



**FRIEDRICH NAUMANN
FOUNDATION** For Freedom.

Sub-Saharan Africa



PROMOTING CIVIL LIBERTIES IN EAST AFRICA

Playbook for the Friedrich Naumann Foundation
for Freedom and Strategic Partners

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Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has not just affected the health and economies of countries - it has proven to be a significant threat to civil liberties¹ and democracy as a whole. Particularly in Africa, the crisis has presented an opportunity for authoritarians to strengthen their grip on power and further erode core civil freedoms. This has been especially acute in East Africa where general elections in Tanzania and Uganda have seen an intensification of power abuse and restrictions on freedom of assembly, speech and media.

Accordingly, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (FNF) has sought to get to the forefront of protecting and promoting civil liberties in East Africa. It commissioned GQR to conduct in-depth interviews (IDIs) and a quantitative survey to inform a strategic playbook to assist it and partners to drive a liberal restart in 2021.

The research study aimed to find messages and actions to best stimulate the public to believe in and support civil liberties. It did this by examining civic engagement, the state of civil liberties and how they are restricted, institutions restricting civil liberties, success stories of community activism and the civil liberties citizens are motivated to protect.

The study comprised of ten 45-minute single blind in-depth interviews, conducted by GQR with journalists, human rights practitioners and non-profit organisation leaders in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. These are quoted throughout this report. This was followed by nationally representative surveys of Kenya (n=768) and Uganda (n=768) conducted via phone. Unfortunately, a survey was not possible in Tanzania due to the absence of government approval, an early indicator of the restriction on freedoms prevalent in the country.

This playbook uses the findings from the research to provide strategic guidance to FNF and its partners in promoting and protecting civil liberties in East Africa. It sets out a recommended strategy and message for FNF and its partners to use in putting this guidance into action, and proposes campaigns and areas of focus for 2021. Target demographics, recommended communication platforms and tactics are also listed.

¹ For the purposes of this playbook, 'civil liberties' are defined as the civil and political rights fundamental to a functioning democracy such as the freedoms of speech, press, assembly.

Key findings from research

1. The top concerns of citizens in East Africa are **corruption, unemployment and poverty**. Corruption is perceived to be rampant and is the primary motivator for citizens to protest or petition the government and leaders. The top five concerns for citizens surveyed in Kenya and Uganda are as follows:

- i. Corruption
- ii. Jobs/unemployment
- iii. Poverty
- iv. Health care
- v. Abuse by the police

2. Most East Africans **view their problems as economic** rather than specifically linked to restrictions on personal freedoms. Citizens are therefore more responsive to messaging that frames civil liberties and rights as **paving a pathway to development and economic freedom**. Overly political or ideological messaging shifts citizens away from being interested in activities promoting freedoms to being unsure about becoming involved.

3. Citizens do feel strongly about democratic principles, especially freedom of speech and the press. However, they are reluctant to fight for these principles and rights if it means attracting government scrutiny. This is particularly evident with 'signing petitions', 'posting on social media' and 'joining in protests', which garner the least amount of interest from citizens out of a list of civic activities. [See Figure 1]

4. Citizens **view the government as the primary culprit in restricting civil liberties, predominantly exercising its power through the police**, who are trusted by few. However, simply highlighting this does not inspire people to act or mobilise to protect their civil liberties. [See Figure 2]

WE [ARE]...IN THAT ENVIRONMENT OF BEING [HELD] HOSTAGE BY THOSE IN POWER...BECAUSE IF YOU SPEAK AGAINST ANYTHING THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING, AND THEY DON'T LIKE IT, THEY WILL COME AND HUNT YOU DOWN. THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE [THAT] HAVE BEEN TAKEN INTO SAFE HOUSES, OR EVEN LOST THEIR LIVES IN BROAD DAYLIGHT.

JOURNALIST, UGANDA

Ugandans and Kenyans are most interested in activities that escape scrutiny of the national government

