# Development Journalism and Gender
## A Case Study of Broadcasting Media in Tanzania

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**ABSTRACT**

This qualitative study builds on theories of development communication, gender and feminism to create and explore a model for gender focused development journalism that empowers and engages ordinary men and women in development plans and processes for their advancement. The Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media (especially radio) were used as a case study. Given its advantages of immediacy and ability to cross literacy barriers, radio in Tanzania is the most accessed medium by ordinary men and women.

The case study employed a combination of interviews with former and current development-oriented journalists, journalism trainers, gender and development/media activists as well as a content analysis of selected broadcasting programmes.

In-depth interviews with journalists demonstrated that the understanding and practice of development journalism during the socialistic era was undisputed among practicioners. Meanwhile, in the liberal era, the essence of the practice remained the same but the concept has been given different journalistic names and practical implementation. Retired female journalists were unanimous in their understanding of a gender focus in their reporting. In contemporary times, however, despite the fact that most journalists (men and women) are now trained on gender issues, their understanding of the concept varies. Their application of the concept in practice also seems to be diminishing. While development journalism was mainly a top-down form of communication (authoritative) during the socialistic era, in the liberal era the development-oriented journalists draw on both the Social Responsibility and Libertarian Theories of the media. The 'state–public service' broadcasters reflect more of the former while commercial broadcasters employ more of the latter. The programme analysis showed that a gender focused development-oriented journalism is more likely to be practiced in the 'state–public service' than in commercial broadcasting.

Theoretically (as demonstrated in the interviews), journalists seemed to prefer a participatory stance and some even showed a critical stance; practically (as reflected in their programmes), they performed a more neutral and objective stance while leaning on sources and contributors for the critical role. This contradiction between what journalists say and what they do revolves around three major interrelated influences: political,

economic and professional practice. These dimensions have and continue to change the media scene in Tanzania. Nevertheless, most respondents regarded development journalism practice as relevant in contemporary Tanzania. The broadcasting media (radio especially) were recommended as an appropriate outlet for the practice. In particular, some respondents recommended that Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) is an effective model that could set standards for other media to emulate.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AJM | Association of Journalists and Media Workers |
| ASP | Afro-Shirazi Party |
| AU | African Union |
| BAE | British Security Firm |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| BIIP | Bureau of International Information Programs |
| BoT | Bank of Tanzania |
| CAF | Central African Federation |
| CBF | Cherry Blair Foundation |
| CCM | Revolutionary Party of Tanzania |
| CCTV | Chinese Central Television |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women |
| DJ | Development Journalism |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| DW | Deutsche Welle |
| EAC | East African Community |
| EATV | East Africa Television |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of Western African States |
| ELCT | Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania |
| EPA | External Payment Arrears |
| ESRF | Economic and Social Research Foundation |
| FAO | Food and Agricultural Organization |
| FES | Friedrich Ebert Stiftung |
| FGM | Female Genital Mutilation |
| FIRE | Feminist International Radio Endeavour |
| GAD | Gender and Development |
| GC | Gender Center |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GF-DJ | Gender Focused Development Journalism |
| GMMP | Global Media Monitoring Project |
| HIV/AIDS | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| IDS | Institute of Development Studies |
| IJMC | Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication |
| IPP | Industrial Production Promotion |
| IPS | Inter-Press Service |
| ITV | Independent Television |
| IWMF | International Women's Media Fund |
| JET | Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania |
| MAELEZO | Tanzania Information Services |
| MCDGC | Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children |
| MCK | Media Council of Kenya |

| | |
|---|---|
| MCT | Media Council of Tanzania |
| MEDEC | Media Development Centre |
| MEWATA | Medical Women Association of Tanzania |
| MGDs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MISA | Media Institute for Southern Africa |
| MJUMITA | Network of Forests Management of Tanzania |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development |
| NESP | National Economic Survival Programme |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organizations |
| NIEO | New International Economic Order |
| NWICO | New Information and Communication Order |
| OAU | Organization of African Unity |
| OTTU | Organization of Tanzanian Trade Unions |
| PB | Public Broadcasting |
| PR | Public Relations |
| PSB | Public Service Broadcasting |
| REPOA | Research on Poverty Alleviation |
| RFA | Radio Free Africa |
| RTD | Radio Tanzania – Dar es Salaam |
| SADC | Southern Africa Development Community |
| SAUT | Saint Augustine University of Tanzania |
| SHIHATA | Tanzania News Agency |
| SJMC | School of Journalism and Mass Communication |
| SMG | Sahara Media Group |
| SMS | Short Message Service |
| SOSPA | Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act |
| STZ | Voice of Tanzania – Zanzibar |
| TAA | Tanganyika African Association |
| TAMRA | Tanzanian Men's Association |
| TAMWA | Tanzania Media Women Association |
| TANAPA | Tanzania National Parks |
| TANU | Tanganyika African National Union |
| TAWLA | Tanzania Women Lawyers Association |
| TBC | Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation |
| TCRA | Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority |
| TEF | Tanzania Editor's Forum |
| TGNP | Tanzania Gender Networking Programme |
| TPHC | Tanzania Population and Housing Census |
| TSJ | Tanzania School of Journalism |
| TSN | Tanzania Standard Newspapers |
| TVT | National Television |
| TVZ | Television Zanzibar |
| TWB | Tanzania Women's Bank |

| | |
|---|---|
| UDSM | University of Dar es Salaam |
| UMCA | Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UPE | Universal Primary Education |
| USA | United States of America |
| UWT | Union of Women in Tanzania |
| VOA | Voice of America |
| WACC | World Association for Christian Communication |
| WFS | Women's Feature Service |
| WID | Women in Development |
| WINGS | Women's International News Gathering Service |
| WRDP | Women Research and Documentation Project |
| ZEF | Zanzibar Editors Forum |
| ZRC | Zanzibar Revolutionary Council |
| ZRG | Zanzibar Revolutionary Government |

# INTRODUCTION

After attaining independence from colonial masters, some African countries opted for authoritarian political systems and socialistic economic policies starting from the early 1960s. The media were mainly used as government mouthpieces tasked with uniting the people and promoting development based on development journalism practice. From the 1980s, these African countries gradually shifted from their authoritarian political systems and socialistic economic policies, to deregulated policies in their political, economic and communication systems. According to Ramaprasad (2001), this shift was triggered by, among others, the fall of socialism and communism, demands of international aid and United Nations agencies, international financial institutions and overall effects of intensifying globalization. This shift to deregulated policies incorporated political pluralism, free market economies, emphasis on press freedom, advocacy for gender equality and protection of women's and human rights (Haji, 2008; Nkya, 2008; Geertsema, 2009a; Myers, 2009; Ramaprdasad, 2001). Despite these changes, media's role to national development remained significant to some journalists (Kivikuru, 2001; Ramaprasad, 2001).

The relevance of media in development is mainly attached to the roles media play in relation to society and the government. As argued by Puddephatt (2011), "The media functions as watchdog; promoting government transparency and public scrutiny of those with power by exposing corruption, maladministration and corporate wrongdoing; and thereby a tool to enhance economic efficiency" (p. 68). Puddephatt (2011) contends that a media environment characterized by pluralism, diversity, access for all and a supportive government eventually leads to human development. As such, the media, society and development relationship has been central to the concept of development journalism.

Based on Rogers (1983), 'development' is defined from a humanistic perspective as a participatory process aimed at positive social change for the people concerned. 'Development journalism' focuses on empowering the ordinary people towards achieving their development. It seeks to report on achievements and shortcomings in development plans and processes while criticizing the government accordingly (Xiaoge, 2009b).

Gender, as a social construction of what is expected from being a man or a woman, is constructed within media (Myers, 2009). According to van Zoonen (1994), media are

platforms within which negotiations of meanings and values of being a man or a woman that inform the ways of life (culture), take place. In other words, the media are informed by these ways of life and at the same time the people's ways of life are informed by the media. It is a two-way process. As such, the media are seen as important tools to set the agenda for social change towards gender equality and development in the society (Haji, 2008; Nkya, 2008).

The decision to conduct this study on the relationship of media (development journalism in particular), gender and development at this point in time is influenced by three major reasons: *first,* a renewed interest of development journalism in the Global South. Historically, development journalism emerged in the Philippines in the 1960s focusing on ordinary people and their development. Contrary to Western journalism which emphasizes on neutrality and objectivity, development journalism emphasized on engaging poor people in identifying their problems and possible solutions – towards development. It was argued that the Western journalism style pays little attention to the poor people (Xiaoge, 2009b). Development journalism became popular in the 1970s in Asia (India, Singapore, Malaysia, China, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Nepal), Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Zaire, Kenya and Tanzania) and Latin America (Bolivia, Columbia). At a global perspective, this popularity was enhanced by the New International Economic Order (NIEO) which aimed at promoting development interests of developing countries, and the New Information and Communication Order (NWICO) which focused in balancing the information flow between the developed and the developing world (Domatob & Hall, 1983; Ramaprasad & Kelly, 2003; Xiaoge, 2009b). Development journalism was therefore seen as the appropriate tool to promote both development and information flow in favour of the developing countries.

However, development journalism faded in the 1980s following deregulation and the effects of globalization where Western journalism styles dominated (Skjerdal, 2011). Nonetheless, from the mid 2000s, development journalism is gaining a renewed interest (see Romano, 2005; UNESCO, 2007; Freedman, Rendahl & Shafer, 2009; Xiaoge, 2009b). In Africa specifically, with a quest to establish an African media theory to cope with contemporary challenges in Africa's various developmental issues, among other challenges; researchers indicate a revival of the practice, although with different goals from earlier development journalism practice in Africa (see for example Banda, 2007;

Geertsema, 2007; Musa & Domatob, 2007; Kasoma, 2009; Ngomba, 2010; Peltz, 2010; Skjerdal, 2011; Okorie, 2011; Behrman, Canonge, Purcell & Schiffrin, 2012; Talabi, 2013; Tshabangu, 2013).

By exploring the development journalism practice in contemporary Tanzania which so far has found little scholarly attention, this study expects to add to the debate on this renewed form of journalism in countries of the Global South.

*Second,* unconnected efforts towards serving the ordinary people despite similarities in ideologies geared to serve the ordinary people. Development journalism by definition and purpose is supposed to serve the ordinary people not the elite. The term 'ordinary people' refers to the marginalized, poor and less privileged people (Xiaoge, 2009a). However, over time the practice has been criticized for ignoring ordinary people, women in particular (Pandian, 1999). Overall the practice has been overlooking gender issues despite the aspirations development journalism shares with gender and feminist ideologies on journalism, which include: an emphasis on ordinary people, the understanding of audiences as active receivers and not passive consumers of information, the goal of positive social change, the preference of participatory techniques and a critical journalism stance. The point here is that gender and feminist ideologies on journalism and development journalism claim to serve the ordinary people, yet their practical connection towards realizing this goal has remained vague since women and the minorities continue to be marginalized by the practice and the media in general.

By consolidating development journalism ideologies, gender and feminist theories on journalism towards a type of journalism that caters for ordinary men and women, this study attempts to make a contribution to theory in the field.

*Third,* continued poverty and inequality in developing countries. These factors are common in countries of the Global South, particularly Africa. Tanzania for instance, is one of the world's poorest economies in terms of per capita income, despite numerous natural resources and policy strategies which have led to an increase in overall economic growth (Tanzania Economy Profile, 2014). The majority of people, particularly women and the children dwell in abject poverty while remaining side-lined in important decisions concerning their development (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2007).

As such, development journalism's participatory and critical roles (as will be discussed in this study), if effectively applied, can improve the situation.

A gender focus is of particular relevance. Despite massive campaigns on gender mainstreaming in Tanzanian media, the development sector and other related sectors, ordinary people (specifically women) are still often and largely marginalized by the media in issues concerning development (Okwemba, 2010).

This study therefore, aims to explore what is termed 'development journalism with a gender focus' (GF-DJ) in Tanzania, specifically with regard to the mainstream broadcasting media. Mainstream broadcasting, especially radio, is still the main medium with the largest reach among Tanzanian people, particularly ordinary people due to its affordability, immediacy and easy accessibility even for illiterate audiences (Jones & Mhando, 2006; Jecha, 2007; Matumaini, 2009; Murthy, 2011). A 'gender focus' in the context of journalism is understood as reporting that includes the voices and perspectives of both women and men in the society (Made, 2002). 'GF-DJ' is defined in line with the conceptual framework of this study, as a type of journalism that empowers and engages the ordinary men and women in fostering their well-being.

The broad question asked in this study is: how and to what extent is development journalism with a gender focus (GF-DJ) practised in Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media amidst the transformations of the political and economic structures as a result of the liberal policies and impact of globalization which have highly affected and continue to affect media operations in the country.

The research methods used in this qualitative study include in-depth interviews with former and current development-oriented journalists from the mainstream broadcasting media, journalism trainers as well as gender and development/media experts from leading gender and development organizations. In addition, a qualitative analysis of selected development-oriented broadcasting programmes contextualizes these voices.

This dissertation comprises of ten chapters. Chapter One explores development journalism, discussing the new models of development journalism by Banda (2007) and Xiaoge (2009b). These new development journalism agendas are extended to Chapter Two, where the connection between development journalism, gender and feminism is theorized. In particular, a conceptual framework on development journalism and gender is established in

this chapter based on new models of development journalism as well as gender and feminist theories and approaches to journalism by van Zoonen (1994), Robinson (2005) and Steiner (2008, 2009 & 2012). Chapters Three and Four provide context on Tanzania, the focus area of this study. Specifically, Chapter Three discusses the Tanzanian media landscape whereas Chapter Four broadly explores gender, development and media in Tanzania before narrowing the scope to development journalism and gender. This leads to the presentation of the context of the study, the research issue and research questions at the end of this chapter. Chapter Five discusses the qualitative methodology employed in this study while Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present the findings of the in-depth interviews and programme analysis. Further analysis of the data and discussion of the findings are found in Chapter Nine and finally Chapter Ten concludes the study, presents ideas for further research and gives some recommendations.

**CHAPTER ONE**

**DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM REVISITED**

This chapter traces the scholarly debates on the practice of development journalism in developing nations. It explores the meaning of development journalism, its origins, types and objectives. It also looks at the success and challenges of the practice in promoting development. Further, a discussion is presented on how development journalism has changed and continues to change due to social, cultural, economic, political and technological changes (partly triggered by the effects of globalization). The chapter concludes with current debates revolving around the practice of development journalism, where new models of development journalism proposed by Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) are highlighted. These models, which have ideological resemblances, reflect the Participatory Communication Approach of the Development Communication Theory.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) do not include a discussion of gender or feminism in their new deliberations on the practice of development journalism. However, feminist theories and approaches to journalism by feminist scholars such as van Zoonen (1994), Robinson (2005) and Steiner (2008, 2009 & 2012) have called for journalism that caters for the ordinary men and women. These feminist arguments on journalism have some similarities with the goals of development journalism as outlined in Xiaoge's (2009b) and Banda's (2007) models. A discussion on development journalism and gender is presented in Chapter Two.

## 1.1 Meanings and Origins of Development Journalism

This section attempts to define development journalism. It also traces the origins of the practice as well as its influences. The section is divided into two sub-sections: defining development journalism, and origins and influences of development journalism.

### 1.1.1 Towards the Definition of Development Journalism

Since development journalism was conceived out of the idea of development (see sub-section 1.1.2), it is important to start this sub-section by briefly surveying the typical notions of the controversial idea of 'development'. In their influential book *Communication for Development in the Third World: Theory and Practice for Empowerment*, Melkote and Steeves (2001) base their examination of development on three major perspectives. The first is *modernization* which assumed that the Western model

of economic growth should be modeled by developing nations, with emphasis on the use of modern technologies. This perspective, which focused on economic growth based on neo-classical economic theory, was popular in the 1950s and 1960s. The second is *critical* which challenges the modernization perspective. Based on Marxist theory, the critical perspective regards development as the restructuring of political and economic systems so as to produce even distribution of rewards in society. The third is *liberation* which is more spiritual than economic. It draws largely on liberation theology which views development as a process of liberation from injustice, discrimination and oppression. Liberation is believed to be a key to empowerment and self-reliance and hence development. Melkote and Steeves (2001) also explain other themes in development, including the feminist perspectives, Women in Development (WID) in the 1970s and Gender and Development (GAD) in the 1980s. Respectively, these approaches underscore the women roles and gender roles as central in the furtherance of most development goals. A discussion on WID and GAD is presented in Chapter Two.

On the other hand, Seers (1970) argues that three aspects must either be declining or eliminated for a country to experience development. These are inequality, poverty and unemployment. To Seers, these are the real indicators of development based on a human perspective. Similarly, Julius Nyerere's Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance[1] focused on human development. Nyerere contends that the purpose of development is the liberation of man (the citizens). He asserts that development is the political, economic and cultural human empowerment; attainment of human dignity, commitment to quality life and human equality, as well as human freedom (Nyerere, 1968).

Additionally, Michael Todaro views development as major and positive changes in social structures, acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and eradication of poverty (Todaro, 1999). In Todaro and Smith (2003) the focus is more on the welfare of the people as development is seen in terms of both the quality and quantity of life. Quality of life refers to opportunities and availability of social, health and educational services and

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[1]The late Julius Nyerere was the first President of Tanzania. He initiated the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. The policy believed in egalitarian principles, particularly the absence of exploitation realized by placing the major means of production in the hands of the peasants and workers through their democratically chosen government. Being a self-reliant nation meant choosing the development path which does not depend on foreign aid but, at the same time, recognizes international involvement and willingness to give and receive aid/help (Nyerere, 1968). The goal of the policy was to attain economic self-sufficiency, eradicate corruption and exploitation, with the major means of production being under the control of peasants and workers (Konde, 1984).

quantity of life involves the extent of economic and political participation of the people. In fact, Todaro and Smith (2009) place more emphasis on women as one important but marginalized group in development in various societies around the world, especially the less developed world. They therefore argue that women should be involved and empowered in development processes.

