @FreemanMbowetz met the US Congressman @michaelgwaltz from Florida. Both leaders held a private discussion that focused on fighting for and defending Democracy, Rule of Law and Human Rights across the world. Hon. Mbowe is in the US for the 2022 IDU Forum. #IDUDC @ChademaTz*

*CCM Secretary General, Mr. Daniel Chongolo today, 21 Jan 2022, held a conversation with the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Comrade Li Mingxiang, via the Internet. The conversation was about the historical relationship between the parties. #CCMApp @ccm\_tanzania*

Looking at the excerpts above it is clear that political parties did not only use social media to report on the international cooperation, but was also to facilitate online meetings.

In conclusion, political parties in Tanzania have proven to be using X extensively to disseminate information covering various aspects of human and political life.

#### 4.1.2.2 Using X as Tool for Advocacy

In the context of political parties, advocacy refers to the actions taken by various groups of actors, such as parties, interest groups, and professionals, who collaborate to sway public policy (Afonso, 2014). It is also the initiatives taken by party members to advance and support particular causes or objectives (Weible & Ingold, 2018). In this study, a thematic analysis of the three parties' tweets reveals that the parties have used X for advocacy as shown below.

Political parties have used their X account to communicate their agenda, values, ideology and beliefs. The intention is to shape the members' thinking and action towards a certain political agenda. Below are excerpts from the data to illustrate:

*"CCM is standing on two legs: first are the members, you wouldn't be here without members, you wouldn't be in the leadership of the country without members, we wouldn't be given consent to lead this country without members, so your members have great value, they deserve all the respect and appreciation". "Unfortunately, these days there has been a culture of CCM leaders being called honourable, but the truth is we are all brothers and sisters. Dear Chairman, but it has come to a point that the ambassador is called Honorable Ambassador. If you are called Honorable Ambassador, you are far from the people and when you are a brother or sister, you are close to the people."*  
@ccm\_tanzania

In the extract above, the party is reminding the leaders and the members of the importance and inter-dependence of the two parts. Leaders are urged to value their members. The new culture that draw a line between the leaders and the party members is also criticized. In another instance CCM tweeted:

*"CCM, through its policies, has identified itself as a party that cares about humanity, human equality and unity in the sense of uniting people together and fighting discrimination. In the ongoing elections across the country, cut off leaders who use religion, ethnicity or region as a qualification to get leadership."* ccm\_tanzania

In the extract, CCM is advocating for humanity, equality and unity and is against discrimination in the party leadership. In a similar instance, CHADEMA tweeted:

*"Chadema's strength is our love and unity. We have no armies or weapons. Our unity has become our greatest weapon. This weapon of unity is what got me out of prison. I came out because the power of the public has overcome the power of their government agencies." Hon. @freemanmbowetz @ChademaTz*

In the excerpt above, the chairperson of the party, Hon. Freeman Mbowe appreciates and advocates for love and unity as the core to the party's strength. In another instance, CHADEMA tweeted:

*"Chadema is a political party that was built and will continue to be built in political, logical and ideological influence that recognizes democracy as the source of development." "It is built with influence standing in its political, social and economic purpose of fighting for Freedom, Democracy, Justice and Development of all people." Hon. Freeman Mbowe @ChademaTz*

In the above extract, the chairperson of the party is emphasizing on the party's political ideology which can be summarized as democracy and development.

Apart from communicating parties' agenda, policies, ideology and beliefs, political parties have used their X platforms to their parties' position on present or ongoing political activities. The extract below attests:

*"About the 2024 and 2025 elections, there is no #KatibaMpya, no #IndependentElectoralCommission, no good electoral systems, no good electoral laws, elections will not take place. We will not accept the money of Tanzanians, who pay taxes, to be used for fake elections." Hon. Benson Kigaila @ChademaTz*

In the above excerpt, CHADEMA leader is giving the party's position regarding future elections. The intention is to push for speeding up constitutional reform as well as electoral bodies and processes reforms. The party also tweeted:

*"After a long and detailed discussion, the Central Committee has decided that CHADEMA will not participate in all the activities of the Council of Political Parties whose clear objectives are to kill and bury the dreams and aspirations of Tanzanians to get a #KatibaMpya. Our Central Committee has reached this decision based on the political and constitutional history of our country, especially since the return of the multi-party political system in 1992." Hon. @TunduALissu*

The above extracts reveals that CHADEMA believe the activities of the Council of Political Parties are intended to delay the process of Tanzanians getting a new constitution. Thus the party has decided not to participate in the council's activities in attempt to push for the new constitution process. The leading party on its part also use their X account to advocate for support to the government as shown in the tweet below:

*#Mtumishiwawote General Secretary of UVCCM Taifa Cde. Kenani Kihongosi has led thousands of young people to visit the Ngorongoro National Park. The goal is to learn and support the efforts of the Chairperson of the CCM and the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Hon. Samia Suluhu Hassan. @ccm\_tanzania*

In the above extract the leader of the party's youth's wing is leading the party's youth to support the government and their party leader in implementing the party policies and election Manifesto.

In conclusion, political parties have used their X accounts to communicate the parties' policies, agenda, ideology and beliefs; communicating the parties' position on ongoing and future political activities; and pushing for support of the parties' course of action. All these help the parties' advocacy.

#### **4.1.2.3 Using X to Facilitate Elections, Campaigns, and Mobilisation**

Elections, campaigns and mobilisations are among core and mostly interdependent activities in political parties. During the period studied, political parties have used X in these activities as a described below.

**Elections:** Although the present study focuses on use of X during a non-electioneering period (a period when there is no general election proceeding), the thematic analysis reveals that X has been used in matters of election in at least three ways. The first is party's internal elections where X is used in organizing and mobilizing purposes. The extracts below illustrate:

*#QUOTE OF THE WEEK: From Retired Colonel Abdulrahman Kinana, Vice Chairperson of CCM - Mainland. "CCM members should show up in large numbers to run for various positions within our Party. Every CCM member has a chance, the right to be elected and to choose." #CCMApp #Kaziinaendelea @ccm\_tanzania*

In the above tweet, the vice chairperson of CCM is mobilizing members to participate in the party's internal election taking place throughout the country. In another instance, the party used X to give updates during internal election process as shown below:

*#UbungeEALA: The candidates who came to collect and return the candidate forms for The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) from the beginning of the exercise on August 01, 2022 to August 06, 2022 are 109 candidates while the exercise is expected to be completed on August 10, 2022. @ccm\_tanzania*

In the above tweet, @ccm\_tanzania is giving updates on the process and also remind its members on the deadline of the exercise at hand. The frequent updates about the elections also help to mobilize members to participate.

The second way X has been used in election matters is to monitor and uncover incidences of electoral misconduct and election violence during the party's internal election and by-elections. X has been used report these incidences as the extract below exemplify:

*RT @sheshetz: Alert! By-election Mnyanjani Ward, Tanga: What is happening is the same as Magufuli. Only two people have voted but the box is already full of ballot papers! We @ACTwazalendo are participating in this election to see if CCM has the will to change. CCM is not ready. @ACTwazalendo*

In the tweet above, @ACTwazalendo agent is reporting an incident of election rigging and is accusing CCM to be the perpetrators. In addition to reporting electoral misconduct, X is also used to report incidences of electoral violence as shown below:

*RT @John\_Pambalu: VIOLENCE OF BY-ELECTION AT MNDUMBWE, TANDAHIMBA: A member of @ACTwazalendo, Brother Sharif Bashiru Dadi is alleged to have been attacked and cut with a sword by unknown people when the by-election campaign in Mndumbwe ward in Tandahimba District was heading towards the end. @ACTwazalendo*

In the above extract, @ACTwazalendo has retweeted an incident reported by one of their leaders.

The third way X has been used in matters of elections is in campaigning for future elections and using X for nominations or opinion poll. Although local governments' elections are more than a year ahead and general elections two years ahead, political parties are already doing what may seem as campaigning as seen in the two extracts below:

*@hamdu\_shaka: TANZANIANS WILL GIVE PRESIDENT SAMIA AN AWARD OF HONOR IN 2025 The Secretary of the National Executive Council (NEC) of CCM, Ideology and Propaganda, has said that due to the good work done by President Samia Suluhu Hassan, Tanzanians will give her an honourable award in 2025. @ccm\_tanzania*

*"I want to tell the women that our Party is well organized in the next two local government elections and the General Election and we will soon launch our strategies towards that... Be ready and let's all move together..." Juma Duni Haji, ACT WAZALENDO NATIONAL Chairman. @ACTwazalendo*

What is apparent from the two extracts above is that even during a non-electioneering period, political parties are thinking about the next elections and it is reflected on their X accounts.

One political party, @ChademaTz used their X platform to explicitly listen from their members. The Secretary General of the party wanted the people to propose members to be included in the taskforce to write the party's History and Vision as seen in the tweet below:

*RT @jjmnyika: #ChademaHistoria #ChademaDira @ChademaTz was founded in 1992 and registered on January 21, 1993. As part of the preparations for the celebration of #Miaka30YaChadema, I think we should write a history of the past 30 years and a vision for the next 30 years. Who should I ask to volunteer to be on the #TaskForce?*

The above tweet is one rare occasion where the platform is used to explicitly invite members to contribute their opinion to contribute to the party's history through social

media. This is contrary to the general tendency observed where so X has been to use to disseminate information.

**Campaigns:** A thematic analysis of the three political parties' accounts reveals that, apart from X being used for parties' internal and by-elections, it is also extensively used in other party campaigns. One of such campaigns which the study reveals to common to all the studied political parties is the digital membership and services registration. In this particular campaign, each party used a hashtag for the effect in their tweets. @ACTwazalendo used #ACTKiganjani, @ChademaTz used #ChademaDigital and @ccm\_tanzania used #CCMApp. Below are some extracts from the party accounts:

*IT PAVILION AT THE NATIONAL 45TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN MARA REGION. Hey member, come to CCM's IT Pavilion in CCM's 45th Anniversary Celebrations to get Electronic Registration service. Welcome to IT Pavilion to serve you. #CCMApp #USILALE CCM digital cards have started to be issued. O member, register now electronically and go to the CCM Branch near you to get your card that will be used to identify you as a member, make online payments such as fees, contributions, taxes, etc. @ccm\_tanzania*

The above two tweets indicate ccm\_tanzania's digital transformation campaign which happens in two ways: registering for the digital card and subscription to the CCM Application. Similar campaign is also evident on @ACTwazalendo and @ChademaTz below:

*Acting Chairman BAWACHA Taifa Hon @SharifaSul talking to the mothers who showed up for the digital membership registration exercise in Sanje Ward, Kilombero Constituency. #KatibaMpya #TumeHuru #ChademaDigital @ChademaTz*

*Registration of members on the New #ACTKiganjani system is progressing well in Mwanza City. The registration team led by Brother Mussa Bakari today reached Luchelele and Isamilo Wards as part of the preparations for the visit of the Secretary General, @AdoShaibu in Mwanza. @ACTwazalendo*

The two extracts above show part of @ACTwazalendo and @ChademaTz campaigns for digital membership registration going on throughout the country.

Apart from digital membership and services campaign, the parties engaged in countrywide campaigns to build and strengthen their parties. These campaigns were also well covered on X. The parties used their X accounts to announce schedules of the party leaders to different places for the campaign and also tweet updates of the campaigns from different location in the country. The following extracts exemplify:

*Party Building Tour: Deputy Secretary General Zanzibar, Mr. Nassor Ahmed Mazrui @MazruiNassor will have a Party Building Tour in Pemba on August 20-21, 2022. The year 2022 is the year of building ACT Wazalendo Party. @ACTwazalendo #WeAreTheFuture #TheFutureIsPurple @ACTwazalendo*

*Secretary General of CCM, Mr. Daniel Chongolo, today February 1, 2022, in Simiyu region, Dutwa and Bariadi district town has continued a visit to strengthen the vitality of the Party in the grassroots, encourage participation in the census and review the implementation of the CCM election manifesto 2020/25. #CCMImara @ccm\_tanzania*

The two extracts above attest to party building campaign by @ACTwazalendo and party strengthening campaign by @ccm\_tanzania. While ACT Wazalendo used two hashtags (#WeAreFuture and #TheFutureIsPurple), CCM used #CCMImara.

Furthermore, thematic analysis reveals that one political party, @ChademaTz practiced uniform campaign strategy. The party designated one day in a week that members throughout the country wears the party uniform. The extracts below illustrate:

*Every Saturday is #ChademaSareDay Take a picture wearing the Party uniform, post it in your social media accounts and then tag the Party accounts. #MboweSioGaidi*

*February 14, 2022 is Valentine's Day. Today in court, Chadema members and leaders have shown their love for their chairman Hon. @freemanmbowetz by wearing a T-shirt with the message, Happy Valentine's Day Freeman Mbowe. #MboweSioGaidi @ChademaTz*

The two tweets above reveal that @ChademaTz used their X to mobilize members to wear party uniform on a Saturdays, take a photo, post it on their social media platforms and tag the party's accounts. The importance thing to note is that this campaign unites online campaigning and on the ground campaign.

Fundraising campaign was also identified by the thematic analysis. CHADEMA used their social media platforms to organize and launch a fundraising campaign online. The campaign was named with the hashtag #JoinTheChain. The vice chairperson of the party addressed Tanzanians and the diaspora via online platforms while he was in exile in Belgium. The event connected members and supporters within Tanzania and the diaspora. The campaign aimed to raise one billion Tanzanian shillings that would be directed to strengthening democracy in the Country. Below are extracts to illustrate:

*RT @IAMartin\_: Ikungi, Singida, now. #JoinTheChain #ShilingiYetuNguvuYetu*

*RT @ExMayorUbungo: The party is the members and this is the strength of Chadema #jointhechain*

*The National Chairman of Chadema, Hon. @freemanmbowetz, after the press conference today March 18, 2022, he is wearing a cap with the words #JoinTheChain indicating his readiness to enter the streets in Dar es Salaam to walk on foot to inspire the new campaign of #JoinTheChain.*

The three tweets above show that although the campaign started online, it was well received on the ground. It is also clear that after being released from prison, the chairperson of the party, Hon. @freemanmbowetz, led the campaign on the ground. Furthermore, two commonly used hashtags for the campaign, #JoinTheChain and #ShilingiYetuNguvuYetu are seen.

Lastly, the year 2022 was Population and Housing Census year. As such, the Tanzania government had census campaign program. This study reveals that political parties, mostly CCM for being the governing party, supported the campaign using their X account. Below are two tweets to support:

*#SamiaWaWatanzania CITIZENS, LET'S PREPARE TO BE COUNTED Tuesday, August 23, 2022 is the day of the Population and Housing Census in which all Tanzanians should be counted because the Census is the basis of Sustainable Development; Let's show up to be counted #Sensabika2022 #KaziIendelee #TunaImaniNaSamia @ccm\_tanzania*

*I recognize the importance of the Census for my development, for my country and for the future generation of my nation. I am ready to be counted. #Sensabika #Sensa2022 @ACTwazalendo*

The two tweets above from two different political parties are campaigning for people to participate in the census. Interesting to note is that both parties used the campaign hashtag #Sensabika2022 and #Sensa2022.

To sum up, political parties are using X for various campaigns ranging from party building and strengthening campaign, digital transformation campaign, fund-raising campaign, census campaign, and internal and by-elections campaigns.

**Mobilisation:** Political parties use social media for political mobilization by creating digital methods to turn their social media followers into active participants in their campaigns (Kwayu, 2022). In this study, thematic analysis reveals that political parties in Tanzania have used X to mobilise for various political issues. One of the most performed mobilization is mobilizing citizens or members to actively participate in party events. This is mostly done by creating posts that follow up on announcements of such. Tweets that give updates on preparation and countdown to such events are posted on the parties' social media accounts to influence turn up and participation. The extracts below illustrate:

*NOW IT HAS DAWNED IN DODOMA, IT IS APRIL 01, TANZANIA WILL BLOW WITH A CCM SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING. The days have come and now we are counting only 5 days to the Special General Meeting of CCM on April 01, 2022 in Dodoma at the Jakaya Kikwete Convention Center. #CCMApp #Kaziinaendelea @ccm\_tanzania*

In the tweet above, @ccm\_tanzania is mobilizing for a special general meeting. They are giving a count down and a reminder of the date and venue of the meeting.

*RT @jjmnyika: #NewPage? #NewChapter? #NewEra? #NewAge? #NewBeginning? #NewBook? I am asking you to appear in court tomorrow 18/02/2022. #FreeMbowe #MboweSioGaidi #KatibaMpya*

*#IndependentElectoralCommission #HakiZaWatu #MaMaMa  
@ChademaTz*

The above retweet of @Chadematz's Secretary General tweet is mobilizing for members and citizens to appear in court to support the party's chairperson and his colleagues who were facing terrorism charges. It is interesting to note the number of hashtags used in the tweet. Of particular interest are #FreeMbowe and #MboweSioGaidi that were campaigning for Mbowe's release.

*RT @Mwanahalisitiz: "We are going around all the Constituencies of the Tanga Region. In addition to building the Party, we are listening to the concerns of the citizens. On the 23rd, at the Conference of the Independent Commission towards a New Constitution, we will also give our declaration on Tanga economically." Ado Shaibu, Secretary General of ACT Wazalendo @ACTwazalendo*

The tweet above is mobilizing for participation in a party's upcoming series of events. Notable events from the tweet are party building, listening to the people's concerns and a conference.

Apart from mobilizing for upcoming events, political parties used their X accounts to mobilise for members' and citizens' support and action. The excerpts bellow illustrate:

*"Now if they have decided to go for a long race, we have the courage to go with them for a long race until it is understood. We are ready for the Marathon of Justice. We ask the members to support us at every step of the struggle that will continue before us." Hon. @jjmnyika @ChademaTz*

In the tweet above, the Secretary General of @ChademaTz is mobilizing for members support in the fight for justice regarding a terrorism case that the party chairperson and colleagues were fighting in court.

*"Mama has become the first President of our country after the second coming of multi parties in 1992, to stand in public and express the good will to admit to prioritizing justice in building a new Tanzania with sustainable peace. I ask all my fellow Tanzanians to agree to this foundation." Hon. Mbowe @ChademaTz*

The above tweet shows the chairperson of @ChademaTz is asking Tanzanians to support the president in building a new Tanzania with sustainable peace. In another

instance, the chairperson is mobilizing Tanzanians to be active in the affairs of the country as the tweet below illustrates:

*"Certainly our country for a long time, especially this period, has been a very difficult place to live, it does not mean that we Tanzanians are bad people, but the majority of Tanzanians have decided to remain silent, let's all say it when we see the decisions of our leaders hurting the nation." Hon. @freemanmbowetz @ChademaTz*

The above tweet aims to change Tanzanians from being silent observers to active citizens who can speak up when they see that the decisions of leaders are hurting the country.

From the thematic analysis results describe above, it can be summarized that political parties in Tanzania use their X accounts to mobilise their followers who are their members and citizens to participate in the parties' events, support the parties or the country's political course, and become active in taking actions in the affairs of the country.

#### **4.1.2.4 Political Parties' Use of X as a Tool for Political Activism**

Politics activism is the involvement and work of people or organisations (in this study, political parties) in supporting or opposing particular political causes or policies. In the context of social media communication, political activism refers to people using online platforms to voice their opinions on political and social issues, organise others, and participate in civic activities (Bubnov & Kozlov, 2021). In this study, political parties have used X for political activation in various ways. One way is to use X to raise awareness through the rapid dissemination of information and online discussions. Awareness plays a crucial role in changing people's mindset, attitude, and action towards or against a particular political course. The tweet below illustrates:

*RT @UhondoTV: "@ACTwazalendo recommend that political platforms be used to educate and stop gender-based violence in political parties, political processes and decision-making bodies." -*

*@JaneRithe Spokesperson for the Welfare and Community Development, women and children Sector. @ACTwazalendo*

In the above tweet, the sectoral spokesperson for the Welfare and Community Development, Women and Children sector emphasised using political platforms to provide education (awareness) and end gender-based violence that exists in political parties, political processes, and decision-making bodies.

Apart from raising awareness, the thematic analysis revealed that political parties' X platforms demand political reforms or changes. In this study, opposition political parties demand a new constitution and an independent electoral commission, perhaps more than other demands. The tweets below present some instances of such demands:

*"We want a Constitution that will ensure justice for all and not only politicians. We, as Chadema, will continue to cooperate with whoever sees the need for our country to get a #KatibaMpya now and not postpone it until after the 2025 elections." Hon. @freemanmbowetz @ChademaTz*

In the excerpt above, the national chairperson of @ChademaTz explicitly states that they want a new constitution that will ensure justice for all and want that constitution before the 2025 general elections. It should also be noted that @ChademaTz believes that a new constitution will lead to an Independent Electoral Commission. ACT Wazalendo, on the other hand, believes in obtaining an independent electoral commission before a new constitution is created, as the tweets below suggest:

*RT @donrugi: "ACT WAZALENDO wants an Independent Electoral Commission. We do not want an Electoral Commission with CCM cadres. The Electoral Commission should be found this year, 2022." @AdoShaibu General Secretary @ACTwazalendo*

*"Our voice has always been that we want the #IndependentElectoralCommission not only to manage the elections for the Council, the Parliament, and the Presidency; but it should go and manage even the elections of villages and neighbourhoods." @ACTwazalendo*

The above tweets show that @ACTwazalendo is demanding an independent electoral commission, which they have been seeking since 2022. They also want the commission to manage all elections, not just general elections.

Furthermore, CHADEMA used their X platform to request that their chairperson and colleagues be released, as shown below:

*"We of CHADEMA have demanded, we demand, and we will continue to demand that our Chairman and his bodyguards be released without any conditions." Hon. @TunduALissu @ChademaTz*

In the tweet above, the vice chairperson of the party demands on behalf of the party the release of the party's chairperson and his bodyguards who were in prison facing a terrorism case.

Political parties have also used social media platforms to conduct human rights activism by condemning or criticising actions of injustice and violation of human rights. Each of the studied political parties used their X account for this purpose, as illustrated in the following extract:

*HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE RESPECTED! General Secretary @ACTwazalendo Mr. @AdoShaibu has strongly criticised the operations of the Loliondo & Ngorongoro Police Force, which violated the participation of citizens and led to the violation of Human Rights. He said that @ACTwazalendo does not agree with those operations. @ACTwazalendo*

The extract in the above extract shows the @ACTwazalendo party criticising police operations against civilians who were demonstrating against evictions from Ngorongoro and Loliondo.

*"We want with all our strength as a Party to condemn these actions that the Police Force has turned into normal. It kills people, it creates lies so that it can appear to be working." Hon. Benson Kigaila. @ChademaTz*

The deputy secretary (mainland) of @ChademaTz in the excerpt above is condemning police actions that violate human rights.

*"CCM strongly condemns the actions that have begun to occur in recent days, especially on Pemba Island, for some supporters, members, and leaders of some political parties to preach divisions to incite breach of peace, not our Zanzibar culture." @hamdu\_shaka @ccm\_tanzania*

In the above tweet, @ccm\_tanzania condemns actions that can lead to divisions and breach of peace and are being incited by members of political parties they did not mention.

Furthermore, the political parties' accounts extensively used hashtag activism. To support specific causes and participate in social movements, political parties use hashtags on social media platforms like X. By using a specific hashtag to disseminate information, contest social norms, and raise awareness, hashtag activism enables users to engage in activism (Wonneberger et al., 2021). To organise and mobilise support, hashtags are useful tools because they enable users to interact with people who share their interests and concerns (Wang & Zhou, 2021). The hashtags noted are presented below:

*#SisiNaSAMIAwaWatanzania Chairman of CCM and President of the United Republic of Tanzania Hon. Samia Suluhu Hassan visited the Kagera Sugar Factory. #VitendoVinaSauti #KaziIendeleee #TunaImaniNaSamia @ccm\_tanzania*

In the tweet above, ccm\_tanzania used four hashtags: #SisiNaSamiaWaWatanzania and #TunaImaniNaSamia, which show support to President Samia Suluhu Hassan; #KaziIendeleee, which supports the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government; and #VitendoVinaSauti, which applauds the good work of the government.

The thematic analysis of the data reveals that one political party—@ACTwazalendo—used their X account to engage in international activism. Here, are two of six such instances:

*RT @zittokabwe: Dear @UPNDYouthLeague Hon @JobSikhala1 is a political prisoner. He's been gaoled without trial for 190 days for*

*defending More Blessing Ali, who was murdered in cold blood. Please help us draw the world's attention to his plight with a RETWEET. We demand his release! #FreeWiwa @ACTwazalendo*

In the retweeted tweet, the ACT party leader, @zittokabwe, was demanding the release of Zimbabwean politician Job Sikhala, who had been in prison without trial for long. The party leader also mobilised for global attention by requesting that the international community, such as @UPNDYouthLeague, retweet his message. Another instance (below) concerns the Tigray crisis:

*RT @zittokabwe: #IStandWithTigray DEMANDS FOR TIGRAYAN LIVES 1. Immediate Negotiated Ceasefire with the Tigray Government 2. Unfettered and Unrestricted Humanitarian Access 3. Full Verifiable Removal of Eritrean, and Amhara Forces from Tigray 4. Re-establishment of telecommunications @ACTwazalendo*

In the above retweet, the party leader stands with like-minded communities using the hashtag #IStandWithTigray to push for improvement in the Tigray Region in Ethiopia by supporting the four demands to resolve the crisis.

In conclusion, political parties use social media, particularly X, for social and political activism. This is achieved by disseminating information to raise awareness, voice concerns and demands and mobilising national and international support. All these were done with the help of social media platforms.

#### **4.1.2.5 X Helping Political Parties Manage the Government**

In a democratic nation, political parties play a significant role in managing the government on behalf of its citizens. The thematic analysis reveals that during a non-electioneering period, political parties engaged in managing the government mostly through social media because no public political meetings or demonstrations were not allowed in Tanzania. Political parties participate in government management through X in various ways. One way is to create alternative bodies that opposition parties have

created. For example, ACT created the Shadow Cabinet, and CHADEMA formed the People's Assembly. The following extracts confirm the existence of such bodies:

*"@BungeWananchi was created by former CHADEMA parliamentary candidates in the 2020 general election, representing every constituency. Its primary goal is to be spokespersons for the people." @Celestine\_Simba, Speaker of the People's Assembly. @ChademaTz*

*RT @Ndolezi\_Petro: After the 2020 General Elections became frivolous and eliminate the opposition in Parliament. ACT Wazalendo through the Party Leader's Office, @zittokabwe established the Shadow Council of Ministers to manage the Government outside Parliament. Every Government Ministry has its spokesperson, and work is done with quality @ACTwazalendo*

These tweets reveal that both the People's Assembly and the Shadow Cabinet spoke for the people in matters pertaining to government. It is also revealed that the push for these bodies was driven by the results of the 2020 general elections, which led to a one party government. It should be noted that since public meetings were prohibited by the government, these bodies deliberated in indoor meetings and communicated their deliberations through press releases, conferences, and social media platforms.

Another way in which political parties have used X to manage the government is through demands for accountability, responsibility, and transparency. The following extracts are derived to that effect:

*June 01, 2022, Secretary General @ACTwazalendo Mr. @AdoShaibu said, "TAMESA should be held responsible for this matter of Ferries at Kigamboni. CAG has mentioned a waste of more than 410 million in ferry fuel alone. The Management of Ferries must be held accountable or placed under another manager." @ACTwazalendo*

In the excerpt above, @ACTwazalendo, through the secretary general, is pushing for accountability and responsibility of government institution. Similarly, @ChademaTz also tweeted:

*Remaining silent gives us the interpretation that the government is collaborating with people and institutions to steal from its citizens. What is sad is that all the thieves and embezzlers who have been*

*exposed by the CAG in his audit report for the year 2020/21, no one nor any institution mentioned for embezzlement that has been held accountable. The government milks the people but cannot control the thieves or cooperate with them to squander Tanzanians' money. If it is true that the government does not cooperate with thieves to squander the money of Tanzanian taxpayers, why is it hesitant to take action against the embezzlers of public funds? On. Celestine Simba @ChademaTz*

In the extract above, @ChademaTz wants the government to take action against leaders who misuse or steal government funds because government funds are public funds. They pointed out that government inaction can be interpreted as the government is also responsible for embezzlement.

The thematic analysis reveals that political parties use their X accounts to advise the government. The parties not only highlight challenges in the current government and recommend solutions to existing challenges. This is evident in the following tweets:

*First, it is important that the government realizes that, in order to grow the economy, it should not always look at how to increase taxes and charges. Before thinking of milking the citizens, the government should first build the economy of each individual by making sure that it sets strategies to increase the income of the citizens. @ChademaTz*

*The Vice Chairman of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), retired Colonel Abdulrahman Kinana, has advised the Government to ensure that all those mentioned in the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of the Government (CAG) who squandered public funds are taken action. #CCMimara #kaziIendeleee @ccm\_tanzania*

The two tweets above indicate that political parties use their social media to advise the government. CHADEMA is advising the government to enable growth of the citizens' economy before it can earn revenue from citizens through taxes and charges. CCM is advising the government to ensure it takes actions against public servants who squandered public funds.

Furthermore, political parties have used social media platforms to criticise, condemn, and oppose certain government actions. By doing so, the government can correct itself and improve governance. The following tweets exemplify such instances:

*The CCM government runs the country with oppressive and divisive policies. ACT Wazalendo Sector Spokespersons stand up for and criticise the Government's bad behaviour and recommend an alternative #policy. @ACTBarazaKivuli #SautiMbadala #UwianoWaKijinsia #FiftyFifty #WeAreTheFuture @ACTwazalendo*

In the extract above, the @ACTwazalendo shadow cabinet, @ACTBarazaKivuli, criticises the government for its oppressive and divisive policies and proposes an alternative policy. CHADEMA, on the other hand, criticises the actions of the government's Law Reform Commission:

*"This issue of gathering opinions on the review of the Political Parties Act is not acceptable, instead, if the Law Reform Commission wants to do its job professionally, the Commission should come forward and explain to the people why it has been silent until now. It has never joined the voice of asking the Government to remove the illegal restriction of public meetings of political parties, which is against the Constitution of the country, the Law of Political Parties, and the Law of the Police Force." Hon. @jjmnyika @ChademaTz*

The above extract shows that CHADEMA, through its Secretary General, is criticising the Law Reform Commission for its silence when the government bans public political meetings, which are a constitutional right.