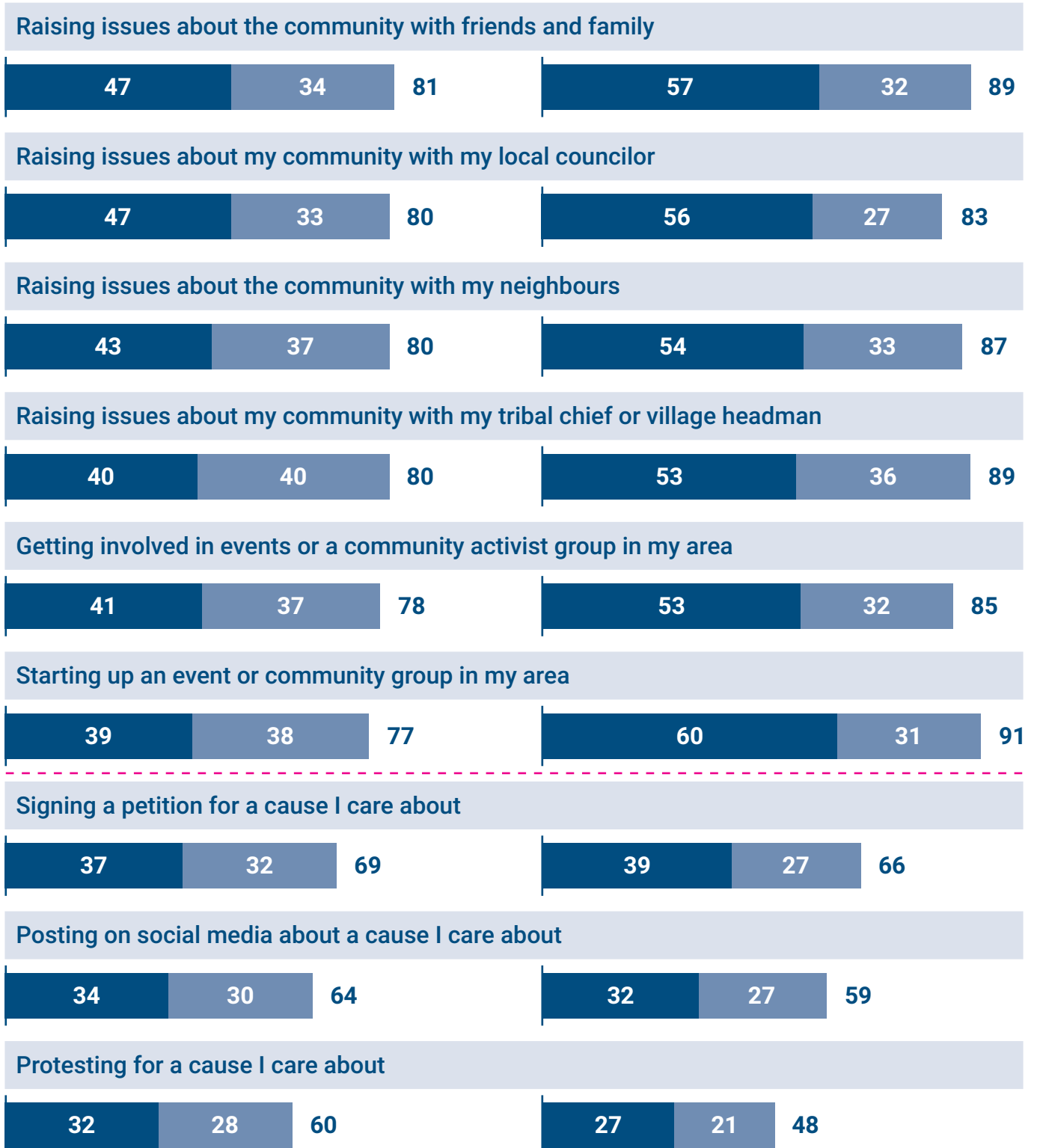
Figure 1. Civil and political freedoms, by country

Kenya, n=768; Uganda, n=768

How INTERESTED are you in doing each of the following? ■ Very Interested ■ Fairly Interested

Kenya

Uganda



Kenyans and Ugandans view the government as the primary culprit in restricting civil liberties

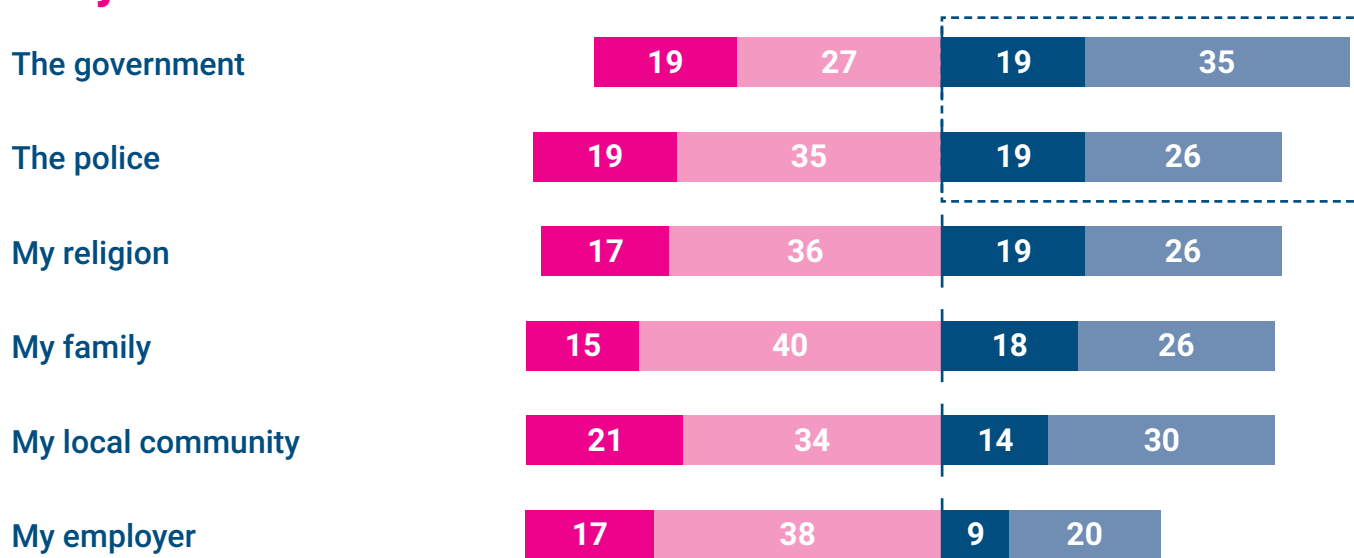
Figure 2. Institutions that **do** limit freedoms, by country