Despite their differences, these definitions of development have one thing in common: the emphasis on human development. In fact, it can be posited that Nyerere (1968), Seers (1970) and Todaro (1999) view development with 'a gender focus' by emphasizing the reduction of human inequality in development. Although human inequality might refer to income level discrepancies, gender differences are equally significant. Specifically Todaro and Smith (2009) insist on the involvement of women in development processes. Additionally, the central argument of Melkote and Steeves (2001) is that the key to development must be 'empowerment' at individual, community and national levels. Further explanations from the critical, liberation and feminist development perspectives in Melkote and Steeves (2001) show that development should prioritize the needs of most oppressed groups. In fact, the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 which was established in 1995 sees development as people-centered, one devoid of inequalities in social and political relations, as inequalities may limit the empowerment and democratic participation of people (men and women, boys and girls, the young and old and the able-bodied and disabled persons) in efforts geared towards attaining their development (Planning Commission, 1995). This is in tune with Todaro and Smith (2009) who argue in a humanistic context that without people's participation there is no development. It is in this context that this dissertation adopts a human perspective to development which makes the participatory approach the fulcrum of human development. In this regard, this dissertation treats development as a participatory process of social change that relies heavily on people's involvement in bringing about their development. As Rogers (1983) states:

> [Development is] a widely participatory process of social change in a society intended to bring about social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment (p. 121).

Given these different definitions of development, implicitly make development journalism also have varied definitions. As Skjerdal (2012) contends, development journalism has different meanings to different practitioners (see also Waisbord, 2010). To begin with, the practice of development journalism has different names. Some call it 'development

journalism' whereas others call it 'developmental journalism'. In fact, the use of these terms depends on the context of the journalism practice. For instance, **'**development journalism' as Ogan (1982) contends, focuses on the "critical examination, evaluation and reporting of the relevance, enactment and impact of development programmes by mass media that are independent from government" (p. 7). This approach sees the practice as a horizontal and participatory process based on sharing of information between various groups in society (Shah & Gayatri, 1994; Maganaka, 2004). Meanwhile **'**developmental journalism' relies on the idea that "governments have to control the media to achieve national development" (Sussman, 1978, p. 77), which is a top-down (vertical) and authoritative form of communicating development.

'Development journalism', also referred to as 'investigative and critical type of development journalism' was and still is being practised in many Asian countries (Xiaoge, 2009b). In many African countries, a form of 'developmental journalism' also referred to as 'loyal to the government journalism', 'government say-so journalism' or 'development reporting' was practised. However, due to social, cultural, economic, political and technological changes triggered by deregulation and effects of globalization; this 'government say-so journalism' has undergone radical transformation in some African media systems which have become liberal and critical – as will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

In fact, in the wake of these changes, Shah (1996) in his article "Modernization, marginalization, and emancipation: Toward a normative model of journalism and national development", suggests for the concept 'emancipatory journalism' to replace that of 'development journalism'. Shah argues that journalists should help people gain control over their social conditions by challenging and changing oppressive structures and thus enabling the people's participation in the process of social change.  Shah (1996) asserts that since journalists are also involved in this process of social change, the practice challenges Western professional values as it rejects neutrality and objectivity (see also McPhail, 2009; Peltz, 2010).

Overall, one general feature of these definitions of development journalism is their emphasis in promoting development. Kunczik (1986) for instance, defines this practice as: "An intellectual enterprise in which a journalist should form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments

in a rational discourse and solve them by reasonable criteria free of social constraints" (p. 272). Furthermore, Shah (1990) sees development journalism as consisting of news that critically examines, evaluates and interprets the relevance of development policies and plans. In this regard, criticizing the government should not be mistaken for being against the government. As Xiaoge (2009b) argues, the press and government ought to work together, and, in fact, should be partners in national development. Nevertheless, he insists that criticism holds an important role in the practice as one way of enhancing government efficiency in development plans.

Similar to Shah's (1996) idea of 'emancipatory journalism', in some definitions of development journalism people's involvement in communication processes is more emphasized, which is central to current debates on development journalism (see Banda, 2007; Xiaoge, 2009b). For instance, Maganaka (2004) and Gunaratne (1996) argue that a development journalist motivates people to be involved actively in the news production processes for development purposes. Related to the involvement of people is the idea of people's empowerment, which Gatlung and Vincent (1992) view as essential for improving the lives of ordinary people. In the context of people's empowerment, Gatlung and Vincent argue that development journalism seeks to explain complex development processes in simplified terms that people with low literacy levels can understand. It also does not only emphasize on information concerning people's problems but also potential solutions to empower citizens to improve their lives and their communities. Thus, Gatlung and Vincent's (1992) description can be used to show how development journalism is aimed at poor people, people with low understanding of issues due to their low literacy levels. Similarly, Xiaoge (2009a) calls these people the 'ordinary people', whom, in this study are defined as the less fortunate/poor men and women (young, middle aged and old) in all sectors and all walks of life.

Overall, the key components of development journalism as summarized by Xiaoge (2009b) include the following five aspects: to report the difference between what was planned to be done and what has been done, and the impact on the people; to focus on long term development processes and not only on day-to-day development news; to be independent from government and to provide constructive criticism of government; to focus on economic and social development news while working constructively with the

government in nation-building; to empower the ordinary people in improving their own lives and their communities.

**1.1.2 Origins and Influences of the Practice of Development Journalism**

Xiaoge (2009b) recalls that the concept of development journalism emerged from an economic writers' workshop in South East Asia (the Philippines) in the late 1960s. At the workshop, a British journalist Allan Chalkley also believed to have coined the term 'development journalism' told the workshop participants that journalists should serve the ordinary people by highlighting their development problems and possible solutions. This kind of journalism which emerged in Asia in the aftermath of the Pacific War and colonialism, was aimed at improving the social, economic and political conditions of poor people (see also Skjerdal, 2011).

Theoretically, development journalism's roots can be traced from the evolution of the Theory of Development Communication[2] in the mid-1940s (Banda, 2007; see also Xiaoge 2009b; McPhail 2009; Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng & White, 2009; Loo, 2009; Skjerdal 2011). Banda (2007) argues that the Theory of Development Communication can be postulated in three paradigms. First, the Modernization Paradigm which originated from the works of earlier scholars, namely, Daniel Lerner (1958), Everett Rogers (1962) and Wilbur Schramm (1964), who argued that poor nations could be developed by persuading individual citizens to adopt presumably more efficient Western traditions and values. Development was then seen as an evolution from the traditional to the modern life practices whereby Western economies were considered the models for other countries to emulate. The Modernization Paradigm in this regard identified mass media as the most important tool in "influencing, persuading and motivating individual citizens in the underdeveloped world to copy the Western ideologies of development" (Quebral, 2006, p. 102). One can trace some kind of reporting committed to promoting development, even if it was not termed as development journalism (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). The practice however faced major criticisms because of its top-down approach to development. It was observed that along this paradigm, experts and governments implemented development strategies from the top using print, radio and television media to transmit persuasive development messages to the masses without considering the primary developmental needs of the people concerned (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). In other words,

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[2] Development communication has been generally referred to as: "The application of communication strategies and principles in pursuit of development" (Ngomba, 2011, p. 7).

the people concerned were not involved in the identification, implementation and evaluation of their own development needs and plans.

Because of the weakness inherent in the Modernization Paradigm, the Dependency-Dissociation Paradigm emerged in the 1970s. Servaes (2004) posits that this paradigm emerged because of the aspirations of newly-independent nations in the Third World to be politically, economically and ideologically free from Western ideologies of modernization. To achieve these aspirations, the Third World countries forwarded developmental proposals through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) which gave birth to the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1974. NIEO aimed at promoting the development interests of Third World countries by improving their terms of trade and increasing development assistance. From the perspective of communication, this paradigm focused on the debate about the poor and almost non-existent role of the Third World media systems in the global flow of information. This debate resulted into the establishment of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)[3] in the late 1970s (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). It is argued that the popularity of development journalism that was gained in the 1970s in Africa and some countries in Asia was closely connected to the movements of the NIEO and NWICO (Skjerdal, 2011; see also Xiaoge, 2009b). Against that backdrop, Skjerdal argues that development journalism was therefore primarily aimed at promoting development and cultural values of developing nations. In addition, the success of the UNESCO-sponsored projects such as Radio Rural Forums in India, Ghana and Costa Rica accelerated the growth and popularity of development journalism (Xiaoge, 2009b; see also Hornik, 1988).

It is in this paradigm that development journalism gained both academic and political support in the 1970s not only in Asia (Philippines, India, Singapore, Malaysia, China, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Nepal) but also in Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Zaire, Kenya and Tanzania) and Latin America (Bolivia, Columbia). These countries created a conducive environment for the adoption and growth of development journalism because of their great needs for economic development, nation-building and improvements in health, nutrition, family planning, agriculture and literacy (see Domatob & Hall, 1983; Odhiambo,

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[3] NWICO was initiated by third world countries under the support of UNESCO due to their quest for political, economic, ideological and communication independence from the developed world. NWICO demanded for a more balanced and equitable exchange of communication, information and cultural programmes among rich and poor countries (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

1991; Mwaffisi, 1991; Edeani, 1993; Romano, 1998; Ramaprasad & Kelly, 2003; Josephi, 2005; Isiaka, 2006; Ramaprasad & Rahman, 2006; Xiaoge, 2009b).

According to Skjerdal (2011), in Africa development journalism was quickly accepted because it merged easily with journalism philosophies invented earlier by new African leaders in the 1950s and 1960s. Specifically, these include *Revolutionary Journalism* in Ghana under Kwame Nkurumah and *Ujamaa/Socialistic Journalism* in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere[4] (see also section 1.2 and Chapter Four). These types of journalism, like development journalism were products of post-colonial alternatives. In fact, Domatob and Hall (1983) contend that, as a practice, the revolutionary journalism was an earlier version of development journalism. Perhaps due to this resemblance between these African journalism philosophies and development journalism, development journalism was hijacked by African leaders who used it to advance their own (mostly dictatorial) interests (Damatob & Hall, 1983; Odhiambo, 1991). Hence, in Africa development journalism was often dismissed as simply amounting to the mouthpiece of the ruling governments (Domatob & Hall, 1983). On the contrary, development journalism was credited for constructively criticizing the government in development processes in many Asian countries (Xiaoge, 2009b).

Consequently, the third paradigm emerged: Another Development Paradigm also known as the Multiplicity Paradigm. Unlike the earlier paradigms (Modernization and Dependency-Dissociation), this one capitalizes on the notion of participatory communication based on the Participatory Communication Approach of Development Communication Theory (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). According to Servaes (1996), the Participatory Communication Approach is based on the idea that development processes largely arise from the people concerned. Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) recall that the Participatory Communication Approach originated in Latin America between the 1960s and 1970s, from a Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda who developed Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a methodology of involving stakeholders in development processes. Jacobson and Storey (2004) elaborate that the concept has been integrated fully in the development projects since the 1990s. For example in Africa, the approach was introduced in 1994 by

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[4] *Revolutionary journalism* was aimed at emancipating Ghanaians politically from the colonial masters, including what Nkhrumah dubbed neo-colonialism, whereas *Ujamaa journalism* promoted an African brand of socialism–communal ownership of means of production, equality and human dignity, unity and hard-work (Skjerdal, 2011).

the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) Project entitled 'Communication for Development in Southern Africa' which was aimed at supporting development projects (Manyozo, 2006). According to Servaes and Malikhao (2008, see also Servaes, 1996) there are two major approaches to participatory communication.

The first one is the Paulo Freire's[5] notion of dialogical communication which is based on group dialogue and insists on respecting and involving marginalized people in political processes. Sigh (2008) argues that Freire's pedagogy asserts that the essence of human existence arises from conversational interactions (dialogue) where humans can listen to other humans in similar ways as others will listen to them. This entails questioning, reasoning, agreeing, disagreeing. However, Servaes (1996) notes that although Freire emphasizes on people's participation in the liberation and transformation of their society, he does not consider the use of mass media as an important tool in aiding such participation and transformation. The second approach therefore takes into consideration the use of the mass media.

This study particularly focuses on the second approach of participatory communication. Muniz (2010) describes it as a planned activity based on media aimed at stimulating participatory processes and interpersonal communication to facilitate dialogue among different stakeholders towards a common development goal. Servaes and Malikhao (2008; see also Servaes, 1996) posit that the approach's focus on media is in relation to the access and use of media for public services, meaning the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant media programmes and the provision of their feedback and demands for these programmes. In this context, 'participation' implies public involvement in communication systems in terms of production processes, planning and management of communication systems (Servaes & Malikhao, 2008). Self-management thus becomes of vital importance as it reflects public's power of decision-making in important areas such as formulation of communication policies and plans (Servaes, 1996). In fact, this higher level of public's involvement in communication systems has become common within community media. Nevertheless, some aspects of public participation such as providing feedback (views, comments, opinions, demands and questions) are also observed in other types of media enhanced by deregulation and communication technologies. It is partly

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[5] The Brazilian born Paulo Freire was an educator and a progressive humanist. He is renowned for his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* published in the 1970s. In the 1970s he worked at the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Sigh, 2008).

basing on the aforementioned that contemporary journalism researchers (Banda, 2007; Xiaoge, 2009b; McPhail, 2009; Servaes, 2009) contend that contemporary development journalism should embrace the participatory communication approach as it is effective in facilitating development for the ordinary people. In fact, Sparks (2007) acknowledges that the participatory communication approach in journalism provides the most promising platform for addressing poverty in the era of globalization. Similarly, both the collaborative and facilitative roles of the media as Christians et al. (2009) promote, reflect participatory communication between the media, the state and the citizens for the promotion of democracy, transparency and accountability and, hence, development in a society.

In the following section I present the practices of development journalism in two continents, Asia and Africa. Unfortunately, nothing much has been written about development journalism in Latin America (see also Xiaoge, 2009b) but Asia and Africa represent overall enough empirical evidence of the practices of development journalism.

## 1.2 Practices of Development Journalism in Asia and Africa

Research demonstrates that the practice of development journalism in the two continents of Asia and Africa varied (Domatob & Hall, 1983; Xiaoge, 2009b; Skjerdal, 2011). In fact, the practice of development journalism has differed even between individual countries. Xiaoge (2009b) elaborates that the major reasons for these variations are social, economic, cultural and political conditions of a particular country; where in some instances, the professional Western news values and their effectiveness in bringing development were highly debated. In Asia for example, Xiaoge (2009b) explains that it was often argued that the cultural domination of Western news values was the biggest obstacle to development. Thus, the growth of the practice of development journalism in Asia was also stimulated by the demand for Asian news values which were seen more suitable for the Asian context. The Western practice was criticized for paying little attention to the ordinary people, community projects, rural development and overall efforts to address poverty (Xiaoge, 2009b). The accepted Asian news values were truth, objectivity, social equity and nonviolence. These values are believed to have contributed to the economic miracle achieved in Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong in the 1970s (Xiaoge, 2009b).

I draw on Xiaoge's (2009a & 2009b) discussions on the practice of development journalism in Asia to briefly present specific perspectives. In India development journalism focused more on rural areas, has been practised since the 1960s and is still promoted and respected. This type of journalism is also strategically linked to the government and plays a key role in nation-building and economic construction of countries such as Singapore and Malaysia. It has also played an increasingly important role in China's economic, cultural and political development. In Nepal, the mass media advocates development by emphasizing education, women issues, rural and poor people whereas in Bangladesh and Indonesia, journalists prioritize development from a liberal perspective.

In the Philippines, development journalism was used as a tool of the authoritarian government which stayed in power for about 20 years (1965–1986). The concept of development journalism lost its popularity in the mid-1980s when most journalists turned to Western journalism approaches. This was due to the Epifanio de Los Santo (EDSA)'s revolution and economic constraints which prevented the sustenance of an effective, independent and critical form of journalism. Despite development journalism not being largely practised in the Philippines, it remains a vibrant course in journalism education at the University of the Philippines, Las Banos.

Overall, as argued by Xiaoge (2009b), there has been government co-operation between development journalists and the governments in Asia; nevertheless, constructive criticism has been a serious obligation of the practice in many Asian countries. This was one important factor that led to the noticeable contribution of development journalism as one of the strategies that contributed to the development of those countries.

In Africa, on the other hand, development journalism had a different meaning from that of Asia. Skjerdal (2011) explains that "while in Asia it meant critical reporting in development efforts, in Africa it meant close collaboration between media and the authorities" (p. 60). This tendency suppressed the critical and investigative developmental roles of the media. As Domatob and Hall (1983) contend, development journalism had been mainly used by most African leaders "to consolidate and perpetuate power" (p. 18). Operating under the Development Media Theory, this type of practice generally came to be known as 'government say-so journalism' (Ngomba, 2010; see also Kunczik, 1988). The Development Media Theory advocates media support for an existing political regime and its efforts to bring about national economic development. The theory argues that

unless a nation is well-established and its economic development is well underway, the media must be supportive rather than critical of the government. It recognizes the need for some form of government intervention in the operation of media (McQuail, 1994). The theory has, however, attracted criticism for being a version of the Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1963) Authoritarian Theory of the Media. According to Siebert et al. (1963), under the authoritarian philosophy, the media is supposed to support and advance the state's policies and objectives. Consequently, the 'government say-so journalism' served more the leaders' political interests than the needs of the ordinary people (Kunczik, 1988; see also Xiaoge, 2009b; Skjerdal, 2011). Kunczik (1988) gives a reason for this particular kind of development journalism practice:

> This followed mainly because development journalism in Africa grew out of the special role played by 'former journalists who became leaders of newly independent states'. These include Kwame Nkurumah, the founder and publisher of the "Accra Evening News" in Ghana, Nnandi Azikiwe founder of the "West Africa Pilot" in Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta founder and publisher of a newspaper in Kikuyu language influential in the independence struggles in Kenya; and Julius Nyerere publisher of *Uhuru* the TANU newspaper in Tanzania. These journalists-turned politicians emphasized the importance of journalism in shaping national identities and promoting national cohesion (p. 85).

Hence, to a minimal effect, as contended by Berger (2003), development journalism in Africa contributed to improving health, nutrition, family planning, literacy and agriculture (see also Kunczik, 1984).

Overall, Kunczik (1988) elaborates that from the start of development journalism in the 1960s to late 1970s there were only two major approaches within the practice of development journalism: investigative and authoritarian-benevolent. According to Aggarwala (1979) under the investigative approach journalists were expected to critically explain about development plans and processes as claimed by government officials and as experienced by the concerned people; and overall the relevance of development projects to the nation. This approach, as discussed earlier was practised in many Asian countries. On the other hand, the authoritarian-benevolent approach was advocated by authoritarian governments which ensured that journalists co-operate with governments in nation-building (Kunczik, 1988; Waisbord, 2010). Ayittey (1992 in Mwangi, 2010) recall the then (post-colonial) Minister of Information in Ghana who aptly told Ghanaian journalists that the country only needs a journalist who sees himself as a contributor to national development and not as a watchdog. This approach appeared to have gained a firm

foothold in many African countries, where it was preferred by many nationalistic leaders, particularly those bent on consolidating power (Domatob & Hall, 1983; Odhiambo, 1991; Berger, 2010).