Apart from political parties using their X platforms to criticise or condemn government actions, they also commend good government actions. This provides feedback to the government that can help improve how it serves its citizens. Below are extracts to exemplify the point:

*"The task force has done a good job of making recommendations to rejuvenate the process of obtaining a new constitution that stalled in 2014." @ACTwazalendo*

*RT @zittokabwe: CAG's move to conduct a special audit, including obtaining information on those who were hurt by the looting is highly commendable... I am so moved that now investigations have been conducted and report by the CAG will be made public. @ACTwazalendo*

The two tweets above feature positive remarks about government or government agency initiatives. The above remarks from an opposition party imply maturity.

However, @ccm\_tanzania appears to use its X account to commend and congratulate the government, as shown below:

*@hamdu\_shaka: CCM CONGRATULATES PRESIDENT SAMIA FOR CREATING A COMMISSION TO MONITOR CRIME INCIDENTS. #ChamaImara. #MwakaMmojaWaSSH #KaziIendeleee #TunaImaniNaSamia @ccm\_tanzania*

In the above tweet, the leading party uses its account to congratulate the president for her actions in monitoring crimes in the country. In another incident, the party commends the president for her actions in the country's politics, as the tweet below illustrates:

*THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI CONGRATULATES. The National Executive Council of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) commends the efforts of political parties, especially in agreeing to come together to create political reconciliation. @hamdu\_shaka @ccm\_tanzania*

The tweet above communicates the party's governing body's decision to commend the efforts of political parties in the country, agreeing to political reconciliation as a solution to the highly divisive politics that existed in Tanzania. Moreover, @ccm\_tanzania has used its X platform to highlight the achievements of President Samia Suluhu, as shown below:

*"Today... 558 days since Hon. @SuluhuSamia was sworn in as the President of our country, where ...she gave the direction of the government she will form and lead that her intention is to open the country economically." "We have all witnessed her allowing principles of economic philosophies to guide the economy instead of administrative forces. We have witnessed President @SuluhuSamia ...completely change the environment and the speed of implementation." "...during this period, through economic diplomacy, President @SuluhuSamia has managed to find and attract investors, strengthen the business environment, and increase production activities that will increase employment and government income". #CCMImara #KaziIendeleee @ccm\_tanzania*

The extract above highlights the achievements of President @SuluhuSamia as summarised from ccm\_tanzania's X account. From the extract, the president has opened

the country economically, improved the environment and pace of implementation of development projects, attracted more investors, strengthened the business environment, and increased production. Thus, employment opportunities and government revenues have increased.

In summary, political parties have used their X accounts to influence the government. They have achieved this by using their accounts not only to criticise and advise the government but also to advocate for government accountability, responsibility and transparency. They have also used their X platforms to highlight and commend government achievements.

#### **4.1.2.6 Other Findings on the Use of X by Political Parties**

The thematic analysis of the political parties' X data reveals other findings presented in this section. Among them are using X for crisis communication, diplomacy, and addressing misinformation and disinformation. This study also found that political parties discussed Tanzanian nationalism using X and other social media platforms. These are described below.

Political parties use their X account to communicate during crises. The tweet from @ccm\_tanzania is an example of such instances:

*NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC: The Secretary General of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Brother @chongolo\_daniel, is warning the Tanzanian public to be careful with online fraudsters who use his name and the privilege of his position. #CCMImara #Kazilendelee @ccm\_tanzania*

In the extract above, Secretary General of the CCM warns Tanzanians against fraudsters who steal his identity to commit fraud. The incident qualifies as a crisis because it not only threatens the reputation of the leader but also the safety of Tanzanians who may fall into the fraudster trap. Therefore, the party's account as a trusted source of information helps inform the public.

In addition to crisis communication, X is used to address issues related to misinformation and disinformation. For example, @ccm\_tanzania posted a press release on their page with the caption: “Press Release on the false and misleading information published by the Raia Mwema Newspaper.” The aim was to address misleading information that was perceived to have ill intentions towards the party.

Moreover, political parties use their X platform to create and strengthen diplomatic relations with the international community, as the following extracts indicate:

*The Chairperson of (CCM) and the President of URT Hon. @SuluhuSamia has sent her condolences to the @MYANC (ANC) Party Chairman, Cde. Gwede, and the President of South Africa, Cde. @CyrilRamaphosa following the death of the former Deputy Secretary General of the ANC, Cde. Yasmin 'Jessie' Duarte. @ccm\_tanzania*

*We offer our condolences to the People's Republic of China following the death of the retired President of that Nation, Brother Jiang Zemin. @ChademaTz*

*A congratulatory statement to the people of #Kenya following the swearing-in ceremony of their 5th President @WilliamsRuto by #ACTWazalendo Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation, @drnasranassor. @ACTwazalendo*

The extracts above provide evidence that political parties use social media platforms to strengthen their international relationships by providing support during crises and by offering support to new leaders.

Furthermore, political parties, particularly opposition parties, use their X platform to discuss and campaign for Tanganyika and Zanzibar nationalism. The two opposition parties appear to use this agenda to justify their election as candidates in the next general election. The following extracts show some instances of such discussions:

*"In this difficult life and extreme poverty, is there any reason for you, young people, to lose heart and let them continue to reject the movement to fight for Zanzibar with full autonomy?" Jussa asked. @ACTwazalendo*

*"My fellow Zanzibari, the only party to liberate us is Chadema, and no other party. Chadema has said that we will have a system of three*

*governments, Tanganyika with its full powers, Zanzibar with its full powers, and later having a Union Government."* @ChademaTz

The first extract mentions a movement seeking full autonomy in Zanzibar. The same idea is implied in the second extract, which mentions three governments as a solution to the currently debated two governments' union.

Finally, political parties used other social media platforms, such as YouTube and Clubhouse, to widen the coverage of their live events. The two extracts below illustrate:

*RT @IAMartin\_: Those who use ClubHouse can open this link and follow the launch of #JoinTheChain #ShillingiYetuNguvuYetu #JoinTheChain <https://t.co/yuuhlDaKEZ> @ChademaTz*

*#LIVE Clubhouse Conference on #TumeHuru towards the #KatibaMpya @IsmailJussa talks about the whole concept of the Agenda of the Independent Commission towards the New Constitution. @ACTwazalendo*

The two extracts above show political parties sharing links on their X accounts to join live events in Clubhouse, a new type of social network based on voice—where people around the world come together to talk, listen, and learn from each other in real time (clubhouse.com). The use of these multiple social media platforms allows political parties to cover a broad audience beyond geographical boundaries.

#### **4.1.2.7 Summary**

Political parties in Tanzania extensively use X to disseminate information on various aspects of human and political life. They use their X accounts for parties' advocacy by communicating the parties' policies, agenda, ideology, and beliefs; stating the parties' position on ongoing and future political activities; and pushing for support of the parties' course of action. In addition, political parties in Tanzania use their X accounts to mobilise their followers to participate in the parties' events, support the parties or the country's political course, and be active in taking actions in the affairs of the country. Furthermore, political parties use social media, particularly X, for social and political

activism by disseminating information to raise awareness, voice concerns and demands and mobilising for national and international support. Another key finding is that political parties use X to influence the government by using their accounts not only to criticise and advise the government but also to advocate for government accountability, responsibility, and transparency. They also use their X platforms to highlight and commend government achievements. Lastly, Political parties use X for crisis communication, diplomacy, and addressing misinformation and disinformation.

#### **4.2 Description of how Tanzanians use hashtags to engage in political discourse**

This section presents findings in line with the data generated from two selected hashtags, #KaziIendeleee and #KatibaMpya, in response to the second research question: *How do Tanzanians use #KaziIendeleee and #KatibaMpya to engage in political discourse in the country?* Analytics from Twitonomy are shown first, followed by the themes that emerged.

##### **4.2.1 Analytics for the #KaziIendeleee and #KatibaMpya**

###### **4.2.1.1 #KaziIendeleee**

On January 5, 2023, Twitonomy was used to extract data from X using the keyword #KaziIendeleee. The search analytics revealed that the hashtag was used in 674 tweets posted between December 26, 2022 and January 5, 2023. It was further revealed that during that period, it was used by 284 X users and had a potential reach of 21,480,935. According to Twitonomy, potential reach is the sum of all the followers of the tweeters who used a particular hashtag.

The analytics further revealed that the four most influential users of #KaziIendeleee during the analysed period were @kigogo2014 (1,144,433 followers), @ccm\_tanzania (801,594 followers), @ummymwalimu (780,989 followers), and @MsigwaGerson (709,366 followers). The most engaging users, which were the top users by the number

of retweets and favourites generated by their mentioning the hashtag, are: @ComradeKawaida, who had 1,113 followers and 56 retweets and 539 favourites; @ccm\_tanzania, 801,594 followers with 69 retweets and 408 favourites; @chongolo\_daniel, who had 10,346 followers, 29 retweets and 302 favourites; and @MsigwaGerson, who had 709,366 followers, 38 retweets and 148 favourites.

According to the analytics, the five most active users who mentioned #KaziIendeleee in their tweets during the analysed period were: @UhuruOnlineTz (44 mentions), @npointtz (35 mentions), @SokwaraT (21 mentions), @nyukiwamama (17 mentions), and @utuKwanza (12 mentions). It is also revealed that top five most used hashtags are #KaziIendeleee (578), #AlipoMamaVijanaTupo (76), #UhuruOnline (57), #Salamu (45), and #MamaYukoKazini (38). Further, Figure 4.12 below reveals five most retweeted tweets mentioning the hashtag #KaziIendeleee.

#### 🔗 Most retweeted tweets

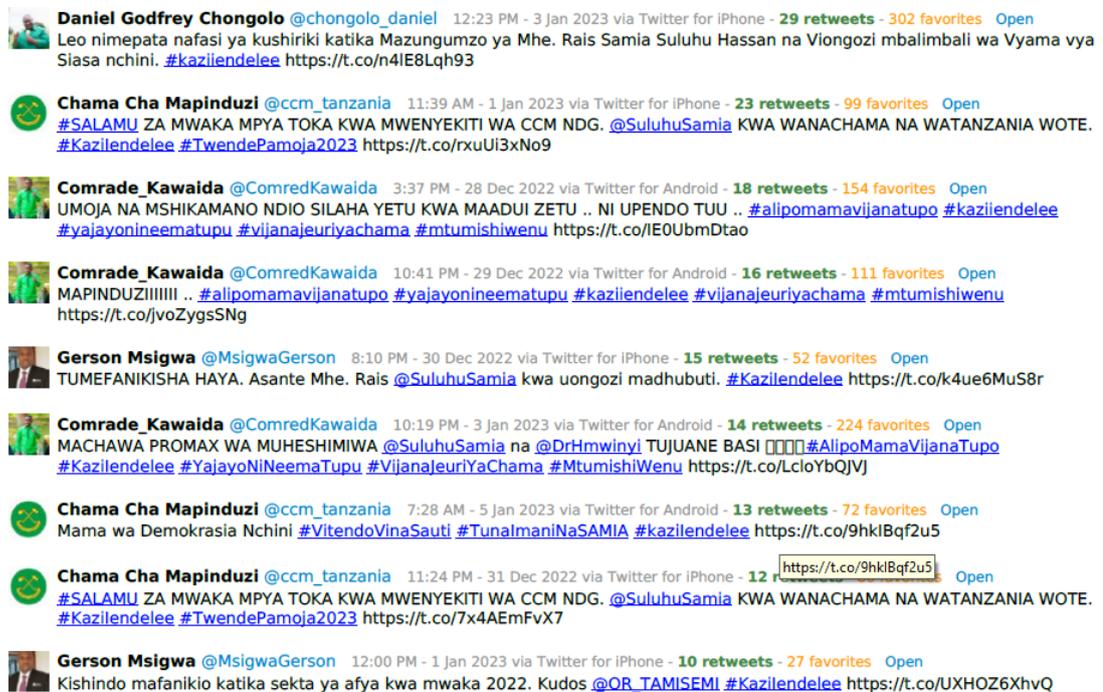


Figure 4.13: Most Retweeted Tweets Mentioning #KaziIendeleee

Figure 4.13 reveals that the tweet by @chongolo\_daniel, Secretary General of @ccm\_tanzania, was the most retweeted (29 times) tweet. Figure 4.13 shows the most favoured tweets with the hashtag #KaziIendelee.

#### 📌 Most retweeted tweets



**Figure 4.14: Most Favoured Tweets Mentioning #KaziIendelee**

Figure 4.14 shows that the tweet by @chongolo\_daniel was also the most favoured tweet (302 times). It was followed by a tweet by @ComredKawaida (224 times) who identified himself as a “*machawa promax*” (psycho fans) of presidents @SuluhuSamia and @DrHMwinyi. The full Twitonomy analytics report for #KaziIendelee is provided in the Appendix.

A Conclusion that can be drawn from the analytics of #KaziIendelee is that Tanzanians who use the hashtag most are government leaders’ civil servants, members or supporters of CCM and the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government, and the CCM media such as ccm\_tanzania and @UhuruOnlineTz.

#### 4.2.1.2 #KatibaMpya

Using the hashtag #KatibaMpya as a search term, data from X were extracted using Twitonomy on January 5, 2023. According to the search metrics, the hashtag was used in 3,018 tweets in a single day. It was further revealed that at the time, 105 people were

using the hashtag on X, giving it a potential audience of 36,720,451 followers. Potential reach, according to Twitonomy, is the total number of followers of tweeters who use a specific hashtag.

The analytics further revealed that the four most influential users of #KatibaMpya during the analysed period were @MariaSTsehai with 1,155,373 followers, @HildaNewton21 with 732,875 followers, @lifeofmshaba with 377,198 followers, and @PatricOleSosopi with 98,316 followers. In addition, the most engaging users are: @HildaNewton21, who mentioned the hashtag 19 times, had 55 retweets and 100 favourites; @DeusedithSoka, who mentioned the hashtag 13 times, had 22 retweets and 22 favourites; @Mtalban\_MTalban, who mentioned the hashtag 237 times, had 19 retweets and 22 favourites; and @Godwin\_Godwin3, who mentioned the hashtag 8 times, had 21 retweets and 16 favourites.

Additionally, the top five individuals who tweeted about #KatibaMpya during the study period were @DavidMfugwa2 (714 mentions), @EdisonMyinga1 (623 mentions), @ahmadrubibi (415 mentions), @WisemanNtele (387 mentions), and @Mtalban\_MTalban (237 mentions). Along with that, the top five hashtags most frequently used were #KatibaMpya (1,333), #WenyeNchiWananchi (239), #HakiZaBinadamu (31), #MwlNyerere (28) and #Mazungumzo (14). The five most retweeted tweets with the hashtag #KatibaMpya are also shown in Figure 4.14 below.

### 📌 Most retweeted tweets



**Figure 4.15: Five most Retweeted Tweets with #KatibaMpya**

Figure 4.15 reveals the most retweeted tweets discussing the idea of a good constitution.

Figure 4.16 shows the five most favoured tweets containing #KatibaMpya.

### ★ Most favorited tweets



**Figure 4.16: Most Favoured Tweets with #KatibaMpya**

As Figure 4.16 reveals, the most favourite tweets discussed the new constitution, particularly the qualities of a good constitution. The full analytics report for #KatibaMpya is provided in the appendix.

From the analytics of #KatibaMpya, it can be concluded that Tanzanians actively use the hashtag, producing approximately 3000 tweets using the hashtag each day. The hashtag is mostly used by digital activists campaigning for constitutional reform in Tanzania.

#### **4.2.2 Thematic analysis findings on Tanzanians' Use of #KaziIendelee and #KatibaMpya to engage in political discourse**

This study employed thematic analysis to examine how Tanzanians use the hashtags #KaziIendelee and #KatibaMpya to participate in political discourse. Inductive thematic analysis, which revealed the underlying themes and patterns that emerged from the X data obtained using Twitonomy during the study, produced fascinating results, which are discussed in this section. Using the search terms #KaziIendelee and #KatibaMpya, a total of 3,692 tweets were collected. The themes that emerged from the analysis are presented, starting with those of #KaziIendelee, followed by #KatibaMpya, along with pertinent data quotes.

##### **4.2.2.1 Themes from #KaziIendelee**

###### **4.2.2.1.1 #KaziIendelee Used in Information Dissemination**

The thematic analysis reveals that the hashtag #KaziIendelee is used in various aspects of information dissemination, such as announcements, sharing holiday greetings and condolences, and news dissemination. As such, the hashtag is used by government leaders, institutions, and news media. Below is an announcement using the hashtag:

*Visit of the Minister of Information, Communication, and Information Technology - Hon. Nape Moses Nnauye (MP), to Review Communication Projects. Location: Njombe Region, Wanging'ombe District, Imalinyi Ward. Date: 06 JAN 2023 #HakunaKilichoSimama #MamaYukoKazini #KaziIendelee @Nnauye\_Nape*

The above extract announces the work visit of a government leader. In addition to providing the details of the visit, the announcement includes hashtags that support the

government with messages like nothing has stopped, mother (the president) is at work, and work should continue.

Apart from announcements of upcoming events, the hashtag is also used to inform the public about various activities, most of which are from various government authorities.

The following is an extract from the obtained data:

*Director @MbuluTown Yefred Myenzi Today, January 04, 2023, at the Community Hall in Mbulu Town, met with Ward Education Coordinators, Headmasters of Secondary Schools and Head Teachers of Primary Schools in a working session to devise education strategies for @MbuluTown. #KaziIendelee*

In the extract above, information on the director of Mbulu Town Council's working sessions is provided on X. The hashtag #KaziIendelee was used at the end of the tweet in support of the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government, which used the hashtag as its motto.

Apart from information dissemination by government leaders and institutions, online media and news companies also use #KaziIendelee in their daily news sharing. The extracts below illustrate:

*Verified #COVID19: After #China suddenly removed the virus control restrictions, #Ghana and #Morocco became the first countries in Africa to impose travel restrictions on passengers from China due to concerns about the outbreak. #KaziIendelee #KaziIendelee #JamiiForums #nphabari #np @npointtz*

In the extract above, a Tanzanian private online media company uses the hashtag to share international news.

*#SAIDO NTIBAZONKIZA scores his first goal in #SIMBASC SIMBA SC 4-1 TZ. PRISONS #GAMEON #UhuruOnline #UhuruUpdates #uhurusports #kaziendelee @UhuruOnlineTz*

In the excerpt above, Uhuru Publications Limited uses the hashtag while sharing updates on an ongoing match on their X account. It can be noted that the hashtag #KaziIendelee is used in sharing news and information by online media channels. The news shared can be national, international, or sports-related.

Therefore, #KaziIendeleee is used when sharing news and information by individuals and public and private institutions with the intention of showing support to the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government.

#### 4.2.2.1.2 Communicating Government Plans, Projects, and Achievements

A thematic analysis of the data showed that the hashtag #KaziIendeleee was used to communicate government plans and projects. This is done not only by government institutions but also by dedicated Tanzanians who have created online accounts specifically to showcase projects and plans being undertaken by the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government under President Samia Suluhu Hassan. The two extracts below illustrate:

*RT @nyukiwamama: "The goal of the government is to make Tanzania not only a transportation centre but also a business centre and that is possible if we ensure that all the projects we implement are managed and completed on time and with the required quality."  
@SuluhuSamia #NyukiWaMama #KaziIendeleee @nyukiwamama*

The tweet by @nyukiwamama shared President Samia's goal of making Tanzania a centre for business and transportation.

*#Hydroelectricity Strategic Project - Rufiji The "Julius Nyerere Hydro Power Project" (JNHPP) Achieving the Goal of Having 5000 MW by 2025. It is part of President Samia's plans to finish all strategic projects. #jetai\_tz #JengaTanzaniaImara #kaziendeleee #nishati @jetai\_tz*

The tweet by @jetai\_tz was a post to showcase strategic projects implemented by the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government. Note that the two extracts were posted by accounts that do not belong to the government but are supporters of President Samia and the CCM.

In addition, the thematic analysis reveals that not only national strategic projects are presented using the hashtag but also local government projects. The tweet below represents a local government project reported using the hashtag:

*AWESO IS SATISFIED WITH THE PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION OF MORE THAN 23 BILLION MOROGORO RURAL. The Minister of Water, Mr. Jumaa Aweso (MP), is satisfied with the implementation*

*of the Morong'anya Water Project implemented by RUWASA Morogoro Rural. #KaziIendelee #MamaYukoKazini*

In the tweet above, the Minister of Water is reported to be satisfied with a water project being implemented in Morogoro Rural District. Interesting to note is the use of #KaziIendelee and #MamaYukoKazini (mother is working). Every government achievement, whether national or local, is credited to the president by government leaders and supporters.

Apart from communicating the 6<sup>th</sup> government's plans and ongoing projects, the hashtag is also used when highlighting the government's achievements, particularly with respect to President Samia's two years of leadership. The following extracts illustrate:

*In order to ensure that the citizens of the United Republic of Tanzania are healthy, the government of the United Republic of Tanzania under President Samia Suluhu Hassan has distributed 892,000 nets in Songwe, Mbeya, and Rukwa regions. @wizara\_afyatz @SuluhuSamia @mamakajatz #kaziiendelee*

In the tweet above, the X user was reporting one of the government's efforts to protect Tanzanians from Malaria in three regions. The president's efforts to improve the health sector are also seen in the following excerpt:

*This season, #mamayukokazini succeeded in moving health services closer to the people as she promised. Therefore, residents of the same no longer need to send patients to Mawenzi or KCMC because the district hospital has been improved now that emergency services are available. #KaziIendelee*

The above tweet presents an important achievement that brings health services closer to the people of the Kilimanjaro region. Interesting to note is the use of the hashtag #mamayukokazini (mother is working) to refer to President Samia. The use of the hashtags #mamayukokazini and #kaziiendelee increased the likelihood that tweets would appear in the search results.

In conclusion, #KaziIendeleee is used by Tanzanians, particularly supporters of the 6<sup>th</sup> phase government under President Samia, to not only showcase the government's plans and ongoing projects but also highlight its achievements.

#### **4.2.2.1.3 Supporting President Samia Suluhu Hassan and the CCM Government**

A thematic analysis of the data generated by searching the hashtag #KaziIendeleee indicates that the hashtag is used by Tanzanians not only to support but also to mobilise for support to the president and the CCM government. This can be achieved in several ways. One way to achieve this is by posting tweets that explicitly express support, like the extract below:

*We would like to support the efforts of President Dr. Samia Suluhu Hassan @SuluhuSamia to allow public meetings of political parties in the country. This continues to clearly show that Tanzania is a wellspring of Democracy. #SisitumekubaliT2025SSH #kaziiendeleee @kakumbichi*

In the tweets above, the user declares support for the president's action to allow public political meetings, which had been restricted for six years by her predecessor. The tweet further indicated support for the president in the coming 2025 general election using the hashtag #SisitumekubaliT2025SSH (sometimes #T2025SSH). The SSH is an abbreviation used by Tanzanians to refer to President Samia Suluhu Hassan on social media platforms.

Another way in which Tanzanians expressed their support for the president and the CCM government is through posting affection and appreciation tweets, as shown below:

*Exactly, our dear president, Chief Hangay, Dr. SSH... Haste does not have Blessings. May the Almighty God bless them, and let reconciliation bring happiness on all sides. Amen! @SuluhuSamia, we love you! We appreciate you! We are together #KaziIendeleee @FatmaMkweli*

The user in the aforementioned tweet exhibited affection, appreciation, and support for the president. Note that the user is expressing these in response to President Samia's reconciliation policies and her decision to allow public political meetings.

In addition, the hashtag #KaziIendelee was also used to defend the CCM government against opposition arguments. The tweet below illustrates:

*...We are tired of hearing their noise. They see things, and then they pretend they don't see them. The only party that brings about development is CCM! Not other parties. #kaziendelee @gabriel\_mkwawa*

In the above tweet, the user states that he/she is tired of the opposition noise and goes on to state that it is only CCM that can bring development to the country. Therefore, using the hashtag in the tweet implied that work should continue regardless of the opposition's noise.

Finally, the hashtag #KaziIendelee was used to mobilise support for the CCM government. The following holiday greeting tweet by CCM reads:

*#NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF CCM  
HON. @SuluhuSamia TO ALL MEMBERS AND TANZANIANS.  
#KaziIendelee #TwendePamoja2023 @ccm\_tanzania*

In the New Year greetings on the @ccm\_tanzania page, the hashtag #kaziIendelee is used together with #TwendePamoja2023 to mobilise members and Tanzanians to continue supporting the CCM government in 2023.

#### **4.2.2.1.4 Use of #KaziIendelee in Activism against Gender-Based Violence**

The thematic analysis of the data revealed that the hashtag #KaziIendelee was also used in activism against gender-based violence. This was evident in the following tweet by the Minister for Social Development, Gender, Women, and Special Groups, @Dr\_DGwajima, below:

*@smaujata\_tz expose those teachers who torture students with sexual bribes.*

*Colleges please create gender desks as the government has directed because the problem exists and we must overcome it.  
#KataaUkatiliWeweNiShujaa #KaziIendelee @Dr\_DGwajima*

In the tweet, the minister called for people to expose teachers who harass students with sexual corruption. She also insisted on colleges establishing gender desks to end gender-based violence. She used the hashtags #KataaUkatiliWeweNiShujaa (Reject violence, you're a Hero) and #KaziIendelee to support the Ministry's campaign.

In summary, the hashtag #KaziIendelee has been used in various themes that support the existing government, ranging from News and information dissemination; communicating the government's plans, projects and achievements; supporting president Samia Suluhu Hassan and the CCM government; and activism against gender-based violence.

#### **4.2.2.2 Themes from the #KatibaMpya Tweets Analysis**

Thematic analysis of tweets using the hashtag #KatibaMpya categorises the online discussions into the following topics:

##### **4.2.2.2.1 Strategizing**

Tanzanians use X to strategize on various issues surrounding their campaign for a new constitution, which the hashtag refers to. One example of a strategizing act is the tweet below:

*RT @davitheempire: "What should be done is to give strength to the media that reports the truth and stop watching media that have been bought by the government." —@DEUSDEDITHSOKA*

In the above tweet, the user believes that watching and following media that speak the truth is one way to convince Tanzanians of the need for a new constitution. The tweet also revealed that some Tanzanians believe that the media is controlled by the government.

Another way X and the hashtag are used for strategizing is by mobilising people to become a part of the online movement, as the tweet below indicates:

*"Our eyes in recent days, citizens, are our cameras, our phones, and anything that you can use to illuminate the evils that are happening in our communities and facilitate the struggle for our rights." — @gwangwayyohani #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

The excerpt above demonstrates that users are encouraging citizens to use technology to illuminate evil in the community to facilitate the fight for their rights.

Apart from mobilising for activism, the hashtag has also been used to strategize by highlighting the need for citizenship education in Tanzania, as can be seen in the following tweet:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: Citizenship education should be given to citizens so that they understand the importance of managing their leaders and the steps to take when leaders are negligent. #KatibaMpya*

It is evident from the extract above that Tanzanians engage in online discussions and view citizenship education as an important tool that empowers citizens to hold their leaders accountable.

Furthermore, through the #KatibaMpya hashtag activism, Tanzanians are strategizing on the best ways to change the country in terms of justice systems and the constitution, as the extracts below illustrate:

*RT @Iam\_jac5: "We cannot have progress if we have not reached the people from the grassroots, and they are the ones who know they have challenges."... Development must focus on the challenges of the people and promote equality and justice in the country. — @marthamwatha*

The above extract indicates that users insisted on the importance of involving people in the struggle to make changes. Users insist that changes must focus on the challenges of the people. In a similar instance, the user in the tweet below emphasised citizen involvement:

*RT @Iam\_jac5: "Citizens should be encouraged because they have gone through a difficult period of President Magufuli. Therefore, there is a need for sufficient unity towards that change." — @hugokimaryo*

The tweet above highlights the need for citizens to be encouraged to participate in the movement for change. It also calls for unity towards the desired change. In addition, the tweet implies that the previous government was difficult for Tanzanians.

#### **4.2.2.2.2 #KatibaMpya Awareness Campaign**

To justify the need for a new constitution, people on X have used the hashtag #KatibaMpya to bring public attention to current and aspired situations. The aim of this project is to raise awareness of situations that need to be changed. To achieve this purpose, various issues are discussed on X, and they can easily be retrieved by searching the hashtag.

One of the awareness campaigns revealed by the thematic analysis highlighted the shortcomings of the current constitution. Its weakness with respect to human rights is clearly contested, as the tweet below illustrates:

*RT @Godwin\_Godwin3: The current Tanzania #KatibaYa1977 has significant shortcomings on clauses that guarantee Human Rights and protection against Human Rights Abuses. Many have suffered because of this flaw in the law. #KatibaMpya*

The above tweet shows that Tanzanians recognise that the 1977 constitution has flaws in human rights clauses that have resulted in many people suffering. However, the user did not identify any particular flaw.

Another shortcoming of the 1977 constitution, according to Tanzanians on X, is that it did not come from the people, as the tweet below narrates:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: CITIZENS' CONSTITUTION I; The existing constitution is not based on the opinion of the people. It is the constitution of the rulers with the aim of a small group suppressing the interests of the majority because many laws are being broken and people are being hurt. #KatibaMpya*

The extract above clearly indicates that there are people concerned with the current constitution not being a result of the people's opinion, and they go on to say it was a result of the union of two political parties, as the tweet below illustrates:

*RT @DavidMfugwa2: "The constitution we have is the result of two main political parties, TANU and ASP. It was developed quickly and did not answer the question of the democratic governance system or otherwise." It is not the constitution of the people. — @Oleshangay #KatibaMpya*

It is clear from the extract above that people opine that the current constitution does not belong to the people because it does not come from the people. They also believe the current constitution does not enable a democratic governance system.

Furthermore, the current constitution has been criticised for giving too much power to the president compared to other bodies. Below is an extract from the data:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: The current constitution gives the President enormous powers. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi... #FactsCheck: Due to the power she has, even her elected DC have been seen canning the people and there is nothing the people can do.*

In the tweet above, the user points out that the present constitution has given much power to the President, and this power is exercised even by the president's appointees.