Kenya, n=768; Uganda, n=768

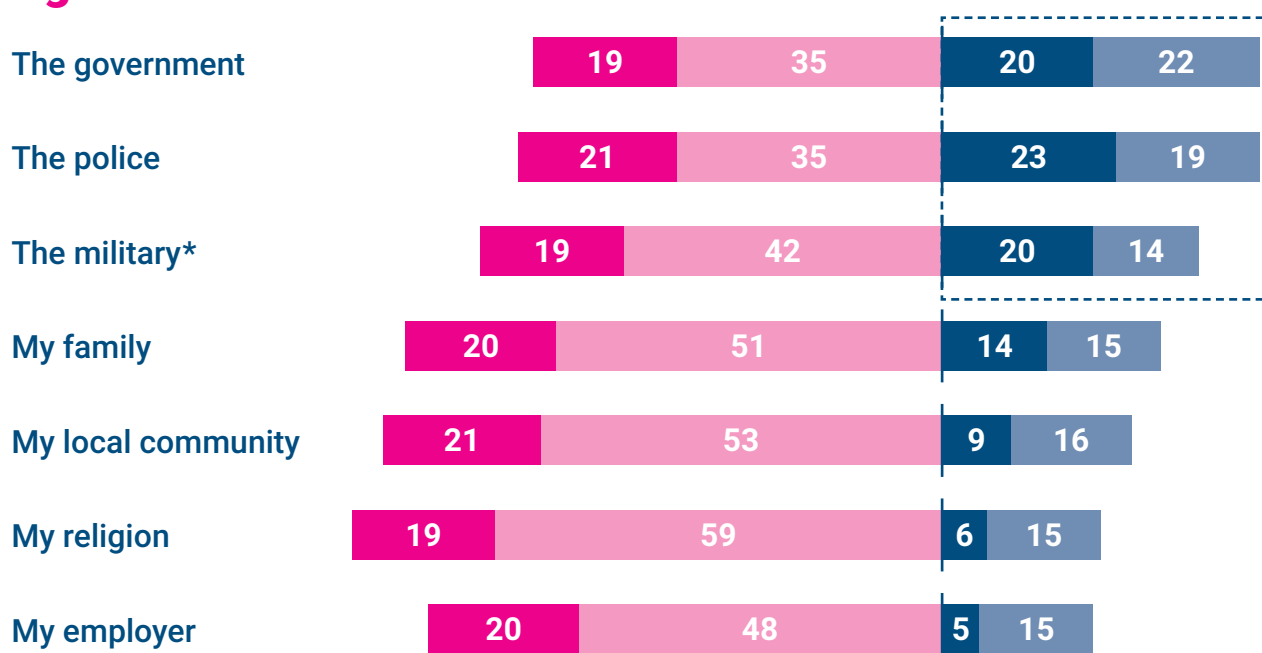
Some people and organizations may try to put limits on your opinions and activities around social and political issues. How much do you think each of the following try to LIMIT your social and political views and actions?

■ A little
 ■ Not at all
 ■ Great deal
 ■ Fair amount
 *Asked in Uganda only

Kenya



Uganda



Key findings from research (cont.)

5. **Citizens are optimistic that civil liberties will improve over the next year** and many are interested in activities at local level such as starting an event or community group or raising issues relating to their community with village headmen, local councilors, friends and family. **2021 does represent a year of opportunity for FNF and its partners** in promoting civil liberties, provided it is framed as the pathway to development and begins with action at a local level.
6. Despite views that the government is primarily responsible for restricting civil and political freedoms, a majority of citizens believe that it is the **best driver of positive change** in Kenya and Uganda, rather than pressure from citizens and their communities. This is likely due to the perception that one is more likely to achieve success working with the government than simply criticising it and resorting to protest and petition action.
7. **Religious leaders and journalists are regarded as trustworthy, and therefore uniquely positioned as amplifiers of messages to promote and protect civil liberties.** Non-Governmental Organisations (both domestic and foreign) also enjoy significant trust but Ugandans are wary of the potential for foreign influence. Notably, the favourability of journalists and NGOs exceeds that of the government in both countries.
8. East Africans believe that **reducing corruption is the most important impact that freedom of expression can have.**
9. **The majority of Kenyans get their news from television while the majority of Ugandans get their news from the radio.** Very few people are using social media as a source of information, though more are on platforms such as Facebook and YouTube – particularly among young and urban populations.

Recommended Strategy

FNF and its partners must position civil liberties (and by extension, democracy) as an essential foundation for development and economic freedom. Authoritarian leaders such as John Magufuli and Yoweri Museveni frame democracy and civil liberties as standing in the way of development and prosperity. They therefore justify restrictions on rights as a necessity in the path towards attaining economic freedom. Given the imperative to show civil liberties as indispensable to development and drawing from the results of the research, the recommended core strategic pillars for FNF and its partners are as follows:

1. **Communicate that civil liberties and democracy are the essential building blocks for development and economic prosperity.** This central narrative must be delivered in volume across all platforms and sectors.

2. Pursue initiatives and drive campaigns that do not directly criticise the government, seem political or ideological, or position FNF and its partners as being directly in opposition to the government. Although citizens recognise that the government is the primary culprit in restricting civil liberties, messages and campaigns that criticise the government directly and sound overtly political are unlikely to be supported or engaged with. Rather, initiatives that show FNF and its partners sharing long-term economic objectives of government and being prepared to work with government and its organs as stakeholders should be conceptualised and pursued. Government institutions and individuals should also be shown that pursuing such initiatives and projects will lead to greater favourability, trust and support.