**1.3 Development Journalism in Contemporary Africa**

Following the deregulation of the media, along with economic and political liberalization, started in Africa from the mid-1980s, Skjerdal (2011) posits that the practice of 'the government-say-so journalism' largely vanished as some of the 'development journalists' rejected it and embraced more critical roles such as the 'watchdog role' (Ngomba, 2010; see also Mwesige, 2004; Kanyegirire, 2007). As explained in subsequent paragraphs, these changes are mainly from journalism practitioners on the ground, but there has also been a growing interest of scholarly debates concerning development journalism practice in the contemporary period.

Specifically, studies from individual African countries exemplify various experiences and expectations concerning development journalism in these contemporary times. For instance, Ngomba (2010) explains that the media and political liberalization of the 1990s in Cameroon are the major causes of the changing practice of development journalism which is now practiced in both the public and private owned media. Additionally, there have been attempts by the Cameroonian government to promote the role of journalism in the country's development process, e.g., in 2010, projects sponsored by the Cameroonian government invited journalists as 'development agents' to actively promote development by ensuring the implementation of the country's decentralization process. These Cameroonian journalists are required to:

> Spread the message to the masses in a bid to ensure that as many Cameroonians as possible understand the stakes and benefits of the decentralization process […] insisting decentralization as an opportunity for local communities and an exhortation of the people to take their destiny into their hands (Ngomba, 2010, p. 72).

In consequence, a network of journalists (under an association) has been formed with the main aim of providing information on decentralization process and training of journalists accordingly. Ngomba (2010) contends that this association (led by journalists themselves) offers an opportunity for them to obtain some level of freedom without necessarily serving as government mouthpieces. Ngomba further argues that the creation of such an association strengthens the role of journalists as development agents in Cameroon.

In another study, Kanyegirire (2007) found that many journalists, particularly under the auspices of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)[6], still view development journalism in its old African format–as government related; a kind of journalism that should be practised by government media, on the one hand. On the other hand, only a few of these journalists in Ghana, South Africa and Rwanda attempt to equate development journalism with patriotism, cultural unity, Africanism, development and democracy. Development journalism in the view of these contemporary African journalists is seen as a commitment to Africa, whereby a development journalist has to be a patriotic African journalist. This is compared to the Western journalism model whose values of neutrality and objectivity are regarded as unpatriotic within the African development needs (Kanyegirire, 2007). Kanyegirire warns that by wanting to defend their African nations and Africa as a whole and by abiding to these values of patriotism and Africanism, these journalists face a danger of biasing their African governments and failing to perform the 'critical' role (a salient principle of development journalism), instead serving the leaders and powerful business people while ignoring ordinary people.

Geertsema (2007) explains that in South Africa's early days of democracy (the post-apartheid era beginning from 1994), the South African government urged media to pursue a development journalism strategy with an objective of promoting and supporting government's development goals and national unity. Meanwhile, in Zambia and Ghana, Kasoma (2009) found that 'brown envelope' journalism[7] threatens the existence of development reporting (development journalism) as it was reducing such practice to more of public relations influenced by the monetary incentives offered by news sources. Kasoma elaborates that in Ghana, the dominance of official sources in development news has led to

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[6] NEPAD, which was established in 2001 by African states, is aimed at poverty eradication and integration of Africa into the global economy. NEPAD came into being after what was seen as a failure or slow pace of development plans by both individual countries and regional initiatives. These regional initiatives include those by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was later transformed into the African Union (AU); East African Community (EAC), which died in the 1980s but came agian in the 2000s under the same name; the Central African Federation (CAF) and the Franc Zone of French West Africa which collapsed in the 1980s; Southern Africa Development Community (SADC); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Moreover, the effects of globalization have further accelerated the establishment of NEPAD. This African-owned and African-led development strategy emphasizes democracy and good governance as necessary for development while focusing on regional economic integration and co-operation (Kanyegirire, 2007, pp. 112-121).
[7] Kasoma (2009) defines 'brown envelope journalism' as a "practice that involves news sources granting monetary incentives to journalists" (p. 18). This tendency is not uncommon in journalism practices of many African countries. Some of these countries are Nigeria, Liberia, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Tanzania, (Lodamo & Skjerdal, 2009). In Tanzania, for example, the term 'brown envelope' is associated with the money being received by journalists mostly placed in brown envelopes before being handed over to journalists.

efforts in journalism academics to re-visit the definition of development reporting. In fact, in Ghana, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been advocating for the practice of development journalism among journalists. In so-called 'journalism clinics', one of the NGOs, the Media Development Centre (MEDEC) has been training journalists on how to report specific developmental issues in areas such as health, the environment, the extraction of natural resources, economy and finance (Ghana Business News, 2013). Similarly, in Kenya, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) in partnership with UNDP-Kenya has been training Kenyan journalists (from non-mainstream media) in communication for development, with development journalism being one of the subjects taught (UNDP-Kenya News, 2010).

As mining, oil and gas play an increasingly important role in economic development in Africa, analysis of media coverage concerning this extractive sector has attracted media scholars. Focusing on the print coverage of oil, mining and gas in Nigeria, Ghana and Uganda respectively; Behrman, Canonge, Purcell and Schiffrin (2012), acknowledge the importance of 'journalism for development' (development journalism) in educating the public, framing the agenda for discussion and serving as watchdogs. However, Behrman et al. (2012) found that the ability of journalists to effectively write about this extractive sector is problematic, unless the journalists are trained about some technical aspects concerning this sector and their working conditions are improved (especially salaries, equipment, pressure from advertisers and big businesses, and media laws that limit press freedom). Furthermore, Talabi (2013) contends the practice of development journalism will remain relevant in Nigeria as long as there is poverty in the country. The practice is also viewed useful in Nigeria in the arena of health communication and in fighting violence against women (Okorie, 2011).

Meanwhile according to Tshabangu (2013), development journalism also seems to be effective in Zimbabwe especially in promoting the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs). However, Tshabangu argues that there is a need to 're-theorize' the practice. Given the harsh social, political and economic conditions in Zimbabwe (under President Robert Mugabe) that have condemned most citizens to a life in rampant poverty, Tshabangu contends that there is an urgent need to develop an effective model of development journalism that will work in Zimbabwe's current conditions. For instance, he explains, some journalism scholars and teachers prefer the term 'advancing journalism' to development journalism. Advancing journalism envisions "the media as an instrument of

social justice and a tool for achieving beneficial social change in line with a nationally established policy" (Tshabangu, 2013, p. 326). Tshabangu's call to re-think the practice of development journalism in Zimbabwe may not come as a surprise. Describing the practice of development journalism in Zimbabwe under the leadership of President Mugabe, Kumbula (1995 in Harbor, 2001) advocate that for the sake of national development, development journalism is not required to investigate or criticize the government. As already demonstrated, this was how development journalism was largely practised in many African countries between 1970s and 1980s and, as a result, was not of much help to ordinary people. Tshabangu (2013) argues that in these contemporary times, development journalism should be "uniquely practiced to suit particular contexts" (p. 326).

In fact, at a global perspective, the notion of re-thinking development journalism has been raised by Shah (1996) and Waisbord (2010) among others. As discussed earlier, Shah (1996) suggested for the term 'emancipatory journalism' in place of 'development journalism' (see sub-section 1.1.1). Waisbord (2010) argues that although many ideals of development journalism are still relevant, 'development' is not; despite the fact that it has survived at an intellectual and policy levels over the years. Popular among development journalism advocates now is the concept of democracy which urges for a journalism that provides: "A wide range of views on significant public issues, focuses on the lives and demands of regular citizens, provides opportunities for the expression of citizen's voices, covers long-term processes, and scrutinizes the actions of the powerful" (Waisbord, 2010, p. 150). Waisbord therefore argues that calling this type of journalism 'development' journalism is misguiding. A better term is required to effectively capture the mission and feasibility of this type of journalism.

In yet another development of development journalism in contemporary Africa, the Ethiopian government in 2008 established a draft policy document, declaring development journalism as an official reporting style for state media aimed at curbing poverty in the country (Skjerdal, 2011). The emphasis is on reporting positive development stories, as the document argues that criticisms or negative stories are detrimental to the Ethiopian delicate political situation following disputes in 2005 elections and rampant poverty among the people. The point is that, negative stories might cause uncertainties and, hence, foment instability. Already partly implemented in state newsrooms in Ethiopia but disapproved by some journalists, this approach might be in tune with Tshabangu's (2013) argument for 'different practices of development journalism for different situations'.

Skjerdal (2011) cautions that the practice in Ethiopia is likely to rekindle the 'politicized' development journalism that was earlier practised in Africa.

Arguably, at this juncture, similar to Asia, development journalism is still valid and relevant in Africa as the changes, most of them geared towards improving the practice, appear to suggest. In fact, important contributions towards improving the practice made by Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) are vivid indicators of the relevance of the practice in contemporary Asia and Africa (see section 1.5). In summary, changes in the development journalism practice in Africa or the practice of development journalism in contemporary Africa can be observed (among other factors) concerning *where* and *why (the motive)* it is practised. As explained, it is now supported by journalism associations for a certain 'developmental' cause, e.g. in Cameroon for the decentralization process. It is also advocated by NGOs as is the case of Ghana and Kenya whereby journalists are trained on development journalism. The practice is also seen relevant in promoting national unity in post-apartheid South Africa and promoting the MGDs in Zimbabwe. Similar to how it is seen important in reporting about the continent's extractive sector in Nigeria, Ghana and Uganda. There are also efforts by journalism scholars to revisit the practice so as to ensure it is tandem with the challenges of the present times. At times, there are also attempts by official voices in some countries like Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, to re-establish the top-down model of development journalism. Overall, there is fairly strong support of both journalism scholars and journalists for the practice of development journalism in contemporary Africa. However, most of these journalism scholars and journalists generally oppose the re-emergence of development journalism that was earlier practised on the continent based on the Authoritarian philosophy.

In Tanzania, the focus of this study, development journalism was practised from the early 1970s and emphasized uniting the people, linking the government and the people and promoting development (Kunczik, 1984). However, Kilimwiko (2002) argues that during that time the media in a socialistic Tanzania were only supporting the state and the ruling party. Similar to other African countries described above, the practice of development journalism in Tanzania has also not remained static in the post-1990s liberalization policies amidst overall globalization challenges (see Chapter Four). How exactly these changes play out is one of the foci of this study. The following section looks at the critique on development journalism.

## 1.4 Criticism of the Practice of Development Journalism

Overall, since its conception in the 1960s, the practice of development journalism has been subjected to much criticism. *First,* as it has been demonstrated elsewhere in this chapter, there are various definitions of development and, hence, of development journalism. In fact, Skjerdal (2011) asserts that an authoritative definition of development journalism remains elusive. Consequently, the various definitions of development journalism imply various practices of development journalism. As Waisbord (2010), in here refers to development journalism in its abbreviated form (DJ), argues:

> DJ represented different ideals to many constituencies, who became accidental allies in efforts to outline an alternative model to the liberal and communist models of the press. Not surprisingly, then, DJ comprised a long list of aspirations that neither ideologically nor theoretically fit together. Various principles attributed to DJ were in direct contradiction with each other. For example, the ideal of "positive news" showing the achievements of government programmes was antithetical to the aspirations that journalism should report "non-elites" news about the concerns and demands of ordinary folks. Dialogic and critical journalism wasn't congruent with calls for the press to promote social harmony and integration. What held together different strands of DJ was their categorical opposition to the liberal model of the press, and more broadly, to any communication paradigm rooted in "Western" ideas (p. 150).

Skjerdal (2011) further reasons that it is this ambiguity of the concept that has created room for various governments to use the concept in media policies to satisfy their own political needs.

*Second,* Skjerdal (2011) contends that with its popularity in promoting social change, development journalism has been related to other journalism ideologies with an intervention stance, such as advocacy journalism, liberation journalism, revolutionary journalism and peace journalism. This intention has raised some questions on how to define issues worth journalistic interventions.

*Third,* there is some reluctance of the media industry to accept fully development journalism practice which leads to lack of stability of the practice. Under this pressure, it is either abandoned or easily morphs into other forms of journalism. For instance, as earlier described, when the Philippino journalists could no longer practise development journalism, they returned to the Western model. Likewise, the International Women's Media Fund–IWMF (2009) reveals that inadequate budgets in the state media and the struggle/competition for audience share against new media outlets have led to a shift from

development to commercial content which rarely includes development journalism (see also Waisbord, 2010). Additionally, Wimmer and Wolf (2005) established that although development issues are still taught in a number of African journalism schools' programmes, it is seldom in separate courses entitled 'Development Journalism'. Furthermore, Xiaoge (2009b) contends that despite being an old practice existing in three continents, development journalism is not listed in the important book *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies*. All these happenings raise questions concerning the relevance and value of development journalism.

*Fourth,* Skjerdal (2011) argues that the popularity and spread of the practice (particularly in Africa) was more related to geopolitical concerns than the concerns of the ordinary people. As explained elsewhere in this chapter the practice was promoted by global economic (NIEO) and communication (NWICO) concerns of the less developed countries. The primary aim was, therefore, not local/the ordinary people (as development journalism claims to be) but those global concerns (see also Waisbord, 2010).

*Fifth*, it has also been explained that development journalism is different from the Western form of journalism because development journalism does not abide by the journalistic values of neutrality and objectivity (Shah 1996; see also Thussu, 2000; McPhail, 2009; Peltz, 2010; Skjerdal, 2011). Musa and Domatob (2007) reject this critique by positing that all journalists irrespective of where they are, are bound by values of 'promoting the truth and advancing the society'. Similarly, Nordenstreng (1989) argues that the concepts of human rights and dignity, freedom of speech and social responsibility are observed by both the Western media and development journalists in the developing world. In this regard, there is no significant difference between these two categories of journalists from the developed and developing countries. Accordingly, Musa and Domatob (2007) argue that despite the criticisms, development journalism occupies a global and somehow unique place as a professional practice.

Besides these criticisms which partly cause the practice of development journalism to be very complex, Xiaoge (2009a) contends that the variations of the practice can also be attributed to social, economic, cultural, political and technological changes across the continents, partly as a result of the impact of globalization. These changes have greatly affected the meaning, relevance, principles and practices of development journalism and the attendant criticisms of the practice. Skjerdal (2011), for instance, observes that the

unfolding changes have led to the fading of development journalism in media policy and practice and in academic circles in some countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Specifically Xiaoge (2009b) cites the decline in research on development journalism from 25 published academic articles (between 1980s and 1990s) to only three academic articles (between 2000 and 2008). Overall, Xiaoge (2009b) argues that a total of only 34 published articles in four decades of a practice that exists in three continents is out of proportion.

Despite the criticisms, challenges and changes discussed in this chapter, development journalism still remains very popular in Asia and in some countries in Latin America. Similarly, as discussed, development journalism is gaining renewed interest in Africa. By refining the concept to reflect the prevailing social, political, cultural, economic and technological challenges, various scholars still believe development journalism is a promising model for African media practice (Banda, 2007; Musa & Damatob, 2007; Xiaoge, 2009b; Servaes, 2009; Christians et al., 2009; Ngomba, 2010; Berger, 2010; Skjerdal, 2011; Okorie, 2011; Behrman et al., 2012; Talabi, 2013; Tshabangu, 2013). A similar view is also held by UNESCO (2007) which has recommended that development journalism be an elective course in journalism training programmes for developing countries and emerging/young democracies. However, on examining the UNESCO's journalism model curricular, Freedman, Rendahl and Shafer (2009) observe that the curricular places strong emphasis on the Western journalism style; whereas development journalism (as an elective course) is less prioritized. Freedman et al. (2009) therefore argue for the UNESCO model to strongly consider non-Western/alternative journalism models (particularly development journalism), as nations have different and individualized perspectives on the role of the media to their societies. Freedman et al. (2009), insist on adapting the UNESCO's model in light of journalists' experiences with development journalism and other non-Western journalism models. Indeed, Xiaoge (2009b) asserts: "Development journalism remains vital and vibrant as a journalism practice" (p. 357).
In the next section, I discuss the new models of development journalism.

## 1.5 New Models of Development Journalism
Acknowledging the importance of development journalism and reflecting on its various challenges, Musa and Domatob (2007) urge development journalists to acquire new professional skills and perspectives suitable for the current situations. There has since been an increasing interest by journalism scholars in restoring a journalism paradigm for developing societies. Scholars such as Hemant Shah in 1996, (as already discussed in sub-

section 1.1.1) proposed for a 'participatory communication approach' in development journalism and suggested for the practice to be called 'emancipatory journalism'. In fact, Servaes (1996) reminds us that this idea of participation in development journalism is not very new. For instance, it has been employed in India by a women's news agency, Women's Feature Service (WFS) whereby women are engaged in identifying their problems and possible solutions (Byerly, 1995). It has also been deployed in other countries in Asia (see Ogan, 1982; Kunczik, 1984). However, recently Xu Xiaoge (on a global/common perspective) and Fackson Banda (on an African perspective) have re-emphasized the idea of participation in new perspectives of development journalism. In fact, they provide some helpful arguments concerning the practice of development journalism in the contemporary period as discussed in the following sub-sections.