The extract below continues to explain the cause of the president's enormous power:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: The President appointing the election commission officials removes the independence of the commission, but it also interferes with the parliament because the commission oversees the election of members of parliament, so the president has influence over who becomes a member of parliament. #KatibaMya*

The above extract shows that appointment leads to power imbalance. Since the president appoints officials to the electoral commission, he or she also has influence over who becomes a member of parliament. Thus, both the electoral commission and the parliament are believed not to be independent.

The analysis reveals that most Tanzanians who campaign for a new constitution believe that, due to the enormous powers of the president, there is no balance among the three pillars of government, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: Despite the fact that Tanzania has 3 pillars in the distribution of power, confusion is where the Chief Justice is appointed by the President and can be dismissed at any time. This is dangerous against the independence of the Judiciary, so for the Speaker of the Parliament. #KatibaMpya*

The above tweet highlights the challenge of power imbalance among the three pillars of the government, which is mainly caused by the appointment mechanism. Furthermore, there is a lack of strong civil institutions. These are obvious in the two extracts below:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: In order to find three pillars that work for the benefit of the public, it is necessary to reduce the powers of the President and re-weave the parliament and court system, especially the qualities of its leaders, the way their leaders are found.*

The tweeter in the above extract emphasises not only reducing the powers of the President but also reforming the parliament and judiciary systems to have three pillars that work for the advantage of the public.

*RT @davitheempire: "The challenge that Tanzanians are facing is that there are no strong civil institutions, and if there are, they are all afraid of the government. People are killed, but they do not condemn anywhere." — @MwauraRobert2*

The above extract shows the lack of a strong civil institution to stand for people, especially when government organs appear to abuse human rights.

Apart from the shortcomings of the current constitution, people advocating for a new constitution believe that the plight Tanzanians are facing is a result of CCM's longtime leadership. To them, CCM is to blame, as the tweet below suggests:

*"The poverty we have in Tanzania was not created by us; it is the CCM government that has brought it to us, and it is their main project. CCM has set a trap to bring us into poverty so that we are dependent on*

*them; they have no intention of developing the country." —  
@davitheempire #KatibaMpya*

The extract above blames CCM for the poverty of the country, saying it is CCM's strategy that the country remains poor and people continue to depend on the government. The aim of such reasoning can be to emphasise that CCM does not support any changes in the country.

The thematic analysis shows that #KatibaMpya is used to organise awareness campaign tweets that provide education on the constitution and human rights. One example of such a tweet is as follows:

*Human rights include the rights of expression, freedom of assembly, the right to vote and be voted for, the right to live, and others. Police should not persecute suspects and follow the procedures for arrest when a person is accused. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

In the tweet above, some human rights were mentioned for people to be aware of. The user also indicated that when these rights are observed, the police should not maltreat a suspect and will follow the stipulated procedures during arrest.

Similarly, in the awareness campaign, Tanzanians posted many tweets about the qualities of a good, stable, and credible constitution. Below are two such tweets:

*RT @WisemanNtele: "A good constitution is the basis of development." It brings responsibility, justice, equality, and citizens have the power to manage the government through parliament. Courts become Independent. — #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi @chrpl27*

The tweet above considers a good constitution as the foundation for development. In addition, the user believes that a good constitution should yield responsibility, justice, and equality. Further, users believe that a good constitution gives the people the power to manage the government through parliament. Finally, the tweeter believes that a good constitution can lead to an independent judiciary.

*A Good, Stable and Credible #KatibaMpya must protect the rights of every #WenyeNchiWananchi. We want a Constitution that encourages*

*the dispensation of justice for all according to the law. #KatibaMpya  
#WenyeNchiWananchi*

The above tweet regards a good constitution as one that protects the rights of every citizen and encourages justice for all. It should also be noted that the two tweets above, like many others, use hashtags #KatibaMpya and #WenyeNchiWananchi intentionally to campaign for a new constitution that gives citizens the power to manage the government.

To sum up, Tanzanians use the hashtags #KatibaMpya and #WenyeNchiWananchi to raise awareness of the shortcomings of the current constitution, such as the human rights clause deficit, the imbalance of the three pillars, and it was not from the people. They also educate on the qualities of a good, stable and credible constitution. Finally, they blamed the CCM government for being reluctant to development and constitutional reform.

#### **4.2.2.2.3 #KatibaMpya for Constitutional Activism**

The central theme of the hashtag #KatibaMpya is activating a new constitution in Tanzania. The thematic analysis reveals that Tanzanians believe that acquiring a new constitution will resolve various challenges facing the country, as described below:

One of the aspirations of people who advocate for a new constitution is that it will give citizens power. The intention is to move away from the traditional practise where citizens are only involved in elections. The tweet below illustrates:

*RT @WisemanNtele: A good constitution ensures that real power remains with the people even if there is a system of representative democracy. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

In the extract above, the tweeter wants a constitution that guarantees that true power remains with the people even in the presence of representative democracy. This can be due to the current situation in which people are mostly involved during elections in

which they elect their representatives. In the tweet below, the people want the new constitution to enable them to hold their leaders accountable:

*RT @S4Shibeshi: When citizens lack faith in a leader, there must be a system of accountability, to control misappropriation of public resources. The public eye is very important. We want a #KatibaMpya that gives power to the people.*

The above extract shows that people want a new constitution to create a mechanism by which they can hold their leaders accountable and prevent the embezzlement of public assets. The tweet explicitly states that people want a new constitution that accords them with power.

The analysis further reveals that people demand a new constitution, hoping that it will help them obtain the best leaders and good governance. According to the people, good governance should be based on people. People want a new constitution that ensures good governance, as the tweet below indicates:

*"We need a good governance system in which any leader or public servant will be responsible to the people and not the president." The people own the country — @davitheempire #KatibaMpya*

As the tweet above indicates, people believe that a good governance system is one in which a public servant or leader is responsible for the people who are the owners of the country instead of the president.

Furthermore, people believe that a country's development is led by good governance by the best leaders, as the tweet below illustrates:

*"A country is not built by resources, it is built by using intelligence. If you don't have intelligence you can't come up with a good plan to use the resources. We demand a better #KatibaMpya so that the best leaders come from the vote of the people." — @godbless\_lemma #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

The above tweet shows that the people recognize the importance of intelligent leaders to plan for a better utilization of the country's resources to bring development for the

country. The people demand a better new constitution that will enable the best leaders to come from the people.

As a means to enable the country to get best intelligent leaders mentioned above, the people are demanding a new constitution that will provide an independent electoral commission. This is evident in the tweet below:

*RT @ EdisonMyinga1: The New Constitution will remove the challenges of every election year. It should lay the foundations for free elections by creating an Independent Electoral Commission. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

The above extract shows the people's hope in the new constitution not only as the solution to election challenges but also creation of an independent electoral commission. These will contribute to getting good leaders.

Apart from a new constitution to bring an independent electoral commission, the people are campaigning for a new constitution as a remedy to the debated union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

*RT @NamdiAzikiwe: Why was great force used to kill the word Tanganyika? We should be proud that we are Tanganyikans. The Zanzibaris realized early and rejected the name of Tanzania Islands. We have been kept in the dark for too long let's fight for #KatibaMpya — @Robbietycoon WenyeNchiWananchi*

The extract above shows that one of the motives for people to demand a new constitution is to resolve concerns of Tanzanian nationalism, particularly the recognition that Tanzania was formed by uniting Tanganyika and Zanzibar. As the tweet below indicates, Tanzanians believe that a three government system will be solution:

*RT @ebbrah30: @fatma\_karume if you want Zanzibar to have the status you desire then great power should come in the #KatibaMpya so that there will be Tanzania, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.*

The tweets above show the people want the new constitution to create a three governments system that recognizes Tanzania, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Additionally, a thematic analysis of tweets with the hashtag #KatibaMpya shows that people are calling for a new constitution that ensures a powerful and independent court and legislature. This follows the awareness campaign that aimed to show the imbalance of the three pillars the government where most people believe the President has much power. Below is a tweet for the illustration:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: The power of the Judiciary should be increased. The Judiciary should have the power to manage any case based on criminality, embezzlement or other offenses and no one should be immune from being sued in court. #KatibaMpya*

In the tweet above, the tweeter calls for increase of the Judiciary's power. One of the ways suggested in the tweet is removing the immunity that protects political leaders from being sued in during or after their tenure. The people also want the new constitution to empower the legislature, as the tweets below indicate:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: The power of the people is the parliament. Current systems have put parliament in the hands of the President. The President appoints parliamentarians, ministers and the speaker is appointed by the President through her party. #KatibaMpya*

The above extract show the importance of the parliament to the people and notes how the government system renders the parliament powerless. So, the people hope the new constitution will restore the parliament's powers. The analysis further reveals that the people recognize the importance of a free legislature to democracy, as the tweet below shows:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: Parliamentary independence is essential in proper democratic systems. MPs becoming Ministers and MPs appointed by the President to enter Parliament interferes with Parliament. #KatibaMpya*

The extract above makes it clear that the people are aware that in order to have good democratic systems, the parliament should be independent. However, the fact that some of the members of parliament and all ministers are appointed by the president reduces

the parliament's power. This is because most appointed leaders are supposed to be loyal to their appointing authority.

Furthermore, the people are demanding a new constitution to be the basis for political and economic development. In the current constitution, political parties prepare their party election manifestos that they vow to implement if they are elected to form the government. This makes the country to mainly deal with short term plans. Perhaps that is the reason for people demanding the new constitution to be the basis, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @Iam\_jac5: "We need to be guided by the constitution and not the policies of political parties. ...We must have a better #KatibaMpya that has set a better framework for how the country should go politically and economically."*

The tweet above clearly indicates that the people want a new constitution to guide the course of the countries development instead of the political parties' manifestos. As the tweet below also confirms, the people believe that the new constitution is the right tool to lead the countries development:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: The economy is based on the policies and laws of the country. The New Constitution is the right map to build the economy. #KatibaMpya*

The above tweet recognizes the importance of a country's laws and policies as foundations for development. The tweet conclude by emphasizing that the new constitution is the right path to economic development.

Lastly, the analysis reveals that people are demanding a new constitution as a means to improve democracy and human rights. They believe that democracy and human rights are crucial elements to economic development, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE 1: We need a new constitution because things like democracy and human rights are things that are very important in bringing development to any nation. #KatibaMpya*

In the excerpt above, democracy and human rights are identified as crucial catalysts for the any nation's development. Therefore, the people are demanding a new constitution that will promote democracy and human rights. Similarly, as the tweet below indicates, the people are emphasizing on a new constitution to get a leadership that will prioritize democracy and human rights:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: DEMOCRACY AND RIGHTS 4: We need a new constitution because we need an administration that will give priority to human rights and democracy so that we can build a stable country with prosperity and development for all. #KatibaMpya*

As the extract above reveals, the people believes that human rights and democracy are important for a country's stability which in turn enables prosperity and development. The people believes that a new constitution is the key towards that success.

#### **4.2.2.2.4 People's Discussion on Media, Democracy and Politics**

A thematic analysis of the data reveals that, using the hashtag #KatibaMpya, people are engaging in discussions on media, democracy and politics. Concerning democracy, the people are conversing on the importance of free elections to democracy and importance of the opinions of the people. In the tweet below, the user questions whether there has been free elections in the country:

*RT @Iam\_jac5: Free elections are an important issue in a democratic country, the New Constitution, but do we have elections? Are they fair? #KatibaMpya*

The tweet above recognizes the importance of free elections in a democratic country. The user asks whether there has ever been elections and whether they have been fair, alluding to complaints of election rigging that have been prevalent since the inception of multi-party elections in Tanzania in 1995. Regarding the importance of the opinions of the people, the excerpt below explains:

*RT @EdisonMyinga1: Leaders with courage, vision and who believe in justice use the opinions of citizens to build better systems. Part of*

*the leadership of the country is governed by the opinions of the people. In promoting good governance, we must listen to the voices of the people. #KatibaMpya*

It is apparent from the tweet above that the people recognize the need for political leaders in democratic countries to include the opinions of the people to promote good governance. This discussion is fuelled by various threats that people face when they express their opinion on matters of governance, an issue that is contrary to democracy.

Another subject of discussion revealed by the analysis is on media freedom, protection and its role in development. The people are of the view that the media is captured by the government, as the tweet below indicates:

*"All the media have joined the government to make sure they spread the government's Propaganda to spread its policies..." — @DEUSDEDITHSOKA #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

As the extract above reads, the Tanzanian media is behind the government supporting and broadcasting only what the government wants the people to hear or see. A possible cause for this is lack of media protection, as the extract below shows:

*RT @JumaAbdukarim: In the law now there is no adequate protection for the media. To build the economy there must be independent media. The current system of managing the media has placed too much power on the minister of information.*

From the extract above it is clear that the people believe that the current constitution does not offer adequate protection for the media. The tweet further shows that the people understand the important role played by the media for economic development. Finally from the above extract, the minister responsible for information and communication technology and the regulatory bodies and given too much power over the media thus limiting media freedom.

Further into the thematic analysis of the data surrounding the #KatibaMpya hashtag, the people show to be aware of the role of the media in activism. This is evident in the tweet below:

*"Without the media, activism becomes difficult. Activists need to fight for the freedom of the media so that it is easy to reach the people" — @samphanka #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

In the extract above the user admits that it is difficult to do activism without the media.

Therefore, the user insists that activists should fight for media freedom in order they can reach the people in their activism.

Politics is revealed to be the topic of discussion by the people tweeting around #KatibaMpya. On the one hand, there are optimistic people who recognize the role of politics to their lives, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @Iam\_jac5: "We need to know that politics is everything. It touches everyone's life, it touches all important aspects, so we need to be careful with our choices." We also need to stand up and protect justice and equality systems in the country. — @IbrahimuJackso4*

The tweet above points out the importance of politics to the people, mentioning that it touches every aspect of the people's lives. Thus, the tweet warns the people to be careful with their choices. On the other hand, there are pessimistic people who believe politics is all about lies, as the tweet below indicates:

*I understand that the INTERPRETATION of politics is Truth, but our Politicians deliberately interpret politics as lies. This is a big problem. If there is no reality, there is no politics. #KatibaMpya*

The extract above show that the user believes that politics should be based on truth, however the politicians deliberately lie to the people. This creates a huge trust problem between the people and politicians. This discussion on politics points to the fact that political activities are ongoing activities that do not happen during election period only.

#### **4.2.2.2.5 Digital Citizenship and Social Media Influence**

The thematic analysis of the #KatibaMpya tweets has revealed other results worth noting: breach of digital citizenship principles and success in online movements.

Although majority of Tanzanian X users conduct themselves online ethically, this study reveals few instance of breaching the digital citizenship principles. Digital citizens are

required to keep moral and courteous conduct when interacting with others on social media sites by refraining from cyberbullying, hate speech, and harassment as well as demonstrating compassion, empathy, and respect for others. It's important to be conscious of how one's words and deeds effect other people in order to maintain a positive online environment. This was not the case in the extract below:

*RT @Anonymous1: If I understand **the Arab lady** correctly, she has allowed politicians to hold meetings but warned them if they say bad things about her government and her party, they will be beaten... and stones will be thrown as usual by the UVCCM. #KatibaMpya is a must.*

In the above tweet above the user was disrespectful and used a racially discriminative phrase referring to the President as ‘the Arab lady’. Such an act not makes the user uncourteous but may also instigate hate from loyal supporters of the President.

In conclusion, the hashtag #KatibaMpya has been used in a variety of contexts, including the movement for a new constitution's strategic planning, public awareness campaigns, and advocacy for constitutional reform. The analysis also showed that the hashtag is primarily used in conjunction with the hashtag #WenyeNchiWananchi to promote a people-centred government.

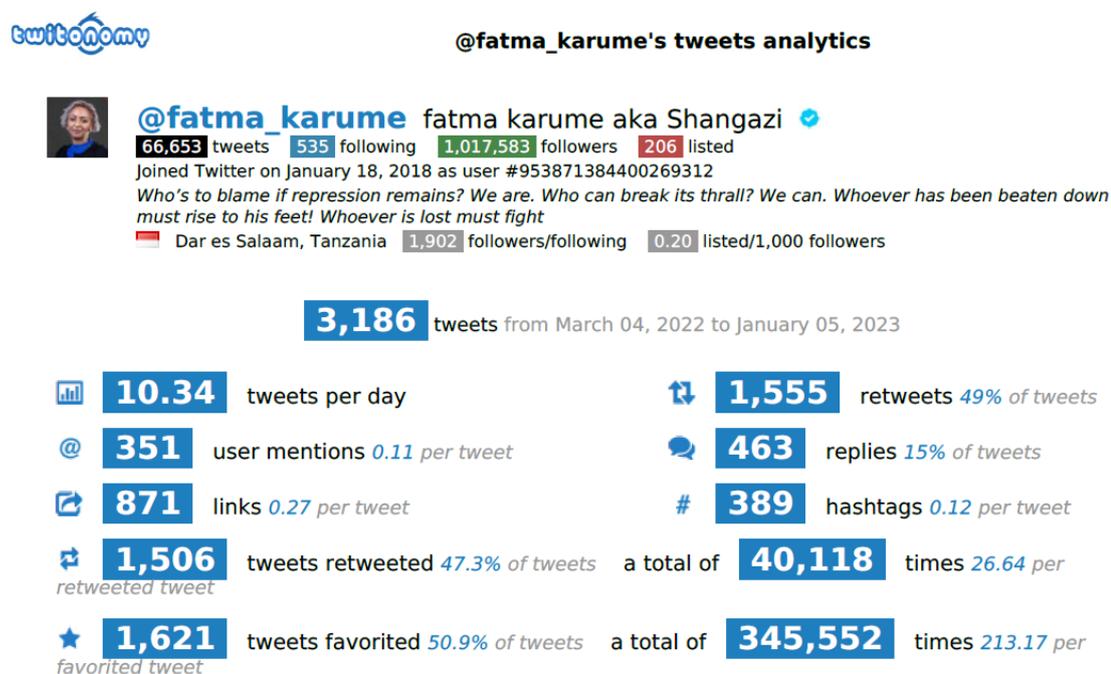
#### **4.3 Explanation of X Use by Tanzanian Digital Activists**

This section gives findings in response to the third study question: *In what ways do Tanzanian activists leverage the various uses of X to influence socio-political change in the country?* This study uses information gathered from the X accounts of two particular social media activists, @MariaSTsehai and @fatma\_karume. The information examined was from January 1, 2022, to January 5, 2023. The analytics from Twitonomy are presented first, followed by the themes that emerged from the inductive thematic analysis.

### 4.3.1 Analytics for Social Media Activists' Accounts

#### 4.3.1.1 @fatma\_karume

Fatma Karume, also known as Shangazi (aunt), is a former president of The Tanganyika Law Society (TLS). She is a lawyer and activist for human rights, judicial independence, and the rule of law. On January 5, 2023, Twitonomy was used to analyse her X account. Her bio shows that she joined X with the handle @fatma\_karume on January 18, 2018 as user number 953871384400269312. Figure 4.16 shows @fatma\_karume's bio and tweets analytics from Twitonomy.



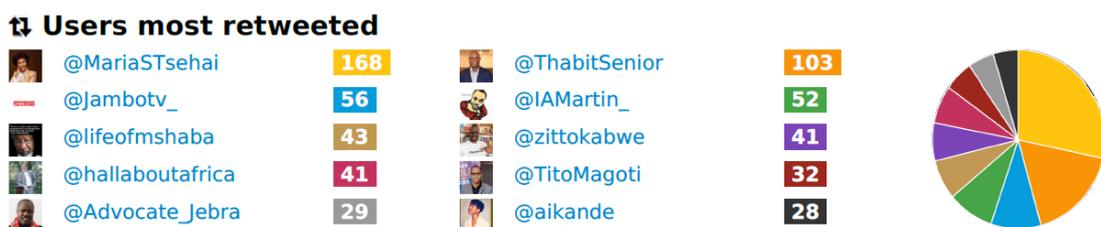
**Figure 4.17: @fatma\_karume's Bio and Analytics**

As shown in Figure 4.17, @fatma\_karume has 1,017,583 followers, follows 535 users, and has 66,653 tweets to her credit. The analytics also reveal that from March 4, 2022, to January 5, 2023, @fatma\_karume participated in 3,186 tweets. @fatma\_karume registered an average of 10.34 tweets per day throughout this period. The more tweets are sent per day, the busier is the account on X. It is also clear that 1,555 of the account's tweets, or 49% of the tweets examined, were retweeted. The more retweets a user

receives, the more likely they are to engage with other users. Twitonomy also found that @fatma\_karume was mentioned an average of 0.11 times per tweet, and 463 tweets (or 15% of the tweets analysed) received replies. This means that the user was interactive with others.

Further to Figure 4.17, @fatma\_karume used 871 links, which suggests that she is a source of information for other X users. She has used 389 hashtags, increasing the likelihood that her tweets will be found easily in a search. It also shows that 40,118 people, or 47.3% of @fatma\_karume's tweets, were retweeted by other users. This percentage of retweets suggests that other X users view @fatma\_karume's content as reliable. Furthermore, Figure 4.16 reveals that 1,621 tweets from @fatma\_karume, or 50.9% of them, were favourites, with each tweet receiving an average of 213.17 favourites. This number of likes confirms that X users value @fatma\_karume as a reliable information source.

Figure 4.17 reveals that @fatma\_karume most frequently (168 times) retweeted @MariaStsehai, followed by @ThabitSenior (103 times). Both are fellow activists.



**Figure 4.18: Users most Retweeted by @fatma\_karume**

A general comment on Figure 4.18 above is that all handles belong to social media activists except @jambotv\_, which is an online TV channel, and @zittokabwe, who, in addition to activism, is also a renowned politician. This shows the extent to which Tanzanian activists cooperate.

Furthermore, as shown in Figure 4.18, @fatma\_karume primarily addressed herself (218 replies) and @ThabitSenior (20 replies) in her comments.



**Figure 4.19 Users @fatma\_karume most Replied to**

Figure 4.19 above shows that @fatma\_karume mostly interacts with other activists and political leaders such as @zittokabwe and President @SuluhuSamia. This is also clear in Figure 4.20 below which presents the users @fatma\_karume mentions the most.



**Figure 4.20: Users most Mentioned by @fatma\_karume**

Figure 4.20 above shows that @fatma\_karume mentioned @ThabitSenior (38 times), @SuluhuSamia (15 times), @MariaSTsehai (14 times) and @zittokabwe (14 times). She has also mentioned @YouTube 9 times meaning she also uses YouTube in her activism. This implies that her activism reaches a wider audience and therefore likely to have more impact.

In Figure 4.21 below, Twitonomy analytics further reveal hashtags most used by @fatma\_karume during the analysed period. The six most used are #Tanzania (135 times), #KatibaMpya (52 times), #Zanzibar (51 times), #Tanganyika (18 times), #TumeHuru (17 times) and #RuleOfLaw (10 times).



**Figure 4.21: Hashtags most Used by @fatma\_karume**

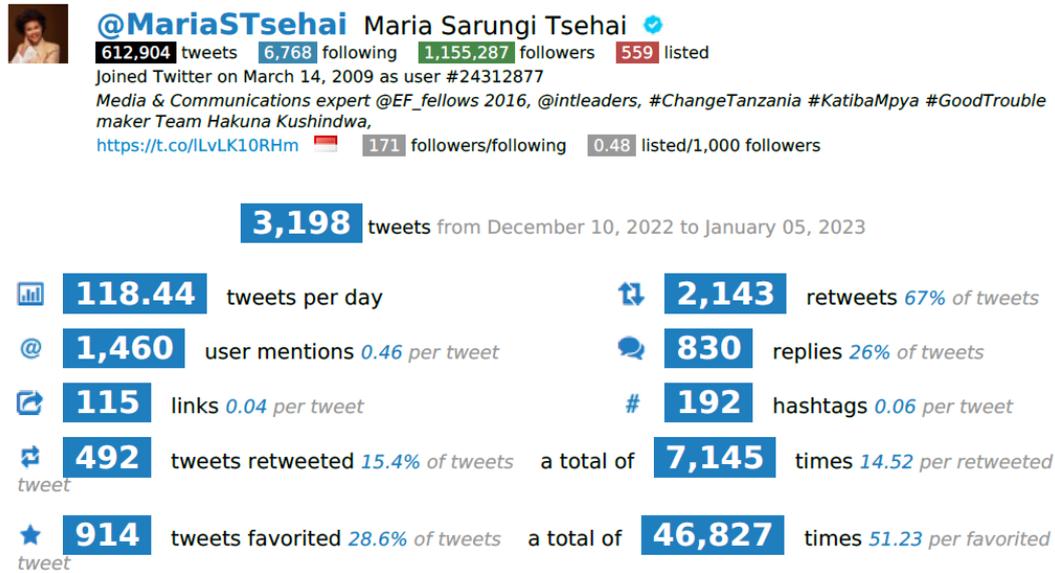
Judging from the hashtags she mostly uses, @fatma\_karume is advocating for rule of law in Tanzania. She furthermore supports the movement for a new constitution that recognizes three governments: Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Tanzania. She also participates in the discussion to get an independent electoral commission using #TumeHuru hashtag. A complete Twitonomy analytics report is provided in the appendix.

#### 4.3.1.2 @MariaSTsehai

A Media and communications specialist, Maria Sarungi Tsehai works to promote human rights, freedom of speech, and the rule of law. Her X account was examined using Twitonomy on January 5th, 2023. According to her bio, @MariaSTsehai started X on March 14th, 2009, with account number 24312877. The bio for @MariaSTsehai and tweet analytics from Twitonomy are displayed in Figure 4.22 below.



### @MariaSTsehai's tweets analytics



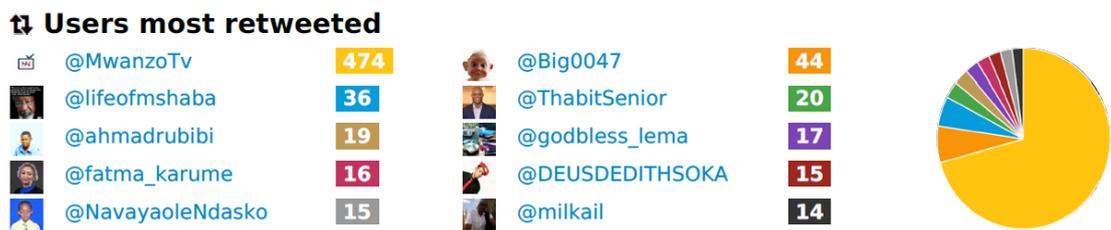
**Figure 4.22** @MariaSTsehai's Bio and Analytics

As can be seen in Figure 4.22 above, @MariaSTsehai has 612,904 tweets to her name, 6,768 accounts that she follows, and 1,155,287 followers. Twitonomy also shows that @MariaSTsehai participated in 3,198 tweets between December 10, 2022, and January 5, 2023. Throughout this time, @MariaSTsehai averaged 118.44 tweets per day making her account the busiest of all the accounts analysed in this study. The fact that 2,143 of the account's tweets, or 67% of the tweets analysed, were retweeted makes it obvious that she interacts with other users to a great extent. Additionally, according to Twitonomy, @MariaSTsehai was mentioned 0.46 times on average each tweet, and 830 tweets, or 26% of the tweets examined, received replies. This adds to prove that the user is very interactive.

The inclusion of 115 links seen in Figure 4.22 indicates that @MariaSTsehai is a source of information for other X users. She has used 192 hashtags, which increases the likelihood that a search will turn up her tweets. Additionally, it reveals that other users retweeted 15.4% of the tweets from @MariaSTsehai. This proportion of retweets indicates that other X users consider the content of @MariSTsehai to be a trustworthy

information source. Figure 4.21 from the study's findings shows that 914 of @MariaSTsehai's tweets, or 28.6% of them, received favorites, with each tweet obtaining an average of 51.23 favorites. This quantity of likes demonstrates that X users regard @MariaSTsehai as a trustworthy news source.

Figure 4.23 below reveals that @MariaSTsehai most frequently (474 times) retweeted @MwanzoTv, an online she owns, followed by @Big0047 (44 times) and @lifeofmshaba (36 times).



**Figure 4.23: Users most Retweeted by @MariaSTsehai**

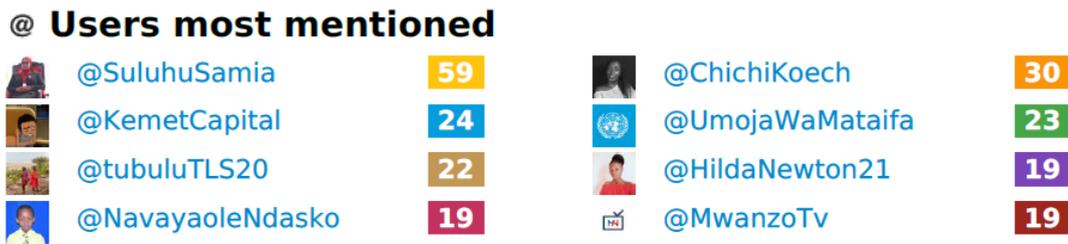
From Figure 4.23 above, it is clear that @MariaSTsehai mostly shares news and information from @MwanzoTv. She also shares information from fellow activists and opposition politicians such as @godbless\_lemma.

Moreover, as Figure 4.24 below indicates, @MariaSTsehai first and foremost addressed herself (13 replies) and @ChichiKoech (13 replies) in her comments.



**Figure 4.24 Users most Replied to by @MariaSTsehai**

Figure 4.24 above shows that @MariaSTsehai mostly interacts with herself which happens when a X user replies to comments on her tweets. It is also evident that she replies to other users evenly. Figure 4.25 below presents the users @MariaSTsehai mentions the most.



**Figure 4.25: Users most Mentioned by @MariaSTsehai**

As can be seen in Figure 4.25 above, @MariaSTsehai has mentioned President @SuluhuSamia the most. This is probably due to the changes she is advocating for in the Tanzanian government which is led by President Samia Suluhu. @MariaSTsehai also mentions other activists and the United Nations (@UmojaWaMataifa) to influence her voice to be heard as she campaigns for human rights nationally and internationally.

According to Figure 4.26 below, Twitonomy data also show ten hashtags @MariaSTsehai used the most during the time period under study. #TutaelewanaTu (40 times), #KatibaMpya (23 times), #FreeWiwa (21 times), #MariaSpaces (19 times), #Tanzania (17 times), and #Zimbabwe (8 times) are the six most often used hashtags.