3. Focus on local initiatives and building coalitions from the ground up. Success stories shared in the in-depth interviews indicate that working locally and organising in collaboration with local authorities is a great way to build support from the ground up. [See Figure 3] Furthermore, coalition building from the ground up achieves power in numbers, encouraging more citizens to join and engage as they are less fearful of being targeted individually. A further benefit is the degree of anonymity that is afforded to those taking part. There is less risk of arrest or persecution by the police and government if citizens operate at local level as they will attract far less attention than if they act at national level.

IF YOU DON'T HAVE A STRONG CIVIL SOCIETY, WHICH IS WHAT I HAVE FOUND LACKING IN TANZANIA AND UGANDA, THEN YOU FIND THE GUNNERS START RUNNING YOU OVER.

HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTITIONER, KENYA

4. Use faith leaders, journalists and NGO leaders as advocates for civil liberties.

The research clearly identifies religious institutions, the media and NGOs as being the most trusted in East Africa.

5. Communicate the message and campaigns via television and radio platforms. While a digital focus must be maintained, it is evident that digital platforms have limited reach in East Africa at the moment. In addition to face-to-face initiatives at a local level, community, regional and national earned media tactics should be prioritised.

Figure 3

Success stories reveal ways civil society can effectively navigate unique challenges of their local context

Kenya

We have a coastal town...called Lamu...The government ...decided to build a major coal plant there...We have seen a lot of fight back. Nobody's sitting down and waiting for the coal plant to be built....That is what gives Kenyans hope that there's always a voice, however small, that stands up and says, "No, you are not going to do this."

Human rights practitioner, Kenya

Building a collective voice via digital platforms

Kenyans are loud online. In fact, there is something called KOT, Kenyans on Twitter. It's quite offensive, and they'll come up with memes. They will shred you in a matter of hours... whoever it is, however powerful you are...I think the virtual space in Kenya has just revolutionised. And I think that is the most effective, because a huge population of Kenyans are online.

Non-profit organisation, Kenya

Tanzania

The Participatory Action Research was carried out and all the different groups presented their priorities and it was agreed on what the priorities should be for them. Then they set up a people's committee, who then confronted the authorities about land that had been taken away from them or land that belonged to the dispensary, which had been sold over to private investors or people with money... They did so very successfully...It was committees working at local level. It's easier because a lot of the leaders actually said they were grateful to have people's committees because they created a bridge between them and the people.

Human rights practitioner, Tanzania

Organising in collaboration with local authorities to avoid scrutiny of national government

Uganda

We have community-based civil society organisations where we are in different regions that reach out and talk to the communities...At times we are intimidated and faced with harassment...But we have come up and formed coalitions at national level...supported by those partners in a way that we operate like a human rights defender's coalition...They come out to provide protection in terms of legal services, medical in case of injuries....We have had journalists who have been tear-gassed, trying to cover stories [on] politics...And they are being provided treatment through the National Coalition of Human Rights Defenders with a protection fund. That is happening, and also some people who are being held and detained on trumped up charges...And [they're] provided legal representation, releases will follow-up at various police stations.

Human rights practitioner, Uganda

Coalition building to achieve power in numbers

The Message

We have taken our research findings and formulated them into a singular message that you can use to motivate people to value and fight for their civil liberties. The following messaging is founded on a statement tested in the survey and interviews that frames rights as a pathway to development.

83% of citizens surveyed gave it a positive rating, the highest rating achieved by any of our messages – or the government messages we also tested. We have broken down the different elements of this winning message to show you the framings that citizens get behind.

Democracy is a right guaranteed by our Constitution. And we must work together to make sure this right is respected.

Democracy gives us the right to speak freely, assemble peacefully and be protected by an independent, professional police service.

When these rights are guaranteed, our nation can fight corruption, develop and prosper.

Guaranteeing democracy and its associated rights is the best way to guarantee that our country develops and everyone sees the benefits.

Frame democracy as an inherent right and suggest partnership with government

Highlight the rights that people value

Police service > police force

Describe a future where rights are guaranteed

Economic outcome and who benefits when rights are protected

Messaging Dos and Don'ts

When creating messaging around the protection of civil and political freedoms, it is important to adhere to the following guidelines informed by the interview and survey results.

Topic	Do	Don't
Portraying democracy as an inherent right	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talk about democracy using specific rights and freedoms e.g. freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly. • Indicate that we must work 'together' – in partnership with government, rather than in opposition – to ensure that this right is respected. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Say that we have 'lost' our democratic/civil freedoms. • Position the government as being solely responsible for the restriction of any rights.
Talking about the rights that people value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speak proactively and concretely on what specific rights achieve for individuals in their day-to-day lives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frame rights as being denied or trampled upon by the government and police.
Police service as a vehicle for change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlight how an independent, professional police service can protect and serve citizens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on how police are preventing people from exercising their rights, for example by using violence and breaking up protests with tear gas.
Talking about the future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasise that the guarantee of rights will combat corruption and reduce unemployment and poverty. • Talk about these outcomes using specific examples from day-to-day life. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus solely on the ideological need for political and civil rights to be guaranteed.
Economic outcome of protecting civil liberties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show specifically how core freedoms can result in economic benefits e.g. how the freedom to speak out against corruption can enable small businesses to operate in an environment where they don't have to pay bribes to government officials. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignore the link between protecting rights and economic benefits.