**1.5.1 Development Journalism in the Context of 'Participatory Communication'**

Xiaoge (2009b) is of a view that development journalism has a global value in the contemporary period. He describes it as a journalism practice that focuses on long-term development plans, reports about achievements and shortcomings in development plans, constructively criticizes the government on issues concerning development and empowers ordinary people. Beyond his acknowledgements of earlier approaches to development journalism (see section 1.2), Xiaoge now adapts Romano's (2005) categorizations of development journalism practice following social, economic and political changes across the world[8]. Against this backdrop, Xiaoge (2009b) proposes a new approach to development journalism by highlighting three current dimensions: *pro-process, pro-participation* and *pro-government.*

*Pro-process* requires journalists to support and contribute to the process of development by focusing on ordinary people. Xiaoge contends that after all, it is these ordinary people that determine the development journalists' choice of subject, style of story-telling and diction. The major role of development journalism under this perspective is to engage and

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[8] Romano (2005) divided development journalism into five perspectives which work in different environments and in different periods of time. *(i) Journalists as Nation Builders*: advocates that news reporting should be aimed at maintaining social stability, building social harmony and strengthening national economy. (ii) *Journalists as Government Partners*: argues that press freedom should be subjected to the important national interests of social, economic and political development (iii) *Journalists as Agents of Empowerment*: the approach holds that journalism should empower the ordinary people to participate in public life and human development. (iv)*Journalists as Watchdogs* and *(v) Guardians of Transparency*: these last two interrelated perspectives advocate that journalism should monitor the performance of the government and make it as transparent as possible to the public. In the sense that a free press and civil liberties are needed to be able to achieve good governance and economic development.

empower ordinary people and involve them actively in the process of economic, cultural and political development. According to Xiaoge the fundamental principles of the pro-process approach had already been adopted by community/rural newspapers in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 1970s/1980s. Under *pro-participation,* ordinary people should be empowered to participate in the process of development instead of being passive recipients of development assistance and development news. This point echoes other journalism researchers who have also advocated for engaging and empowering ordinary people at all levels in development processes (see for example Servaes, 1999; Wilkins, 2000; Melkote & Steeves, 2001). These two dimensions (*pro-process and pro-participation*) are manifestations of the participatory approach and, according to Xiaoge (2009b) they are the roots of development journalism.

*Pro-Government,* on the other hand, emphasizes the promotion of a constructive co-operation between the press and the government in nation-building. It stresses the responsible practice of press freedom and the role of the press as a catalyst for social and political change. Xiaoge (2009b) argues that, while the press ought to operate within the parameters of government policies, regulations and expectations for nation-building and economic development, it is imperative that there exists a clean and effective government. In other words, criticizing the government remains an important part of the practice of development journalism (Xiaoge, 2009b). This dimension takes cognizance of geographical spread, political and professional impact (government-related officials and activities are dominant in many countries and so is their coverage in the media). As earlier discussed, this dimension has been prevalent in many Asian countries.

Xiaoge's new approach to development journalism was used to examine content analysis of news coverage of poverty in leading national newspapers in Philippines–*Manila Bulletin* and Indonesia–*Jakarta Post*. Both countries have a strong background of development journalism practice where it is still strongly advocated. The *Pro-process* dimension dominated in both the newspapers studied (Xu, 2009a).

Banda (2007) on his part offers a very specific perspective pertaining to an African context. He sees Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) as a model for carrying out the goals of development journalism since the characteristics of PSB[9] and those of development

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[9]Banda (2007) demonstrates that the principles of PSB of: universal appeal and accessibility, attention to minorities, national identity and community, direct funding and universality of payment, good and

journalism are quite similar. In this regard, Seneviratne (2006) contends that in some countries the PSB role is more developmental than entertaining and informative in nature. The latter two are commonly provided by other forms of broadcasting.

Additionally, Banda (2007) argues that the Austin's (2002) model of public journalism (framing audiences as citizens, art of public listening, promoting a deliberative citizenry, citizen-based framing of development, and an engaged and an engaging journalism) can also be applied in development journalism since the strategies are not limited to public journalism. Hence, inspired by the PSB philosophy and Austin's (2002) model of public journalism, Banda (2007), advocates development journalism in this new era to be practised in line with the following five strategies: first, *framing audiences as citizens,* which requires journalists to treat people as citizens whose voices must be heard and not just consumers of media products. Second, *the art of public listening*, whereby journalist listen carefully to the citizens and adopt their perspective on the issue (this means that journalists should abandon all pre-conceived [Western] notions of news which insist on objectivity and neutrality–see also Ward, 2004; Hanitzsch, 2004). Third, *promoting a deliberative citizenry* which involves sustained coverage of the people to encourage dialogue among the people and between the people and their leaders (see also Fourie, 2011). The dialogue ensures that the identification of people's problems as well as possible solutions emerge from people themselves. This tendency (journalism as a dialogue) brings journalists closer to the people and better understanding of issues and problems that affect them. Fourth, *citizen-based framing of development* requires journalists' understanding that, despite their professional power of framing issues, citizens are the ones to frame their problems better. And in this process of enabling citizens to frame their issues and problems, the development journalist declares his/her professional solidarity with the citizens. As part of the political power structure, a journalist has to stand by the citizens because a journalist is first and foremost a citizen who is sometimes affected by similar problems affecting the rest of the citizens. Fifth, *towards an engaged and engaging journalism* requires journalists to seek the engagement of citizens in the process of development. In this regard, journalism should not only be providing information but also playing the role of activism in challenging and changing oppressive structures.

independent programming, are respectively, equivalent to the basic premises of development journalism of: development to all with emphasis on minorities, cultural identity and community, distance from the influence of the market and the state, quality content by infusing grassroots voices and independent and democratic participation.

Banda's model was used to assess the 2008 development journalism policy of Ethiopia. It was found that the policy is consonant with Banda's model in numerous elements: emphasis on people's participation, journalists as agents of change, preference of 'public' to 'state' media, and less emphasis on journalists' critical role (Skjerdal, 2011).

Overall, Banda, like Xiaoge emphasizes people's involvement and empowerment in the process of achieving their development through development journalism as reflected in all of Banda's proposed strategies for implementing development journalism as a participatory communication approach. Similarly, viewing development journalism in the facilitative role of the media, Christians et al. (2009, p. 161) support the participatory communication notion as they argue:

> "[It responds] to the peoples' concerns rather than the interests of the governmental elite and powerful nations. Journalists are seen as active community participants committed to understanding the concrete life of their community from the inside out".

(see also Inagaki, 2007; Jacobson, Pan & Jun, 2011).

### 1.5.2 Similarities between Xiaoge's and Banda's Arguments

As earlier noted, these new deliberations on development journalism by Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) reflect the Participatory Communication Approach of the Development Communication Theory. Their main emphasis is on ordinary people's involvement and empowerment in development processes. There are some similarities in Xiaoge's (2009b) and Banda's (2007) arguments as discussed in the following three major categories:

*Category A*: Xiaoge's *pro-process* approach engages and involves the ordinary people in the process of development in the sense that these ordinary people determine the choice of a development subject, framing of the story, style of presentation and diction. This concurs with Banda's fourth strategy on *citizen-based framing of development,* that only citizens can frame their problems/issues effectively. Banda's strategy also stipulates that the journalists should declare their professional solidarity with the citizens as a journalist is first and foremost a citizen who is sometimes affected by similar problems as other citizens. This notion of 'professional solidarity' is not emphasized in Xiaoge's approach; however, it can be detected when the journalists give power to ordinary people as determinants of story content, presentation and diction.

Xiaoge's argument that journalists give power to the ordinary people is also connected to the second Banda's strategy, *the art of public listening,* which urges journalists to abandon

all pre-conceived notions of news and listen to what citizens say from their own perspectives. In other words, the Western news values of neutrality and objectivity are less decisive when a journalist declares his stand with the citizens. Overall, the central argument in this category is that, journalism is a process whereby the ordinary people (the citizens) are empowered in the whole process of identifying their problems and suggesting possible solution towards attaining their development.

*Category B:* According to Xiaoge's *pro-participation* approach ordinary people should be empowered to participate in the process of development rather than just being passive recipients of development news. This concurs with Banda's first strategy of *framing audiences as citizens,* whereby people are viewed not as mere consumers of media products but as citizens whose voices must be heard. Xiaoge's argument in this category is also similar to Banda's third strategy, *promoting a deliberative citizenry,* whereby journalists are required to promote a culture of dialogue among people and between people and their leaders by engaging them in problems identification and thinking about possible solutions. Moreover, Banda affirms that journalists should strive to engage citizens in the process of development in his fifth strategy, *an engaged and engaging journalism.* Concerning this second category, Xiaoge's and Banda's main argument is that ordinary people (the populace) should participate actively in development processes as active citizens, not as passive audiences. In fact, this second category is highly connected to the first one because of the emphasis on giving power to the ordinary people to determine their development paths.

*Category C:* Xiaoge's *pro-Government approach* entails a constructive co-operation between the media and the government in nation-building, economic development and overall enhancement of the well-being of citizens. However, this can only happen when governance is clean and effective. In other words, Xiaoge's proposal will not work if governance is not transparent, hence his emphasis on a "constructive" co-operation. This implies that development journalists are allowed to criticize the government to make sure it is accountable to the people. This argument becomes even clearer when Xiaoge contends that journalists have a role to play as catalysts in social and political change. This also applies to Banda's fifth strategy of *an engaged and engaging journalism,* which urges journalists to perform the activism role for the citizens by challenging and changing

oppressive structures (the government inclusive)[10]. In fact, by using the word 'activism' in his argument, Banda makes his view to also fall partly in the first category. Overall, the major argumentation presented in this category appears to centre on the importance of co-operation between governments and the practice of development journalism in nation-building, on the one hand, and criticizing the government whenever necessary, on the other hand; which is seen as crucial in making the government accountable to the people in promoting good governance and development. However, Banda (2007) notes that this government co-operation with media varies from one country to another. Below is a table summarizing the similarities between Xiaoge's and Banda's arguments.

Table I: Similarities between Xiaoge's and Banda's Arguments

|  | **Xiaoge's Arguments (Global/Common Perspective)** | **Banda's Arguments (African Perspective)** |
|---|---|---|
| *Category A* | *Pro-process*<br><br>*Advocates for engaging, empowering and involving ordinary people actively in the process of development.<br><br>*Ordinary people determine the choice of a developmental subject, style of presentation and even diction.<br><br>*Journalists should support and contribute to the process of development | *Citizen-based framing of development*<br><br>* Journalists understanding that despite their professional power of framing issues, it is only citizens who can frame their problems and issues better. In this sense, a journalist declares his/her professional solidarity with the people.<br><br>*The art of Public listening*<br><br>*Journalists should listen to the citizens by abandoning all pre-conceived notions and listen to what people say in their own perspectives. |
| *Category B* | *Pro-participation*<br><br>*Ordinary people should be empowered to participate in the process of development instead of | *Framing audiences as citizens*<br><br>*Journalists should recognize that people are not mere consumers of media products. They are citizens whose |

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[10] Banda (2007) narrates that that although some African countries such as South Africa, Ghana and Malawi have established PSB/Public Broadcasting (PB), and others are transforming from government/state broadcasting into PSB/PB such as Tanzania and Zambia, it is very doubtful that the governments in these countries have/will extend full control/ownership of these PSBs/PBs to the public. Banda argues that PSB might not be publicly owned but it should always have a public remit, meanwhile PB should be owned by the public and made accountable to them. However, Banda reveals that in countries that PSB is already established, it is largely shaped by political/government circumstances. For instance, in South Africa, PSB is associated with the task of promoting national unity and reconciliation; in Malawi, PSB has a duty of representing Malawi to the world and to observe the principles and norms of a democratic society; and in Ghana PSB has a task of shaping national identity. Hence, the reality of the operations of these PSB/PB media in Africa without government intervention is most unlikely.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | being passive recipients of development news. | voices must be heard regarding the development agenda. |
| | | ***Promote a deliberative citizenry*** |
| | | *Advocates for engaging and empowering ordinary people in the development process by the use of media communication. | *Journalists should promote a deliberative/dialogical culture among citizens by providing coverage of the people to create dialogue (among the people, and between the people and their leaders) by engaging them in problem identification as well as thinking about possible solutions. |
| | | ***An engaged and engaging journalism*** |
| | | *Journalism should be an engaged and engaging activity seeking the engagement of citizens in the development process. |
| *Category C* | ***Pro-government***  *Constructive co-operation between the press and the government in issues concerning development (if governance is clean and effective in enhancing the well-being of citizens).  *Journalism has a role in social and political change and the responsible practice of press freedom. | ***An engaged and engaging journalism***  *Journalists should not only provide information but should also play the role of activism in challenging and changing oppressive structures. |

***Source:*** Author (2013) as adopted from Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007).

**1.5.3 Consolidating Xiaoge's and Banda's Arguments on Development Journalism**

On the basis of the similarities in Xiaoge's and Banda's arguments, it is only logical to consolidate them. These arguments are actually the basis for a conceptual framework adapted in this study that is fully developed in Chapter Two after considering a gender perspective. The essence of consolidating these arguments lies in the fact that despite of their similarities there are some relevant aspects which are emphasized more by Banda than Xiaoge in line with the African context[11]. As demonstrated above, these include the emphasis on a culture of dialogue and commonality between journalists and the audience

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[11] With a constitution considered to be one of the most liberal in the world, South Africa, where Banda's study focused, is described as having the most advanced media system in Africa in terms of infrastructure, training, sound research and scholarship (Obonyo, 2011; see also Fourie, 2007).

which are not emphasized in Xiaoge's model. Additionally, Banda insists on the use of the broadcasting media, the media that majority of the ordinary people in Africa (particularly Tanzania) at least have access to (see Chapter Three). Moreover, the advantages of the broadcasting media of immediacy, crossing the literacy barriers, ability to reach a large and diverse audience, coupled with technological aspects such as phone-ins, short message service (SMS), Facebook, Twitter invites instant participation from the audience. Banda specifically emphasizes on PSB, a model that is argued to be more effective in developing countries (see also Banerjee & Seneviratne, 2006; Berger, 2009; Skjerdal, 2011; Millanga, 2012; Rioba, 2012; Mwaffisi, 2013).

Similarly, there are important aspects which are outlined more in Xiaoge's argumentation. This includes the constructive co-operation between development journalists and the government. In the view of this study, this point is important in the context of media in Africa (and many other developing nations) which can hardly survive without some form of co-operation with the ruling government (see also Banerjee and Seneviratne, 2006; Chapter Four). Nevertheless, Xiaoge urges development journalists to criticize the government. This is also embraced by many development-oriented journalists in Africa today who propose changes in the practice of development journalism (see section 1.3). This point is not emphasized by Banda who urges criticisms but initiated by citizens (see also Skjerdal, 2011). Overall, in the view of this study, it is important to combine both the global/common and local/African perspectives. By further consolidating Xiaoge's and Banda's concepts the study formulates a two-pronged approach to development journalism in the context of participatory communication. Since categories A and B are strongly connected, they are merged into one. As a result, I am proposing a consolidated model with few interrelated categories. *Category 1* focuses on the relation between journalists and the citizens, while *Category 2* emphasizes the relationship between journalists and the government.

*Category 1: Journalists and citizens - Engaging and empowering the citizens in the process of development.* Thus, a journalist should view citizens as active recipients of development whose voices must be heard. A journalist should therefore empower and engage citizens in a dialogue by letting them identify their problems and possible solutions to such problems, and challenge and criticize oppressive structures. Journalists should also blur the boundary between themselves and the citizens – by elevating the fact that they and

ordinary people are all 'citizens' facing similar problems. A journalist in this category plays an advocacy role.

*Category 2: Journalists and government - Fostering constructive co-operation between the media and the government.* A journalist should facilitate co-operation with the government on development issues (responsible practice of press freedom). Nevertheless, the journalist should still at the same time challenge and criticize the government or oppressive structures to bring about positive change. In this category, the operations of journalists reflect the Social Responsibility Theory of the mass media.

These categories are further extended to Chapter Two towards a conceptual framework.

**1.5.4 Similarities between Development Journalism and Other Journalism Practices**
The notion of participatory communication in development journalism as outlined in Banda's and Xiaoge's models also shares some elements with other forms of journalism discussed in journalism literature. These are public (civic) journalism, alternative (citizen) journalism, advocacy journalism and the African *Ubuntu* philosophy on journalism.

Lambeth, Meyer & Thorson (1998) describe public journalism as "listening sympathetically to the stories and ideas of citizens and choosing frames for them that best stimulate the people's liberation and build public understanding of the issues" (p. 17). This practice, according to Ocwich (2010), has been evident in different parts of the world since the 1960s and gained journalists' interest in the United States in the early 1990s. It is aimed at facilitating citizens' participation in political and social issues. To achieve this aim, many news organizations started to think of their audiences not as consumers but as citizens, and hence, began to encourage citizens' participation in democratic processes (Haas & Steiner 2006). Depending on the context, public journalism is also referred to as civic journalism, community journalism or conversational journalism (Lambeth, 1986; Lauterer, 1995; Black, 1997; Rosen, 1994; Blevins, 1997).

Shafer (1998) points out that both public journalism and development journalism usually focus on grassroots, which constitutes a bottom-up communication approach (see also Ocwich, 2010). As also argued by Banda (2007), public journalism strategies can also be used in development journalism practice due to their similarities (see section 1.5.1). Since its establishment, public journalism has spread all over the world, particularly in Bolivia to combat corruption and in Costa Rica to facilitate community forums. It is also in Jamaica

where it is highly involved in solving health problems and in Guetamala for peace processes (Christians et al., 2009). Public journalism has also been practised in Africa (Ocwich, 2010), Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Columbia, Argentina, Mexico, Australia, New Zealand and Japan (Haas, 2004).

Additionally, alternative (citizen) journalism and development journalism share the characteristic of placing emphasis on audience participation and focus on ordinary people as the following description of alternative (citizen) journalism illustrates:

> Small scale media oriented towards specific communities, possibly disadvantaged groups, respecting their diversity, independent from state and the market, horizontally structured, and allowing for the facilitation of audience access and participation within the frame of democratization and multiplicity (Carpentier, 2011, p. 98).

Carpentier (2011) argues that due to their nature, alternative (citizen) media provides more room for ordinary people's participation (from the grassroots up to the management level). In fact, the word 'citizen' in this context is used to capture the concept of an 'ordinary person' and not a citizen of a nation or state (Rodrigues, 2010). This is similar to the term 'ordinary people' applied in development journalism. According to Ocwich (2010), the only difference between public journalism (in this context development journalism) and citizen journalism is that whereas the former practices are done by professional journalists in collaboration with the citizens, the latter is done by non-professionals (ordinary people) who collect, analyze, report and disseminate information using various forms of media. Christians et al. (2009) contend that this participatory nature of journalism (a characteristic that is exhibited by both public and citizen journalism) is an important pathway to citizenship and democracy.

As for advocacy journalism, Melkote (1991) explains that it grew out of social movements in the West in the 1960s and 1970s to emphasize civil rights. According to Jonawitz (1975), the advocate journalist is an advocate for the voiceless. He/she participates in social and political processes with an intention of highlighting obstacles some people face. Hence advocacy journalism, just like development journalism, is aimed at bringing about social change and improving people's lives. This type of journalism is therefore, pro-active in nature. Just like development journalism, advocacy journalism rejects the principles of objectivity and neutrality. It also gravitates towards the watchdog role, for example, in

investigating and exposing abuse of power (Janowitz, 1975; Berkowitz, 1997). Mwesige (2004) observes that these functions are similar to those of development journalism.