**Figure 4.26 Hashtags most Used by @MariaSTsehai**

Analysis of Figure 4.26 above reveals that @MariaStsehai engages in national and international activism. The hashtags #KatibaMpya and #WenyeNchiWananchi are used by Tanzanians in a movement to demand a new constitution in which the citizens will have power to the government. Through #MariaSpaces, she facilitates live audio discussions using X Spaces. Using X for iOS, Android, or the web, anyone can join, listen to, and participate in discussions on politics, human rights, or other burning issues of the day or week. This is also one of her efforts to promote freedom of expression in

Tanzania. Furthermore, the hashtags #ChangeAfrica, #FreeWiwa and #Zimbabwe identifies @MariaSTsehai as an international activist campaigning for change and improvement of human rights beyond Tanzania. A complete Twitonomy analytics report for @MariaSTsehai is provided in the appendix.

### **4.3.2 Thematic Analysis Findings on Tanzanian Activists' Use of X**

This study employed thematic analysis to examine how Tanzanian activists use X for various purposes during a non-electioneering period and how it influences sociopolitical change. Inductive thematic analysis, which revealed the underlying themes and patterns that emerged from the X data obtained using Twitonomy during the study, produced fascinating results, which are discussed in this section. Between March 10, 2022, and January 5, 2023, a total of 6,284 tweets were collected from @fatma\_karume and @MariaSTsehai. The themes emerged from the analysis are presented below, along with pertinent data extracts.

#### **4.3.2.1 Use of X as a Channel for News and Information Dissemination**

A thematic analysis of the X data shows that Tanzanian activists, to a large extent, use X as a platform for sharing news and information. The news and information shared are primarily from local or international news media, mainstream media, or online platforms. The news and information shared are mainly about Tanzania and other countries. They also share news and information from other X accounts and other social media platforms, such as YouTube.

Nationally, Tanzanian activists share news on events of public interest in the country, as the tweet below shows:

*RT @MwanzoTv: #TANZANIA: The Association of Teachers in the Country (CWT) has requested that the government increase salary to a level in line with the reality of life in the next financial year. Acting General Secretary of the CWT, Japheth Maganga, has said that*

*despite the increase in salaries, it is still not enough due to the high cost of living. @MariaSTsehai*

In the tweet, @MariaSTsehai shares news from an online TV about Tanzania Teachers' Association who are requesting a raise in their salaries due to the high cost of living. This information is significant because it not only concerns Tanzanian teachers but also speaks of the high cost of living in the country. In the extract below, @fatma\_karume, shares information about an education programme:

*RT @Martinez\_Elin: Important news: Earlier this month, #Tanzania and the #WorldBank agreed to restructure #SEQUIP: the government has pledged to adopt continuation guidelines, & prohibit involuntary pregnancy testing in schools. Read @hrw @AccountCounsel analysis... @fatma\_karume*

The extract informs the public of an agreement between the Tanzanian government and the World Bank to restructure the Secondary Education Quality Improvement Programme (SEQUIP). An important piece of information from the tweet was the government's commitment to adopting the programme guidelines and prohibiting involuntary pregnancy testing, which activists campaigned against.

Furthermore, Tanzania activists also share economic news that is of great interest to the public, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @TanzaniaInsight: JUST IN: The World Bank gives Tanzania a \$550 million loan for road and airport construction as the East African nation ramps up its infrastructure to become a regional transit hub. Tanzania is seeking concessional loans to upgrade its railways, ports, roads, and airports. @fatma\_karume*

The tweet informed the public about Tanzania securing a loan from the World Bank for transportation infrastructure development. News of government borrowing are of interest to activists and Tanzanians because during the study period, the government has been criticised for excessive borrowing, as will be shown further in this section.

Internationally, the thematic analysis reveals that activists use their X platforms to share information about East Africa, Africa, and the rest of the world. One example of African news is the following tweet:

*RT @MwanzoTv: #GAMBIA: The government has foiled an alleged coup attempt. Four soldiers have been arrested in connection with this alleged coup plot. @MariaSTsehai*

In the extract above, @MariaSTsehai shares @MwanzoTv's news of Gambia's attempted coup, in which the government successfully thwarted the coup attempt. News of overthrowing civilian governments is becoming popular in Africa, raising concerns about the state of democracy on the continent. Outside Africa, Tanzanian activists share news from international media or political figures, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @dwnews: Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, thousands of cyber volunteers from around the world have joined its "IT Army" to attack online targets with links to Russia. Who are they? @fatma\_karume*

The above extract is a retweet from @dwnews regarding the Ukraine war, where it was reported that cyber volunteers joined the Ukrainian cyber army unit to fight Russian online targets. The Ukraine crisis has been the centre of global political discussion in this study, and Tanzanian activists wished that the government would condemn the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

An analysis of the activists' X data reveals that activists use other social media platforms in addition to X to disseminate information to a wider audience. The other platforms identified to be used are Telegram, Jamii Forums, YouTube, Clubhouse, and Facebook. The tweet below illustrates:

*RT @MariaSTsehai: You can now download the Research Report on the Powers of the President, conducted by the Constitutional Reform Commission chaired by Justice Warioba. Now, subscribe to the #WenyeNchiWananchi Telegram channel so that you won't miss out on information and various reports. @fatma\_karume*

In the tweet above, @fatma\_karume shares @MariaSTsehai's post that informs followers of the availability of a report on the #WenyeNchiWananchi Telegram channel. Telegram is preferred because it allows the sharing of large documents and audio files and the subscription of a large number of members compared to other platforms, such as WhatsApp. When sharing large video files, activists upload them to YouTube channels and share the link on X. This also happens when they engage in live online discussions where they stream on multiple platforms like X Spaces, YouTube, Facebook, and Clubhouse, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @MariaSTsehai: We are also on YouTube: <https://t.co/QR2hC1E1KB>#MariaSpaces#KatibaMpya <https://t.co/qB0IzjI0YO>.*

The tweet above is an example of a tweet sharing link that helps followers join live discussions on a convenient platform. In such cases, X is used to mobilise a wider audience outside the platform.

Generally, the Tanzanian activists understood the large number of followers they had and believed that people trusted their platform as a viable source of information. This is one reason for using their X accounts as platforms for news and information dissemination. Moreover, the national and international news and information shared by the activists stimulate discussions, as the next subsection discusses.

#### **4.3.2.2 Use of X as a Platform for Economic and Political Discussions**

The thematic analysis of the activists' X data reveals that they engaged their followers to discuss economic and political issues in the country. Regarding Tanzanian politics, activists have used their platform to articulate their views on country leadership. One such instance is shown in @fatma\_karume's data. Following being insulted by her followers for defending a political leader's son who was beaten by the police on

allegations that he had insulted the police officers, @fatma\_karume believes in division and hatred between leaders and people. Thus she tweets:

*It is time to reflect on the LEADERSHIP of #Tanzania. This DIVIDE and HATE between the Citizens and the LEADERS has been caused by AUTHORITY, EVIL, CRUELTY, and the belief that Leaders are above the Law. Careful, my friends. It's breeding grounds for social unrest. @fatma\_karume*

In the above tweet, @fatma\_karume expressed her concern about Tanzania's leadership. According to her, there is divide and hate between citizens and leaders caused by a lack of rule of law, where leaders are authoritative, cruel, and evil and believe they are above the law. She warns that this situation can lead to social unrest.

In another instance, activists expressed their views on long-term CCM leadership in Tanzania. Tanzania is a democratic country, mainly because of regular changes in leadership that involve multiparty elections. However, most activists and government critics view the ruling government as a dictatorship government, as @MariaSTsehai's tweet indicates:

*Pin this! #Tanzania President Suluhu lifted the ban on political rallies, which the opposition has been demanding, seeking a level playing field ahead of civic elections next year and the 2025 general election - don't believe for one minute that CCM dictatorship is going to give up power. @MariaSTsehai*

According to the excerpt above from @MariaSTsehai, the CCM government is not going to cede control easily, despite President Suluhu giving in to pressure from activists and the opposition to permit public political rallies that had been prohibited for more than six years. To emphasise her view, she called the CCM-led government dictatorship. This position was also shared by other activists, as @fatma\_karume's tweet stated:

*@ThabitSenior Absolutely. CCM is an authoritarian party. It was formed to be bigger than the Tanzanian State. Its members still believe*

*that. CCM is not a political party; it is a political SYSTEM that was imposed on #Tanzania in the name of UJAMAA. @fatma\_karume*

In the extract above, @fatma\_karume echoes the idea of CCM dictatorship by calling it an authoritarian party. According to her, the CCM is more than a political party. It is a political system, and its members still believe it is bigger than the state. Perhaps this is why people believe that CCM cannot give up power easily. In more explicit terms, she tweets:

*#Tanzania is a dictatorship. The country's leadership system is dictatorial. Citizens rely on the characteristic of the dictator given to us by the state. We do not rely on systems. @annesuedi Believe it or not, there are people who are afraid to be free. They will never understand those of us who know we are captured in a dictatorship and are fighting to be free... @fatma\_karume*

In the tweet above, @fatma\_karume strongly believes that Tanzania is a dictatorship because, according to her, the state puts leaders in positions. This alludes to allegations of election rigging that have been prevalent in Tanzania since multiparty elections were introduced. She also points out that there are people who are aware of the leadership and are fighting to improve it, and there are people who are afraid of the system and do not understand those fighting for change.

In economic discussions, activists, including many Tanzanians, have been engaging in discussions on the economic situation in the country as influenced not only by global events such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the Ukraine crisis but also by the country's economic policies and actions taken by the government to address the economic hardship facing Tanzania. While many issues were discussed, this section highlights government borrowing, national debt, and rising oil prices.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine raised concern about the fate of oil prices, and activists raised their voices to alert the government to take proactive measures. The following extract indicates:

*RT @mwigulunchemba1 wake up and smell the coffee. Oil prices will rise because Russia is a major oil supplier worldwide. Now ask yourself just one question: will your CHARGES and TAXES on fuel be tolerated and for how long? You need to start building your economic scenarios!*

In the above tweet, which tags (mentions) the minister of finance, @mwigulunchemba1, activists warn the minister that the charges and taxes planned to be effected on oil will be unbearable as the price of oil rises due to the Ukrainian crisis.

They called on the minister to prepare economic scenarios to contain the situation.

Following the above tweet, @fatma\_karume also stated:

*Thank you, Thabit. Mwigulu, do you hear this, or are you still carrying a child on your back? (By the way, we are not interested. Deal with our economy). Because the price of oil in the world is expected to rise. Why: RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR, ENERGY needs of the world, especially Western Europe.*

In the extract above, @fatma\_karume mentions the minister of finance and tells him to listen and deal with the country's economy before the expected rise in the world oil price prompted by Russia - Ukraine war and the increase in energy needs in the world, mostly Western Europe. In another similar instance, @fatma\_karume demands an alternative plan, as shown in the following tweet:

*I told Mwigulu again, here on #TwitterRepublic, that world oil prices would rise, and the CHARGES and TAXES he planned would increase the burden on the people. Look for PLAN B. To be fair, your partner's wounds, no matter how great they are, do not heal your wounds. Where is PLAN B?*

In the tweet, @fatma\_karume repeatedly warned the finance minister about the rise in oil prices and how government charges and taxes on oil, which would burden citizens. She asks the minister for an alternative plan.

Another area that appears to have received considerable attention from activists is the way the government is borrowing and the rapid increase in national debt. Most activists believed that the government was excessively borrowing, resulting in a rapid

increase in national debt. In the tweet below, @MariaSTsehai provides the following national debt data:

*National Debt Data - hard to hide because donors are monitoring  
Excerpt: Debt in USD - \$39 billion (91 trillion) Within one month they  
have increased the debt by \$544M or 1.2 trillion Tshs (where did it  
come from?) 70% is foreign debt. The main beneficiary of debts is the  
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT #TutaelewanaTu*

In the extract above, @MariaSTsehai shows that the national debt of Tanzania has reached 91 trillion Tanzanian shillings, according to the Bank of Tanzania data. She added that 70 percent is foreign debt, and the main beneficiary of the borrowing is the central government. These statistics open up room for other activists to contribute, as the following tweet illustrates:

*RT @fatma\_karume: The problem is that they heavily borrowed on  
projects that were STATUS SYMBOLS and were not financially  
viable. In addition, they borrowed short term for long-term projects.  
Mismatch between financial needs and payback. MADNESS!!  
@MariaSTsehai*

In the extract above, @fatma\_karume points out that Tanzania has heavily borrowed on projects that are more of a status than financial viability. She added that loans are short-term while projects are long-term, creating a mismatch between financial needs and the ability to repay the loans. In another instance, @fatma\_karume reacts to a statement by the minister of finance tweeted by @JamboTv\_ on 14 December 2022:

*People are happy that part of the modern railway from Morogoro to  
Dar es Salaam has been completed. They should know that their  
national debt is increasing because the contractor will present a  
document requesting payment. Therefore, debt must increase.  
@mwigulunchemba1, Minister of Finance and Planning*

In the tweet, the Minister of Finance said that people who are happy with the completion of the modern railway from Morogoro to Dar es Salaam should understand that national debt will increase as a means of paying for the project. This implies that the project is

financed using loaned funds. Following that statement, @fatma\_karume responded in the following tweet:

*RT @fatma\_karume: Okay. All right. THE POINT is this: Can SGR cover this debt with payments from passengers and cargo or are the TAXPAYERS of #Tanzania the ones you rely on to pay this DEBT instead of paying unemployed nurses, teachers, and doctors?*

In the above tweet, @fatma\_karume asked whether standard gauge railway would be able to cover the debt. She is concerned that the government will rely on Tanzanian taxpayers to pay the debt. This implies that people worry that the burden of repaying national debt falls on them rather than their projects.

Furthermore, activists have strongly criticised the government's reliance on loans to build the country's economy, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @germaiko: @MariaSTsehai The country's economy is not built by loans but by creating a strong economic system involving the production sector (Agriculture, markets & business). I don't understand when loans are explained in current expenditures, how can they strengthen our economic systems? Those economics PhDs who love loans mmm!*

In the extract above, @germaiko asserts that the economy of the nation is not based on loans but rather on the development of a robust economic system involving the production sector (agriculture, markets, and business). He does not see how loans can boost the country's economic systems when they are listed as current expenses.

The thematic analysis reveals that activists have also used their X platforms to express disappointment with government failures, as @MariaSTsehai's tweet indicates:

*Whenever we get angry against the Government's FAILINGS, the answer is, the Government's job is not to provide water services, emergency services, electricity, and hospitals, to promote the economy so that people can get jobs, to provide education, to build structures. Question: Is your job just to lock us up? I don't understand you at all.*

In the extract above, @MariaSTsehai lists the government's responsibilities, which include stimulating the economy to enable people to acquire jobs, providing education, and creating structures. It is also the government's responsibility to provide water, emergency, energy, and hospitals. She was disappointed that the government failed to fulfil such responsibilities, but it was quick to imprison activists and government critics. In another instance, she expresses her disappointment at the government's failure to provide adequate and timely emergency services, as the extract below indicates:

*Yesterday, Tanzanians suffered the trauma of watching 19 people drown in fuselage in Lake Victoria. Our Government FAILED us. It failed to deploy a search and rescue mission. Sat back with folded arms while fishermen used ropes to pull the fuselage out of the lake. Heartbreaking.*

The extract above clearly shows that the activist was disappointed by the government's failure to rescue passengers on a plane, resulting in 19 deaths. She was disappointed that government security agencies did not intervene; instead, local fishermen rescued people using traditional means.

Although most activists' engagement with the government and the economy have been negative criticism, there are optimistic views. For example, on the completion of one year of President Samia's leadership, @fatma\_karume retweeted:

*RT @darmnya\_: "I can say it has been a very successful year. The list of achievements exceeded the length of the year. The unique thing is the ability of the mother (@SuluhuSamia) to listen, and she probably listens more than she says." Bishop Dr. Benson Bagonza #MwakaMmojawaRaisSamia*

In the above tweet, Bishop Dr. Bagonza commented on the one year leadership of President Samia Suluhu Hassan. According to him, President Samia's one year has been very successful. He added that the list of accomplishments was longer than the actual year's duration. He believes the ability of @SuluhuSamia to listen is special, and she probably listens more often than she speaks.

Moreover, President Samia Suluhu was praised for her courage to lead the country at a time when democracy was low and economic growth was deteriorating. The following extract is provided:

*Samia Suluhu is brave as hell to take on the country given the economic and political mess that was created by Magufuli. . I respect her for trying, and she has a mountain to climb, @fatma\_karume.*

In the extract above, @fatma\_karume regards President Samia Suluhu as incredibly bold to take on the nation considering the political and economic chaos that the late President Magufuli has left behind. She understands that President Samia is facing a challenge, but she admires her for her efforts. This shows that Tanzanian activists are not always critical. They are also aware of the positive things happening in the country. Furthermore, activists have also used their X platforms to commend good government actions. One example is when President Samia Suluhu promoted Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police (SACP) Suzan Kaganda to Police Commissioner and appointed her to the Police Commissioner for Administration and Human Resources, and @fatma\_karume tweeted:

*It's so heartening to see a good woman appointed. It gives us all hope for a more just #Tanzania where appointments are based on meritocracy rather than patronage. Allahamdullilah @fatma\_karume*

In the extract above, @fatma\_karume asserts that seeing a deserving woman get a job is extremely encouraging. She added that people hope for a more just #Tanzania where nominations are made on merit rather than favouritism. In another instance, @fatma\_karume commended a good government policy of not closing borders to prevent food products from being exported, as the extract below shows:

*Excellent policy. Let farmers earn their living. If there is a shortage of food in TZ, the Government should buy it from farmers at a good price and not close the borders so that they can keep their produce without the market so that the price of BREADBASKET will decrease*

*and show that inflation is low. You break the motivation to cultivate.*  
@fatma\_karume

In the extract above, @fatma\_karume commends the policy and adds that farmers should be allowed to make a living as they please. She added further that if there is a food scarcity in Tanzania, the government should purchase it from farmers at a fair price rather than closing the borders and preventing them from selling their produce, which would cause the price to drop and demonstrate that inflation is low. She believes that closing borders demotivates farmers.

In summary, Tanzanian activists have used their X accounts to discuss political and economic situations in the country. They called for government proactive actions to address the economic challenges caused by global events. They also expressed their opinions regarding the CCM-led government and criticised its borrowing trends. They also expressed optimism about the present government and commended its actions.

#### **4.3.2.3 X as a Platform for Human Rights Activism**

Tanzanian activists use their X accounts to advocate for human rights, according to a thematic analysis of the data. Tanzanian activists have fought power disparities, exposed and opposed abuses, and mobilised for human rights using X. One of the most contested human rights violations by Tanzanian activists is land grabbing and forced eviction. This can be seen in the extract below of a tweet by @MariaStsehai:

*On December 21, 2022, Villagers in Nyamongo woke up to bulldozers today in #Tanzania as govt is demolishing their houses without compensation in order to give the land to the North Mara gold mine owned by @BarrickGold. Villagers have refused the compensation offered initially by the govt as being too low!*

In the excerpt above, @MariaSTsehai reports a case in which Nyamongo people's houses were demolished by the government for a gold mine company to acquire land. According to her, people were not compensated and they had refused earlier compensation because it was too low. In this case @MariaSTsehai act as the voice for

the oppressed. The above tweet made @mashilo\_pitjeng reply with a quote from Robin Wall Kimmerer, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @mashilo\_pitjeng: "To our people, land is everything: identity, the connection to our ancestors, the home of our nonhuman kinfolk, our pharmacy, our library, is a gift, not a commodity, so it could never be bought or sold." - Robin Wall Kimmerer*

The above extract summarises the significance of land to the people of a particular community. It serves as an identity that links people to their ancestors, residence, pharmacy, and library. It is a gift that cannot be compared to a commodity. This serves to demonstrate the severity of injustice committed by authorities who forcefully take people's land.

Apart from land grabbing and forced evictions, police brutality is one of Tanzanian activists' most widely discussed human rights violations. Activists have constantly been raising their voices against police actions on civilians, activists, and politicians who are arrested and detained, sometimes without trial. One such instance is presented in the retweet by @fatma\_karume below:

*RT @Happine61746941: @IAMartin\_ @MariaSTsehai @godbless\_lemah while we are addressing police brutality and are reminded no one is safe until there are changes made in addressing police brutality, let's not forget Isaac is still in the hands of the police for sharing a meme #FreeIsaac @fatma\_karume*

In the extract above, activists are reminded that as they continue discussing police violence and being reminded that nobody is safe until measures are taken to address police brutality, they should not forget that Isaac is still being held by the police for sharing a meme. The above tweet tags other influential activists for wider coverage. There is also a use of the hashtag #FreeIsaac to coordinate the campaign for Isaac's release. In another instance, @fatma\_karume shared a tweet by @HildaNewton21 that campaigned for the release of another activist:

*RT @HildaNewton21: Recording the Police while they are doing an incident of violation of Rights is not a legal offence @tanpol release @CarolNdosi. Your continuing to hold her when she has not committed a crime is bullying and harassment. #FreeCarolNdosi #KatibaMpya*

According to the tweet, @CarolNdosi was arrested by the police for recording an incident where the police were beating a civilian. The tweet demands that @tanpol release the activist because she has not committed any legal offence. The tweet uses two hashtags: #FreeCarolNdosi, a campaign for the activist's release, and #KatibaMpya, a campaign for a new constitution in Tanzania.

Upon receiving information about human rights violations, Tanzanian activists use their X platforms to involve national and international human rights agencies to address the concerns. For example, on December 5, @MariaSTsehai received a direct message warning that mysterious armed groups in Zanzibar were looting, maiming, and killing civilians. After receiving proof from her sources, she posted the following tweet:

*CC. @hrw @AmnestyEARO @StateDRL @FCDOHumanRights @UNHumanRights @UN\_HRC @HRJournalists @achpr\_cadhp #Zanzibar - govt is silent on the ongoing killing and maiming of citizens (mostly young men) by clandestine masked and armed groups! Please ask @DrHmwinyi what is going on!*

In the extract above, most international human rights organisations are tagged in the tweet to bring the issue of human rights violations occurring in Zanzibar to the attention of the international community. The activist was concerned about government silence on such serious human rights violations. The tweet also serves to demonstrate the power of social media in bringing together a wider audience, irrespective of geographical or political boundaries. Joining the conversation, @fatma\_karume called for the Zanzibar president to stop human rights violations, as the tweet below indicates:

*Mwinyi should stop human rights violations in #Zanzibar. He introduced non-bailable offences as soon as he became president to instill fear. UNWGAD has held non-bailable offences in #Tanzania in*

*violation of UDHR and ICCPR. Mwinyi should practice his international spiel in #Zanzibar @fatma\_karume*

The tweet begins by urgently pleading with President Mwinyi to put an end to Zanzibar's breaches of human rights. She further requests that President Mwinyi revoke the non-bailable offences he instituted in Zanzibar, as they not only serve to terrorize the populace but were also found to be in violation of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention.

Human rights activists in Tanzania used their X platforms to campaign for the Bail Act. For example, in this study, @MwanahalisiTz quoted the Tanzania Prison Commissioner as saying that there is a large number of inmates and prisoners in Tanzanian prisons, the Prison Force lacks space, and there is a shortage of officers and soldiers. @fatma\_karume replied with the following tweet:

*We have said many times that #Tanzania needs a BAIL ACT. I drafted the BAIL ACT 2005, Masha as the Minister of Interior ignored me. He is lucky that he has not been hit with a NON BAILABLE offense but he also suffered! @fatma\_karume*

The above extract shows that activists have long demanded a bail act. The reply also implies that Tanzanian prisons are crowded due to non-bailable offences that causes many suspect to stay in prison without being convicted.

#### **4.3.2.4 Gender equality, Gender-based Violence, and Girl Child Rights Activism**

The thematic analysis reveals that Tanzanian activists use X to advocate for gender equality, rights for girls, and protection against gender-based violence. One way they are doing this is by sharing knowledge and views to improve gender equality through their accounts. For example, @fatma\_karume retweeted key takeaways from a gender conference posted by @WBTanzania, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @WBTanzania: #RECAP “We’ve embarked on 4 priority areas for gender equality: Women economic empowerment, Elimination of #GBV, Increasing the number of women in leadership and decision-making positions, and Mainstreaming gender issues in sectoral ministries” — Amon Mpanju, Deputy PS*

In the extract above, World Bank Tanzania presents a summary of the four priority areas for gender equality that the Tanzanian government has undertaken, as presented by the deputy permanent secretary of the ministry responsible for gender. In this case, X is used to disseminate information generated during a conference.

Apart from sharing knowledge and information, activists also use their X platform to condemn gender-based violence. One example is the following tweet by @humanrightstz:

*RT @humanrightstz: "LHRC denounces the harsh action taken by Mr. Simon Simalenga, the Songwe District Commissioner, when he slapped Ms. Frolencia Mjenda, a local, for sitting on the stage & alleging that she was not authorized to be there." - LHRC Executive Director, Adv. Anna Henga.*

The extract above shows that the Legal and Human Rights Centre Executive Director condemned the actions of a government official who physically assaulted a civilian.

The assault incident caught the attention of many activists, as evidenced by the following tweet by @MariaSTsehai:

*RT @MariaSTsehai: Sad news #Tanzania: In the midst of #16DaysOfActivism a govt official has reportedly assaulted this young woman for being at the wrong place at the wrong time. Now govt is trying to cover up with “let’s remain calm” calls even though the incident was confirmed!*

In the above, @MariaSTsehai is saddened that a government official assaulted an activist during the #16DaysOfActivism against gender-based violence. According to her, the government is trying to cover the incident instead of taking action against the accused. Therefore, X provides human rights activists with a platform through which they can condemn violations of human rights.

Furthermore, activists use their platform to advocate for legal and policy changes to resolve the gender inequality gap, where women are often disadvantaged in education and economic opportunities. One example is the issue of girls who become pregnant being allowed to return to school after giving birth. Although the current president supports the agenda, activists are pushing for legal and policy reforms to ensure its implementation, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @Official\_IDC\_TZ: The lack of policies, laws and guidelines in returning girls to school and education after giving birth is the source of inequality, and therefore, it is necessary to ensure that education is inclusive and reaches everyone. #ArudiShule #ElimuBilaUbaguzi #ActiveCitizens recommendations.*

The extract above lists the lack of laws, policies, and guidelines that could enable girls to return to school after giving birth as factors for inequality. @Official\_IDC\_TZ calls for inclusive education. It is interesting to note that the tweet also uses the hashtags #ArudiShule and #ElimuBilaUbaguzi to campaign for inclusive education. @fatma\_karume supports the movement by demanding legal reform to allow children who give birth to return to school, as her tweet below shows:

*We are ready to cooperate on GOOD things. We want 1. BS children should return to school by LAW and not just by the President's DECLARATION. Throw that away! It's a low hanging fruit and she hasn't completed her promise to return pregnant school girls to school. @fatma\_karume*

The above extract clearly shows that the activists demand that, in contrast to the President's declaration, laws should be passed mandating that girl children return to school after childbirth. This also indicates that the president had promised that pregnant girls would be allowed to return to school, but this promise has not yet been implemented. It is also understood that the former president had said no to pregnant girls being allowed back into school. Perhaps this is why activists pushed for legal and policy reforms to guarantee implementation.

In conclusion, activists have used X as a platform for gender-based violence, gender equality, and girl-child rights activism. They condemn incidences of gender-based violence and advocate for legal and policy reforms to improve gender equality and rights for girls and children.

#### **4.3.2.5 Advocating for Democracy, Good Governance, and Rule of Law**

The thematic analysis of activist X data reveals that Tanzanian activists use their accounts to advocate for democracy, good governance, and the rule of law. To promote democracy, activists use their X accounts to raise their voices against government actions that threaten democracy. One such instance is where activists are regarded as a threat by the government, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @TitoMagoti: Pres. SSH has yet again made it clear that she does not like Activists. A month ago, in a Court session, a HC Judge made similar miserly sentiments to Adv @Pmadeleka. We're drifting!*

In the extract above, @TitoMagoti stated that government leaders admitted that they do not like activists. According to him, such comments by leaders in democratic countries indicate a drift from democracy. Another activist, @MariaSTsehai, also stated the following:

*RT @MariaSTsehai: Head of State @SuluhuSamia admitted in front of @ealawsociety that if she feels that a lawyer is hostile to her, she will use the national ("my") laws to BAR the lawyer! There's only one lawyer who was barred when Samia was VP of Magufuli, @fatma\_karume. Authoritarianism!*

In the tweet above, @MariaSTsehai the Tanzanian President acknowledged to use the existing laws to deal with hostile activists. To activists, such a statement is a proof of lack of democracy as @MariaStsehai calls it authoritarianism.

Another way activists use their social media to advocate for democracy is by campaigning for release of political prisoners. Imprisoning opposition party members in most ways appears as a threat to democracy. Thus, activists demand the ruling

government to release political prisoners as sign of good will in promoting democracy in the country, as the tweet below shows:

*RT @VitusNkuna: George Sanga, V/chairman of BAVICHA, Njombe Region and his two colleagues have been in prison for more than a year and a half. It is a fabricated case of rigging the 2020 elections. Clean politics should start with actions, our @ChademaTz youths imprisoned in various prisons here should be released without conditions.*

In the above extract, activists are demanding for release of CHADEMA youths who have been in prison for more than a years for election cases. Their demand is that if the leading government is advocating for clean politics, it should first release political prisoners most of which are from opposition parties. Similarly, activists are against the CCM government using the state to hurt the opposition, as the extract below shows:

*This is the CORE of the matter. ALL Opposition Parties are LEGIT. CCM should stop using THE STATE to hurt their colleagues. That is unacceptable. @fatma\_karume*

In the above excerpt @fatma\_karume asserts that all political parties are established according to the law and therefore have equal rights. She therefore appeal to the CCM government to stop using the state to suppress other political parties.