Sectors to support

Based on citizen perceptions of, and trust in institutions and individuals protecting and promoting civil liberties, FNF should focus on building and/or strengthening partnerships with the following sectors:

1. Non-Governmental Organisations focused on police and justice reform. Both the IDIs and survey showed categorically that the police in East African countries are at the forefront of restricting democratic rights. Organisations and initiatives focused on reforming the police in East Africa should be supported. Justice reform is another sector FNF should support. Many East Africans value fair trials and see them as being restricted. This aligns with reports this year of numerous infringements by governments on the right to a fair trial. [See Figure 4]

I HAVE MY TWO FRIENDS IN PRISON NOW... THEY ARE BOYS. THEY ARE YOUNG MEN. THEY DIDN'T COMMIT ANY CRIME. YOU KNOW? THEY DIDN'T COMMIT ANY CRIME. THEY'RE JUST ON TWITTER EXPRESSING THEIR OPINION.

JOURNALIST, TANZANIA

2. Small business associations and Non-Governmental Organisations supporting small business and entrepreneurship.

In Kenya and Uganda, an overwhelming majority of citizens agree that small businesses benefit communities and should grow. This aligns strongly with the finding that a top civil and political freedom for East Africans is the freedom to open a business. [See Figure 5] Accordingly, initiatives and organisations focused on supporting entrepreneurs at a local level will aid the promotion and protection of civil liberties, particularly where it can be demonstrated that core democratic rights and freedoms enable small business to flourish.

3. Journalists and the Media. Freedom of the press is highly valued as a democratic right, and journalists are highly trusted. Given the disproportionate victimisation of journalists in the region over the past few years, it would be of great value for FNF to support and empower the media in addition to supporting Non-Governmental Organisations focused on protecting and promoting freedom of the press as well as journalists. FNF should also consider supporting individual journalists who focus on stories and issues related to civil liberties and combatting corruption.

4. Faith-based and religious oriented Non-Governmental Organisations. As with journalists, religious leaders are highly trusted in East Africa. Although FNF has not traditionally worked with religious and faith-based institutions, the research findings suggest that alignment can be sought on the protection and promotion of civil liberties. Working with organisations and individuals in this sector will strengthen the promotion and protection of democracy and core freedoms.

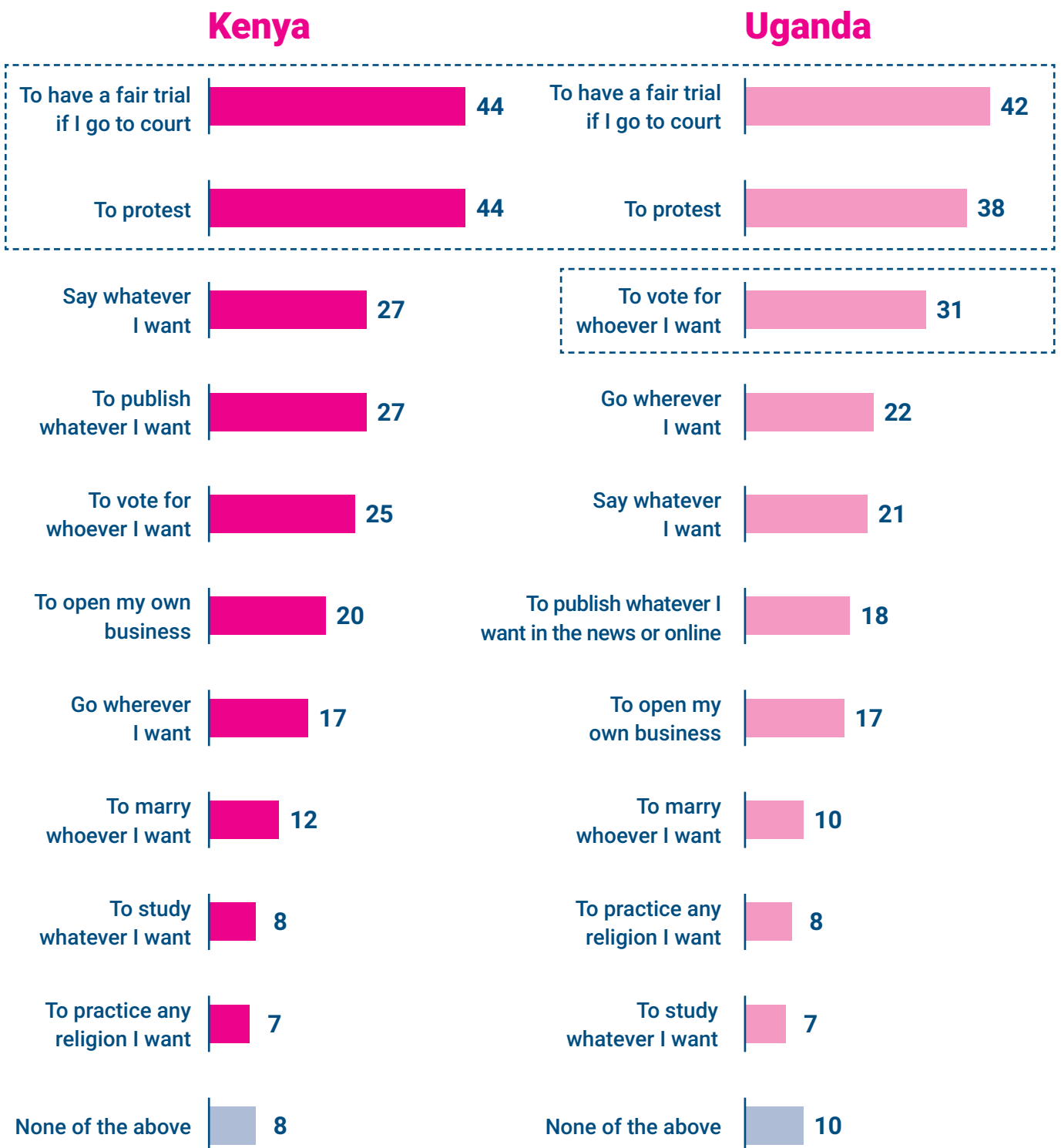
5. Voter education and organisations supporting voter choice and participatory democracy.