Moreover, Banda's arguments on a journalist seeing him/herself as a citizen first and a professional second, and journalists fostering a culture of dialogue among the ordinary people in identifying their problems and solutions are similar to the traits of *Ubuntu* Journalism. Skjerdal (2012) categorizes *Ubuntu* journalism as communal journalism since it is an idea of journalism rooted in the community's cultural values and unity. The South African concept, *Ubuntu* can be translated with regard to respect for life, human dignity, collectivity, sharedness, obedience, humility, solidarity, caring, hospitality, interdependence, communalism–generally, humanity towards others (Skjerdal, 2012; see also Fourie, 2008; Worthington, 2011). Furthermore, Fourie (2007) explains: "*Ubuntuism* is a moral philosophy, a collective African consciousness, a way of being, a code of ethics and behaviour deeply embedded in African culture" (p. 10). In fact, in the context of development, the *Ubuntu* philosophy insists on 'participation' through sharing, negotiation, inclusiveness, transparency and tolerance (Fourie, 2008). Fourie further elaborates: "A person is first and foremost a participatory being, dependent on others for his/her own development" (p. 63).

Fourie (2008) argues that the developmental role of the media in the context of *Ubuntuism* (as a normative media framework) may then be to stimulate participation among the citizens based on consensus that was first obtained through consultation among the citizens. He further explains: "The emphasis in *Ubuntuism* may first and foremost be on the media's role in community bonding and in dialogue towards reaching consensus based on the social values and morals of a community" (p. 66). Hence, just like development journalism in the context of participatory communication, *ubuntu* journalism relies on participatory approaches in promoting development. It also does not attach a high value on objectivity, neutrality and impartiality as the journalist is supposed to be an actively involved member of the community and not just an observer who distances him/herself from his/her reportage (Fourie, 2008). Similar to development journalism, *ubuntuism* in media context can be looked at as a post-colonial alternative for media practice (Skjerdal, 2012).

Nevertheless, *Ubuntu* philosophy faces some challenges. For instance, it has yet to be readily translated into journalism practice (Skjerdal, 2012). Moreover, there is fear that similar to development journalism, *Ubuntu* philosophy could also be hijacked by African

political leaders and consequently might be used to limit press freedom (for instance limiting criticisms and exposure of malpractices, corruption). Fourie (2008) also cautions that *Ubuntu* journalism can be prone to political misuse basing on same African cultural values from which the *Ubuntu* philosophy employs. Furthermore, its suitability in media theory is also questioned as the African culture (in which *Ubuntuism* is based on) is subjected to rapid changes, particularly in light of the effects of globalization (Fourie, 2007; see also Fourie, 2008). Despite these challenges, Skjerdal (2012) argues that the *Ubuntu* philosophy remains important as a guiding principle for journalism standards in an African context, especially its core values of humanness, public good, dialogue and consensus (Fourie, 2008). According to Skjerdal (2012), *Ubuntu* journalism is also related to Western-based civic/public journalism in its quest for a close relationship between the media and the citizens (community).

Therefore, as multiple authors (Mwesige, 2004; Banda, 2007; Musa & Domatob, 2007; Fourie, 2008; Xiaoge, 2009b; Christians et. al, 2009; Ocwich, 2010; Skjerdal, 2011 & 2012) demonstrate, there appears to be a conceptual harmony between development journalism as seen from a participatory perspective and the types of journalism discussed above particularly in the way they regard citizens as active participants and not passive consumers of information. Other shared features include the focus on grassroots/ordinary people, the aim on social change and improving ordinary people's lives, media serving as a forum of discussion for various community issues and placing emphasis on participatory techniques. On the whole, one of the distinguishing features of all these types of journalism is their reluctance to place objectivity and neutrality values of journalism at the centre of professional practice. In fact, there have been serious debates concerning the effectiveness and practicability of these values in the journalism profession per se (see for example, Dolan, 2005; Bowman, 2006; Hampton, 2008; Poerksen, 2008; Broersma, 2010; Figdor, 2010; Boudana, 2011; Munoz-Torres, 2012). At times, these values have been seen as leading to either delays or denials of the public's right to be served (Mindich, 1998). As Clark (2013) asserts, these failures have even been related to the Society of Professional Journalists' decision to erase the values of objectivity and neutrality from its code of ethics, replacing it with the terms honesty, fairness and courage. Similarly, Ward (2005) proposes that the term 'truth' take the place of objectivity.

**1.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has defined the terms "development" and "development journalism" within the context of the study's purpose. Development was positioned as a participatory process of social change that involves people in attaining their social and material advancement and, hence, their development. Accordingly, development journalism was defined as that which promotes development by empowering ordinary people in improving their own lives and communities through the use of and participation in the mass media.

Practices of development journalism in Asia and Africa show that the practice remains relevant despite the changes that have taken place in the contemporary period following deregulation and effects of globalization. This resulted to changes of the practice in form and focus in countries where it is still practised. Also, there are serious demands to revive, revisit or/and refine the practice to make it reflect the changing time. This was strongly apparent in Africa where a top-down and authoritative model of development journalism had prevailed much to the chagrin of the populace who were largely marginalized.

Furthermore, this chapter has delineated the criticism on the practice before discussing the new approaches to development journalism. It has argued that the participatory nature of communication in the new perspectives on development journalism as advanced by Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) should be considered the preferred approach that ought to be adopted by present-day development journalists. Emerging from 'Another Development Paradigm' of the Development Communication Theory, this participatory communication approach is reflected in Xiaoge's (on a global/common perspective) and Banda's (on an African perspective) models. It urges journalists to involve fully and empower the ordinary people in the process of achieving their own development through development journalism. Overall, it has been demonstrated that arguments on development journalism by Xiaoge and Banda are similar in significant ways, before consolidating them much in line with the research objective of this study. This consolidation has resulted into two approaches adapted towards the practice of development journalism in the context of participatory communication, namely, *Category 1* which focuses on the relationship between journalists and the citizens. This urges journalists to engage and empower the citizens in development processes through the use of the mass media. It views journalists and the people as belonging to the same category, 'the citizens'. Meanwhile, *Category 2* dwells on the relationship between journalists and the government. Under this category, journalists should co-operate with the government regarding development matters while

adhering to responsible journalism practice which fosters press freedom. On the other hand, the chapter shows how journalists under this category should still challenge and criticize the government or oppressive structures to bring about a positive change. These categories are extended to Chapter Two as they are the basis for a conceptual framework developed in that chapter.

On the whole, development journalism in the context of participatory communication based on Xiaoge's and Banda's models has similarities with other journalism practices such as civic/public journalism, citizen journalism, advocacy journalism and an African *Ubuntu* philosophy on journalism as they all focus on the grassroots/ordinary people, whom they treat as active participants and not passive consumers of media information. They also aim for positive social change, treat media as a forum for discussing community issues, emphasize participatory techniques as opposed to objectivity and neutrality values. Instead, they favour other journalistic values such as accuracy and fairness.

**CHAPTER TWO**

**RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM AND GENDER**

Similar to development journalism, gender and feminism are concepts with different meanings in different societies and in different time-frames. In the context of journalism, there have been gender and feminist theories and approaches in ensuring that ordinary people's voices (women especially) are heard in the media. These theories and approaches have ideological resemblances with those of development journalism. This chapter therefore, focuses on the intersection between development journalism arguments in the context of the Participatory Communication Approach of Development Communication Theory as propounded by Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) developed in the previous chapter as well as gender and feminist arguments on journalism as stipulated by van Zoonen's (1994) Gender Discourse Theory of Communication, Steiner's (2009 & 2012) Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories, and Feminist Approaches to Journalism by Robinson (2005) and Steiner (2008).

Before establishing this intersection between development journalism, gender and feminism, the chapter discusses the media relationship with gender and feminism. It also examines the relationship between feminism, gender and development, as development is the essence of development journalism. The chapter further explains the global situation of media and gender, and shows the scarcity of literature on the GF-DJ practice.

Finally, the chapter presents a conceptual framework on GF-DJ practice, which is partly inspired by the work of Geertsema (2009a). Geertsema (2009a) combines theories of cultural globalization, feminist, gender and development theories and women's rights to examine the ways in which the Inter-Press Service (IPS)–a global news agency–contributes to cultural globalization through its coverage of women. This particular study presents an important framework for a GF-DJ practice that ensures the attainment of development for ordinary men and women.

## 2.1 The Concepts "Gender" and "Feminism" and their Place in the Media
This section discusses the gender and feminism media relation.

### 2.1.1 Gender-Media Relation
Amongst others, Myers (2009) argues that gender is not a permanent phenomenon, as it is context/time-specific and changeable, meaning it varies from time to time and differs from

one society to another, from one culture to another. As a social construction of how men and women relate differently in various societies, gender has been associated and discussed along the lines of culture–as the description of the beliefs and practices of a society. Van Zoonen (1994), for example, argues that as a discourse, gender functions as an organizing principle for society because of the cultural meanings given to what it means to be a male or a female. She defines a gender discourse as: "A set of overlapping and often contradictory cultural descriptions and prescriptions referring to sexual difference which arises from and regulates particular economic, social, political, technological and other non-discursive contexts" (p. 33). Similar to Myers (2009), van Zoonen (1994) further argues that gender should not be thought of as a fixed but rather continuing process where individuals make sense of themselves. As such, human identity is not stable but dynamic. From this definition, it can be inferred that gender is part of an ongoing process subjected to a continuous discursive struggle and negotiation within already existing power formations (which are mostly patriarchal in nature) along social, economic, political and technological aspects in a particular society/culture (van Zoonen, 1994). It is an on-going negotiation between and within individual men and women. As Johannessen (2006) posits, gender is not only different from one culture to another or among different groups of people but it also varies between individual men and women of either different or similar social, economic, political and technological backgrounds. In this understanding, "gender" originates within society (culture) unlike "sex" which is a biological phenomenon.

Along this cultural line of argumentation, various scholars have demonstrated how gender and the media are socio-culturally linked. For instance, van Zoonen (1994) contends that media are platforms in which negotiations of meanings and values (of being a man or a woman) take place, that inform the whole ways of life (culture). In her popular book, *Feminist Media Studies*, van Zoonen (1994) provides an influential argument on media and gender relationship grounded in her Gender Discourse Theory of Communication:

> Gender should be thought of as a product of various social technologies, such as cinema, and of institutionalized discourse, epistemologies and practices of daily life. Media are social technologies of gender; accommodating, modifying, reconstructing and producing disciplining and contradictory cultural outlooks of sexual differences. The relation between gender and communication is therefore primarily a cultural one, a negotiation over meanings and values that informs the whole ways of life (p. 41).

Her theory addresses the important question of how discourses of gender are encoded in media texts. As contended by van Zoonen (1994), that depends on the particular mixture of discourses of gender, ethnicity, and professionalism, which are based on the communicator and organizational routines, requirements and policies of a particular media. The point here is that the gender emphasis in a story does not only depend on the gender of a journalist (individual attitudes) but also on a range of other factors (routines, requirements, policies), which are based on organizational structures that to a large extent influence the individual journalist.

Other contextual factors affecting the media construction of gender are the economic structure of the media, the characteristic of the media (print, broadcasting, online), the particular genre (news, feature, entertainment) and the audience these media target (van Zoonen, 1994). For instance, media outlets' ability to produce programmes depends on their economic situation (especially significant for commercial media); the policies and regulations of that particular media type; and technologies applied – print, broadcasting and online media. With regard to audiences, women have been associated with liking soft/domestic issues while men are associated with genres concerned with politics, economics, sciences or sports (see for example, Crawford & Unger, 2000; Byerly & Ross, 2006). All these factors affect the on-going construction of a gender discourse by the media.

Importantly, van Zoonen (1994) highlights the central role of the audience in this process, as active and not inactive receivers of media messages. She argues:

> Audiences are no longer seen as positioned or interpolated by media texts, subjected to the vicious intentions of patriarchal power and ideology, but are considered to be active producers of meaning, interpreting and accommodating media texts to their own daily lives and culture (pp. 149-150).

Van Zoonen's argument concurs with Banda's (2007) and Xiaoge's (2009b) argument on the practice of development journalism whereby audiences are viewed as active and not passive receivers of media information.

In essence, within the context of gender, there is a 'two–way' process of media content interpretation between producers and audiences which positions gender as a concept in a continuous process of change. This 'two–way' process views gender as constructed in discursive practices (the media in this case), within already existing power formations of

social, cultural, political, economic and technological aspects. Reflecting Hall's (1977) encoding-decoding theory, Myers (2009) adds that media producers and media audiences are never context free; meaning, the output (content) of media producers reflects the social, cultural, political, economic and technological factors/norms affecting the media producers (which also indicates how difficult it is for journalists to be neutral and objective). Similarly, the media audience receives and interprets the message depending on prevailing social, cultural, political, economic and technological norms. In fact, in this process of message interpretation between media producers and media audiences, van Zoonen (1994) argues: "Audiences do not need to produce meaning similar to that produced by the media institutions" (p. 8). In other words, both producers and audiences construct meaning which is not necessarily similar. Nevertheless, as already argued elsewhere in this chapter, these social, cultural, political, economic and technological norms (determinants of message interpretation), which are also subjected to change; arise from and are affected by gender (van Zoonen, 1994).

Following this discussion on the definition of gender and its relationship with the media in this section, it is important at this juncture to define feminism and locate its place in the media, as well as in this study.

### 2.1.2 Feminism-Media Relation

Feminism has many ideological branches: liberal feminism, radical feminism, cultural feminism, Marxist/socialist feminism, eco-feminism, cyber-feminism, anarcha-feminism, existentialist feminism, separatist feminism, and transnational feminism (Geertsema, 2005; see also Steiner, 2009). Thus, feminism as a concept has many definitions depending on the objectives of the respective feminist movement. However, Valdivia (1995) provides a helpful 'general' definition of feminism which takes into account these differences in objectives, contexts and differences among women:

> A theoretical study of women's oppression and strategic and political ways that all of us building on that theoretical and historical knowledge, can work to end that oppression. It should be a given or an understood component that we simultaneously mean the oppression of all women while acknowledging that there are differences among women (p. 8).

Steiner (2009) concurs with Valdivia (1995) in the sense that not all women suffer similar oppressions and hence need different feminist interventions. Nevertheless, of all the types of feminisms, Steiner (2009) views some types as more relevant for discussing various changes in the media industry. These types of feminism are liberal feminism, cultural

feminism and radical feminism. Liberal feminism believes an increase of women in the media industry will increase the coverage of women issues from women's perspectives. Similarly, cultural feminism assumes that once female journalists reach the critical mass, the coverage of women in the media will base more on women's values such as co-operation and collaboration. In other words, a different form of journalism might arise. However, in her article "Failed theories: Explaining gender differences in journalism", Steiner (2012) argues that the Critical Mass Theory, which includes both the liberal and cultural feminist ideologies, has failed because it gave rise to a fear of a *'Pink Ghetto'*; that women's increasing presence in journalism would not only entail these feminine values but also might lead to lower salaries, worse working conditions (as women were found to be willing to work under such conditions). This tendency, as Steiner (2012) argues, will eventually drive men away, will change journalism negatively to a low-status field dominated by women (the Pink Ghetto).

Additionally, the Glass Ceiling Theory refers to a situation where women get stuck in the top middle-management level while not reaching the top most positions. According to Steiner (2012), it was found that even when women reach top positions, it proved to be difficult to change media content and the patriarchy system as a whole (see also Poindexter, 2008). In fact, as also asserted by van Zoonen (1994), since gender is dynamic (even among individual females) then it is not likely that female journalists have enough in common to influence media content or media systems towards a feminist or equality perspective, i.e. a different type of media output. Without considering other relevant factors such as organizational policies and routines as discussed in sub-section 2.1.1, van Zoonen (1994) contends: "To expect that an increase in women communicators will influence media content in a desired feminist direction, is theoretically and strategically unsound" (p. 65). In fact, similar examples can also be observed even outside the field of journalism. For example, Rwanda and South Africa have the world's highest number of women in their national legislatures; however, the situation in these countries has not yet translated into fundamentally different, gender sensitive government policies (Tanzania Gender Networking Programme [TGNP], 2007).

The third type, radical feminism advocates for changes/reorganization of institutional structures and processes in the media in favour of women. However, this change is yet to happen in the media industry.

Due to failure and uncertainty of these feminist theories, Steiner (2012) suggests new theories – Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories. She argues that, in the contemporary times, both men and women move in and out of gender roles and hence roles for men and women aren't necessarily fixed and opposite/different (see sub-section 2.5.1 for details on the Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories).

Overall, this dissertation adopts Valdivia's (1995) definition of feminism to somehow align with the 'gender' notion, the focus of this study. Additionally, Steiner (2012) explains that most women in journalism remain marginalized; therefore, in journalism studies, gender research (despite the fact that they are geared towards both men and women) tends to focus on women (the disadvantaged/the marginalized). Similarly, Koda and Ngaiza (2004) argue that gender as a concept and a category of analysis, is derived from the feminist discourse, which shows women as 'the marginalized' in male-dominated systems. Contemporary feminist ideologies however, focus on the minorities/ordinary people (women and men) and not only women as it used to be (see sub-section 2.5.1). This focus is similar to the gender notion.

The following section looks at the integration of feminism and gender into aspects of development.

## 2.2 Gender and Development: WID, GAD and Women's Rights

Starting from the 1970s, women movements towards development as championed by the United Nations 'Decade for Women' conferences, opened women's eyes around the world in various developmental issues of their concern such as education and employment, equality in political and social participation, increased health and social services (Razavi & Miller, 1995). These international women's conferences include the First World Conference on Women in Mexico (1975), and international women's conferences held in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). These conferences actually gave rise to three developmental approaches in the context of women and gender. These developmental approaches are Women in Development (WID) in the 1970s; Gender and Development (GAD) in the 1980s; and Women's rights in the 1990s (Razavi & Miller, 1995; Visvanathan, 1997). These approaches are briefly revisited below.