Furthermore, Tanzanian activists view the current constitutional system as an obstacle to the development of democracy in the country. This is evident from the tweet by @fatma\_karume below:

*If you read the purpose statement of TCD, you see that those who created it had good intentions and wanted TCD to be used to promote Democracy and be a tool for dialogue between Political Parties. Question: Why has TCD failed to build and protect Democracy? ANSWER: Our Constitutional System is not FRIENDLY. @fatma\_karume*

The extract above clearly shows @fatma\_karume believes that although there are institutions devoted to promote democracy such as the Tanzania Commission for Democracy, their fail to achieve their objective due to the unfriendly constitutional

system in Tanzania. Perhaps that is one of the main reasons for Tanzanian activists to devote much of their X platforms to mobilise for a new constitution.

Another way that activists in Tanzania have contributed to improving democracy is by using their platforms to highlight the importance of opposition and criticism in (democratic) politics. A good example from the data is the following tweet by @KKagasheki retweeted by @fatma\_karume:

*RT @KKagasheki: You can't separate politics from criticism and discussion. Criticism is what gives politics the different faces and discussion is its life blood. #politics #Philosophy #criticism. #KSK\_Balozi*

The above extract clearly indicates that politics, criticism and discussion are inseparable. Politics' various faces are a result of criticism, and debate is the substance that keeps politics alive. In another tweet, @fatma\_karume adds:

*If you want to be the best, don't close your opponent's mouth, feet, hands and eyes. Let them speak, go and come back while you draw their ideas and improve them. We want real competitive politics so that we TZs can benefit by getting better leaders. #Democracy*

The above extract clearly mentions that Tanzanians want real competitive politics so that they can gain by obtaining better leaders. They advise political leaders to let their opponents talk while they draw their ideas and improve them. President Samia seems to share this view of politics as she said in the following in a meeting with leaders of political parties in Tanzania:

*CCM believes in criticism and being criticised. The government's job will be to implement. That's why I don't call them opposition parties, but parties that show us defects. @fatma\_karume*

It is evident from the above extract that, according to President Samia, the CCM government embraces criticism and the government role is implementation. Because of that, she refers to the opposition as parties that expose the government's flaws rather than opposing parties.

Notwithstanding the CCM government assertion that it embraces criticism, the study reveals that activists who criticize the government are threatened and even social media activists are not safe. There are still arrests and threats to social media activists, as the tweet below reveals:

*RT @Mpigakura2020: I am one of the activists who was arrested for activism. I have been threatened to be robbed of a business room at SIDO Mbeya Market. They arrested me and took me to the District Commissioner. The District Commissioner said that I should choose to do life or activism. I told him activism.*

It is evident from the above extract that it is not safe to criticize the government, however the means you use. The extract confirms arrests and threats for doing activism.

To confirm this, @MwanzoTv's tweet below reports of another arrest:

*RT @MwanzoTv: #TANZANIA: The police force in the special region of Da es Salaam has arrested 11 suspects for spreading false and fabricated information about the President, Dr. Samia and other government officials through social media accounts.*

As the extract above indicates, 11 people accused of spreading 'false and fabricated information about the president and other government officials' were arrested. These arrests impacts freedom of expression negatively for it makes it dangerous to say anything negative about the government or its leaders.

Pertaining to good governance, Tanzanian activists are shown to be advocating for good governance by using their X accounts to campaign against some government actions, advising the government and mobilizing citizens' power in the government. Among government's initiatives that received a fierce online activists' reaction was the introduction of mobile transaction levy charges. One example from the data is the retweet by @MariaSTsehai below:

*RT @lifeofmshaba: The government should tighten the belt, there is no reason to increase CHARGES every day when there is a lot of unnecessary expenditure. #KataaTozo #WenyeNchiWanachi #ChangeTanzania*

As the excerpt above indicates, people believed that if the government had planned its expenditure properly, there would be no need to burden the citizens with more charges. Interesting to note from the extract above is the hashtag #KataaTozo that was used to campaign against the introduced mobile transaction charges. Among the messages accompanied by the hashtag was to mobilize people to avoid doing mobile transactions to demonstrate their disapproval of the charges. This had an immediate impact as mobile money companies began to announce their loss, as the tweet by @fatma\_karume below indicates:

*Vodacom have announced that their M-Pesa profit has dropped by 26 billion. Mwigulu is missing the legal TAX of TZS 7.8 billion. Question: Has the government gained more from Mwigulu's CHARGES? If yes, is it permissible to distort the popularity of the President and the use of M-Pesa for these charges? Think before you CHARGE!*

The extract points out that introduction the charges caused more loss than gains, according to @fatma\_karume. She adds that not only has the government missed Tshs. 7.8 billion from income tax, but also, politically, the introduction of the mobile transaction charges has distorted the popularity of the President.

The thematic analysis revealed that activists use their X platforms to advise the government on a number of issues. One such instances is the tweet by @fatma\_karume below:

*Politics is not a joke or a game. 1. Imprisoning Mbowe was a political error; 2. The Maasai and Loliondo issue is a political error. ...these errors have great political implications. My advice: SSH should form an INDEPENDENT Commission to investigate the history and what happened in Loliondo and release its recommendations.*

As the extract above shows, @fatma\_karume advises President Samia Suluhu Hassan to form an independent commission to investigate claims of human rights violations in Loliondo. This follows a series of outcries by citizens and activists against what they regard as forced displacement of the Maasai people to which other government units

like the police and regional government denies. Another instance is when activists advises the president against borrowing, as the extract from @MariaSTsehai's retweet below indicates:

*RT @omari\_manyama: "Tell President Samia to stop borrowing too much, her assistants in her government help her in the best way to be self-reliant... @MariaSTsehai"*

As the extract above indicates, activists are advising President Samia Suluhu Hassan to invest in the country being self-reliant instead of the current reliance on loans. This follows the activists' concerns that President Samia's government is borrowing excessively. As shall be seen later, the President responded that the government will continue to borrow to facilitate implementation of current and future development projects. This president's response in a public gathering implies a connection between social media activism and the ground politics.

Furthermore, the thematic analysis reveals that Tanzanian activists use their social media platforms to advocate for citizens' power in the governance of their country. Activists seem to believe that the government has robbed the people their power over the government, as the tweet by @fatma\_karume below shows:

*In DEMOCRACY the President has no LAW. Laws belong to the CITIZENS because they are passed by the PARLIAMENT that REPRESENTS the people and not the President. The President must obey the LAWS of the CITIZENS. How did we get to the point where the President has his/her LAWS that he/she can use to HURT people who don't like him/her?*

Looking into the above extract, @fatma\_karume is sensitizing the citizens to realize that they have power over the President or government because the people elect representatives who enact laws on the people's behalf. The extract also implies that the situation at the moment is the contrary where the President has the laws. In another tweet, @fatma\_karume urges the citizens to be alert of the government, as the tweet below indicates:

*The very nature of governance is that the Government wants to be above the Parliament and the Judiciary because all Governments in the Montesquieu SYSTEM have a lot of power and if you leave it to them, they will destroy other pillars. Citizens must be VIGILANT along with other pillars.*

As the above extract shows, @fatma\_karume warns that it is in the nature of the executive to want to be above the legislature and the judiciary as every government in the Montesquieu system has a great love of power. She warns further that if the government is allowed to have the power it desires, it will destroy other pillars. Therefore, the citizens and other pillars need to be vigilant.

Finally, activists have used their X account to advocate for rule of law. They have done this by raising their voices against incidences of abuse of power done by government officials and advising the citizens on controlling abuse of power. An example of activists concerns about abuse of power is seen in the extract from @fatma\_karume below:

*So, you do understand very well the power of the Parliament!!! Why were you afraid to tell MAGUFULI that he was breaking the law when he ordered Government Offices to move to Dodoma without asking for a BUDGET from Parliament? He used our money without our CONSENT and you kept silent! Stop the stupid FEAR.*

As the tone of the activist in the above extract shows, the activist is angry about the parliament silence during the Late President Magufuli government when he decided to move the government to Dodoma. Among other things, the exercise used government funds without following procedures of the budget being allocated by the parliament. However, the parliament did not take any action despite its power being violated. In another instance, @fatma\_karume is quoted suggesting a solution to the challenges of abuse of power, as the retweet below indicates:

*RT @lifeofmshaba: "The President has great power and authority through the constitution. That's why there is no equality, it is important that the President's powers are reduced and that is where the test lies." - @fatma\_karume #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi*

As the above excerpt indicates, @fatma\_karume believes that the current constitution has given too much power to the president leading to inequality of the pillars of government and thus the abuse of power. She suggests that the president's powers should be reduced to control abuse of power by the government. Another solution to abuse of power is provided in the extract below:

*RT @JamiiForums: MAKARAMBA (RETIRED JUDGE): Controlling abuse of power, this starts at the family level. What comes from the family is what reflects our Society. The leaders are abusing the Authority and there is no one to tell them.*

In the above extract, @JamiiForums quotes Judge Makaramba who believes that controlling abuse of power in the government should start at the family level. He says that citizens seeing leaders abuse power and being silent about it is a reflection of the situation at the family level.

To sum up, the thematic analysis reveals that Tanzanian activists use their X platform to sensitize the citizens on issues of democracy, good governance and the rule of law.

#### **4.3.2.6 Advocating Change of the Justice System and Lawyers Freedom**

Improving the justice system and freedom of the people who practices the law is revealed to be another agenda of Tanzania social media activists. The main argument by activists is that the justice system is not free, as the tweet by @fatma\_karume below indicates:

*The judiciary is not FREE! DPP is not FREE! They are just INSTRUCTIONS followers. They are lying to themselves and only fooling themselves. We told them #MboweSioGaidi from the beginning.*

As the tweet above indicates, activists believe that the judiciary and the director of public prosecution are not free in executing their duties. They exemplify the extent to which the justice system organs are not free, according to activists. According to

activists, appointment system and budget allocation system are main constraints to the judiciary freedom, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @JamiiForums: FATMA KARUME: We have created a Judiciary that cannot do its job. The President having the Power to APPOINT and REMOVE the Chief Justice removes the Independence of the Judiciary. Also, the Judiciary relying on the Government Budget to carry out its activities undermines the independence of the Judiciary. #Democracy30*

It is clear from the above extract that the fact that the President appoints the Chief Justice and the judiciary having to depend on a budget that is allocated by the government is strongly believed to weaken the prospects of this government pillar to be independent.

The study shows that people have no faith in the current justice system in Tanzania. This lack of faith in the justice system makes the people not to use these organs, as @fatma\_karume explain in the extract below:

*RT @JamiiForums: FATMA KARUME: The 2020 election was messier than all previous elections. There has never been any elections since the Multi-Party System was established without a case in the Court except for 2020, and this is because the People do not have Faith in the Court. #Democracy30 #30YrsOfMultipartism*

As the excerpt above indicates, people did not contest results of the 2020 elections in court despite numerous complaints of irregularities. That was the first time since Multi-party democracy. Activists believe it happened because people no longer trust the court system in Tanzania.

The analysis also reveals some improvements that could be done by the government to change the justice system for the better. Activists believe that political leaders and justice delivery organs need to prioritize justice over honour in order to improve justice systems, as the extract below indicates:

*I agree we need to see SSH put JUSTICE before HONOR. JUSTICE is the BASIS of Everything. In my opinion SSH still put HONOR before*

*JUSTICE. Stop being afraid of being disrespected. HONOR will come when she meets the essential principles. @fatma\_karume*

It is evident from the extract above that activists want the President to put justice before honour because justice is fundamental. They opine that the president should not worry about being disrespected as respect will come when there is justice. Thus, it is clear that activists use their X accounts as a platform for change in the justice system.

Another suggested improvement is transparency and competition in the appointment of the justice system personnel, as the extract from @fatma\_karume's tweeter data details below:

*The appointment of judges is done without TRANSPARENCY or COMPETITION and the announcements of the appointment come out at midnight. You cannot have INDEPENDENCE of the Judiciary in this situation. ...1. Advertise the positions. 2. Ask people to apply. 3. Ask the applicants to sit an exam prepared by the Judicial Service Commission. 4. Interview the top candidates. 5. Appoint them.*

The extract above criticize the current appointment practice as lacking transparency and competitiveness. Then, it offers a recommendation to ensure transparency and competition by advertising for positions, calling for applications and evaluating the applicants before appointing them.

#### **4.3.2.7 International Politics and Activism**

A thematic analysis of the activists' data indicates that Tanzanian activists use X to engage in regional and international politics by tweeting, retweeting or commenting on political events that are shared on the platform. One such event is the retweet of the President of Zambia by @MariaSTsehai below:

*RT @HHichilema: Today we assented to Penal Code (Amendment) Bill number 25 of 2022, abolishing the death penalty in #Zambia & the offence of Criminal Defamation of the President. Promised to amend laws that inhibit democracy, human rights, good governance & basic freedoms. #PromisesDelivered*

The extract above is a step to democracy activists. Champions of democracy have been advocating for the abolition of the death penalty. The abolition of the criminal defamation of the president adds to the importance of the tweet. This is important tweet as it speaks to achievements desired by democracy activists in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Another instance where Tanzanian activists were able to engage in politics of the region is during the Kenya General Elections in which the hashtag #KenyaDecides2022 was widely used. Most Tanzanian activists were following the elections events as a lesson for other African countries to learn, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @IAMartin\_: Kenya continues to teach us the meaning of DEMOCRACY. The media has been allowed into the counting rooms and they are broadcasting live broadcasts from the constituencies. In Tanzania it is illegal for a candidate's agent to have a phone inside a polling station. Strict laws like the TALIBAN*

In the above extract, Tanzanians are admiring the transparency that was witnessed during the Kenyan elections. It is evident that Kenya is regarded as role model of African democracy.

Regarding international activism, Tanzanian activists have used their platforms to raise their voice against injustices around the world. One example is the retweet below by @MariaSTsehai about a Zimbabwean politician who was detained without charges for a long time:

*RT @advocatemahere: Dear @AmnestySARO, @JobSikhalal is a Zimbabwean political prisoner, lawyer & MP jailed without trial for 204 days for representing Moreblessing Ali who was murdered for her politics. Help us draw the world's attention to his plight with a RETWEET. We demand his release! @MariaSTsehai*

As the tweet above indicates, @JobSikhalal was in jail for 204 days without trial and Zimbabwean activists were using X to demand his release. They were also requesting for support to draw the world's attention, which Tanzanian activists offered.

Another example is the sensitization on press freedom in Africa. The data show that Tanzanian activists have used their platforms to report incidences of breach of press freedom rights, as the retweet by @MariaSTsehai below indicates:

*RT @CPJAfrica: Since Friday, police have arrested at least 5 journalists in #Uganda. The first, Dickson Mubiru, was briefly detained on Dec 30 on criminal defamation allegations. CPJ calls for criminal proceedings against him to be dropped. Then, today, @policeug officers briefly detained four journalists while they were working in Obongi District. Not a great start to 2023. The press should be free to do their job without the threat of arrest or harassment. @MariaSTsehai*

The tweet above details instances of arrests of journalists in Uganda and demands that the press be allowed to operate freely without fear of harassment or arrest. Tanzanian activists have joined hands to make @CPJAfrica's voice to be heard.

#### **4.3.2.8 Digital Citizenship and Listening**

Inductive thematic analysis of the activists' data indicates that digital citizenship is not observed in some conversations. The data indicate instances of X users losing their temper in their discussions, as the extract below reveals:

*@yc\_yuso The dog is just you barking! You have no manners! Wasn't this Mpango the finance minister during Magufuli's time!? He was his economic adviser and destroyed our systems! You don't want us to mention Magufuli? We will name him, if you don't want, drink poison! Damn it!*

An instance of X users losing their cool during a discussion may be seen in the excerpt above. Instead of users respond to arguments with arguments, they get to personal attacks, name calling and even swearing. This is indicative of not following the digital citizenship principles. In another instance, an activist said his follower "talks like a headless chicken." That indicates that the activist was enraged by the follower's comment.

Analysis of the activists' X data further reveals that activists believe that the government, particularly the president, is listening. This is evident in the shared tweet below in which the Bishop was commenting on President Samia's one year leadership:

*RT @darmnya\_: "I can say it is a very successful year, the list of achievements is bigger than the length of the year itself. The unique thing is the ability of Mother (@SuluhuSamia) to listen, and she probably listens more than she says" Bishop Dr. Benson Bagonza. #MwakaMmojawaRaisSamia @fatma\_karume*

In the above extract, President Samia's one year as the president is seen as been a highly successful year, with a longer list of accomplishments. The ability to listen is mentioned as @SuluhuSamia's special attribute and people believe that she listens more than she speaks. It should be noted that during this period public political rallies were not allowed in Tanzania. Thus it is safe to argue that most of the listening was done online.

#### **4.3.2.9 Role, Power and Influence of Social Media Activism**

Analysis of the X activists' data reveal that Tanzanian activists use X as a strategizing platform. This is evident particularly as they strategize for new constitution campaigns, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @vgtesha: @MariaSTsehai I think we should focus on strengthening our unity as Tanzanians first. Give us enough education and teach each other the importance of our unity. Because it's like we're not here if we think politicians will get us out of this deadlock we're in. This should be in line with demanding a new constitution draft.*

In the extract above, Tanzanian activists are emphasizing on unity in their demand for new constitution. They also warn themselves not to rely on politicians if they want to achieve their goal. The tweet below show additional strategy discussed by activists on the platform:

*RT @peppatz: @MariaSTsehai The colour of protests, strikes and demanding the New Constitution 2023 should be 'Old Blood' the dark red. If that is worn, let it be known that the activist is demanding a new constitution.*

In the extract the activists are strategizing on ways of taking their online protests to the ground through a dress code.

Furthermore, the activists' data reveals important achievements attributed to social media activism. Among the notable achievements is the release of Freeman Mbowe and his three colleagues after being detained for eight months with terrorism and economic sabotage charges. X activists raised their voices throughout that time using the hashtag #MboweSioGaidi (Mbowe is not a terrorist). The extract below is from a retweet by @fatma\_karume in which Freeman Mbowe admits that he is free thanks to public power:

*RT @MariaSTsehai: "I was not released from prison because someone loves me, I was released from prison because the power of the public was so overwhelming." Absolutely Freeman Mbowe! Loud and clear! Citizens' trust on you is great.*

In the excerpt above, Freeman Mbowe clearly admits that the public's tremendous strength resulted in his release from prison. Owing to the fact that public political gatherings at that time were prohibited in Tanzania, it is apparent that the public was using social media. In the extract below, Freeman Mbowe further explains the crucial role social media activists played to bring the case to a victorious end:

*"Keyboard warriors did a great job of showing the progress of our case and I really thank them for providing information on the progress of the case. They enabled this case to become a case heard by many people. Their work has helped this case to be open to the public" - @freemanmbowetz @fatma\_karume*

The "keyboard warriors" in the extract above are social media activists who were tweeting the proceedings of the case live from inside the courtroom. The tweets were rapidly shared across X and other platforms. This made the case of interest to international organisation. Finally, although the court had decided that Mbowe and colleagues had a case to answer, the director of public prosecution dropped the charges and Mbowe and colleagues were free.

In summary, Tanzanian activists use X for various purposes including sharing information, discussing political and economic affairs of the country, and democracy and human rights activism. They have also registered a number of successes in their online activism including release of political detainees, making the new constitution agenda known, and lifting the ban on public political rallies.

#### **4.4 Description of the Ways in which the Tanzanian Government Uses X to Promote Democracy in Tanzania**

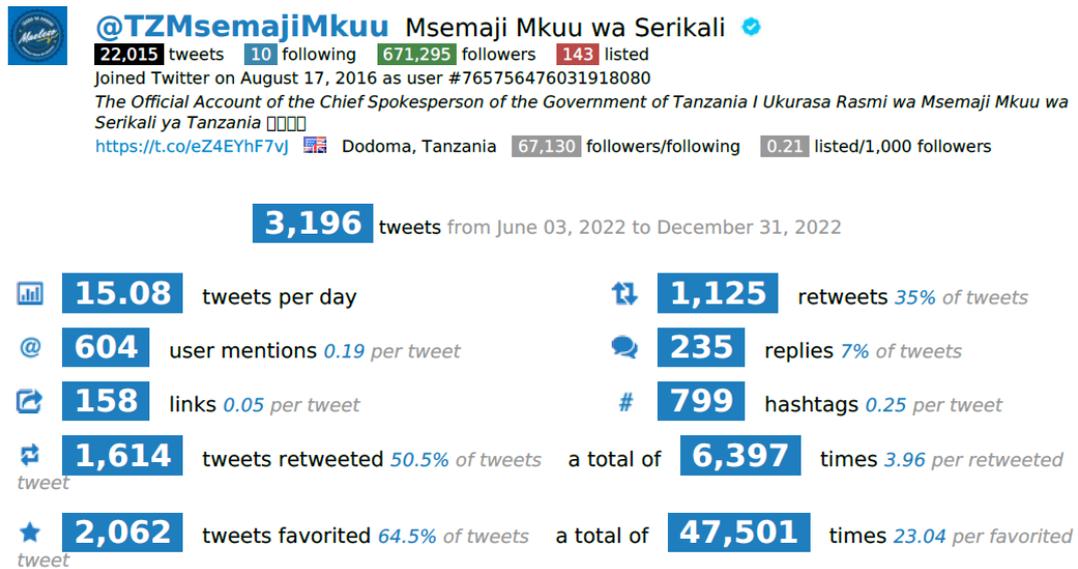
This section presents findings in line with the data generated from @TZMsemajiMkuu in response to the fourth research question: *In which ways does the Tanzanian government use social media (X) to promote democratic governance in Tanzania?* The data analysed covered the timeframe from June 3, 2022, to December 31, 2023. The analytics results of @TZMsemajiMkuu are presented first, followed by the themes that emerged.

##### **4.4.1 Analytics for @TZMsemajiMkuu**

The X account for *Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali* (Chief Government's Spokesperson) was created on August 17, 2016 as user number 765756476031918080 with the handle @TZMsemajiMkuu. The analysis conducted on December 31, 2022, shows that @TZMsemajiMkuu had 671,295 followers and was following 10 X accounts. The account contained 22,015 tweets, of which 3,196 were posted from June 3, 2022, to 31, 2022. Figure 4.26 presents the accounts' biodata and analytics from Twitonomy.



### @TzMsemajiMkuu's tweets analytics



**Figure 4.27: @TzMsemajiMkuu's bio- and analytics**

As Figure 4.27 indicates, during the analysed period, @TzMsemajiMkuu posted 15.08 tweets on average every day, implying that the account was busy. Furthermore, 1,125 of the account's tweets, or 35% of the tweets that were analysed, were retweeted. A user interacts more with other users when he/she earns more retweets. The analysis also shows that 235 tweets (7% of the tweets examined) had replies, and @TzMsemajiMkuu was mentioned 0.19 times on average for each tweet. This indicates that the user engaged in social interactions.

Moreover, as Figure 4.27 illustrates, @TzMsemajiMkuu used only 799 hashtags and 158 links, increasing the likelihood that its tweets would be found quickly in a search. Furthermore, according to the data, 1,614 tweets—or 50.5% of @TzMsemajiMkuu's tweets—were retweeted by other users. The number of retweets indicates that other X users consider @TzMsemajiMkuu a trustworthy source of information. Figure 4.26, which presents additional research, shows that 2,062 tweets from @TzMsemajiMkuu were favourited, accounting for 64.5% of the total. The number of likes indicates that @TzMsemajiMkuu is regarded by X users as a trustworthy information source.

Figure 4.27 shows 10 accounts that @TzMsemaMkuu retweeted. The five most frequently retweeted users were @ikulumawasiliano (430 times), @TZWaziriMkuu (277 times), @maelezoneews (141 times), @MsigwaGerson (73 times), and vpo\_tanzania (66 times).



**Figure 4.28: Users most Retweeted by @TzMsemajiMkuu**

Note that all users that @TzMsemajiMkuu retweeted are government entities and leaders. Further to the Twitonomy analysis, Figure 4.29 indicates the users to whom @TzMsemajiMkuu replied.



**Figure 4.29: Users most Replied to by @TzMsemajiMkuu**

It is clear from Figure 4.29 that @TzMsemajiMkuu mostly replied to self, possibly responding to other users' comments. The analysis also revealed the users that @TzMsemajiMkuu most frequently mentioned, the top three were @SuluhuSamia (346 mentions), @mwigulunchemba1 (42 mentions), and @KassimMajaliwa\_ (41 mentions), as illustrated in Figure 4.30.

### @ Users most mentioned

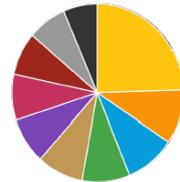


**Figure 4.30: Users most mentioned by @TZMsemajiMkuu**

An analysis of Figure 4.30 reveals that @TZMsemajiMkuu mostly mentioned government leaders and government organisations.

Further analysis revealed the hashtags that @TZMsemajiMkuu used most frequently during the study period, as shown in Figure 4.31. #SensaTz2022 (103 times), #BajetiYaSerikali (41 times), and #JiandaeKuhesabiwa (40 times) are the three most used hashtags.

### # Hashtags most used



**Figure 4.31: Hashtags most Used by @TZMsemajiMkuu**

As depicted in Figure 4.31, two hashtags, #SensaTz2022 and #JiandaeKuhesabiwa, were used for the census campaign. The remaining hashtags were used to categorise the tweets and tag the events concerned.

#### 4.4.2 Thematic Analysis Findings on the Tanzanian Government's Use of X

This study conducted a thematic analysis to examine the various uses of X by the Tanzanian government outside electioneering. This section discusses the intriguing findings from the inductive thematic analysis, which revealed the underlying themes and patterns that emerged from 3,196 tweets collected from @TZMsemajiMkuu from June 3, 2022, to December 31, 2022. The analysis yielded the following topics, which are accompanied by relevant data extracts.

#### 4.4.2.1 X as Channel for Disseminating Information

A thematic analysis of government X data revealed information dissemination as the dominant theme regarding social media use. The X account of the chief government spokesperson disseminated announcements and information from various government entities and leaders. Notable government accounts from which @TZMsemajiMkuu shared information include: The Chief Government's Spokesperson (TZMsemajiMkuu), Directorate of Presidential Communication (@ikulumawasiliano), Prime Minister's Office (TZWaziriMkuu), Vice President's Office (vpo\_tanzania), and Zanzibar State House (@ikuluzanzibar). @TZMsemajiMkuu also shared information from government leaders' personal X accounts, such as @SuluhuSamia, @dr\_mpango, @KassimMajaliwa\_, @mwigulunchemba1, and @Nnauye\_Nape, among others.

The information shared by TZMsemajiMkuu covered a broad range of topics, from economics, politics, health, and education to culture and sports. One example from the data is the extract below, in which @TZMsemajiMkuu posted updates on the parliament session:

*#BAJETIYASERIKALI All countries in the world are passing through the major impact of COVID-19 and the war between Russia and Ukraine which has continued to have an impact on various countries of the world including Tanzania due to economic and social interaction. Following these effects of war, it is clear that the economy and cost of living in the world will not remain the same. That is why Hon. President @SuluhuSamia has directed this government budget to focus on taking steps to provide relief to the public and revive the economy - @mwigulunchemba1*

The extract above highlights a speech by the Minister of Finance on the 2022/2023 government budget. In the extract, Tanzanians are informed about the factors and focus of the proposed 2022/2023 budget. Tweeting the highlights of the speech enables X users who could not listen live to the speech to be informed about government plans.

Another example of information shared by @TZMsemajiMkuu includes government directives or instructions that are given by government leaders to other leaders and citizens. In the extract below, @TZMsemajiMkuu shares instructions from the Vice-President to the Minister of State, the Office of the Vice-President (Union and Environment):

*RT @vpo\_tanzania: Vice President Hon. @dr\_mpango has instructed the minister responsible for the environment to cooperate with the staff to provide education to the public on the opportunities available in the carbon dioxide business. #ZiaraWilayaYaTanganyikaKatavi*

As seen in the excerpt above, the vice president has given the union and environment minister instructions to work with the staff to educate the public about the prospects for the carbon dioxide industry. This information informs not only government leaders what to do but also citizens what to expect from the government. In another tweet, @TZMsemajiMkuu informs the public about the decisions made at government leaders' meetings, as the tweet below indicates:

*#MAELEKEZOBARAZALAMAWAZIRI: The cabinet has directed all the units involved in dealing with disasters to be strengthened in various ways that will enable us as a country to increase our capabilities beyond what we have now in dealing with disasters when they occur - @TZMsemajiMkuu*

As the extract above illustrates, the cabinet has instructed all units tasked with handling catastrophes to be reinforced in different ways so that the nation can become more capable than it is presently of handling disasters. Therefore, it is clear that @TZMsemajiMkuu disseminates messages to leaders and the public.

#### **4.4.2.2 Using X in Government Campaigns and Mobilisation**

The inductive thematic analysis of @TZMsemajiMkuu's data reveals that the government used social media in national campaigns such as the 2022 census campaign, COVID-19 campaign, vaccination against Polio campaign and illegal arms campaign. The Tanzanian 2022 census was successful, partly because of the Census

Campaign, which used new and mainstream media. It is evident that X was largely used for the census campaign because Section 4.4.1 revealed that #SensaTz2022 and #JiandaeKuhesabiwa were the most frequently used hashtags by @TZMsemajiMkuu. The thematic analysis further reveals that X was used to mobilise for the census campaign, to provide census education, and to campaign for citizen participation. The extract below is an example of census education provided on X, as posted by @TZMsemajiMkuu:

*What is the purpose of a population and housing census? The purpose of the Census is to obtain accurate demographic, social, economic, and environmental information with the aim of obtaining accurate data that will enable the Government and other stakeholders to accurately plan for development #SensaTZ2022.*

As the excerpt above indicates, the online public is informed of the goal of the census, which was to gather precise data on the social, economic, demographic, and environmental aspects of society to help the government and other interested parties establish development plans. The tweet by @TZMsemajiMkuu shows an example of campaign messages that were shared during the analysed period:

*All people should participate in being counted during the Census exercise on August 23 this year by providing accurate information to the questions that will be asked by the Census Clerk. #JiandaeKuhesabiwa #SensaTZ2022*

The tweet above serves to emphasise all people's participation and reminds people of the date of the event. The campaign hashtags, #SensaTZ2022 and #JiandaeKuhesabiwa, are also vivid in the extract.