East Africans value democracy, want opposition parties to be able to organise freely and prioritise the freedom of citizens to vote for whoever they want. A significant proportion of citizens though say that their ability to vote freely is limited, especially in Uganda. Accordingly, organisations focused on voter education, voter registration and encouraging citizens to participate in the electoral process should be supported. In addition, FNF and its partners should drive campaigns encouraging citizen participation in and contributions to government initiatives that require public participation and consultation e.g. draft bills and community budgets.

Fair trial and freedom to protest are the most restricted civil liberties, and Ugandans also feel pressure on their freedom to vote

Figure 4. Most restricted civil and political freedoms, by country Kenya, n=768; Uganda, n=768

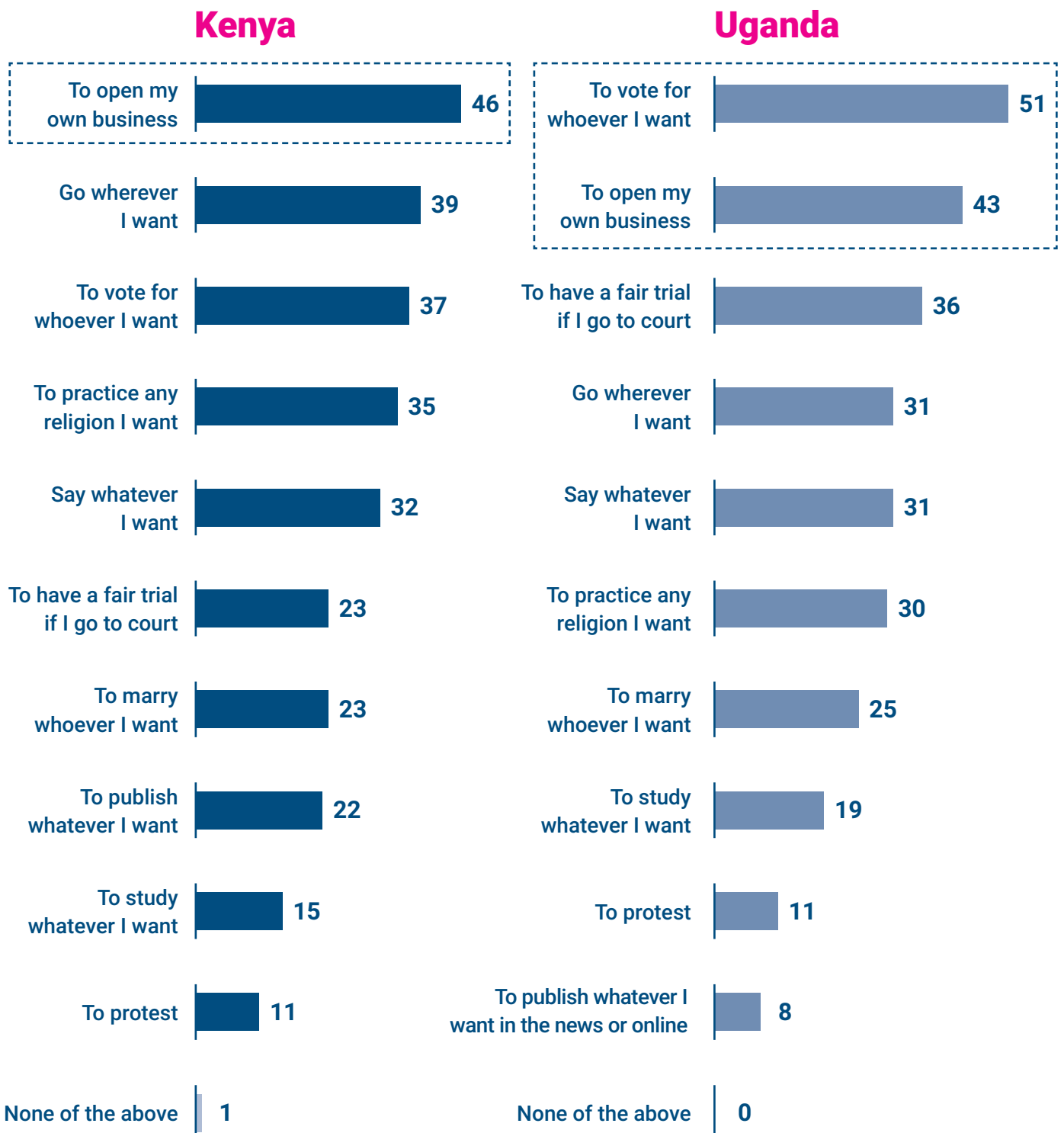
I am now going to read you a list of civil and political freedoms. Please tell me which THREE of these you feel are most restricted in your country.