According to Visvanathan (1997), WID evolved from the Modernization Theory and liberal feminist movements in the 1970s that demanded for equal rights, employment,

equity and citizenship for women in the United States. Razavi and Miller (1995) argue that Ester Boserup's book *Women's Role in Economic Development* strengthened WID demands in the 1970s as it brought about the realization that development affected men and women differently. Before then it was believed that development affected men and women in the same way and hence no gendered perspective existed for development issues. Boserup's main argument was that patriarchal development policies excluded women from the processes and benefits of development. While accepting that women's oppression was caused by their poor economic position in society, the WID's primary goal was to improve women's economic development by involving and empowering women in economic development initiatives (Visvanatnan, 1997; see also Razavi & Miller, 1995). Specifically, WID focused on the improvement of the economy by involving women through: (i) generating discussion and research about the role of women in development; (ii) institutionalizing the integration of women in development processes within various development agencies and governments (Razavi & Miller, 1995). However, WID faced one major criticism, for generalizing that all women in the world suffered similar oppressions related to the patriarchy system. In this generalization, it also identified women's lack of access to resources as the key to their subordination without questioning how cultural values/gender relations marginalize and deny women access to resources in the first place (Razavi & Miller, 1995). Additionally, WID tended to view women as passive recipients of development rather than active agents in transforming their own economic, social, political and cultural situations. For instance, in Tanzania, Meena (1992) elaborates that the WID approach did not enable women to build self-esteem, increase their access to resources or enhance their capacities to get involved in the development process. Instead, the WID experts took the lead of these women's situations by speaking on their behalf and not letting them speak for themselves. In fact, WID was criticized for being dominated by Western ideas of female oppression. Such criticisms in countries where WID was employed were among the factors that led to a conceptual shift of focus in the 1980s from WID to GAD.

GAD, which was influenced by socialist feminist thinking, questioned the assigning of specific gender roles to different sexes (Visvanathan, 1997). So, while WID [also referred as 'Global Feminism' (see Geertsema, 2005)] focused on women only and lumped all women together as the oppressed regardless of their background and socio-economic context, GAD, [also referred as 'Third World Feminism' (see Geertsema, 2005)],

acknowledges the differences in the levels of oppression of women around the world, depending on ethnicity, social class, and race. GAD theorists shifted from understanding women's problems as based on their sex (biological differences from men) to understanding them as based on gender–the constructed social relations and roles between women and men, as well as the subordination and marginalization of the female gender in this relationship (Visvanathan, 1997). According to GAD proponents, women are not passive recipients of development aid and overall economic processes but rather active agents of economic, political and cultural improvements. These proponents argue that women's empowerment in these economic, social, cultural and political aspects should, therefore, be a central goal of development processes (Razavi & Miller, 1995).

Beyond GAD, yet another conceptual shift occurred as reflected in the Beijing Platform of Action of 1995. This time women campaigned for women's rights as fundamental human rights (Geertsema, 2005). This particular approach was geared towards protecting the human rights of women through the full implementation of all human rights instruments, especially the global instrument–the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)[12]. Under the CEDAW, these rights include the right to a legal capacity identical to that of men such as equal rights to conclude contracts and administer property; gender equality in relation to marriage and family; non-discrimination in employment and training; and protecting the rights of rural women especially on land ownership (Haarr, 2012). All these rights are essential to attaining development.

Furthermore, besides GAD and CEDAW, Geertsema (2005) found that there was some indication of a shift from the focus on gender to the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) in an international media organization, Inter-Press Service (IPS). Nevertheless, the MGDs are also very gender focused.

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[12] CEDAW was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979. It is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Its preamble and 30 articles aim to eliminate gender discrimination and promote gender equality. The convention defines discrimination against women as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex that impedes women's human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. It sets an agenda for national action to end such discrimination, requiring all parties to the convention to take all appropriate measures including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women and guarantee their fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men" (Haarr, 2012, pp. 125-126).

Despite these efforts, various studies still maintain that men are much advantaged compared to women, especially in developing countries. A report by the Bureau of International Information Programs of the United States – BIIP (2012) demonstrates that globally, women constitute 70 percent of the world's poor (Jalbert, 2012). Generally, in the developing nations' economies, data indicate that women are either absent or poorly represented in economic decisions and policy-making (Jalbert, 2012). The following section examines the intersections between gender, media and development.

**2.3 Gender Situation in the Media: A Global Perspective**

As discussed in sub-section 2.1.1, gender is one determining factor of the context in which the media operates. In the context of media and development, which is the focus of this study, Myers (2009) posits that gender issues arise when prevailing social, cultural, political and economic circumstances disadvantage one gender that is women in relation to men. It is therefore argued that with regard to development, the media have an important role to play as they are expected to address unequal gender relations by promoting shared power, shared control of resources, consensus in decision-making and support for women's empowerment (Media Council of Tanzania [MCT], 2012a). In fact, consensus orientation is an important factor of contemporary practice of development journalism in ensuring that development plans arise from and are aimed at ordinary people (see Chapters One and Five). Generally, the mass media (both globally and locally) have been involved in various approaches to improve the status of women in the media, leading to their development.

Historically, at the global level, issues of women marginalization in the media were first discussed at the International Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975 where an analysis of the media from a gendered perspective, connected to various development issues was first given (Byerly, 2012). In fact, the media were regarded as obstacles to women's advancement in development as their contribution towards gender equality and justice was poor (Gallagher, 1995). Over the years, it has been demonstrated that the media has been ignoring gender issues while reporting vital developmental issues, especially in areas such as economics, politics, academia, science and technology (areas which are considered masculine) in differing degrees from one continent to another and from one country to another (van Zoonen, 1994 & 1998; Gallagher, 1995; Crawford & Unger, 2000; Srebenry, 2001; Carter & Steiner, 2004; Byerly & Ross, 2006; Poindexter, 2008; Myers, 2009; Josephi, 2009; Gadzekpo, 2009; Geertsema, 2009b).

Because of this exclusion of women by media in various issues of development, globally and locally women have challenged this situation in several ways. For instance, just like the women centred development approach WID, a radical feminist ideology agitated for the withdrawal from the mainstream media to establish separate media for women only. At the global level, for example, Feminist International Radio Endeavour (FIRE) has created an Internet-based global news outlet for women (Steiner, 2009). At the local level, examples are *Mama FM* in Uganda, *Meridian FM* in Ghana, *Manore FM* in Senegal and *Mangelete FM* in Kenya (Myers, 2009). In fact, the idea of specific women's media dates back to the nineteenth century in Europe and North America, with popular publications such as *Revolution* and *Stone's Women Journal* (Byerly, 2012).

However, these feminist media, just like community media, have been likely to reach a specific and small target audience (in this case mostly women of certain communities and certain interests). As such, Gallagher (2001) instead suggests the employment of a liberal feminist ideology, an approach which seeks to organize and advocate for change within the mainstream media. As a result of this approach, women's organizations around the world have been involved in media activism activities (including media monitoring so as to encourage change in the mainstream media). Examples are the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) which globally monitors the presence of women in the news media; the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) which conducts research on women's status in news organizations; the South African Gender Links, which has established journals such as the *Gender and Media Diversity Journal*, and also offers gender training for journalists in addition to being involved in gender advocacy (Geertsema, 2009a; Byerly, 2012). There is also the Women's International News Gathering Services (WINGS) which produces and distributes feminist news to various radio stations (Steiner, 2009). In India, a news agency, Women's Feature Service (WFS), is aimed at increasing news flow from a women's perspective in mainstream magazines, newspapers and other media (Byerly, 1995). Other activities include: the establishment of women media organizations (local and international) to facilitate gender sensitive reporting, and gender mainstreaming in the media and other vital developmental sectors in politics, economics, cultural and various social issues; through research, education, organizing and supporting protests, advocate for change in favour of women and minorities, establishment of laws and policies [see for example Tanzania Women Media Association (TAMWA)'s strategies– Chapter Four]. This integrated approach of using the mainstream media (liberal feminist

ideology) is argued to be more sustainable than the women's only media (radical feminist) approach. In some ways, it is like the development approach GAD which is broad-based in dealing with women's problems in development compared to WID. Overall, Minic (2014) argues that women's activities towards women liberation can be grouped into the following six major categories: research, education, legal and policy action, feminist media production, public relations and street protests.

The following section further interrogates the situation of gender in various countries around the world by examining the overall presence of women in the media since the employment of these approaches.

### 2.3.1 Presence of Women in the Media

Despite various efforts made thus far, women have continued to be marginalized in the media even when they hold seniour positions in politics, academics and other areas. For instance, Luenenborg, Roeser, Maier and Mueller (2011) found that apart from Chancellor Angel Merkel, the German media still neglects and marginalizes other female political leaders. The 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) studies have consistently revealed that women are grossly underrepresented in news coverage (see World Association for Christian Communication [WACC], 1995, 2000, 2005 & 2010). For instance, the 2010 GMMP report shows that only 24 percent of the people in the news were female. The trend is similar in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region made up of Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In the SADC region, there is no single topic in which women dominate as even in gender issues men are accessed by 54 percent compared to the women's 46 percent (Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). This SADC media monitoring which was conducted in 30 media organizations across the region, shows that women and the young (under the age of 20) made up just 0.04 percent of those accessed by the media as sources of information or portrayed by the media (Morna & Nyakujarah, 2011). These voices could make meaningful contributions to development discourse but remain grossly underrepresented. According to IWMF (2011), in Africa, women's gross under-representation in the news media is especially dominant in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (15%), Malawi (27%) and Zimbabwe (27%).

The continuous marginalization of women's voices in the media is said to be caused by a number of factors. In Africa, for example, the absence of women as information actors is partly attributed to a culture of silence (women belong to the private realm), low education and low media literacy levels (Geertsema, 2005; Solomon, 2006). Globally, this marginalization is claimed to be a result of the absence of women as media professionals and specifically the small percentage of women in seniour editorial positions (see for example Gallagher, 1994; Peters, 2001). This target remains at a distance as IWMF (2011) reveals that women around the world only represent 33 percent (59,472 of 170,000 full-time journalists) in the 522 companies surveyed in 60 countries worldwide. The report also shows that men occupy the vast majority of the management jobs and news-gathering positions by 73 percent with women only occupy a paltry 27 percent.

At the regional/local level (SADC region), Nyakujarah and Morna (2012) indicate that women make up 41 percent of media personnel. However, they are underrepresented in decision-making positions, constituting 28 percent of those in seniour management and 23 percent in top management. With regard to the division of labour, male journalists dominate in what are considered the 'hard' news beats such as investigative/in-depth reports (80%), sports (76%) and political stories (75%). Women journalists mostly cover gender equality and gender violence (71%) and health (59%). Men are also more likely (58%) to be employed in open-ended full-time contracts than women (42%). Men are more professionally qualified (69%) than their female counterparts (31%). Nyakujarah and Morna (2012) argue that these statistics suggest a higher level of job insecurity for women than for men in the SADC region.

Based on the Critical Mass Theory (see sub-section 2.1.2), these statistics at both the global and local levels may suggest that the absence of female journalists in the media and specifically in seniour positions (among other reasons) also reflect the absence of a gender-sensitive reporting as the number of women is too small to ensure issues of women are reported from a women's perspective. However, this casual argument in some circumstances might no longer hold water following Steiner's (2012) discussion on the failure of the Critical Mass Theory (see sub-section 2.1.2) and the recent global survey by Hanitzsch and Hanusch (2011) which reveals that there are no significant differences between male and female journalists in their journalism values. The implication is that how journalists practice journalism, whether with a gender focus or not, largely depends

on an individual journalist's perception and organizational factors, not necessarily on the gender of a journalist (see also van Zoonen, 1994; Myers, 2009; Steiner, 2009 & 2012).

Despite all these challenges and limitations regarding the presence of women in the media, it would be unfair to say all the efforts to ensure women's voices are heard in the media are fruitless because the situation is variably improving, some countries doing very well while others showing a gradual progress. The next section, therefore, discusses on these improvements.

### 2.3.2 Improvements on the Situation of Women in the Media

Globally, the number of female journalists has been increasing. In some nations such as Lithuania the number of women journalists surpasses that of men, near parity in countries such as Sweden and Denmark or parity with that of men in Norway, Finland and South Africa (IWMF, 2011). In other countries, men still outnumber women, but there are some gradual improvements. For instance, IWMF (2011) reveals that although Japanese women's representation in the media is still very low, it improved to 15 percent in 2011 from only eight percent in 1995. In India, women now occupy 25 percent from 12 percent in 1995.

Another improvement can be seen in the rise of the number of female students in media training institutions. In the USA, for instance, for the first time in 1977 women in journalism training outnumbered men, in 1978 they were about 53 percent, 59 percent in 1984 and 61 percent in 1992 (Chambers, Steiner & Fleming, 2004). A similar trend was also noted in Britain with 52 percent female journalism students in the 1990s. In the SADC region, Nyakujarah and Morna (2012) found that there are more female students (61%) than male students (39%) in media training. In contrast, there are more male media trainers (64%) than female trainers (36%). Nevertheless, an increase of women in journalism schools and any other schools has proved to increase the number of women as actors of information in the media. This is because with education, women gain confidence to air their views. Similarly, their chances of getting posts (decision-makers) in various organizations, including media, grow and enhance their chances of being approached as authoritative actors of information.

However, there can also be setbacks as this large number of women in media education does not necessarily translate into large number of women in newsrooms. There are huge gender gaps in areas of specialization. For instance, Carter, Branston and Allan (1998)

reveal that many female journalism students upon graduation tend to find employment in Public Relations (PR) and information management, magazines and infotainment television, which are generally regarded as "low-status fields of journalism" (p. 39). Similarly, Morna (2001) observes: "In PR glamour and charm rather than intellectual and analytical skills are more highly valued" (p. 58). This implies that an increase of women in the media industry is mainly caused by the expansion of media sectors in which women are the majority, such as PR and entertainment sections mentioned above. Along similar lines van Zoonen (1998) argues that changes in the nature of media content (due to genre innovations along with social, economic, political, cultural and technological changes) affect the presence of women in the media and thus women may not necessarily bring significant changes in the nature of media content.

### 2.3.3 Factors behind Improvements

These improvements of the representation and participation of women in the media have been caused by a variety of factors. Important triggers are improving education levels; gender awareness and gender literacy in the media among men and women; media literacy; transformations of media technologies which augment journalists' performance; varieties of genres and journalism styles; improvements in social, cultural, political, economic situations within individual countries which have allowed for the growth of the media sectors; the growth of press freedom and the presence of women both as producers, actors and audiences of media content (IWMF, 2011; Nyakujarah & Morna, 2012).

Furthermore, enforcement of national and international legislations that are opposed to gender discrimination, and promotion of gender-related policies in individual media organizations have also resulted into some incredible improvements in women's representation in the media industry. Typical initiatives are policies on gender equity and sexual harassment; policies related to maternity, paternity and child care; job security for women after maternity; policies on education and training for women. Countries with these policies (or at least some of these policies) in place that allow women to be able to perform their job along domestic responsibilities, and foster education and training, showed high representation of women in most of the newsrooms surveyed (IWMF, 2011). For instance, IWMF (2011) found that in Nordic and Western European regions, there are national laws against gender discrimination and these nations are also bound by the European Union legislation on gender equality. In addition, more than half (57%) of the 32 companies surveyed in Nordic Europe (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) and more than two-

thirds (69%) of 47 companies surveyed in Western Europe (France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom) have established a gender equality policy.

Most of the Nordic countries also have extensive laws against discrimination that especially promote gender equality at the workplace and enable workers of both genders to combine employment and parenthood. In addition, according IWMF (2011), the Nordic region has been strongly shaped by active labour movements and legislative histories that provide a very well-developed system of laws and other mechanisms for women's equality in the workplace. For example, the 'Action Equality between Men and Women' passed in 1987 in Finland prohibits discrimination between men and women, and improves women's status, particularly in employment. These efforts concur with what actually Steiner (2009) suggests on forms of journalism that allow for job and domestic responsibilities (see section 2.5). In fact, in the Nordic Europe gender parity had already been reached more than a decade ago with about 40 percent of women having media jobs (Gallagher, 1995). Meanwhile, the 47 news companies surveyed in Western Europe, with approximately 32,400 people (14,020 women and 18,340 men), women are fairly close to parity with the men as they constitute 43 percent of the workforce in these companies. These countries also have gender-related policies which vary from one country to another and from one media company to another (IWMF, 2011).

Other examples can be drawn from Morocco in Northern Africa, which has media companies that are fairly progressive in policies related to gender. Women journalists in Morocco are near parity with men by 42.4 percent and 40.6 percent in juniour and seniour professional levels respectively, however, they are still under represented in top management at 16 percent. South Africa, has a progressive and active gender policy whereby women journalists slightly exceed men. In fact, the number of women in seniour management in South Africa is 75 percent. Similarly, in Eastern Europe countries such as Ukraine, Estonia, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Russia, women dominate in the media (IWMF, 2011).

These quantitative measures of women in the media are impressive. However, some qualitative questions of concern remain unanswered. For instance: has the Critical Mass Theory also failed in countries of the Nordic Europe, such as Finland, for example? What is the exact contribution of women in the media towards these improvements? Although these questions are not the focus of this study, their relevance should not be ignored as

current research indicates that globally women are still a minority in the media field (Volz & Lee, 2013).

After providing this global overview of media, gender and development, the following section specifically looks at issues concerning development journalism and gender.

## 2.4 Relating Development Journalism and Gender

Development journalism in particular was one of the remedies suggested during the NWICO debates to correct the imbalances in the news flow between the developed and the developing world, and give voice to the voiceless. Yet, gender-focused reporting was not considered as an integral part of development journalism in its varying practices, just like the other types of journalism continued to exclude women's voices (Fair, 1988; Shah, 1990; Srebenry, 1996; Pandian, 1999). This anomaly is surprising given that various studies suggest that development journalism and gender are related. For example, it has been established that female journalists are more likely than their male colleagues to employ professional strategies suggested for successful development journalism: relying on minority sources; placing emphasis on social or economic concerns; covering people-oriented news stories; value audience preference above policy-maker's interests; avoid sensationalism in favour of depth and sensitivity; and performing advocacy roles (Mills, 1990; van Zoonen, 1994 & 1998; Armstrong, 1997; Chambers et al., 2004; Sutcliffe & Lee, 2005; Solomon, 2006;  Ross, 2007; Berowitz, 2009). These characteristics are also salient features of development journalism (see Chapter One). The presence of female journalists in the practice of development journalism notwithstanding, women were/are still marginalized. As argued by van Zoonen (1994) gender alone is not sufficient a factor to explain the professional performance and values of both male and female journalists because there are a range of other factors such as economy, political, cultural and organizational variables which highly affect individual journalists (see also Bruin, 2004). In the same vein, Steiner (2009) warns against associating female journalists automatically with all these 'good' qualities, rather she advocates for:

> A feminist theorizing that suggests the value of more contextual and situated journalistic forms that get at reasons, consequences, impacts; and of collaborative, non-competitive horizontal work structures that allow for integrating domestic responsibilities (p. 127).