The analysis reveals that the government's X account was also used to share messages to campaign against diseases such as polio and the COVID-19 pandemic. One example of such a message is in the tweet by @TZMsemajiMkuu below:

*#KUMBUKUMBUYAMASHUJAA I remind all citizens to continue vaccinating to protect themselves from COVID-19, this disease is not*

*over, vaccinating and avoiding diseases is one way to keep our nation in a safe state - President @SuluhuSamia*

The tweet above shares President Samia Suluhu’s message, reminding all residents to continue being vaccinated against COVID-19 because the disease is still present. Preventing illness is one way to keep the country secure.

Furthermore, @TZMsemajiMkuu was used to mobilise for subscriptions to government social media platforms. One example is the tweet “*Follow our MAELEZO NEWS page through the link: <https://t.co/W3lzlnQod0>*” which encourages citizens to follow the official X page of the Government of Tanzania through the Department of Information—MAELEZO—that provides the public with daily news. The account was also used to mobilise citizens to subscribe to a YouTube channel for the Department of Information, as the tweet by @TZMsemajiMkuu below indicates:

*Subscribe to MAELEZO TV YouTube now so that you will not be left behind with news and events from Tanzania!*

The above extract shows that X was used to mobilise subscriptions to other government social media platforms. This also indicates the government’s efforts to expand its social media audience. This, in turn, increases public participation in government activities.

In summary, the government, particularly through @TZMsemajiMkuu, has used X for nationwide campaigns and mobilisations.

#### **4.4.2.3 Showcasing Government Plans, Projects, and Achievements**

The thematic analysis of the X data reveals that the Tanzanian government has used social media to showcase its plans, projects, and achievements. In the extract below, the Prime Minister is quoted reporting the achievements of the Royal Tour, which was a campaign to promote tourism in the country.

*#KUAHIRISHABUNGE Likewise, more than 30 Tourism Agencies from tourism markets, including the United States, Israel, France, and Lithuania, have been motivated to come to the country to learn and*

*experience various tourism attractions with the aim of promoting them in their countries. - @KassimMajaliwa\_*

The extract above details achievements in the Tanzanian tourism industry, where more than 30 tourism agencies from global tourism markets were inspired to visit the nation to learn about and experience diverse tourism attractions with the goal of marketing them in their respective nations. In the following extract, the Minister of Water and Irrigation reports achievements and projects at the ministry:

*#UTIAJISAINIMKATABAWAMAJI President @SuluhuSamia has given us 132 billion shillings from the COVID—19 funds for the implementation of 232 water projects. Also, we thank you for providing us with funds to buy drilling rigs where each region will have its own rig.*

The excerpt above informs of the funds received by the ministry and the number of projects the funds will finance. It is also evident from the extract and most government leaders' discourses that positive government actions are attributed to the president rather than the government as an organ. This is more evident in the following extract:

*#SSHKAGERA I thank you, Hon. President Samia for showing the political will to invest in the Agriculture Sector and protect it in policy, also with the determination and intention to invest in this sector - Minister of Agriculture, Hon. Hussein Bashe*

It is obvious from the above excerpt that government entities are appreciative and dependent on the president's political will on the affairs of the country. While this reflects activists' contention that the President wields great power in Tanzania, it can also be a communication strategy of the ruling party to garner citizen support for the President and the party.

The thematic analysis of the government's X data further reveals that while communicating the government's plans, projects, and achievements, it also communicates its stand on various debated issues. This is evident in the extract below, in which the President is quoted as speaking about the SGR project:

*#MKATABASGRTABORAKIGOMA All funds, 23.3 trillion shillings, used to build the SGR are loans. We could not build with local funds. We borrow to build today for sustainable development today and in the future. Every time we feel the part is profitable we will continue to borrow - @SuluhuSamia*

In the extract above, the president informs the citizens that loans are a source of funds for the SGR project. She further explained the rationale for borrowing for current and future sustainable development and reiterated that the government would continue to borrow when needed. The president's statement responds to Tanzanian social media activists' concerns that the government is borrowing excessively and the national debt is rapidly increasing.

#### **4.4.2.4 X as a Tool for Public Relations and Crisis Communication**

Inductive thematic analysis of @TZMsemajiMkuu's X data reveals that X has been used to establish and preserve a favourable public image and connections with the government. This is made possible by posting reliable information, government press releases, and press conferences. X was used not only to announce such events but also to broadcast them live. The extract below is a caption from @TZMsemajiMkuu's X posts about one of the press conferences:

*The Director of the Department of Information MAELEZO and @TZMsemajiMkuu, Gerson Msigwa giving information about the implementation of various Government development activities in a press conference today August 14, 2022 at the Mwanakiyungu Hall at the Tabora Regional Commissioner's Office*

It is evident from the above excerpt that X was used by the government to create and maintain a positive public image. This was achieved by constantly communicating government development activities and achievements. Short of that would allow the negative image portrayed by activists and opposition parties to prevail.

In addition, the thematic analysis reveals that X is an important tool to communicate effectively during crises. The following extract represents one instance of X use during

a crisis. Following the plane capsizing, the cabinet convened an emergency meeting, and the extract below was part of the resolutions:

*#MAELEKEZOBARAZALAMAWAZIRI The government asks all citizens to remain calm while this investigation is being carried out and after the investigation is completed they will be informed. In addition, the Cabinet thanks and congratulates all those involved in the rescue after this accident happened - @TZMsemajiMkuu*

It is evident from the extract above that the government requested that all citizens maintain their composure during investigations. It promises that citizens will be notified when the investigation is concluded. The government also expresses gratitude to everyone who helped with rescue efforts following the accident. This is typical of messages shared during a crisis to maintain public trust.

In another instance, following an online public outcry on the introduced mobile transaction charges, the government, through the Minister of Finance and Planning, responded by issuing an explanation. An extract from the statement was posted by @TZMsemajiMkuu as follows:

*#UFAFANUZITOOZAMIAMALA This charge is not a business tax nor does it come from business profits, but its origin is a joint partnership. What was being done in the beginning was pronounced as a tax on mobile phone transactions, because we want to involve many people. We saw that we should involve even those who do banking transactions - Hon. Dr. Mwigulu Nchemba, Minister of Finance and Planning*

The Minister of Finance and Planning is quoted above, justifying mobile transaction charges, citing the need to create joint partnerships and involve more people in national development as the main reasons. While the government response can be seen as an effort to repair public trust, it means that the government is listening and paying attention to online activists' concerns.

Furthermore, an analysis of @TZMsemajiMkuu's data revealed that X is useful for managing both disinformation and misinformation. This is possible because X provides

a platform to promptly respond to cases of disinformation and misinformation. A good example from the data is the extract below, in which the Chief Government Spokesperson responds to online misinformation:

*ATTENTION. The government has not yet issued an investigation report on the Precision Air plane crash that occurred on November 6, 2022 in Bukoba. The information distributed on the internet should be ignored as it has not come from the official authorities of the Government. You will be notified when the official information is ready. Let's have a procedure to take information from official sources - @TZMsemajiMkuu*

As shown in the extract above, the Chief Government Spokesperson stated that the Precision Aeroplane crash investigation report has not yet been released by the government. He urges the public to disregard the information circulating on the internet because it is not endorsed by the government's official authorities. He promises to let citizens know as soon as formal details are available. Finally, he encouraged people to establish protocols for obtaining information from official sources. Therefore, the presence and proper use of an official government social media account like the @TZMsemajiMkuu is necessary for the public to validate the information they see online.

#### **4.4.2.5 The Government is listening**

The thematic analysis of the government's X data revealed that the government is listening and paying attention to online events. This is evident from the extract from @TZMsemajiMkuu, in which the Minister of Finance and Planning acknowledges that the government has heard the opinions of the people and is working on them:

*#UFAFANUZITOOZAMIAMALA We have heard the opinions of the people and have received them. We have also met with experts and various other groups, including being charged twice when withdrawing from a bank to a phone and when sending it to someone else's phone. We have received it, and we are working on it. We will provide answers to its implementation soon - Hon. Dr. Mwigulu Nchemba, Minister of Finance and Planning*

It is clear from the above extract that the government pays attention to what people say on social media. This becomes more obvious given the fact that public political meetings were prohibited during the study; therefore, people relied on social media to express their concerns about various government actions, particularly the introduction of mobile transaction charges. The government acknowledged receiving people's opinions and promised to respond, which they did, as indicated in the following extract below:

*#MAREKEBISHOYATOZO Another amendment that will be made is to reduce transaction costs by 10% to 50% according to the group of transactions on the mobile phone and bank side, where this discount will start on October 1, 2022 - Hon. Dr. Mwigulu Nchemba, Minister of Finance and Planning*

The above excerpt indicates that the government amended mobile transaction charges by between 10% and 50% and announced the commencement of the amended charges to be on October 1, 2022. However, the public was not satisfied with the amendments. Activists continued to raise their voices against mobile transaction charges. Consequently, on June 30, 2023, the government, through the Minister of Information and ICT, announced the removal of the mobile transaction charges. This is one example of a case in which people's voices via social media were heard and influenced government decisions.

#### **4.4.2.6 Government Keeping Abreast with ICT**

Another notable finding from @TZMsemajiMkuu's X data is that the government is trying to keep abreast of new technology. These efforts enable citizens to access information through any media of their convenience. Apart from the social media subscription campaign described above, the government's information department is also available on various new media outlets, as the tweet below indicates:

*RT @TzMsemajiMkuu: We are on Spotify, SoundCloud, Audiomack, Apple Podcasts, Amazon Music, Podfriend, Castro, Google Podcasts, Pandora, Stitcher, Podcast Addict, Podchaser, Deezer, Listen Notes, Overcast, Pocket cast e.t.c. Search MAELEZO PODCASTS / Podcasts za Kiswahili kutoka Idara ya Habari MAELEZO.*

As can be seen from the extract above, the department of information is available on more than 15 podcast platforms. This clearly widens the accessibility of information from the government to the public. Due to their Internet-based nature, these new media platforms enable easy access to information from any location.

To sum up, the Tanzanian government uses X to foster citizen participation by informing, mobilising and sensitising the people to engage in national development activities. X was found to be a useful tool for ensuring healthy public relations, communicating during crises, and managing misinformation and disinformation. Finally, the government practices online listening.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter I presented and analysed the findings of the study in response to the research questions. In responding to each question, the descriptive results were presented in first followed by the themes that emerged from the thematic analysis. The next chapter interprets and discusses the findings of the study.

## CHAPTER FIVE: INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

### 5.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the findings of the study in line with the research questions. The findings were obtained after analysing and organising the data. It was found that outside election campaigns, Tanzanians use X to pursue various objectives. Political parties utilised X to update their supporters, promote causes, clarify their positions, publicise events and educate the public on a range of social and political topics. They also used X to call attention to activism, encourage responsibility, criticise or support actions, and debunk false information during emergencies in order to exert influence over the administration. The hashtag #KaziIendelee was used to promote President Samia Suluhu Hassan and the CCM government by highlighting government initiatives, accomplishments, and projects. Conversely, the #KatibaMpya campaign served as a tool for strategic planning and constitutional reform advocacy. Additionally, I found that the hashtag is typically used in connection with #WenyeNchiWananchi to promote a citizen-centred government.

Tanzanian activists used X to advocate for democracy and human rights, discuss national political and economic issues, and share information. They have also succeeded in a number of other objectives through their internet activism, including the abolition of the ban on public political meetings, the freeing of political prisoners, and the dissemination of the new constitution's agenda.

It was further found that using X, the Tanzanian government inspired, educated, and increased public knowledge of national development projects, hence fostering public participation. Managing misinformation and disinformation, maintaining a strong

public relations presence, and communicating in an emergency are all demonstrated to be possible with X. Last but not least, the government uses internet listening.

This chapter interprets and discusses the findings that shape the conclusions of the study. Key insights from the entire research process, including the study questions, literature, conceptual framework, and findings, are reflected in the discussions.

## **5.1 Interpretation and Discussion**

This study was undertaken to increase awareness among academics and social media users about the role that social media plays in Tanzania's democratic growth during a period of non-electioneering. It is also intended to propose ways to improve social media usage for democratic development. The study was carried out on the assumption that a democratic country has a good attitude towards social media use; having a sufficient understanding of the potential and limitations of social media leads to a positive attitude towards its use; and being aware of and employing suitable social media methods lowers the likelihood of disinformation.

The findings revealed that Tanzanians used the various affordances of X for various democracy-related purposes during a non-electioneering period, and social media usage for democratic advancement could be optimised further.

### **5.1.1 Political Parties Use X to Encourage New Forms of Political Communication in Tanzania's Public Sphere**

The findings revealed that Tanzanian political parties used X extensively to share information on various topics related to politics and daily life. By sharing the parties' agenda, policies, philosophies, and views, as well as their stance on current and upcoming political events, they used their X accounts to promote the parties and encourage support for their chosen course of action. Furthermore, Tanzanian political

parties used X to encourage their followers to participate in party activities, support the parties or the nation's political agenda, and actively engage in national affairs.

Additionally, the findings revealed that political parties mobilised for domestic and international support by sharing information to raise awareness, voice issues and demands, and used X for social and political activities. They also advocated for government accountability, responsibility, and transparency through their X accounts, in addition to criticising and advising the administration. They also praised and highlighted government accomplishments with X. Finally, political parties used X to counter misinformation and disinformation, communicate during crises, and practise diplomacy.

Considering that public political gatherings were not allowed during the studied period, the findings attest to political parties' reliance on X as their primary medium for political communication and activities. Even when political parties held indoor meetings, the general public was informed via X. The fact that physical indoor meetings were reported on X during the explored period means that social media was not the only means of political engagement during the non-electioneering period. However, X played a significant role in ensuring that political parties remained active in the public sphere notwithstanding the government's restriction of public gatherings.

The results support Kamp's (2016) claim that the development of social media and the internet help democratise contemporary nations because they provide access to information and encourage participation, two essential components of democracy. X was indeed used by Tanzanian political parties to disseminate information and encourage participation. In addition, they support Salanova's (2012) claim that social media can play a significant role in organising and coordinating grassroots movements and serve as an effective instrument for bringing about political change. X was used by

political parties in Tanzania to announce, coordinate, and mobilise members to attend the party's indoor meetings.

The findings emphasise Tallam et al. (2014) and Jha and Kodila-Tedica (2019) observation that social/new media has strong capabilities to advocate for accountability and transparency due to its multi-way communication ability that enables users (in this case political parties) to initiate communication with the government. Political parties also used X to expose and condemn government wrongdoing.

These findings corroborate Aman and Jayroe's (2013) finding that social media was used as a last resort because of strict government control over the Internet and mainstream media. Tanzania was found to be performing poorly in terms of freedom of speech, with a strong hold over the mainstream media, forcing opposition parties to rely on social media during the 2020 general election (Mulinda, 2022; Freedom House, 2022). Control over media continued during the non-electioneering period. With the ban on public meetings and incidences of last-minute cancellations of press meetings, opposition parties' last resort was social media. Therefore, I conclude that social media is useful not only during elections but also during non-electioneering periods because politics is not a seasonal activity.

### **5.1.2 #KaziIendeleo and #KatibaMpya as Political Engagements**

The results showed that by showcasing government programmes, projects, and accomplishments, the hashtag #KaziIendeleo was mostly utilised to support President Samia Suluhu Hassan and the CCM government. It was also employed in the fight against violence against women. Finally, news and information exchanges took advantage of the hashtag. In contrast, #KatibaMpya was employed for the strategic planning of the movement towards a new constitution, public awareness campaigns, and constitutional reform campaigns. The results also showed that the hashtag, along

with #WenyeNchiWananchi, was used to advocate for a government that is focused on the needs of the people.

Tanzanians use hashtags to identify with communities of their liking and engage in political discourse on the course they support. The results corroborate Uwalaka's (2020) argument that clicktivism—a term used to describe low-risk, low-cost actions conducted through social media with the goal of raising awareness, influencing change, or just providing participant satisfaction—plays a major role in a campaign's success.

The results of #KatibaMpya confirm Endong's (2018) observation that hashtag activism was effective in raising awareness and gaining support from various participants. The findings further support Uwalaka's (2020) assertion that clicktivism is a legitimate form of political involvement and engagement.

Although hashtag activism faces challenges, it is nevertheless quite influential. Mateos and Erro's (2021) assertion that Internet campaigns' framing may be influenced by institutional norms, local politics, and contextual realities, which may restrict the narratives activists can choose, was observed in this study. It was clear that Tanzanian politics, characterised by one-party dominance in government, determined the choice and content of the messages connected to #KaziIendelea or #KatibaMpya; the former is used by Tanzanians who support the existing government, while the latter is used by Tanzanians and activists who believe that a new constitution is necessary for a true democracy in the country.

In general, hashtag activism holds promise for enhancing and amplifying the voices of sub-Saharan African activists; however, cautious handling of the digital landscape is required to maintain authority over problematic discourses.

### **5.1.3 Tanzanian Activists Use X for Activism and Political Participation**

The study revealed that Tanzanian activists utilised X as a venue for political and economic discourse, a means of spreading information to raise awareness, and a tool for human rights and democracy activism. The findings also demonstrated that Tanzanian social media activists have influenced a number of issues through their online activism, such as the release of political prisoners, publicising the goals of the new constitution, removing the prohibition on political demonstrations in public spaces, and eliminating fees associated with mobile transactions.

The following are some inferences that can be drawn from the findings:

First, social media provides a safe space for political action and involvement, both of which are vital for a nation's democracy to flourish. Second, as demonstrated by the campaign against mobile transaction charges, people can express themselves and be heard through social media. Third, a small group of ardent internet activists have the power to drive change. Finally, even in the absence of an election, social media can significantly contribute to democratic development.

These results support Kiranda et al. (2016)'s finding that the rise in smartphones, coupled with rising internet penetration and social media access, intensifies political activism. Political communication and campaigning have been effectively promoted by social media platforms such as Facebook, X, and YouTube. On social media platforms, citizen-led campaigns on accountability and human rights have been clearly successful. The results further affirm that social media is frequently used as a vehicle for representation and a citizen journalism tool to attract attention from a wider audience. It can also be used locally to organise collective action, particularly as a vehicle for mobilisation in the vital task of getting people onto the streets (Gerbaudo, 2012). However, success in using social media to mobilise people to take collective action

appears to be limited, probably due to what Mateos and Erro (202) noted as contextual circumstances, local politics, and institutional norms that play a role in how successful social media mobilisation campaigns are in getting people to take collective action.

The concept of online listening, defined by Molina (2017) as reading other people's posts, tweets, chats, and comments, helps explain the findings of this study. The practise of online activism can be made possible through online listening, which is an important component of participation. Digital media-facilitated online political discussions create new public spaces for politics and new avenues for individuals to engage as (digital) citizens, all of which enhance our understanding of the mechanisms involved in political communication (Molina, 2017). The findings of this study demonstrate that online listening is a crucial aspect of successful online activism. It not only facilitates interaction among participants but also determines the outcome of such interactions. The fact that Tanzanian social media activists have achieved some objectives testifies to the practise of online listening.

#### **5.1.4 Government Use X to Promote Democratic Governance**

According to these findings, the Tanzanian government used X to encourage public participation by educating, inspiring, and raising public awareness of national development initiatives. X has proven to be a helpful resource for maintaining positive public relations, communicating during emergencies, and controlling false and misleading information. Finally, the findings demonstrated that the government monitors the internet, although many social media opportunities are unused.

The following are the findings' implications: First, through X, the Tanzanian government is attempting to interact with the public and be more transparent. They accomplish this by informing and motivating residents to participate in national development efforts through X. Second, X appears to be a useful instrument for the

administration to stay in touch with the public and project a positive public image in times of need. Third, the government is making a concerted effort to stop false information from spreading online.

The findings also imply that the government may overlook additional opportunities for social media participation, which could mean that it is not making the most of them. Furthermore, it is possible to interpret government internet monitoring as a tactic to quell opposition or criticism. Finally, the results, which emphasise interaction and communication, paint a favourable picture of the Tanzanian government's use of X. Note that all of the platform's features are not fully utilised, and this indicates possible restrictions.

These results are consistent with Kamp et al. (2016)'s finding that government agencies and bureaucracies have been forced to embrace social media as a vital channel for citizen contact due to its immense power. Spokespersons for the Tanzanian government also interact, converse, and listen to citizens on the internet, although not to the full extent. These findings corroborate Kiranda et al. (2016), who noted that social media has made it possible to quickly and freely disseminate information to the public and to solicit citizen input on matters of politics and policy at a low cost of transaction. The Tanzanian government released press releases on X at all hours of the day and night, relying largely on this platform for this purpose. Furthermore, the results corroborate Ncube's (2021) observation that the Internet has created new avenues for interaction that not only lessen the information imbalance between citizens and politicians but also allow for greater engagement in public discourse and strengthen democratic features in nations.

The results demonstrated that Tanzanians constituted the majority of government information recipients rather than contributors, supporting Wakabi and Grönlund

(2015) that the majority of citizens are observers in most interactions, whether they are between themselves or with leaders. Similar to the findings of Oginni and Moitui (2015), online civic participation in policymaking was not observed, despite the Tanzanian government using social media to reach out to the public.

The Tanzanian government was found to have engaged in online listening, as evidenced by the results, particularly in response to concerns expressed by digital citizens. The government was more reactive than proactive in its responses, since it was primarily directed against misinformation and disinformation.

## **5.2 Optimising Social Media Use to Promote Political Communication in Tanzania**

Based on the findings and available literature, the following are the proposed ways that can lead to the optimal use of social media for sustainable political communication:

### **5.2.1 Adhering to Digital Citizenship Principles**

Digital citizenship encompasses the appropriate and ethical use of technology, including online safety, courteous communication, privacy protection, and constructive contributions to digital communities. In addition to actively participating in the digital world for learning, cooperation, and fostering a pleasant online environment, it entails being conscious of how our activities affect both ourselves and other people.

The analysis of the X data revealed instances of users experiencing heated, unpleasant exchanges. This occurs mostly when social media users diverge from discussing issues to personal attacks because of their extreme political views. It is also caused by the growing mistrust and distaste that social media users have for others who hold opposing political views. Finally, the novelty of social media contributes to illiteracy in digital citizenship.

Adopting a digital citizenship culture can significantly improve the way people engage in online political conversations, regardless of their political opinions and affiliations. Courteous communication and the need to promote a pleasant digital environment require social media users to think before they post online, and comments should be constructive. Ethical use of platforms will reduce the misinformation and disinformation currently prevalent on such sites. Therefore, digital citizenship should be part of digital literacy training at all levels to ensure the optimal use of social media for democratic advancement.

### **5.2.2 Incorporating Emotional Intelligence in Social Media Use**

The term emotional intelligence (EI) describes the capacity to identify, comprehend, and control one's own and other people's emotions (Habib et al., 2023; Mulinda, 2021). It expedites stronger connections and relationships, facilitates human communication, and is still one of the most in-demand abilities in the modern world (Mulinda, 2021). Mulinda (2021) concluded that emotional intelligence (EI) plays a significant role in political communication, and Tanzanian politicians are well aware of this. However, EI is less frequently used in speeches, especially during emotionally taxing events.

The lack of composure demonstrated by some Tanzanians on X reflects Mulinda's (2021) observation that emotional intelligence is a less utilised skill in Tanzania's political communication landscape. It is more so with social media, given its informal nature. People of different political dispositions attack their opponents in a manner that provokes unpleasant exchanges. The intention is to discourage users from expressing their opinions and divert public attention from burning issues to personal attacks.

Emotionally intelligent social media users are not easily provoked and refrain from responding to inappropriate provocations. Positive effects such as connection, bonding, and relationship building can result from incorporating EI. However, negative effects,

including strained relationships, arise when users ignore the EI (Mulinda, 2021). Therefore, I propose the incorporation of EI into social media use not only by politicians but also by activists to enhance positive connections and relationships.

### **5.2.3 Taking Advantage of the Two-way Nature of Social Media**

Social media is an effective instrument for information dissemination and gathering because of the following benefits: First, social media improves two-way communication. Social media, in contrast to traditional media, allows individuals to create and share personal viewpoints in addition to receiving information. As a result, there is a dynamic flow of information that allows for the hearing of various viewpoints and may encourage public participation. Second, it makes it easier to access information. Compared with traditional media outlets, social media facilitates the broad distribution of information, potentially reaching a larger audience. This can be especially helpful when bringing significant concerns to people's attention or rallying support for specific causes.

Overall, the findings indicate that listening is not very common. Information is shared widely, but it is important to note what I mean when I say that there is untapped "listening" potential. By actively engaging with citizens' problems, criticism, and ideas via social media, Tanzanian activists and the government can use it more effectively. This calls for encouraging positive discourse on social media and promoting a willingness to listen to what the public say. In addition, there are instances in which interactive involvement is lost. Opinion polls and other social media capabilities could be used to directly solicit community input on pertinent topics. This interactive strategy can increase public involvement and result in better informed decision-making.

I stress that enhanced online listening—where users and institutions actively engage in listening and responding—is essential for promoting increased online public

involvement in order to maximise social media usage for democracy. Implementing mechanisms to gather and analyse citizen input and incorporate it into policy or decision-making processes whenever possible can be one way to demonstrate the value of public participation. Other strategies include creating dedicated spaces on social media platforms where citizens can express their opinions, pose questions, and engage in civil conversations. Finally, actively responding to comments and inquiries can help foster trust and encourage continued engagement.

In conclusion, politicians, governments and activists can greatly strengthen democracy and promote greater public engagement by utilising social media to its fullest potential for information dissemination and active listening to citizen views.

#### **5.2.4 Creating Effective Online Content**

Developing effective content on the internet requires careful thought and attention to several details, including the target audience, the content's purpose, and length or duration. For example, the length of a video clip can affect the engagement of viewers on social media. According to Park et al. (2016), longer videos have a tendency to receive more likes and views per watch, and they also tend to get more unfavourable comments, which is positively correlated with viewing length. However, bias in watch-time prediction for video recommendations may also result from video length. Longer videos are frequently preferred by recommendation algorithms, which may ignore user interests (Park et al., 2016). However, for countries with a developing economy like Tanzania, affordability may restrict most online users to short (micro) videos. Thus, microvideos must capture viewers' interest in a brief period. It is also important to note that the popularity of microvideos can be influenced by social impacts, like the number of followers, as well as content quality (Joglekar et al., 2017).

Social media platforms have developed into centres for multimedia material, enabling users to interact with and exchange information in ways that go beyond textual content. Typical social media technical affordances include sharing images, which is the main feature of most social media sites that enables users to visually express themselves and draw attention; videos sharing, which enables users to share experiences, narrate tales and produce interesting content; audio files sharing providing distinctive means of disseminating information and establishing aural connections with listeners; live streaming, which enables instantaneous engagement and connection with audiences by real-time interaction via live voice and video; and interactive components where a user may increase audience engagement and get feedback by using polls, quizzes and other interactive features. All these capabilities should be well incorporated into online content that facilitates the democratic engagement of citizens.

In all, in order to optimise efficacy, content creators must take into account numerous variables, such as audience, purpose, and duration. Longer videos may increase interaction numbers, but there is a chance that they will lose viewers. Micromovies hold great promise, particularly in underdeveloped nations; however, they should be very high-quality materials. Using social media affordances like audio, video, and interactive elements strategically is essential for engaging viewers and promoting democratic participation.

To sum up, it was argued that social media can be a useful tool for strengthening democracy, but its effectiveness depends on how responsibly it is used, taking into consideration important factors like digital citizenship, emotional intelligence, and two-way communication. Content creators should also consider their audience, objective, and structure when producing content that draws viewers in and promotes democratic involvement. They should also use social media's multimedia features.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This chapter interpreted and discussed the findings of the study. It also proposed ways to enhance social media usage to improve political communication. The next chapter presents the summary, conclusions, and recommendations of the study.

## **CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.0 Introduction**

The previous chapter interpreted and discussed the findings of the study. This chapter presents the summary of the entire study and the conclusion. It also provides recommendations for practice and further research.

### **6.1 Summary**

This study explored how social media is being used to advance democracy in Tanzania to increase awareness among academics and social media users, and offer suggestions for improving its use for democratic development. To do this, the study addressed the following research questions: How do political parties utilise X to encourage new forms of political communication in Tanzania's public sphere? How do Tanzanians use #KaziIendelea and #KatibaMpya to engage in political discourse in the country? In what ways do Tanzanian activists leverage the various uses of X to influence socio-political change in the country? In which ways does the Tanzanian government use X to promote democratic governance?

After reading other studies, I found that the majority concentrated on social media use during the election season. The literature on the use of social media to pursue democratic goals outside of election season is scarce. Thus, the goal of the current study was to investigate Tanzanians' use of X during the non-election season. The literature review also appraised the concepts of democratic listening, online listening, and digital citizenship that were used in the analysis and discussion of the results.

This study used an interpretive research paradigm, endorsing relativism's contention that social construction affects both truth and reality. This research employed a qualitative methodology that included digital data collection techniques. In this social media study, the case study design was chosen because of its many advantages, which

include the ability to examine online groups and their dynamics, provide information about how social media is used in political settings, allow for the use of diverse approaches and the chance to learn from previous research, and facilitate the exploration of complex phenomena, real-time data collection, and in-depth phenomenon analysis.

The study purposely selected six X accounts: @ACTwazalendo, @ccm\_tanzania, @ChademaTz, @fatma\_karume, @MariaSTsehai and @TZMsemajiMkuu. Two hashtags #KaziIendeleee and #KatibaMpya were also selected. The data were generated from the selected accounts and hashtags using Twitonomy. The data were analysed descriptively using Twitonomy and thematically using QDA Miner Lite.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

The analytics results of the selected accounts and hashtags have shown how Tanzanian citizens, political parties, activists, and the government used X during a non-electioneering period, detailing tweeting frequency, the users with whom they interact the most, and the hashtags they most used, among others. Generally, the analytics helped to determine that X was used during the examined period and the extent to which it was used.

Regarding the first research question, the thematic analysis revealed that the Tanzanian political parties used X extensively to provide information on various social and political issues. They used X to advocate for causes, lay out their stances, advertise events, and galvanise their followers. Political parties also utilised X to influence the government through critiquing or applauding activities, encouraging accountability, bringing attention to activism, and dispelling false information during emergencies.