Among top priorities is freedom to open a business, reflecting an East African focus on the economy and development

Figure 5. Most important civil and political freedoms, by country Kenya, n=768; Uganda, n=768

I am now going to read you a list of civil and political freedoms. Please tell me which THREE of these are most important to you.



Recommended campaigns and areas of focus

The research conducted suggests a number of potential campaigns and areas of focus that could create good publicity and brand awareness for FNF and its partners as well as strengthen the protection and promotion of civil liberties in East Africa.

1. Reform the police. It is evident that the police is the institution through which respective governments exert power in limiting and restricting freedoms. East Africans want police forces to transition into becoming police services, staffed by men and women whose priority is to protect citizens and not to arrest them for expressing their views or assembling in support of a particular cause. FNF and its partners should consider a campaign focused on building support for driving change in the police forces of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The building blocks of any such campaign should include:

- a. Adopting an approach that seeks to work with the government and police ministry as strategic stakeholders and partners who will benefit from greater citizen trust and faith.
- b. Building a coalition of individuals and institutions who can work together in driving the campaign in various locales.
- c. Start at local levels/wards/precincts, involve community leaders and focus on quick wins that can be used as success stories to build further support at regional and national level.

2. Access to fair justice. East Africans value the right to a fair trial and believe it is a freedom under pressure. Recent court procedures have confirmed that the right to a fair trial and related due process is indeed being infringed upon. FNF and its partners should develop a campaign focused on ensuring that courts at all levels enforce and protect the right to a fair trial, coupled with a focus on educating citizens about their rights. Again, building blocks of such a campaign should include:

- a. Adopting an approach that seeks to work with the government and justice ministry as strategic stakeholders and partners who will benefit from the success of the campaign.
- b. Building a coalition of individuals and institutions who can work together in driving the issue in various locales.
- c. Start at magisterial districts, recruit community leaders to support the campaign and focus on achieving quick wins that can be marketed as success stories at regional and national level.

3. Breaking down the barriers to small business. As noted above, East Africans recognise the importance of small businesses to local communities and believe the right to open a small business is a fundamental freedom. Numerous barriers still exist that prevent citizens from having the space to open small businesses, including corruption, abuse by the police and fair access to resources. There is much to gain for FNF and its partners by running campaigns that identify these barriers and work to break them down, demonstrating a clear link between democratic freedoms and economic prosperity. Again, it will be important to work with local community leaders and relevant government institutions starting from the local level up, generating quick wins that can be marketed as successes to be replicated at regional and national level.

4. Cut corruption. Develop our communities. Both the IDIs and the survey identified that corruption is rampant throughout East Africa. It is the number one motivator for citizens to engage in actions that exercise their freedoms of speech and assembly. A good start for citizens across Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania in becoming comfortable to exercise freedom of speech and assembly would be to campaign against corruption. FNF and its partners should work towards rolling out local campaigns that combat corruption affecting everyday life. Examples could be bribes paid to access government jobs, bribes small businesses have to pay to get registered, money siphoned away that prevents a clinic from being developed. A strong focus must always be on emphasizing the aspects of daily life that are impacted by corruption. Again, the key will be to start at a local level, involve community leaders and build coalitions of individuals.

5. Empower local media. Given the power of radio throughout East Africa, journalists who operate at a local level and highlight local concerns should be supported. Community radio can foster community involvement and engagement and be used to inspire people to exercise their civil liberties. Accordingly, FNF and its partners should develop campaigns seeking to capacitate, empower and support community journalists whose goals align with the vision of enabling a functioning democracy as a pathway to development.

6. Use your voice. FNF and its strategic partners should run campaigns targeted at increasing citizen participation in elections and government processes. An example could be rolling out registration campaigns to encourage citizens in all communities, particularly youth to register to vote. Another example would be that when a proposed bill is made open for public consultation, a campaign should be driven to encourage citizens to participate in public hearings and make submissions to parliament and local councils.

Targets

There are specific demographics where the campaigns can be focused. The following table breaks down groups identified in the survey data as having a particular stake in each of these topic

areas, as well as the civic activities they are most interested in. This is not an exhaustive list, but is a good starting point for targeting groups who are already sympathetic to our aims.