In line with Steiner's (2009) argument is the fact that recent studies such as Hanitzsch and Hanusch (2011) in their global comparative journalism survey found no significant

differences between male and female journalists in their journalism values. In fact, they made a similar observation even in newsrooms where women outnumbered men. Hanitzsch and Hanusch (2011) seem to suggest that even more male journalists seem to embrace new values, some of them traditionally considered feminine. This development may lead to future changes in newsroom cultures; as a result of an increase of women in the profession and also men increasingly embracing new values (maybe because of the increasing presence of women). Geertsema (2005) even sees some positive aspects attached to this lack of difference between male and female journalists' values: "This lack of difference might also indicate that both male and female reporters could potentially cover topics in a gender sensitive way" (p. 142).

Overall, there is scarcity of literature concerning development journalism and gender. I now turn to a discussion on similarities between development journalism, gender and feminism.

### 2.4.1 Similarities between Development Journalism, Feminism and Gender

There have been various attempts to define "feminist journalism" by feminist researchers in Europe and North America. One such interesting definition, which is in line with the primary objective of development journalism, is provided by Robinson (2005): "Feminist journalism is anchored in a preoccupation with giving women and minorities a voice in the public realm and the desire to contribute to social change" (p. 212). She argues that this type of journalism focuses on women and people whose voices are not heard and does not place emphasis on people with power. It is a type of journalism that is ordinary-people oriented (minorities). These traits are similar to those of development journalism (see Chapter One). This definition of feminist journalism hints at one strong pragmatic relationship between feminism and development journalism. Similarly, Drueke and Zobl (2012) view feminist media as a women's media project involved in processes of social change. Positive social change is also of primary importance in development journalism.

In addition, *Ubuntu* journalism which possesses similar characteristics as development journalism (see Chapter One) has a philosophy with similar characteristics as those of feminism. For instance, *Ubuntuism* characteristics based on: "community care, group understanding and group experience; strongly resembles feminist characteristics of care, affection, intimacy, empathy and collaboration" (Fourie, 2008, p. 67). This brings about an important relationship between development journalism and feminism.

Specifically, development journalism in the context of participatory communication adapted as *Category 1* and *Category 2* (see Chapter One) and contemporary feminist ideas on journalism share some similarities as they both aim at promoting the wellbeing of ordinary people. For instance, Steiner (2008) argues that in the journalism context, feminist interventions must not only focus on women as it used to be but "feminists must [also] consider specifically undeserved people, whose voices, problems and news are ignored" (p. 286). Steiner's argument is in line with the goals of development journalism, which strives to expose problems and find solutions to the problems of ordinary people, as reflected in *Category 1*.

Furthermore, van Zoonen's (1994) argument of viewing audiences as active receivers of media messages who interpret the messages basing on their own social, cultural, economic and political context (see sub-section 2.1.1 – Gender Discourse Theory of Communication) is in tune with Banda's (2007) and Xiaoge's (2009b) arguments of viewing audiences as active receivers of messages and not passive audiences, as demonstrated in *Category 1*. In fact, in the context of development, these views also concur with GAD proponents that women are not passive receivers of development aid but active members of development processes (see section 2.2). Furthermore, in feminist attempts to create principals for journalism, Steiner (2008) calls for erasing media boundaries between subjects (actors/audiences) and producers (journalists). This is also congruous with the *Category 1* model of development journalism which regards both journalists and audiences as one – the citizens.

Steiner (2009) further urges journalists to revise ways of understanding and representing the people by creating newsroom structures, content, policies and decision-making that emerge from feminist theorizing and critique. Based on this argument, she proposes new political sensibility and feminist epistemology that will form "new kinds of newsrooms and new forms of journalism to be able to serve the political and social needs of ordinary disadvantaged people" (p. 127). These new 'media-feminist' theories which Steiner (2012) calls 'Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality', posit that gender does not only depend on sexuality but also emerges at the "intersection of complex historical, material and cultural/social conditions (p. 201). Further, these theories acknowledge how people move in and out of gender roles hence making it unlikely for women and men to have permanent, fixed or dichotomous representations in the media (see also van Zoonen, 1994). Similarly, Hanitizsch and Hanusch's (2011) findings established that there are no

significant gender differences between men and women in their journalism values. The theories also attest to the fact that journalism in itself has changed and, hence, new ways of understanding gender issues in the media are commendable. Steiner (2012) argues for 'Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories' that will enable:

> An understanding of gender that get at how it is differently constructed across space and overtime, and how gender intersects with other important dimensions of social identity in ways that correct the overly static assumptions about gender. Instead of asking about a critical mass we can ask about "critical actors" and critical action, which would allow for a more fair, diverse and democratic communication, in other words, for a critical journalism (pp. 219-220).

Steiner's call for critical actors and action (critical journalism) concurs with both Xiaoge's (2009b) and Banda's (2007) models on development journalism as they both argue for a critical journalism. Specifically, *Category 1* reflects Banda's ideas of criticism that relies more on the citizens (information actors) and *Category 2* reflects Xiaoge's concept of criticism that relies more on the journalists. Overall, Steiner's (2009) call for new kinds of newsrooms/journalism to serve the disadvantaged people is similar to development journalism whose primary goal is to serve ordinary people. This goal is reflected in both Xiaoge's (2009b) and Banda's (2007) models on development journalism that hope to capture effectively new ways of representing ordinary people amidst various social, political, economic, cultural and technological changes that have highly affected the practice of development journalism and journalism as a whole.

*Table 2* below summarizes some of the similarities between development journalism in the context of participatory communication as well as feminist and gender theories and approaches to journalism as discussed above.

Table II: Similarities between Development Journalism, Feminism and Gender

|  | **Development Journalism** | **Feminist and Gender Theories and Approaches to Journalism** |
|---|---|---|
| * | Gives voice to the voiceless (ordinary people) and empowers them to improve their own lives and their communities – defining development journalism. | Gives women and minorities a voice in the public realm and contribute to social change – defining feminist journalism. Considers undeserved people/minorities whose problems and news are ignored. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| * | Engages through dialogue, empowers and involves ordinary people in the process of development because they are active citizens and not mere consumers of media products.<br><br>Encourages ordinary people to actively expose their problems and find solutions to their problems.<br><br>Entails participatory communication *(Category 1)*. | Audiences are active and not passive receivers of media messages (participatory communication). |
| * | Both development journalists and audiences are treated as citizens. Since journalists are first regarded as citizens who are sometimes affected by the same problems that affect ordinary people (*Category 1*). | Erase media boundaries between sources/audiences and producers/journalists. |
| * | A critical type of development journalism that serves ordinary people as reflected in both Banda's (2007) and Xiaoge's (2009b) models – *Categories 1* and *2* respectively. | A critical type of journalism that effectively serves the disadvantaged people. |

**Source:** Author (2013)

## 2.4.2 Consolidating Development Journalism, Feminist and Gender Arguments

Based on the similarities between development journalism, feminist and gender theories on journalism as established above, these two areas are consolidated. This consolidation forms the basis for this study's conceptual framework for gender-focused development journalism (GF-DJ) practice. However, the terms "ordinary people", "disadvantaged people", "marginalized people", "poor people" will be replaced by "ordinary men and women", to align with the definition of ordinary people provided in Chapter One and also to emphasize the fact that both men and women are involved so as to align with the gender and feminism notions. Hence, the GF-DJ practice is classified into two interterted approaches:

*Type 1: Journalists and ordinary men and women – Engaging and empowering ordinary men and women in the process of development.* In line with this approach, a journalist should view ordinary men and women as active recipients of development whose voices must be heard. A journalist should, therefore, empower and engage ordinary men and women in a dialogue by letting them identify their problems as well as possible solutions,

challenge and criticize oppressive structures. A journalist should also blur the boundary between him and ordinary men and women by elevating the fact that he/she and ordinary men and women are both 'citizens' facing similar problems (i.e. journalists as advocates).

*Type 2: Journalists and the government – Fostering constructive co-operation between the media and the government.* In this regard, a journalist should facilitate co-operation with the government on development issues (i.e. responsible practice of press freedom). Nevertheless, the journalist should also, at the same time, challenge and criticize the government or oppressive structures for a positive change (i.e. socially responsible journalism).

## 2.5 A Conceptual Framework for GF-DJ Practice

Based on the adapted approaches to a GF-DJ practice above, the present study researches on GF-DJ practice by relying on a conceptual framework presented below:

Figure I: A Conceptual Framework for GF-DJ Practice
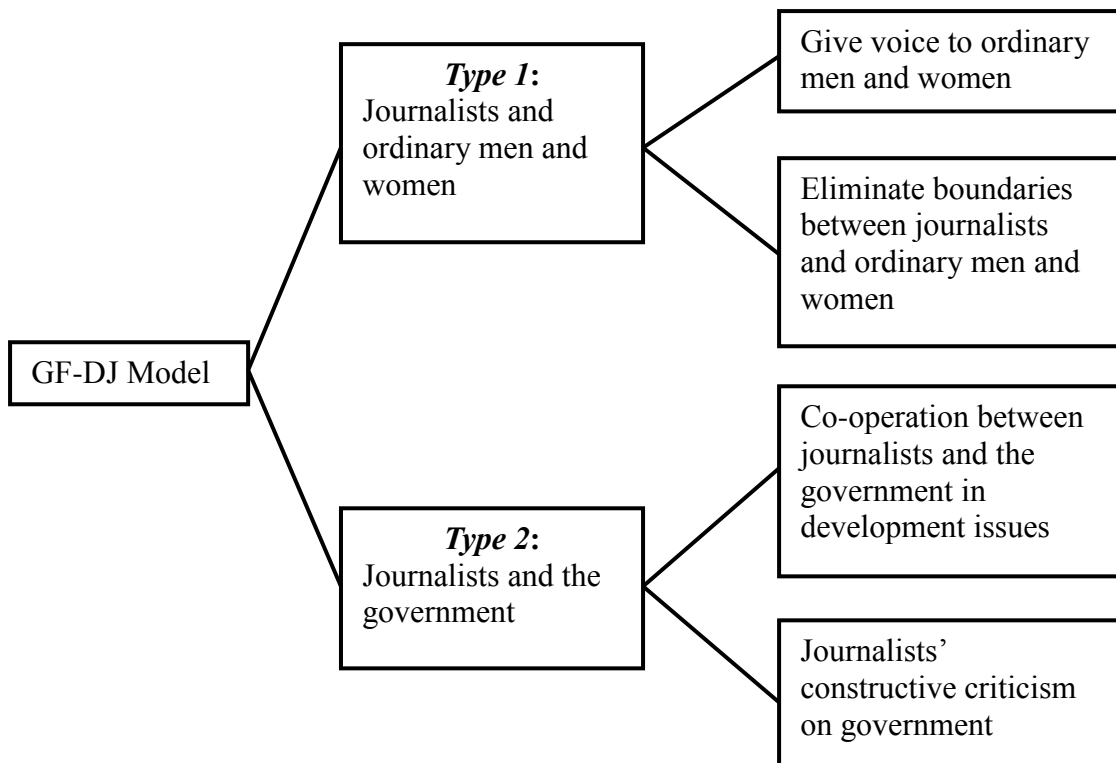


**Source:** Author (2013) as adapted from van Zoonen (1994), Robinson (2005), Banda (2007), Xiaoge (2009b) and Steiner (2008, 2009 & 2012).

As illustrated in Figure 1, the researcher will assess the presence of the principles of GF-DJ practice as stipulated in *Types 1* and *2* in presenting and interpreting the findings of this study.

While employing this conceptual framework, I took cognizance of the limitations of both the Participatory Communication Approach of Development Communication Theory and feminist theorizing upon which this conceptual framework is based. Considering the Participatory Communication Approach, this study takes into account Sparks' (2007) and Servaes' (2009) observation that participation as a concept can be complex and challenging as communities consist of different interests and shifting relationships. Moreover, more holistically, participation is also about changing power relations; empowering one group may disempower another group. And, concerning the media, there is often a gap between what is reported and the realities on the ground. The study also avoids criticisms of feminist theories, such as the Gender Discourse Theory of Communication pertaining to whether the media can improve the situation of women in an environment that is still structured by inequality (McQuail, 1994). Indeed, Poindexter (2008) argues that long-established gender power structures continue to work against women. But inactivity also implies doing nothing and succumbing to the status quo.

## 2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, feminism and gender have been defined and discussed within the context of the study. The chapter has looked at gender's dynamics and relationships with media and development. It surveyed the concepts of WID, GAD and Women's Rights (CEDAW) and how the conceptions and ideologies on development and gender have been changing over time.

The chapter largely draws on van Zoonen's (1994) Gender Discourse Theory of Communication in discussing the relationship between gender and the media. Women as both journalists and audience have continued to be marginalized despite varying significant improvements having made in different countries. The chapter also surveyed previous studies on gender differences in journalism values–which demonstrated that female journalists have been exhibiting characteristics similar to the traits of development journalism. However, the recent global studies found that gender differences between male and female journalists in their professional values have been decreasing.

By connecting development, gender and feminism in relation to media, it was established that there are significant conceptual similarities between development journalism, feminism and gender mainly their focus on ordinary people, the emphasis on participatory communication (citizens as active and not passive receivers of information, citizens and journalists are regarded as one–the citizens), a preference for a critical type of journalism, and the promotion of positive social changes.

The chapter finally provides a conceptual framework on GF-DJ practice based on development journalism in the context of the Participatory Communication Approach of the Development Communication Theory adapted from Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) as well as gender and feminist theories and approaches to journalism based on the Gender Discourse Theory of Communication (van Zoonen, 1994), Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories (Steiner, 2009 & 2012), also Feminist Approaches to Journalism by Robinson (2005) and Steiner (2008). Accordingly, GF-DJ practice is further classified in two interrelated dimensions: *Type 1* which focuses on the relationship between journalists and ordinary men and women, whereby a journalist is supposed to engage and empower ordinary men and women in the process of development through fostering their involvement in media programmes related to development. Here journalists and ordinary men and women are regarded as one–the citizens. *Type 2* highlights the relationship between journalists and the government where journalists are required to 'constructively' co-operate with the government on issues pertaining to development, while at the same time criticizing the government to ensure there are improvements.

# CHAPTER THREE

## THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA IN TANZANIA

After providing the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this study in Chapters One and Two, this chapter and the next one turn to Tanzania, the focus area of this study. This particular chapter traces media establishment and development in Tanzania, a country founded by combining two neighbouring countries Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) obtained its independence peacefully from the British Colonial Administration in 1961 whereas Zanzibar (composed of Unguja and Pemba Islands situated on the Indian Ocean) which was largely under the Arab Colonial Administration, obtained its independence by revolution in 1963 through Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP). In 1964 the two countries united to form one country Tanzania. Politically, in 1977 TANU and ASP united to form a national party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) or the Revolutionary Party (Sturmer, 1998). Tanzania is located in the Eastern part of Africa and has a total area of 946,784 sq. km (the area of Tanzania Mainland is 945,090 sq. km. while that of Zanzibar is 1,658 sq. km) (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2012). According to the Tanzania Population and Housing Census [TPHC] of 2012, the country has a population of 45 million (Tanzania Mainland has a population of 43.6 million while Tanzania Zanzibar has 1.3 million) of which 51 percent are women and 49 percent are men. The population is characterized by a young age structure (about 44% is aged under 15) with a growth rate of 2.7 percent per year and an average life expectancy at birth being 52.4 years (47 for men and 49 for women). The total literacy rate is 67 percent and the official language spoken by almost every Tanzanian is *Kiswahili*. English is an official language (NBS, 2012). Below, is the map of Tanzania, showing its regions and neighbouring countries.

Figure II: Map of Tanzania

Scholars such as Ugboajah (1985) and Shaw (2009), among others, explain that the mode of communication in pre-colonial Africa mainly based on oral tradition and folk culture which included: mythology, oral literature (poetry, storytelling, and proverbs), masquerades, rituals expressed through oracy, music, dance, and drama. Tanzania, just like any other African country had traditional means of communicating as well, before the

introduction of conventional mass media. For instance, horn-hooting, horn-blowing, drum-beating, yelling, applauding, word of mouth were deployed to inform the community about various events happening or about to happen in the community. These events included the harvest season, the birth of a prince/princess, invasion by enemies, hunger, fire, floods, diseases, and theft (Centre for Media Studies, Research and Networking & MCT, 2009).

The history of the conventional media in Tanzania dates back to the early missionary period. Attempts to document the history of the media in Tanzania have been made by Ng'wanakilala (1981), Mytton (1983), Konde (1984), Hamdani (1992), Kilimwiko (2002); Sturmer (1998) provides a more detailed and rich account of this history. Sturmer (1998) and Kilimwiko (2002) argue that the Tanzania's media have passed through six major stages: the missionary, the colonial, the indigenous, the nationalist, the post-colonial (socialistic) and transition/globalization (liberal). This chapter briefly revisits these stages and examines their contribution to media development in Tanzania to provide the country's media landscape. The first five stages are concerned with the historical development whereas the last stage looks at the contemporary situation. The chapter specifically dwells on the broadcasting media, the focus of this study and, finally, presents the various challenges facing the media in Tanzania today.

**3.1 Pre-Independence Phase**

This section (Pre-Independence Phase) describes the first four stages of media development in Tanzania before independence: the missionary, the colonial, the indigenous and the nationalist media phase. The stage runs between 1888 and 1961 in Tanganyika, and 1888–1963 in Zanzibar.