In the second research question, it was found that various issues had been covered by Tanzanians using the hashtag #KaziIendelee. These included news and information sharing, highlighting government initiatives, projects, and accomplishments, endorsing President Samia Suluhu Hassan and the CCM government, and advocating against gender-based violence. However, the findings also revealed that the hashtag #KatibaMpya has been used extensively for a variety of purposes, including public awareness campaigns, advocacy for constitutional reform, and tactical planning for the drive towards a new constitution. Along with the hashtag #WenyeNchiWananchi, the analysis also showed that the hashtag was typically used to support a people-centred administration.

In the third research question, it was found that Tanzanian social media activists used X for various purposes, such as information sharing, discussing national political and economic issues, and advocating for democracy and human rights. Additionally, it was found that social media activists influenced a variety of issues in their online activity, such as the release of political prisoners, the publication of an agenda for the new constitution, and lifting the prohibition on public political gatherings.

Regarding the fourth research question, the findings showed that the Tanzanian government used X to encourage public participation by educating, inspiring, and raising public awareness about national development initiatives. X has been proven to be an effective tool for handling misinformation and disinformation, maintaining a positive public relations presence, and communicating during emergencies. Finally, online listening was practised by the government; however, it was mostly reactive, which made government social media communication one-way.

Finally, the central argument of this study is that social media can be an effective instrument for bolstering democracy outside elections, but its efficacy is contingent

upon its responsible and skilful utilization. Responsible use requires adhering to digital citizenship, which requires users to exercise caution in their online conduct, foster civil discourse, and refrain from making personal attacks. It is also improved by emotional intelligence, which helps users control their emotions and refrain from being drawn into pointless conversations. Two-way communication should be emphasised because social media can promote constructive discourse among individuals, activists, and governments. This calls for attentive listening and the creation of forums for such discussions. Finally, to create content that engages viewers and encourages democratic involvement, social media content creators should consider their audience, goals, and structure. They should also use the multimedia aspects of social media.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

This study makes two primary recommendations. First, I provide the results' implications for policy and practice. Second, I recommend topics that require further investigation.

#### **6.3.1 Recommendations for Policy and Practice**

In light of the findings of the study, I recommend the following practical policy guidance:

1. **Enhancing Two-Way Government Communication**

The Tanzanian government should adopt a more proactive and interactive approach to social media engagement by prioritizing two-way communication. Government institutions should respond to public inquiries, encourage dialogue, and create forums for civic participation rather than relying on one-way messaging.

## 2. Promoting Digital Citizenship and Responsible Social Media Use

The ministry of education and the ministry of information should develop educational programs and public awareness campaigns on responsible social media use, emphasizing digital ethics, fact-checking, and emotional intelligence. These efforts can help foster constructive online discourse and minimize misinformation, hate speech, and personal attacks. The National Digital Education Strategy (United Republic of Tanzania, 2024) comprehensively supports the foundations of teaching digital citizenship, especially through its focus on: Infrastructure and equitable access, Integration of ICT into curriculum and teacher training, and emphasis on ethics, safety, and responsible digital engagement. However, while the Strategy aligns well with most principles of digital citizenship, it would benefit from more explicit articulation of competencies like: digital footprint management, online identity and reputation, and critical thinking and media literacy. Therefore, to fully meet the goals of digital citizenship education, the study recommends that future iterations or implementation guidelines should embed digital citizenship as an explicit competency area across curricula and teacher development frameworks. This would ensure learners are not just users of digital tools but also informed, ethical, and responsible digital citizens.

## 3. Strengthening Social Media Policies for Political Engagement

Regulatory frameworks by the ministry of information and TCRA should support the responsible use of social media by political parties and activists while safeguarding freedom of expression. Clear guidelines should be established to prevent the misuse of social media for spreading false information while ensuring fair access for all political actors.

#### 4. Institutionalizing Social Media Listening for Governance

Government agencies should integrate structured social media listening mechanisms to gather public sentiment and feedback effectively. This would allow policymakers to make informed decisions based on citizen concerns and enhance responsiveness to national issues.

### **6.3.2 Recommendations for Further Research**

Building on the findings of the study, I identify the following areas for further scholarly exploration:

#### 1. Digital Ethnography of Real-Time Deliberative Practices on Social Media

As real-time deliberative platforms such as X Spaces and Clubhouse gain popularity, future research could conduct a digital ethnographic study to examine how Tanzanians engage in live political discussions. This research could explore the nature of these conversations, the role of moderators, and their impact on political awareness and civic engagement.

#### 2. Advancing Research on Online Listening in Political Communication

This study highlighted the significance of online listening in political communication. Future research should further investigate how governments, political parties, and activists can use social media listening tools to gauge public sentiment, enhance engagement, and inform policy decisions. This is an evolving field that requires continuous exploration, particularly in the context of improving two-way digital communication.

#### 3. The Influence of Social Media Hashtags on Political Mobilization and Policy Change

Given the prominence of hashtags like #KaziIendelee and #KatibaMpya in shaping political discourse in Tanzania, further studies could analyse other

emerging hashtags to understand how they contribute to political mobilization, public opinion formation, and potential policy shifts. A comparative study of hashtag activism across different political movements could provide deeper insights into its effectiveness.

#### 4. Algorithmic Influence on Political Discourse and Public Opinion

Future research should examine how social media algorithms shape political discussions by controlling content visibility, engagement, and information exposure. Understanding how algorithmic curation affects political awareness, activism, and misinformation spread in Tanzania could provide valuable insights for media regulation and digital literacy programs.

#### 5. Longitudinal Study on the Effectiveness of Social Media Advocacy in Policy Reform

A long-term study could assess the tangible impact of digital activism on policy change in Tanzania. This research could track specific online movements, petitions, and advocacy campaigns to determine their success in influencing legislative reforms, governance improvements, or human rights advancements.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Twitonomy Analytics



#### @fatma\_karume's tweets analytics



**@fatma\_karume** fatma karume aka Shangazi ✓

66,653 tweets 535 following 1,017,583 followers 206 listed

Joined Twitter on January 18, 2018 as user #953871384400269312

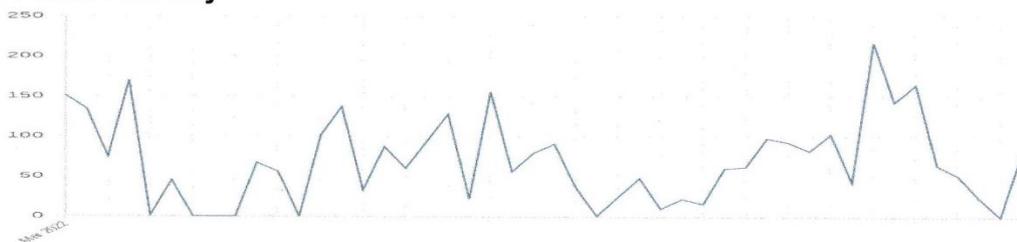
*Who's to blame if repression remains? We are. Who can break its thrall? We can. Whoever has been beaten down must rise to his feet! Whoever is lost must fight*

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1,902 followers/following 0.20 listed/1,000 followers

**3,186** tweets from March 04, 2022 to January 05, 2023

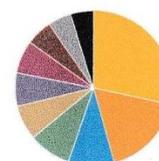
<b>10.34</b> tweets per day	<b>1,555</b> retweets 49% of tweets
@ <b>351</b> user mentions 0.11 per tweet	<b>463</b> replies 15% of tweets
<b>871</b> links 0.27 per tweet	# <b>389</b> hashtags 0.12 per tweet
<b>1,506</b> tweets retweeted 47.3% of tweets a total of <b>40,118</b> times 26.64 per retweeted tweet	
<b>1,621</b> tweets favorited 50.9% of tweets a total of <b>345,552</b> times 213.17 per favorited tweet	

#### Tweet history



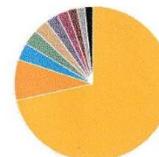
#### Users most retweeted

@MariaSTsehai <b>168</b>	@ThabitSenior <b>103</b>
@Jambotv_ <b>56</b>	@IAMartin_ <b>52</b>
@lifeofmshaba <b>43</b>	@zittokabwe <b>41</b>
@hallaboutafrica <b>41</b>	@TitoMagoti <b>32</b>
@Advocate_Jebra <b>29</b>	@aikande <b>28</b>



#### Users most replied to

@fatma_karume <b>218</b>	@ThabitSenior <b>26</b>
@MariaSTsehai <b>11</b>	@SuluhuSamia <b>10</b>
@zittokabwe <b>9</b>	@ThatBoyKhalifax <b>8</b>
@RickyJaduong86 <b>7</b>	@TitoMagoti <b>6</b>
@MarekaMalili <b>5</b>	@lifeofmshaba <b>5</b>



#### @ Users most mentioned

@ThabitSenior <b>36</b>	@SuluhuSamia <b>15</b>
@MariaSTsehai <b>14</b>	@zittokabwe <b>14</b>
@YouTube <b>9</b>	@ThatBoyKhalifax <b>9</b>
@TitoMagoti <b>8</b>	@aikande <b>8</b>



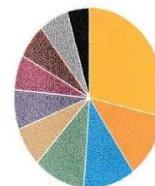
## @fatma\_karume's tweets analytics

 @Rickyjaduong86

8

 @lifeofmshaba

6



### # Hashtags most used

#tanzania

135

#katibampya

52

#zanzibar

51

#tanganyika

18

#tumehuri

17

#ruleoflaw

10

#lawlesscountry

7

#nyumbu

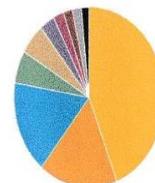
6

#utawalawasheria

6

#twitterrepublic

5



### 🔄 Tweets most retweeted



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 9:15 AM - 7 Nov 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 437 retweets 3,227 favorites [...]

Hii helikopta ni Airbus H225 lifting power about 5 tons. Kazi yake: SEARCH and RESCUE. Jana imetumiliwa kumpeleka Majiliwa kutoka Mwanza mpaka Bukoba wakati wananchi wanavuta ndege kwa kamba. Allahamduillah <https://t.co/o1jTduCA74>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 9:00 AM - 14 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 432 retweets 7,712 favorites [...]

Nakutakieni nyote Happy Nyerere Day. Tumkumbuke kwa mema yote aliyeyafanya. Mungu amlaze mahali pema. <https://t.co/TP1eOWMaH>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 2:06 PM - 15 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 425 retweets 4,149 favorites [...]

Naona picha yangu na Mwalimu imependwa sana. Wacha nitoe background. Mwalimu alikuwa kama Babu yangu. Siku moja nikiwa kwake Msasani 1986 kasema: "Huna picha na mimi. Wacha niite wapiga picha watupige." Baada ya lunch akaelezwa wapiga picha wamefika. <https://t.co/k8GLWz1irj>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 10:54 PM - 23 May 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 406 retweets 418 favorites [...]

Ahmed Abiy won the Nobel Peace Prize and he went on to start a war against Tigray and is committing genocide. Time always reveals the true character of a person once power is bestowed on them. [twitter.com/mBongo/status/...](https://twitter.com/mBongo/status/...)



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 2:06 PM - 15 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 249 retweets 3,559 favorites [...]

Picha hii ya tatu na mimi nikajifanya STATESWOMAN nikaanza kutembea huku naongea nae. 🇸🇩🇸🇩🇸🇩🇸🇩🇸 Hii ndio picha iliyopendwa na Mwalimu akaweka sahihi yake na kusema "For Fatma. With love from Julius K. Nyerere". Nina Bahati sana kupendwa na mashujaa: I miss u JKN! <https://t.co/TfvuflC61d>

### ★ Tweets most favorited



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 9:00 AM - 14 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 432 retweets 7,712 favorites [...]

Nakutakieni nyote Happy Nyerere Day. Tumkumbuke kwa mema yote aliyeyafanya. Mungu amlaze mahali pema. <https://t.co/TP1eOWMaH>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 10:12 AM - 1 Nov 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 246 retweets 5,804 favorites [...]

Happy Birthday to my beloved father. Amani Abeid Amani Karume. <https://t.co/tjHT3fZhZ1>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 10:09 PM - 5 Aug 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 157 retweets 4,578 favorites [...]

An evening with family #Zanzibar <https://t.co/JHKyQ4NGK1>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 2:06 PM - 15 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 425 retweets 4,149 favorites [...]

Naona picha yangu na Mwalimu imependwa sana. Wacha nitoe background. Mwalimu alikuwa kama Babu yangu. Siku moja nikiwa kwake Msasani 1986 kasema: "Huna picha na mimi. Wacha niite wapiga picha watupige." Baada ya lunch akaelezwa wapiga picha wamefika. <https://t.co/k8GLWz1irj>



**fatma karume aka Shangazi** @fatma\_karume - 2:06 PM - 15 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 249 retweets 3,559 favorites [...]

Picha hii ya tatu na mimi nikajifanya STATESWOMAN nikaanza kutembea huku naongea nae. 🇸🇩🇸🇩🇸🇩🇸🇩🇸 Hii ndio picha iliyopendwa na Mwalimu akaweka sahihi yake na kusema "For Fatma. With love from Julius K. Nyerere". Nina Bahati sana kupendwa na mashujaa: I miss u JKN! <https://t.co/TfvuflC61d>

### 📅 Days of the week

### 🕒 Hours of the day (UTC)



@MariaSTsehai's tweets analytics



**@MariaSTsehai** Maria Sarungi Tsehai

612,904 tweets 6,768 following 1,155,287 followers 559 listed

Joined Twitter on March 14, 2009 as user #24312877

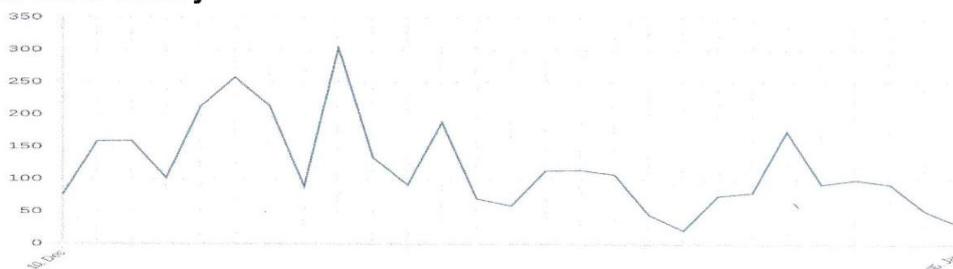
Media & Communications expert @EF\_fellows 2016, @intleaders, #ChangeTanzania #KatibaMpya #GoodTrouble maker Team Hakuna Kushindwa,

<https://t.co/LLvLK10RHm> 171 followers/following 0.48 listed/1,000 followers

**3,198** tweets from December 10, 2022 to January 05, 2023

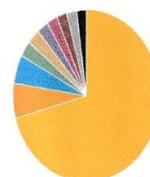
<b>118.44</b> tweets per day	<b>2,143</b> retweets 67% of tweets
<b>1,460</b> user mentions 0.46 per tweet	<b>830</b> replies 26% of tweets
<b>115</b> links 0.04 per tweet	<b>192</b> hashtags 0.06 per tweet
<b>492</b> tweets retweeted 15.4% of tweets a total of <b>7,145</b> times 14.52 per retweeted tweet	
<b>914</b> tweets favorited 28.6% of tweets a total of <b>46,827</b> times 51.23 per favorited tweet	

**Tweet history**



**Users most retweeted**

@MwanzoTv <b>474</b>	@Big0047 <b>44</b>
@lifeofmshaba <b>36</b>	@ThabitSenior <b>20</b>
@ahmadrubibi <b>19</b>	@godbless_jema <b>17</b>
@fatma_karume <b>16</b>	@DEUSDEDITHSOKA <b>15</b>
@NavayaoleNdasko <b>15</b>	@milkail <b>14</b>



**Users most replied to**

@MariaSTsehai <b>13</b>	@ChichiKoech <b>13</b>
@RehemaNM2 <b>10</b>	@zionpearl <b>9</b>
@tubuluTLS20 <b>6</b>	@44Canigia <b>6</b>
@ProfWainduruJr <b>6</b>	@HildaNewton21 <b>6</b>
@Mwalim_Junior <b>5</b>	@UmojaSarwatt <b>5</b>



**Users most mentioned**

@SuluhuSamia <b>59</b>	@ChichiKoech <b>30</b>
@KemetCapital <b>24</b>	@UmojaWaMataifa <b>23</b>
@tubuluTLS20 <b>22</b>	@HildaNewton21 <b>19</b>
@NavayaoleNdasko <b>19</b>	@MwanzoTv <b>19</b>





@ChademaTz's tweets analytics



**@ChademaTz** CHADEMA Tanzania

19,521 tweets 9 following 696,416 followers 135 listed

Joined Twitter on June 05, 2015 as user #3309230189

The Main Opposition Political Party in Tanzania

https://t.co/rqn6qkXfSq Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 77,380 followers/following 0.19 listed/1,000 followers

**1,604** tweets from January 01, 2022 to January 05, 2023

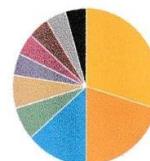
- 4.34** tweets per day
- 58** retweets 4% of tweets
- 804** user mentions 0.50 per tweet
- 318** replies 20% of tweets
- 39** links 0.02 per tweet
- 319** hashtags 0.20 per tweet
- 1,531** tweets retweeted 95.4% of tweets a total of **40,918** times 26.73 per retweeted tweet
- 1,546** tweets favorited 96.4% of tweets a total of **246,322** times 159.33 per favorited tweet

**Tweet history**



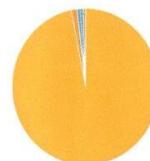
**Users most retweeted**

- |                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| @jjmnyika <b>13</b>       | @IAMartin_ <b>9</b>     |
| @bavicha_taifa <b>6</b>   | @Jambotv_ <b>3</b>      |
| @JonMrema <b>3</b>        | @mvenaani <b>2</b>      |
| @DigitalAwardsTZ <b>2</b> | @MwananchiNews <b>2</b> |
| @ExMayorUbungo <b>2</b>   | @BungeWananchi <b>2</b> |



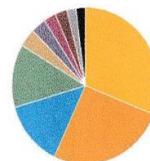
**Users most replied to**

- |                         |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| @ChademaTz <b>308</b>   | @tanpol <b>4</b>     |
| @BawachaTaifa <b>2</b>  | @HEBobiwine <b>2</b> |
| @bavicha_taifa <b>2</b> |                      |



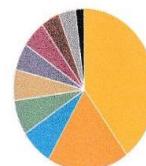
**Users most mentioned**

- |                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| @jjmnyika <b>214</b>     | @freemanmbowetz <b>179</b> |
| @TunduALissu <b>94</b>   | @salummwalimtz <b>90</b>   |
| @HecheJohn <b>26</b>     | @JonMrema <b>23</b>        |
| @CatherineRuge <b>19</b> | @BawachaTaifa <b>18</b>    |
| @SharifaSul <b>14</b>    | @BungeWananchi <b>14</b>   |



## # Hashtags most used

#katibampya	103	#jointhechain	48
#mbowesiogaidi	19	#chademadigital	18
#tumehuruyauchaguzi	16	#katibampyanisasa	14
#prouderstrongerbetter	14	#mguukwamguu	11
#updates	10	#tumehuru	5



## 🔄 Tweets most retweeted

- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 5:21 PM - 5 Sep 2022 via Twitter for Android - 396 retweets 2,256 favorites [...] Pongezi kwa Rais mteule wa Jamhuri ya Kenya Ndugu William Samoei Ruto na Katiba ya Kenya. <https://t.co/Rjo4754ZW6>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 6:12 PM - 9 Feb 2022 via Twitter for Android - 330 retweets 1,426 favorites [...] Aliyekuwa Mbunge wa Jimbo la Mikumi 2015-2020 @ProfessorJayTz amelazwa katika hospitali ya @MuhimbiliTaifa, anahitaji msaada wa matibabu. Changia kupitia. MPESA: 0757919192 Joseph Haule. TIGOPesa: 0715919192 Joseph Haule. CRDB Account no: 0112044845200 Joseph Leonard Haule. <https://t.co/Zw7CcrZMX>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 7:26 PM - 4 Mar 2022 via Twitter for Android - 187 retweets 845 favorites [...] Kauli ya Mwenyekiti Mhe. @freemanmbowetz baada ya kufutiwa mashitaka leo Machi 04, 2022. <https://t.co/s0Yvi6ByEn>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 6:34 AM - 6 Mar 2022 via Twitter for Android - 184 retweets 907 favorites [...] "Nguvu ya Chadema ni upendo na umoja wetu, hatuna majeshi wala silaha, umoja wetu imekuwa silaha yetu kubwa sana. Silaha hii ya umoja ndio imenitoea mimi gerezani. Nimetoka kwa sababu nguvu ya umma imeishinda nguvu ya vyombo vyao vya dola." Mhe. @freemanmbowetz <https://t.co/ITe740kfhC>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 6:43 PM - 30 Mar 2022 via Twitter for Android - 145 retweets 1,213 favorites [...] Mwenyekiti wa Chama Taifa Mhe. @freemanmbowetz leo Machi 30, 2022 amekutana na Mheshimiwa Raila Amolo Odinga, Mgombea Urais wa Muungano wa Azimio la Umoja na Mheshimiwa Martha Karua, Kiongozi wa Chama cha NARC Kenya Jijini Nairobi. <https://t.co/gRwljSQhml>

## ★ Tweets most favorited

- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 5:21 PM - 5 Sep 2022 via Twitter for Android - 396 retweets 2,256 favorites [...] Pongezi kwa Rais mteule wa Jamhuri ya Kenya Ndugu William Samoei Ruto na Katiba ya Kenya. <https://t.co/Rjo4754ZW6>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 8:08 PM - 11 May 2022 via Twitter for Android - 130 retweets 1,564 favorites [...] Wakili Peter Kibatala apewa tuzo maalum na Chadema, itwayo Justice and Freedom. Kwa niaba yake imepokelewa na wakili John Mallya. <https://t.co/c84dYqrB1y>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 6:12 PM - 9 Feb 2022 via Twitter for Android - 330 retweets 1,426 favorites [...] Aliyekuwa Mbunge wa Jimbo la Mikumi 2015-2020 @ProfessorJayTz amelazwa katika hospitali ya @MuhimbiliTaifa, anahitaji msaada wa matibabu. Changia kupitia. MPESA: 0757919192 Joseph Haule. TIGOPesa: 0715919192 Joseph Haule. CRDB Account no: 0112044845200 Joseph Leonard Haule. <https://t.co/Zw7CcrZMX>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 6:43 PM - 30 Mar 2022 via Twitter for Android - 145 retweets 1,213 favorites [...] Mwenyekiti wa Chama Taifa Mhe. @freemanmbowetz leo Machi 30, 2022 amekutana na Mheshimiwa Raila Amolo Odinga, Mgombea Urais wa Muungano wa Azimio la Umoja na Mheshimiwa Martha Karua, Kiongozi wa Chama cha NARC Kenya Jijini Nairobi. <https://t.co/gRwljSQhml>
- CHADEMA Tanzania** @ChademaTz - 3:32 PM - 13 Sep 2022 via Twitter for Android - 101 retweets 1,150 favorites [...] <https://t.co/7nA6CXqOYU>

## 📅 Days of the week

## 🕒 Hours of the day (UTC)



@ACTwazalendo's tweets analytics



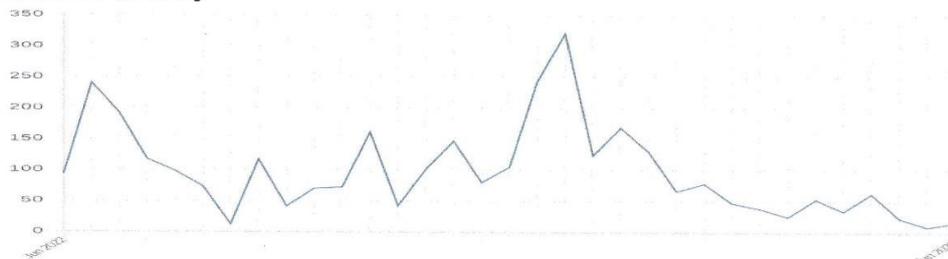
**@ACTwazalendo** ACTwazalendo

13,121 tweets 166 following 10,823 followers 11 listed  
 Joined Twitter on October 20, 2018 as user #1053666023277281280  
 Alliance for Change and Transparency []. A Leading Opposition Party in Tanzania. endorsement and retweet is for @ACTwazalendo  
<https://t.co/KIMtdBwbRM> Tanzania 657 followers/following 1 listed/1,000 followers

**3,198** tweets from June 03, 2022 to January 05, 2023

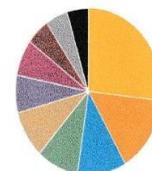
<b>14.74</b> tweets per day	<b>2,749</b> retweets 86% of tweets
<b>434</b> user mentions 0.14 per tweet	<b>41</b> replies 1% of tweets
<b>31</b> links 0.01 per tweet	<b>517</b> hashtags 0.16 per tweet
<b>404</b> tweets retweeted 12.6% of tweets a total of <b>2,835</b> times 7.02 per retweeted tweet	
<b>420</b> tweets favorited 13.1% of tweets a total of <b>4,836</b> times 11.51 per favorited tweet	

**Tweet history**



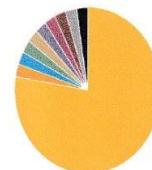
**Users most retweeted**

@zittokabwe <b>327</b>	@IsmailJussa <b>182</b>
@Vicent_Kassala <b>132</b>	@SemuDorothy <b>113</b>
@AdoShaibu <b>112</b>	@Ndolezi_Petro <b>89</b>
@JiniKinyonga <b>86</b>	@salimbimani2 <b>63</b>
@ndandavale <b>61</b>	@ACTUpdates <b>58</b>



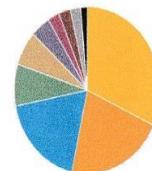
**Users most replied to**

@ACTwazalendo <b>31</b>	@Mwanaishamdeme <b>1</b>
@Ester_Thomas1 <b>1</b>	@HalimaYusuf_N <b>1</b>
@SemuDorothy <b>1</b>	@mansoorhimid <b>1</b>
@Mbaralagande <b>1</b>	@zittokabwe <b>1</b>
@NgomeyaWanawake <b>1</b>	@DrMehari <b>1</b>



**Users most mentioned**

@ACTwazalendo <b>110</b>	@AdoShaibu <b>74</b>
@zittokabwe <b>64</b>	@IsmailJussa <b>28</b>
@ACTBarazaKivuli <b>23</b>	@SemuDorothy <b>15</b>
@Ester_Thomas1 <b>9</b>	@juma_duni2 <b>9</b>
@othmasoud <b>8</b>	@JaneRithe <b>5</b>

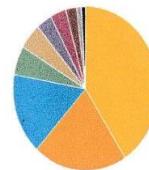




## @ACTwazalendo's tweets analytics

### # Hashtags most used

#thefutureispurple	186	#wearthefuture	95
#actkiganjani	73	#sautimbadala	26
#blitzkrieg	23	#tume huru	16
#katibampya	16	#hojazawananchizanzibar	11
#tumechagua1tumbaki1	5	#actwazalendo	4



### 🔄 Tweets most retweeted

- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 1:41 PM - 15 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 26 retweets 33 favorites [...] [🗨️ BLITZKRIEG](#) Polisi Wilaya ya Tunduru wamevamia shughuli ya Ufunguzi wa Tawi la Chama cha ACT Wazalendo katika kijiji cha Namwinyu, Jimbo la Tunduru Kaskazini. Ufunguzi huo wa Tawi ni sehemu ya ziara ya Kiongozi wa chama, [@zittokabwe](#) katika Mikoa mitatu ya Kusini. [#ACTKiganjani](#) <https://t.co/vxApSwHAaO>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 3:59 PM - 16 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 24 retweets 37 favorites [...] "Suala la Rais Mwinyi kumteua mtu aliyehusika kuvuruga uchaguzi wa 2020 kuwa Mkurugenzi wa ZEC, HALIKUBALI. Tumeamua kurudi chini kwa Wanachama wetu. Ni wao waliotaka tuingie kwenye Serikali ya Umoja wa Kitaifa, wao pia ndio watakoamua hili." KC [@zittokabwe](#) Kijiji cha Mchoteka <https://t.co/FMYuktNpgQ>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 12:36 PM - 15 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 23 retweets 57 favorites [...] "Nimeelezwa wakati mwingine hapa inapita wiki nzima bila ya maji. Wakati niko njiani, nimezungumza na Waziri wa Maji, ili aharakishe mradi wa maji hapa Namwinyu. Naahidi. Chama chetu kitamsumbua Waziri hadi amalize kero hii." KC [@zittokabwe](#) Akizundua Tawi la Chama Namwinyu. <https://t.co/Hu2yL3QriX>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 1:41 PM - 13 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 22 retweets 26 favorites [...] Ziara ya kushuka na kuzungumza mipango ya utekelezaji kazi za Chama za kufungia mwaka 2022 kwa Viongozi wa Mikoa na Majimbo yote ya Zanzibar. Leo Jpili trh 13/11/2022 ni Mkoa wa Magharibi A. <https://t.co/NzFuP86a6g>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 9:09 PM - 13 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 20 retweets 22 favorites [...] Makamu Mwenyekiti wa Chama cha ACT Wazalendo Zanzibar ambaye pia ni Makamu wa Kwanza ya Rais Mhe. Othman Masoud Othman, leo Novemba 13, 2022 amekutana na kuzungumza na Viongozi wa Chama cha ACT-Wazalendo Mkoa wa Iringa. [#TheFutureIsPurple](https://t.co/fxHimPi5io) <https://t.co/fxHimPi5io>