Campaign	Target	Rationale	High interest activities
Reform the police	Young men (age <44)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very low favourability to the police as a whole • Rural men report the lowest trust in the police, and urban men report abuse by the police as their number two concern, following corruption. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with friends and family, village chiefs, local councillors, and neighbours.
Access to fair justice	Older people (age 44+)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Older people rate the right to fair trial as more important than their younger counterparts • They also see the right to a fair trial as more restricted than others. • This is particularly acute among older rural East Africans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with friends and family, village chiefs, and neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in their local area. • Much less interest in posting on social media and protesting than overall population.
	Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men see the right to fair trial as more restricted than women do. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with village chiefs, friends/family, neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in their local area.
Breaking down the barriers to small business	Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While allowing small business to grow is broadly supported, this trend is exaggerated amongst women, and older people (45+). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Starting events and community activist groups in the local area.
	Older people (age 45+)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with friends and family, village chiefs, and neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in their local area.
	Citizens in rural locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural East Africans see their ability to open their own business as more restricted than their urban counterparts. • This could offer FNF and its partners an opportunity to gain support for civil freedoms among rural East Africans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with village chiefs, family and friends, and neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in their local area.

Campaign	Target	Rationale	High interest activities
Cut corruption. develop our communities	Citizens in urban locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who are concerned about corruption are much more conscious than the overall population of the restriction of political freedom, specifically freedom to protest, vote, have a fair trial. • They view civil society organisations and journalists more favourably than the overall population and are even more negative toward the police. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with family, friends, neighbours and local councillors. • Starting and getting involved in events and community groups in the local area. • More interest in petitions, posting on social media, and protesting among urban people than their rural counterparts.
	Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns over corruption are driven by men and those in urban locales. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with village chiefs, family, friends, and, neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in the local area.
Empower local media	Citizens in rural locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radio use – where radio is the main source of information – is concentrated in rural settings, and among older people (over 45). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Starting events and community activist groups in the local area. • Raising issues with family, friends, and the village chief.
	Older people (age 45+)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with friends and family, village chiefs, and neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in their local area.
	Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While radio use is widespread in East Africa, more men listen to radio than women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with village chiefs, family, friends, and neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in the local area.
Use your voice	Citizens in urban locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low propensity voters (those who say they are unlikely to vote in an upcoming election) are disproportionately from urban locales, aged 44 and under, and female. • Also worth noting that low propensity voters are more receptive to our winning messaging as outlined above than high propensity voters. It is therefore important that we bring our messaging to the forefront of any voter education campaigns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with family, friends, neighbours and local councillors. • Starting and getting involved in events and community groups in the local area. • More interest in petitions, posting on social media, and protesting among urban people than their rural counterparts.
	Young people (age <44)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising issues with village chiefs, family, friends and neighbours. • Starting events and community activist groups in the local area.
	Women		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Starting events and community activist groups in the local area.

Communication platforms and tactics

As the research findings indicate, television and radio are the best platforms for reaching citizens. Paid media on these platforms is expensive and beyond the reach of FNF and most of its partners. However, an earned media strategy, particularly focused on community and regional radio should be pursued. This should be founded on:

1. Building a comprehensive database of relevant media outlets, journalists and producers.
2. Developing and sustaining a relationship building programme with media institutions and journalists.
3. Partnering with community radio stations and individual journalists on specific initiatives and campaigns.

To complement this, we would recommend that FNF and its partners pursue the following communications platforms and tactics:

1. Community organising, including door-to-door advocacy. Critically such organising and door-to-door work should be driven by people from within the community.
2. Peer-to-peer instant messaging e.g. WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger.
3. Digital organising, with a strong focus on Facebook.
4. Interactive events e.g. physical and virtual town halls.
5. Recruiting opinion formers to amplify and support messages and campaigns, both within communities and online.
6. Letter writing to local government and institutional leaders, signed by a coalition of individuals.
7. Using anonymous WhatsApp hotlines for whistleblowing for corruption and highlighting abuse by the police.

About the authors



**FRIEDRICH NAUMANN
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Sub-Saharan Africa

Based on the principles of liberalism, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom offers political education in Germany and abroad. With our events and publications, we help people to become actively involved in political affairs. We support talented young students with scholarships. Since 2007, the addition “for freedom” has become an established part of our foundation’s name. After all, freedom isn’t exactly in trend these days. This makes it all the more important to campaign for freedom and to take on the responsibility that goes hand in hand with it. We have been doing this since our foundation on May 19th, 1958. Our headquarter is based in Potsdam, and we maintain offices throughout Germany and in over 60 countries around the world.

From our six offices in Sub-Saharan Africa, we focus on promoting political networking. We are committed to strengthening liberalism and promoting human rights, the rule of law and the social market economy.



GQR is the world’s leading opinion research and strategic consulting firm for global organisations. We bring unmatched insight and experience, based on work in over 90 countries, together with a unique set of methods for measuring attitudes and inspiring action, to help our clients succeed.

GQR has a long history of conducting research for organisations, parties, and governments in Africa, dating back to its foundational work with Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress to help prepare for their successful 1994 election that changed South Africa forever. Since that transformative project, we have worked for parties, organisations and governments throughout the continent on top of our follow-on work in South Africa. In addition to our work in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda on behalf of FNF, GQR has worked in Angola, Botswana, DRC, Egypt, Gabon, Liberia, Malawi, Namibia, Morocco, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia, and Zambia.

We also bring a strong background in democratic development. GQR has conducted research for NDI, USAID, the World Bank and the Open Society Foundations. Most recently we worked with NDI in Zambia, Iraq, and Yemen, where we trained local partners on conducting qualitative and quantitative research.

We apply our techniques, experience, and insight to help organisations tell their story, raise awareness, strengthen stakeholder support, and inspire action.

**For more information on GQR, please e-mail
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