### ★ Tweets most favorited

- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 6:55 PM - 18 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 13 retweets 92 favorites [...] Mwanachama wa CHADEMA kata ya Isaka Katika Jimbo la Msalala akimkabidhi kadi Afisa toka Makao Makuu Ndugu, Mussa Bakari baada ya kuachana na chama hicho na kujiunga na ACT Wazalendo kwa kusajiliwa kwenye mfumo wa [#ACTkiganjani](#) [#WeAreTheFuture](#) [#TheFutureIsPurple](#) [#ACTKiganjani](#) <https://t.co/tITjPhTSK6>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 12:36 PM - 15 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 23 retweets 57 favorites [...] "Nimeelezwa wakati mwingine hapa inapita wiki nzima bila ya maji. Wakati niko njiani, nimezungumza na Waziri wa Maji, ili aharakishe mradi wa maji hapa Namwinyu. Naahidi. Chama chetu kitamsumbua Waziri hadi amalize kero hii." KC [@zittokabwe](#) Akizundua Tawi la Chama Namwinyu. <https://t.co/Hu2yL3QriX>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 12:27 PM - 15 Oct 2022 via Twitter for Android - 20 retweets 52 favorites [...] Jengo la Ofisi ya chama cha ACT wazalendo huko Micheweni, Pemba. Chama ni Ofisi [#TheFutureIsPurple](#) <https://t.co/hy33tjZQpc>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 4:34 PM - 19 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 20 retweets 45 favorites [...] "Mradi wa Kusindika Gesi Asilia (LNG) ni muhimu sana katika uchumi wa nchi, utaiusha Tanzania kiuchumi na kijamii, lakini kama wananchi wanaishi kwenye maeneo ya mradi maisha yao yakiendelea kuwa dhalili mradi huu utakuwa hauna maana." KC, [@zittokabwe](#), Mto Mkavu, Mbaya Lindi <https://t.co/dBj3jKV3AC>
- ACTwazalendo** @ACTwazalendo - 11:51 AM - 30 Oct 2022 via Twitter for Android - 14 retweets 45 favorites [...] <https://t.co/bmwqCl7sbH>

### 📅 Days of the week

### 🕒 Hours of the day (UTC)



@ccm\_tanzania's tweets analytics



**@ccm\_tanzania** Chama Cha Mapinduzi

14,727 tweets 3 following 801,508 followers 211 listed

Joined Twitter on March 14, 2011 as user #266127553

Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) - #Tanzania's governing party, founded on 5th February 1977. Membership: 15 million | <https://t.co/KzE7LlVgt9>

<https://t.co/XFsl2Qg9M9> Tanzania 267,169 followers/following 0.26 listed/1,000 followers

**1,419** tweets from January 01, 2022 to January 05, 2023

- 3.84** tweets per day
- 2** retweets 0% of tweets
- 353** user mentions 0.25 per tweet
- 51** replies 4% of tweets
- 422** links 0.30 per tweet
- 1,385** hashtags 0.98 per tweet
- 1,404** tweets retweeted 98.9% of tweets a total of **14,925** times 10.63 per retweeted tweet
- 1,416** tweets favorited 99.8% of tweets a total of **71,059** times 50.18 per favorited tweet

**Tweet history**



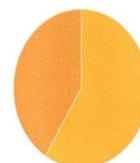
**Users most retweeted**

- @ccm\_zanzibar** **1**
- @ccm\_tanzania** **1**



**Users most replied to**

- @ccm\_tanzania** **30**
- @hamdu\_shaka** **21**



**Users most mentioned**

- @SuluSamia** **137**
- @hamdu\_shaka** **123**
- @DrHmwinyi** **21**
- @chongolo\_daniel** **14**
- @ccm\_tanzania** **10**
- @masoudkipanya** **4**
- @TuliaAckson** **4**
- @UKinTanzania** **3**



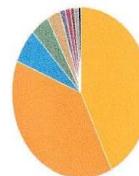
## @ccm\_tanzania's tweets analytics

 @CCMTanzania

3

 @TaruraTz

2



### # Hashtags most used

#kazilendelee

320

#ccmimara

196

#ccmapp

92

#tunaimaninasamia

78

#vitendovinasauti

58

#chamaimara

39

#kaziinaendelea

34

#samiawawatanzania

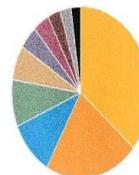
27

#ccmimetimiakaziendelee

23

#sautiyachongolo

20



### 🔁 Tweets most retweeted

-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 9:49 AM - 7 May 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 105 retweets 835 favorites [...] UKWELI KUHUSU KUPANDA KWA BEI ZA MAFUTA NCHINI NA DUNIANI PAMOJA NA HATUA AMBAZO SERIKALI INACHUKUA ILI KUWAPUNGUZIA MAKALI YA MAISHA WANANCHI. #CCMimara Kazilendelee <https://t.co/lApztw0xSb>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 12:13 AM - 27 Jan 2022 via Twitter for Android - 68 retweets 336 favorites [...] HAPPY #BIRTHDAY: Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) kinakutakia heri katika kuadhimisha kumbukumbu ya siku yako kuzaliwa Mwenyekiti wa Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) na Rais wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania Mhe. Samia Suluhu Hassan #ccmtanzania #Kazilendelee <https://t.co/MAxzktWRMD>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 8:09 PM - 29 Nov 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 65 retweets 369 favorites [...] Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), kimesikitishwa na kulaani kitendo cha udhalilishaji na ukiukaji wa haki ya msingi ya Mtanzania kuwa huru kufuata imani ya kisiasa. <https://t.co/Sw968rBT9N>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 6:28 PM - 10 Feb 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 63 retweets 415 favorites [...] "Tumemuona Ndugu yetu (Prof Jay) hali yake inazidi kuimarika, tumshukuru Mungu lakini niwashukuru madaktari kwa kazi nzuri wanayoifanya ya kumhudumia, pamoja na mchango huu wa kuwezesha matibabu lakini kwa Niaba ya Mwenyekiti wa CCM, Rais @SuluhuSamia 1/2 <https://t.co/3C7N9Ywg8o>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 7:08 AM - 7 Apr 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 57 retweets 277 favorites [...] #happykarumeday <https://t.co/COUI12Taf1>

### ★ Tweets most favored

-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 9:49 AM - 7 May 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 105 retweets 835 favorites [...] UKWELI KUHUSU KUPANDA KWA BEI ZA MAFUTA NCHINI NA DUNIANI PAMOJA NA HATUA AMBAZO SERIKALI INACHUKUA ILI KUWAPUNGUZIA MAKALI YA MAISHA WANANCHI. #CCMimara Kazilendelee <https://t.co/lApztw0xSb>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 8:26 PM - 27 Nov 2022 via Twitter for Android - 47 retweets 499 favorites [...] Ni Jambo la KAWAIDA Comrade MOHAMMED KAWAIDA #MwenyekitiUVCCMTaifa #CCMimetimiakaziendelee <https://t.co/Yz69dUIQ47>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 4:16 PM - 1 Apr 2022 via Twitter for Android - 50 retweets 453 favorites [...] #KaribuMzeeWetu Cde. Abdulrahman Omary Kinana #Kazilendelee <https://t.co/LZ3PWb8jf7>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 6:28 PM - 10 Feb 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 63 retweets 415 favorites [...] "Tumemuona Ndugu yetu (Prof Jay) hali yake inazidi kuimarika, tumshukuru Mungu lakini niwashukuru madaktari kwa kazi nzuri wanayoifanya ya kumhudumia, pamoja na mchango huu wa kuwezesha matibabu lakini kwa Niaba ya Mwenyekiti wa CCM, Rais @SuluhuSamia 1/2 <https://t.co/3C7N9Ywg8o>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi** @ccm\_tanzania - 8:09 PM - 29 Nov 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 65 retweets 369 favorites [...] Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), kimesikitishwa na kulaani kitendo cha udhalilishaji na ukiukaji wa haki ya msingi ya Mtanzania kuwa huru kufuata imani ya kisiasa. <https://t.co/Sw968rBT9N>

### 📅 Days of the week

### 🕒 Hours of the day (UTC)



@TZMsemajiMkuu's tweets analytics



**@TZMsemajiMkuu** Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali

22,015 tweets 10 following 671,295 followers 143 listed

Joined Twitter on August 17, 2016 as user #765756476031918080

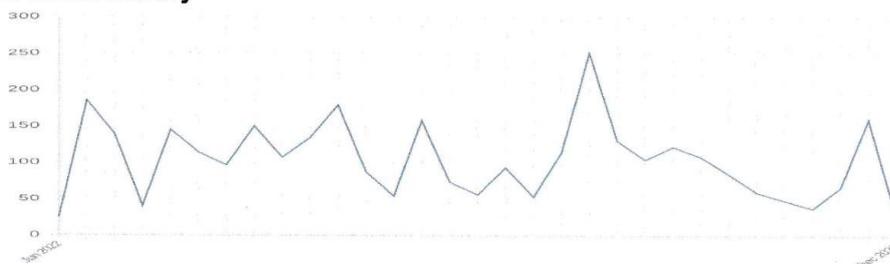
The Official Account of the Chief Spokesperson of the Government of Tanzania | Ukurasa Rasmi wa Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali ya Tanzania

https://t.co/eZ4EYhF7vj Dodoma, Tanzania 67,130 followers/following 0.21 listed/1,000 followers

**3,196** tweets from June 03, 2022 to December 31, 2022

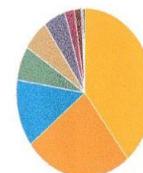
<b>15.08</b> tweets per day	<b>1,125</b> retweets 35% of tweets
<b>604</b> user mentions 0.19 per tweet	<b>235</b> replies 7% of tweets
<b>158</b> links 0.05 per tweet	<b>799</b> hashtags 0.25 per tweet
<b>1,614</b> tweets retweeted 50.5% of tweets a total of <b>6,397</b> times 3.96 per retweeted tweet	
<b>2,062</b> tweets favorited 64.5% of tweets a total of <b>47,501</b> times 23.04 per favorited tweet	

**Tweet history**



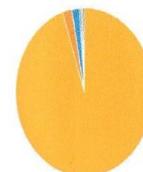
**Users most retweeted**

@ikulumawasliano <b>430</b>	@TZWaziriMkuu <b>277</b>
@maelezoneews <b>141</b>	@MsigwaGerson <b>73</b>
@vpo_tanzania <b>66</b>	@SuluhuSamia <b>57</b>
@dr_mpango <b>25</b>	@ikuluzanzibar <b>18</b>
@TZMsemajiMkuu <b>5</b>	@TZEmbassyCN <b>4</b>



**Users most replied to**

@TZMsemajiMkuu <b>223</b>	@maelezoneews <b>5</b>
@TZWaziriMkuu <b>4</b>	@scottbourne <b>1</b>
@roseminah_ <b>1</b>	@ikulumawasliano <b>1</b>



**Users most mentioned**

@SuluhuSamia <b>346</b>	@mwigulunchemba1 <b>42</b>
@KassimMajaliwa_ <b>41</b>	@TZMsemajiMkuu <b>40</b>
@MsigwaGerson <b>27</b>	@Nnauye_Nape <b>24</b>
@ttrailways <b>15</b>	@dr_mpango <b>13</b>



## @TZMsemajiMkuu's tweets analytics



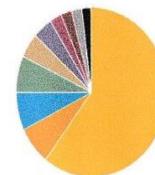
@WilliamsRuto

13



@TZWaziriMkuu

11



### # Hashtags most used

#sensatz2022

103

#jiandaekuhesabiwa

40

#kilelembiozamwengekagera

37

#uapishoikulu

35

#msemajilive

31

#bajetiyaserikali

41

#mkatabasgrtaborakigoma

38

#kilelenanene

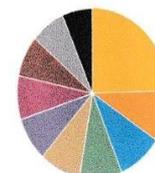
35

#kujazamajijnhpp

33

#utiajaisainimkatabawamaji

27



### 🔄 Tweets most retweeted



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 10:08 PM - 22 Jul 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 169 retweets 1,664 favorites [...]

Ndugu wafanyakazi naomba tutulie, Serikali itatoa ufafanuzi kuhusu nyongeza ya mishahara iliyotokea katika mishahara ya mwezi Julai, 2022. Gerson Msigwa. Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali.



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 9:08 AM - 21 Jul 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 101 retweets 1,297 favorites [...]

<https://t.co/BaZWJPY7JA>



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 6:49 PM - 2 Sep 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 68 retweets 782 favorites [...]

<https://t.co/JTPxws64YQ>



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 4:38 PM - 21 Aug 2022 via Twitter Web App - 60 retweets 721 favorites [...]

TAARIFA Kuna upotoshaji mkubwa kuhusu tozo za miamala ya kielektroniki iliyoanza katika mwaka huu wa fedha (2022/23). Serikali imepunguza kwa kiasi kikubwa tozo hizo. Wizara ya Fedha itatoa ufafanuzi kuhusu tozo hizi na namna zilivyoleta nafuu kwa wananchi. NAOMBA TUTULIE.



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 10:28 PM - 2 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 49 retweets 519 favorites [...]

Uteuzi 🗳️ <https://t.co/T9WaP5TcLm>

### ★ Tweets most favorited



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 10:08 PM - 22 Jul 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 169 retweets 1,664 favorites [...]

Ndugu wafanyakazi naomba tutulie, Serikali itatoa ufafanuzi kuhusu nyongeza ya mishahara iliyotokea katika mishahara ya mwezi Julai, 2022. Gerson Msigwa. Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali.



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 9:08 AM - 21 Jul 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 101 retweets 1,297 favorites [...]

<https://t.co/BaZWJPY7JA>



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 6:49 PM - 2 Sep 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 68 retweets 782 favorites [...]

<https://t.co/JTPxws64YQ>



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 4:38 PM - 21 Aug 2022 via Twitter Web App - 60 retweets 721 favorites [...]

TAARIFA Kuna upotoshaji mkubwa kuhusu tozo za miamala ya kielektroniki iliyoanza katika mwaka huu wa fedha (2022/23). Serikali imepunguza kwa kiasi kikubwa tozo hizo. Wizara ya Fedha itatoa ufafanuzi kuhusu tozo hizi na namna zilivyoleta nafuu kwa wananchi. NAOMBA TUTULIE.



**Msemaji Mkuu wa Serikali** @TZMsemajiMkuu - 10:28 PM - 2 Oct 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 49 retweets 519 favorites [...]

Uteuzi 🗳️ <https://t.co/T9WaP5TcLm>

### 📅 Days of the week

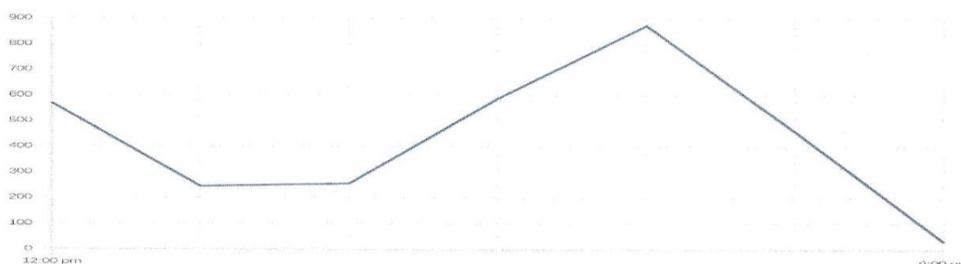
### 🕒 Hours of the day (UTC)



### Search analytics for "#KatibaMpya"

**3,018** tweets from Jan. 05, 12:25 PM to Jan. 05, 6:03 PM

#### Mentions today



**105** users

Potential reach **36,720,451**

#### Most influential users

	Followers	Mentions	Engagement
<b>@MariaSTsehai</b> Maria Sarungi Tsehai	<b>1,155,373</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>@HildaNewton21</b> Hilda Newton	<b>732,875</b>	<b>19</b>	55 retweets <b>100 favorites</b>
<b>@lifeofmshaba</b> Think Different	<b>377,198</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>@PatricOleSosopi</b> Patrick Ole Sosopi	<b>98,316</b>	<b>16</b>	27 retweets <b>4 favorites</b>
<b>@MhangaTalanta</b> Talanta Mhanga	<b>60,985</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>@NamdiAzikiwe</b> Namdi Azikiwe.🇳🇮🇳🇮🇳🇮🇳🇮🇳🇮	<b>58,007</b>	<b>18</b>	1 retweet <b>1 favorite</b>
<b>@AnethStanley</b> Aneth Stanley	<b>47,560</b>	<b>3</b>	4 retweets <b>8 favorites</b>
<b>@Mvuvu_Nyasa</b> MNYASA MVUVI	<b>37,369</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>@DavidMfugwa2</b> David Mfugwa	<b>17,556</b>	<b>714</b>	6 retweets
<b>@HopeQuotes_</b> @IAMartin_Jr 🇳🇮	<b>15,050</b>	<b>2</b>	6 retweets <b>15 favorites</b>

#### Most engaging users

	Followers	Mentions	Engagement
<b>@HildaNewton21</b> Hilda Newton	<b>732,875</b>	<b>19</b>	55 retweets <b>100 favorites</b>
<b>@DEUSDEDITHSOKA</b> DEUSDEDITH SOKA	<b>9,280</b>	<b>13</b>	22 retweets <b>22 favorites</b>
<b>@Mtalban_MTalban</b> Prof Utajua Hujui	<b>272</b>	<b>237</b>	19 retweets <b>22 favorites</b>
<b>@Godwin_Godwin3</b> GODWIN GWAVALE	<b>4,532</b>	<b>8</b>	21 retweets <b>16 favorites</b>
<b>@PatricOleSosopi</b>	<b>98,316</b>	<b>16</b>	27 retweets <b>4 favorites</b>



## Search analytics for "#KatibaMpya"

	Patrick Ole Sosopi				
	@FlagMarsha Marsha	1,700	18	18 retweets	13 favorites
	@Rubibi_idrisa Idrisa K Rubibi	5,182	232	12 retweets	10 favorites
	@HopeQuotes_ @IAMartin_Jr	15,050	2	6 retweets	15 favorites
	@EdisonMyinga1 Edison Myinga	1,756	623	10 retweets	5 favorites
	@ahmadrubibi Ahmad K Rubibi	732	415	12 retweets	3 favorites

### Most active users

	Followers	Mentions	Engagement	
	@DavidMfugwa2 David Mfugwa	17,556	714	6 retweets
	@EdisonMyinga1 Edison Myinga	1,756	623	10 retweets 5 favorites
	@ahmadrubibi Ahmad K Rubibi	732	415	12 retweets 3 favorites
	@WisemanNtele Ntele	5,478	387	6 retweets 6 favorites
	@Mtalban_MTalban Prof Utajua Hujui	272	237	19 retweets 22 favorites
	@Rubibi_idrisa Idrisa K Rubibi	5,182	232	12 retweets 10 favorites
	@MjahidOsama MjahidOsama	3,239	39	
	@FredMic93187281 Fred Michael	890	33	
	@JumaAbdukarim Abdukarim Juma	4,141	29	
	@Governorwambozi Governor wa mbozi	281	23	

### # Top hashtags

#katibampya	1,333
#wenyechiwananchi	239
#hakizabinadamu	31
#mwlnyerere	28
#mazungumzo	14
#uhuruwakujieleza	6
#katibaya1977	6
#katiba	3
#mwlnyeree	3
#lipumba	3

### Top languages

Indonesian	1,541
Other (tl)	1,269
Hindi	134
English	42
Other (sl)	11
Finnish	11
Other (und)	8
Polish	1
Other (et)	1

### 🔄 Most retweeted tweets

- GODWIN GWAUVALE** @Godwin\_Godwin3 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 9 retweets - 9 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/rZ3y0BISxA>
- DEUSEDEDITH SOKA** @DEUSEDEDITHSOKA 1:53 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 9 retweets - 13 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba bora hujenga jeshi la polisi imara na huru, hivyo huongeza haki za wananchi. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/4HI5Ssvmjp>
- Prof Utajua Hujui** @Mtalban\_MTalban 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 8 retweets - 12 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba bora hujenga jeshi la polisi imara na huru, hivyo huongeza haki za wananchi. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/PGez5BPvgb>
- Prof Utajua Hujui** @Mtalban\_MTalban 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 7 retweets - 9 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/yXk0otUEkc>
- Hilda Newton** @HildaNewton21 3:22 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 7 retweets - 13 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/2yISPXXFUW>
- Marsha** @FlagMarsha 2:00 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 7 retweets - 6 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba Mpya itaweka mipaka kwa maafisa wa serikali kwa kutoa mwongozo wa kazi zao na mipaka yake. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/aSxMKumfKM>
- DEUSEDEDITH SOKA** @DEUSEDEDITHSOKA 1:55 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 7 retweets - 5 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/s4xZKE940V>
- GODWIN GWAUVALE** @Godwin\_Godwin3 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 7 retweets - 5 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba bora hujenga jeshi la polisi imara na huru, hivyo huongeza haki za wananchi. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/W1Bf8T2Gtt>
- @IAMartin\_Jr** @HopeQuotes\_\_ 4:46 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 6 retweets - 15 favorites [Open](#)  
Mikopo tunayokopa inafanya Kaz gani.. Mfumuko wa Bei umetokana na Nini? na Mnasema Mmezua Kupanda kwa Gharama za Maisha.. Yani MaCCM mjiandae Kukanusha kila siku @ChademaTz wakifanya Mkutano.. Tutawaeleza wananch Bila Kupindisha Maneno, Mwisho tutawahimiza waidia #KatibaMpya <https://t.co/u89nF4H7f5>
- Marsha** @FlagMarsha 2:07 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 6 retweets - 4 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/dxZ2gMoHXP>

### ★ Most favorited tweets

- Hilda Newton** @HildaNewton21 3:20 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 5 retweets - 32 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba bora hujenga jeshi la polisi imara na huru, hivyo huongeza haki za wananchi. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/KozUxl3hql>
- @IAMartin\_Jr** @HopeQuotes\_\_ 4:46 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 6 retweets - 15 favorites [Open](#)  
Mikopo tunayokopa inafanya Kaz gani.. Mfumuko wa Bei umetokana na Nini? na Mnasema Mmezua Kupanda kwa Gharama za Maisha.. Yani MaCCM mjiandae Kukanusha kila siku @ChademaTz wakifanya Mkutano.. Tutawaeleza wananch Bila Kupindisha Maneno, Mwisho tutawahimiza waidia #KatibaMpya <https://t.co/u89nF4H7f5>
- DEUSEDEDITH SOKA** @DEUSEDEDITHSOKA 1:53 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 9 retweets - 13 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba bora hujenga jeshi la polisi imara na huru, hivyo huongeza haki za wananchi. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/4HI5Ssvmjp>
- Hilda Newton** @HildaNewton21 3:22 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 7 retweets - 13 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/2yISPXXFUW>
- Prof Utajua Hujui** @Mtalban\_MTalban 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 8 retweets - 12 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba bora hujenga jeshi la polisi imara na huru, hivyo huongeza haki za wananchi. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/PGez5BPvgb>
- Hilda Newton** @HildaNewton21 3:23 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 5 retweets - 10 favorites [Open](#)  
Katiba Mpya itaweka mipaka kwa maafisa wa serikali kwa kutoa mwongozo wa kazi zao na mipaka yake. #KatibaMpya



## Search analytics for "#KatibaMpya"

[#WenyeNchiWananchi](https://t.co/cw0IZ1iXd2) <https://t.co/cw0IZ1iXd2>



**Prof Utajua Hujul** @Mtalban\_MTalban 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 7 retweets - 9 favorites [Open](#)  
 Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/yXk0otUEkc>



**GODWIN GWAFALE** @Godwin\_Godwin3 3:33 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 9 retweets - 9 favorites [Open](#)  
 Katiba iliyo bora, hujenga taasisi za kupambana na rushwa na Uharifu nchini. #KatibaMpya #WenyeNchiWananchi  
<https://t.co/rZ3y0BISxA>



**KENNEDY-LEMA** @LemaKennedyCDM 12:52 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 3 retweets - 9 favorites [Open](#)  
 Naelewa hivi TAFSRI ya siasa ni Ukweli, lakini Wanasiasa wetu wanatafsri Kwa makusudii kwamba siasa uongo hili ni tatizo Kubwa Kama hakuna uhalisia hakuna siasa hapo Tunalia mabadiliko ya #Katibampya maana ndiyo chanzo Cha mabadiliko ya afya/akili □□□□ kung'amua mambo Kwa upana [twitter.com/MariaSTsehai/s...](https://twitter.com/MariaSTsehai/s...)



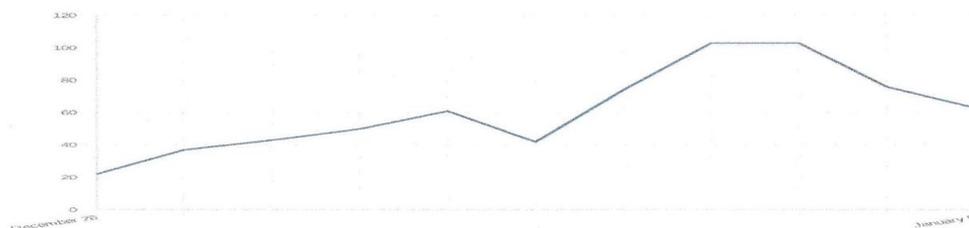
**Hilda Newton** @HildaNewton21 3:14 PM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 4 retweets - 9 favorites [Open](#)  
 "Tunatakiwa kuongozwa na katiba na sio sera za vyama vya siasa, ... Lazima tuwe na #KatibaMpya bora ambayo imeweka mwakafaka bora wa namna nchi inatakiwa kwenda kisiasa na kiuchumi"— @DEUSDEDITHSOKA #KatibaMpya  
<https://t.co/mEu8A2Uxf>



Search analytics for "#Kazilendelee"

**674** tweets from Dec. 26, 1:46 PM to Jan. 05, 5:07 PM

**Mentions over the last few days**



**284** users

Potential reach **21,480,935**

**Most influential users**

	Followers	Mentions	Engagement
<b>@kigogo2014</b> Kigogo	1,144,433	4	9 retweets <b>72 favorites</b>
<b>@ccm_tanzania</b> Chama Cha Mapinduzi	801,594	6	69 retweets <b>408 favorites</b>
<b>@ummymwalimu</b> Ummy Mwalimu MP	780,989	2	4 retweets <b>81 favorites</b>
<b>@MsigwaGerson</b> Gerson Msigwa	709,366	4	38 retweets <b>148 favorites</b>
<b>@MarekaMaliii</b> Lubasha Jr	524,272	1	
<b>@Hakingowi</b> Haki Ngowi	424,058	1	
<b>@Eric_Bernard</b> MR BEN	377,870	1	
<b>@bajabiri</b> BajaBiR	353,161	1	
<b>@tzDiscovery</b> TzConnect	179,529	10	
<b>@SuphianJuma</b> Suphian Juma	146,717	7	

**Most engaging users**

	Followers	Mentions	Engagement
<b>@ComredKawaida</b> Comrade_Kawaida	1,113	4	56 retweets <b>539 favorites</b>
<b>@ccm_tanzania</b> Chama Cha Mapinduzi	801,594	6	69 retweets <b>408 favorites</b>
<b>@chongolo_daniel</b> Daniel Godfrey Chongolo	10,346	1	29 retweets <b>302 favorites</b>
<b>@MsigwaGerson</b> Gerson Msigwa	709,366	4	38 retweets <b>148 favorites</b>
<b>@neemalugangira</b>	17,298	3	11 retweets <b>102 favorites</b>



## Search analytics for "#Kazilendelee"

	Neema Lugangira			
	@ummymwalimu Umyy Mwalimu MP	780,989	2	4 retweets 81 favorites
	@kigogo2014 Kigogo	1,144,433	4	9 retweets 72 favorites
	@nyukiwamama NYUKIWAMAMA	206	17	33 retweets 47 favorites
	@RashdaZunde Rashda Zunde	1,842	10	22 retweets 44 favorites
	@victoriacharlz Victoria C Mwanzi	23,313	7	8 retweets 51 favorites

## Most active users

		Followers	Mentions	Engagement
	@UhuruOnlinez UHURU PUBLICATIONS LIMITED	17,532	44	15 retweets 31 favorites
	@npointtz n point	15	38	4 retweets 7 favorites
	@SokwaraT Rahimuddin Ismail	303	21	1 retweet 7 favorites
	@nyukiwamama NYUKIWAMAMA	206	17	33 retweets 47 favorites
	@utuKwanza Prof. Mohd Makin	1,463	12	13 retweets 15 favorites
	@chande47 BABA SAMIA	702	11	
	@RashdaZunde Rashda Zunde	1,842	10	22 retweets 44 favorites
	@NasoroAmiri_ CHOLLO MASTER	592	10	
	@tzDiscovery TzConnect	179,529	10	
	@jambomediatz Jambo Media Tanzania	2,454	9	

## # Top hashtags

#kaziiendelee	578
#alipomamavijanatupo	76
#uhuruonline	57
#salamu	45
#mamayukokazini	38
#jamiiforums	37
#nphabari	34
#ccmimetimia	33
#npsmagazeti	31
#npupdates	31

## Top languages

Indonesian	346
Other (und)	94
Other (ht)	77
Other (tl)	65
English	30
Other (eu)	18
Hindi	16
Dutch	12
Danish	10
Finnish	2





## Search analytics for "#Kazilendelee"

-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi @ccm\_tanzania** 11:17 PM - 3 Jan 2023 via Twitter for iPhone - 9 retweets - **75 favorites** [Open](#)  
Mwenyekiti Wa @ccm\_tanzania na Rais wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania @SuluhuSamia #CCMImetimia #Kazilendelee  
<https://t.co/RdPvZ1MUz5>
-  **Kigogo**  **kigogo2014** 10:25 AM - 30 Dec 2022 via Twitter for iPhone - 9 retweets - **72 favorites** [Open](#)  
[#kazilendelee](#) <https://t.co/q07pGi4cey>
-  **Chama Cha Mapinduzi @ccm\_tanzania** 7:28 AM - 5 Jan 2023 via Twitter for Android - 13 retweets - **72 favorites** [Open](#)  
Mama wa Demokrasia Nchini [#VitendoVinaSauti](#) [#TunalmaniNaSAMIA](#) [#kazilendelee](#) <https://t.co/9hklBqf2u5>

## Appendix II: Plagiarism Awareness Certificate



SR693

*ISO 9001:2019 Certified Institution*

### THESIS WRITING COURSE

### *PLAGIARISM AWARENESS CERTIFICATE*

This certificate is awarded to

**GODWIN YONAS NJIRO**

**PHD/CS/5407/21**

In recognition for passing the University's plagiarism

Awareness test for Thesis entitled **SOCIAL MEDIA USE IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: EXPLORING THE USE OF X IN TANZANIA DURING A NON-ELECTIONEERING PERIOD** similarity index of 5% and striving to maintain academic integrity.

Word count:56499

Awarded by

Prof. Anne Syomwene Kisilu

CERM-ESA Project Leader Date: 19/09//2024