Sturmer (1998) recalls that Christianity, mainly the Anglican, Catholic and Lutheran denominations played an important role in the establishment of the press in Tanzania. These Christian missionaries used Deutsch, English, Kiswahili and even vernacular languages to promote their missionaries' goals. Sturmer (1998) reveals that the first newspaper (missionary paper) in Tanzania was *Msimulizi* (The Storyteller), which was established in 1888 by the Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in Zanzibar. The paper was in Kiswahili. Later in 1904 in Tanganyika, the German Missionaries established the *Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission zu Leipzig* (Evangelical-Lutheran Mission of Leipzig) aiming to serve the interests and needs of the German missionaries. It was in German. Rioba (2008) posits that these missionaries' interests of

spreading the Gospel went hand in hand with colonial strategies for conquering the land. Sturmer (1998) further explains that the colonial press started in the 1890s and used Deutsch, English and Kiswahili languages to spread colonial motives to the audiences. Tanganyika was first colonized by the Germans (1890-1916) and in 1899 the first edition of the weekly *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (German-East African Newspaper) was established as the mouthpiece for the German colonial farmers. In 1904, *Kiongozi* (The Leader), a Kiswahili paper owned by the Catholic Church was introduced with the aim of reaching the African population for propagating both religious and German administrative goals to the Kiswahili speaking community. A number of other colonial and missionary newspapers emerged. However, the development of the press suffered consequences of the First World War (1914-1918) when Germany lost Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In the aftermath of the War, Britain took over the administration of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Just like the Germans, the British established their own media to serve as propaganda tools for the British Colonial Administration which lasted for 45 years (1916-1961). In 1919, they established the *Tanganyika Territory Gazette*, followed by the popular *Dar es Salaam Times* in the same year, which played an essential role for the English-speaking society. Later in 1923, *Mambo Leo*, a very popular Kiswahili monthly, was established with the aim of educating Africans. It was used by the British Administration as their mouthpiece to the indigenous population (Sturmer, 1998). Overall, the *Tanganyika Standard* was the most influential English publication which survived until after Tanganyika's independence in 1961(Sturmer, 1998). Later the newspaper was nationalized to become a public publication. The major objective of both the missionary and colonial press was that of spreading religious content (for the missionary papers) and to publish colonial administrative directives.

The colonial bias in the major content of the *Mambo Leo* and other newspapers made the African population feel alienated as the media failed to articulate their needs. As Sturmer (1998) argues, it became apparent that the efforts of establishing *Mambo Leo* by the British Colonial Administration were not as successful as envisaged. In fact, there were increasing demands for African-owned publications as some few elite indigenous people demanded a forum for expressing themselves, getting information and education and for discussing various social, economic and political issues of their concern. This led to the establishment of *Kwetu* (Home) in 1937, which became Tanganyika's first African/indigenous owned newspaper. The paper focused on popular social, economic and political issues among the

indigenous population. These included racial discrimination, economic exploitation and colonial control of the political system. Earlier in 1923, the Indians[13] had already established *Tanganyika Opinion*. It became the first daily newspaper that was aimed at supporting Indian commercial interests (Konde, 1984; Sturmer, 1998).

The motivation to start a nationalist press in the 1950s might be traced back to the establishment of *Kwetu* newspaper. There was an overriding need to establish a medium to cater for aspirations of the indigenous people. Additionally, the wave of African countries wanting to free themselves from their colonial rulers was another relevant reason that necessitated having a medium for communicating with the wider public. Sturmer (1998) explains that the nationalists media was established to demand for self-governance and respect for human rights. Specifically in Tanganyika, there was a need of a medium which could effectively convey the aims of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU)[14]. In 1957, the party leadership launched *Sauti ya TANU* (The Voice of TANU). However, the most popular mouthpiece for TANU's policies was *Mwafrika* (The African), a Kiswahili paper founded in 1957 by indigenous people. It advocated for more representation of Africans in the Legislative Council, then self-government and independence (Konde, 1984; Sturmer, 1998). Indeed, the press was at the front line in fighting for Tanganyika's independence.

It was during the British colonial administration that a number of ethnic as well as national newspapers came up. Some of these ethnic newspapers in indigenous languages included *Komkya* in Kilimanjaro province, *Lumuli* and *Mbegete* in Lake Victoria region and *Arumeru* in Arusha region (Ng'wanakilala, 1981). The content of these newspapers were based on local (the particular community) news; they were not supposed to oppose the policies of the colonial administration. According to Konde (1984), the British colonial administration kept a close eye on these indigenous (both ethnic and nationalist) papers, regularly warning them. Despite various warnings, fines and even jail sentences for publishing 'seditious' materials, the nationalist press, in particular *Mwafrika* (The African)

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[13] Indians came to Tanganyika for business purposes. With their excellent business skills, they became an influential social and economic class, and, hence, needed a medium to serve their commercial interests (Sturmer, 1998).

[14] The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was the principal party in the struggle to attain independence from the British colonial regime. The party was formed from Tanganyika African Association (TAA) by the late Julius Nyerere (the first President of Tanganyika, later on Tanzania) in 1954. In January 1977 the TANU merged with the ruling party in Zanzibar, the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) to form the current ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

and even religious newspapers such as *Kiongozi* (The Leader)[15] continued to criticize the British Colonial Administration and demanded independence until the British gave it to Tanganyikans in 1961. Additionally, to serve their colonial purposes better, the British Colonial Administration established a radio station in 1951. The *Sauti ya Dar es Salaam* (Voice of Dar es Salaam) started by broadcasting in Dar es Salaam and later on to several other parts of Tanganyika. The broadcasting was done mainly in Kiswahili and a bit of English (Sturmer, 1998).

Meanwhile in Zanzibar, as described earlier, the first newspaper *Msimulizi* was published in Zanzibar (owned by the Anglican missionaries). Also, Zanzibar's broadcasting station *Sauti ya Unguja* (Voice of Unguja) was inaugurated in 1951 (Hamdani, 1992). In fact, the first private newspaper (owned by the citizens of Indian origin) *The Samachar* (The News) appeared in Zanzibar in 1902. Its major audience was Asian Merchants and its focus was on political and economic issues in India and a little in Zanzibar (Sturmer, 1998). In the 1950s more daily newspapers appeared mainly for political reasons. It was actually during the political struggles from 1957 to 1964 that different ethnic groups established their own newspapers. These were aimed at sensitizing and creating a broad awareness among their followers on freeing themselves from the Arab colonial rule. In all, there were about 40 papers. The most popular ones were in Kiswahili language which could reach a wider public. These were such as *Afrika Kwetu* (Our Africa), *Mwiba* (Thorn) and *Ukombozi* (Liberation) (Hamdani, 1992). Overall, the media environment in Zanzibar was equally as vibrant as that of Tanganyika.

These nationalist newspapers in Tanganyika and Zanzibar contributed a lot to raising awareness on the need to be freed from the British colonial rule in Tanganyika and the Arab colonial rule in Zanzibar.

## 3.2 Post-colonial Phase

As earlier explained, after Tanganyika and Zanzibar obtained their independence in 1964 these two countries united to form one country, Tanzania. However, due to Zanzibar's different socio-cultural, political and economic development, the information sector remains with the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council (ZRC), it has never been a union matter.

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[15] By the 1950s *Kiongozi*, a religious newspapers owned by the Catholic Church, had a nearly nation-wide coverage. The paper took that political stand after the first African editor was appointed. This new editor was fascinated by Nyerere's ideas and transformed the paper into a supporter of TANU (Sturmer, 1998).

The post-colonial phase ranges from 1961 to early 1990s. Immediately after independence, there was an urgent need of the Tanganyika government to take control of the media (which was under the British Colonial policy) so as to advance the interests of the new nation. The late Julius Nyerere, the first Tanganyika and later Tanzanian president saw socialism as the appropriate path for this new nation and the media as the main advocacy tools for propagating socialist ideas. Hence in 1964 the Ministry of Information and Tourism was formed with an immediate task of nationalizing the media. In consequence, the famous *Voice of Dar es Salaam* which in 1956 changed its name to Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) and the *Standard* and *Sunday News* under the Tanganyika Standard Newspaper (TSN) were nationalized in 1965 and 1970, respectively, and came to be known as the *Daily News* and *Sunday News* (Mytton, 1983; Sturmer, 1998). Subsequently, TBC was renamed Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam (RTD), which became the most important tool for propagating the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance (*Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*).

Specifically, following the Arusha Declaration of 1967[16] the government in 1972 redefined the roles of the media in the country to suit socialist principles which had been outlined in the Declaration. These roles were largely concerned with national integration and promotion of development defined along the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance (Mwaffisi, 1991; Mfumbusa, 2002). Development journalism was introduced in the 1970s to effectively carry out these roles (Kilimwiko, 2002; see also Mwaffisi, 1991). Its major task was to support the government in its development plans based on the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. This type of practice of journalism, also known as 'government say-so journalism', turned journalists into government mouthpieces ignoring the role of serving the public interests (Kilimwiko, 2002; see also Kunczik, 1984). The practice of development journalism in Tanzania is discussed in detail in the subsequent Chapter Four.

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[16] The Arusha Declaration in which the *Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance* came into being was passed by TANU in 1967. The goal was to build and maintain a socialist state aimed at propelling the country towards economic self-sufficiency and to eradicate corruption and exploitation. The building of this socialistic state depended on the people, land and agriculture, the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy as well as good leadership. The declaration also set measures for public ownership whereby every major means of production was owned by the people/public (Nyerere, 1968).

Moreover, for the government to take full control of the media, five major instruments were used during that time (Rioba, 2008; see also Kinyenje, 1998; Kilimwiko, 2009). These were the Newspaper Act of 1976, the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA) Act of 1976, the National Security Act of 1970, the Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam Act of 1965 and the Film Stage Act of 1976. These Acts empowered the Ministry responsible for information to refuse registration or prohibit or ban a publication. For example, the 1976 Newspaper Act, among other issues, specified what were considered to be seditious and libel crimes. This Act, which is still applicable to-date, gives the president powers to prohibit any publication to be imported or printed if he/she finds that it jeopardizes national interest. Similarly, the Minister of Information has the power to prohibit the publication of any newspaper that he/she finds inappropriate to national interest. Furthermore, with SHIHATA, the Kiswahili acronym for *Shirika la Habari Tanzania* (Tanzania News Agency) which was established in 1976 and the Newspaper Act of 1976, the government had enormous powers to control and regulate the collection, distribution and dissemination of both local and foreign news and news material in accordance with state directives. However, according to Mwaffisi (1985) and Kivikuru (1990) due to financial difficulties, lack of equipment and qualified manpower SHIHATA never fulfilled this task. As a result, the media were forced to rely on their own journalists and international news agencies for news.

Similarly, operating under the Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam Act, the RTD became a mouthpiece for the ruling government and the party. Additionally, the National Security Act was aimed at preventing the publication of any prohibited or classified information (mostly government information). The Film and Stage Act also prohibited any production of film without the consent of the Minister of Information. The general aim of all these efforts as argued by Rioba (2008) was to "curb the opposition and foster development of socialistic principles" (p. 14). With these conditions imposed on media operations, lack of qualified personnel and funds, made it difficult for private media to exist. Based on this government-controlled media situation, Rioba (2008) argues that despite the new government making huge efforts to abandon the colonial policies so as to accommodate the socialistic principles, the little adjustments ultimately had the media operating almost under the same authoritative colonial conditions (see also Manara, 2011).

Meanwhile in Zanzibar during the wake of the Revolution in 1964, a number of newspapers came to an end. Hamdani (1992) argues that they were required to abide by the revolutionary ideologies, which were difficult for some of the papers. Another obstacle was lack of trained manpower as most elites fled the country following the revolution. Hence Zanzibar came to depend mainly on the mainland's newspapers, the *Daily/Sunday News* and *Uhuru/Mzalendo* owned by the government and ruling party CCM, respectively. The radio, *Sauti ya Unguja* (Voice of Unguja) was renamed *Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar* (STZ) following the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 (Sturmer, 1998). Zanzibar, through Unguja was also the first country in Africa to launch colour television in 1974, mainly in support of mass education campaigns (Ng'wanakilala, 1981). Television was also geared towards improving and strengthening the social, cultural, economic and political situation in Zanzibar. During that time there was no relevant policy on broadcasting in Zanzibar; there were only general laws and regulations to keep broadcasting under tight control (MCT, 2009).

Rioba (2008) sums up the media that were in service in Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar) during this post-colonial period: Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) which was government owned; Television Zanzibar and Sauti ya Zanzibar, which was owned by the government of Zanzibar; Tanzania Standard Newspapers (TSN), the publishers of the *Daily News* and *Sunday News*, which are also government owned; *Uhuru* (Freedom) Publishers, the publishers of *Uhuru* (Freedom) and *Mzalendo* (The Citizen) newspapers, which were (are) owned by the ruling CCM; *Mfanyakazi* (The Worker) newspaper which was owned by the Tanzania Workers Union known by its Kiswahili acronym, JUWATA (Jumuiya ya Wafanyakazi Tanzania) which later changed into the Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions (OTTU) and *Kiongozi* (The Leader) newspaper which was/still is owned by the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania.

Overall, the media during this period operated under the Authoritarian Theory of the Media where the media being controlled by the state, solely supports the state's objectives in the name of maintaining peace and security in the nation (see Siebert et al., 1963); and development for the case of Tanzania. This government-controlled media situation on Mainland Tanzania and the Isles (Zanzibar) continued for about thirty years. It was not until the early 1990s when the Tanzanian media scene changed due to various social, political, economic and technological influences triggered by the liberal policies and

overall globalization induced changes as described in the following section, the liberal/transition phase.

## 3.3 Liberal/Transition Phase

During the socialist era, as previously demonstrated, journalism was mainly a tool used by the government to establish, promote and implement its various aims and objectives based on the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy. However, as Ramaprasad (2001) explains, following changes caused by, among others, the fall of socialism/communism, demands of international aid agencies, international financial institutions and some United Nations agencies, and overall effects of intensifying globalization; many of the African countries gradually changed to more deregulated policies in their political, economic and communication systems. In Tanzania, this necessitated change in the media industry especially after 1992 which was the peak of transformations following the introduction of liberal policies (multi-partisim, deregulation of the economy and the media). This phase generally known as the liberal era is also referred to as the transition period because of the nature of changes that have and continue shaping media operations in the country (Rioba, 2008).

Specific changes are vivid in the media sector mainly on Mainland Tanzania as pointed out by various analysts (Rioba, 2008 & 2012; MCT, 2009; Friedrch Ebert Stiftung [FES], 2012):

*First* is the **mushrooming of media outlets**. There has been an increase of media outlets whereby the growth is attributed to private sector's forceful entry into the media business. In this media boom, the print industry has been most active, growing from only four newspapers during the socialistic era to 18 daily newspapers, 41 weeklies and about 300 publications in forms of newsletters, journals today. The radio sector has also experienced tremendous growth; it has grown from only two radio stations to 60 radio stations. The television sector has also expanded from no television station on Mainland Tanzania to about 15 television stations. Tanzania is estimated to have over 3,000 journalists. This number includes those with permanent and pensionable employment, correspondents as well as freelancers with most of them stationed in urban areas such as Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Dodoma, Arusha and Zanzibar (Kilimwiko, 2009). Rioba (2012) also notes that there are 23 press clubs in Tanzania's 25 Mainland regions with a total of 1,009 registered members. More than 60 percent of these are male journalists. These press clubs offer

journalists with short-term training sessions and as a meeting point for them to discuss various professional issues (Kilimwiko, 2009).

*Second* is the **increase of media categories**. During the socialism era, there was only one media category, state-owned, which reflected state's views along the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. Currently, there are four categories with different ownerships and ideologies. These categories are: '*State–Public Service' Media*, this category includes the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation, the (TBC) owners of TBC *Taifa,* TBC One, the Tanzania Standard Newspaper (TSN) the publishers of the *Daily News*, *Sunday News* and *Habari Leo* (a Kiswahili Daily); *Commercial Media*, this category includes four major media conglomerates: IPP Media (owners of radio and television stations and publishers of several newspapers), Sahara Communications (owner of radio, television stations and publishers of a newspaper), Business Times Limited (publishers of several newspapers and owner of radio station), Global Publishers (publishers of several tabloid newspapers); *Partisan Media*, media that are owned by political parties and religious institutions. They include *Uhuru* and *Mzalendo* (CCM), *An-Nuur* (Muslims), *Mambo ya Nyakati* (Christians); *Community media,* these are media owned by particular communities or institutions and serve people in certain communities, districts or regions. They are mostly run by respective communities. The popular ones include Orkernei Community Radio and Sengerema Community Radio.

*Third* is **change of traditional journalistic principles**. The traditional media (radio, television and newspapers) have adapted new media technologies and one can read newspapers online and also listen to e-broadcasting. The alternative/citizen media is slowly developing following the establishment of a number of 'on and off' individual blogs covering various issues ranging from news, politics, fashion, sports to various social issues. There are few blogs such as *Michuzi Blog* and *Jamii Forum* which have managed to survive for more than five years now. New media technologies are among the factors that have led to changes in the traditional journalistic values. Other factors include change of policies (socialistic to liberal) which allows these media and values to operate. And even an increase of media literacy among the population (enhancing citizen journalism) has challenged the traditional journalistic values – see sub-section 4.4.2.

*Fourth* is the **proliferation of journalism training institutions**. These institutions offer various journalism courses such as certificates, diplomas and degrees in journalism (both undergraduate and postgraduate degrees). Journalism training on Tanzanian Mainland started to be offered with the government established Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ) in 1975. In 2003, the TSJ was affiliated to the University of Dar es Salaam and the name changed initially to the Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication (IJMC) before being transformed into the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SJMC). Currently there are private universities and colleges offering journalism training in the country, the leading ones being St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT), Tumaini University, and Muslim University of Morogoro. The Open University of Tanzania, which offers distance learning, is a public-run institution. Overall, the quality of journalism has been improving gradually. For instance, a survey carried out by the Economic Research Bureau (ERB) of the University of Dar es Salaam in 2005/2006 found that the number of graduates and diploma holders among media practitioners has reached more than 75 percent from less than 30 percent in 1993.

*Fifth* is **information regulation by journalists**. These changes prompted journalists (under various organizations such as the Association of Journalists and Media Workers [AJM], Media Institute for Southern Africa [MISA] – Tanzania Chapter) and other civil society organizations to initiate means of regulating the news and other information by themselves. This led to the establishment of a non-governmental, independent Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) in 1996. The MCT is an independent, non-statutory regulatory body aimed at ensuring that journalists, editors, broadcasters, producers, directors and all those involved in the media industry in Tanzania adhere to the highest professional and ethical standards (http://www.mct.or.tz/). There also arose a need from journalists to have a common say in issues of national interests. This led to the establishment of the Tanzania Editor's Forum (TEF) in 2008, which exists as a platform for engaging national leaders on various issues of public interest and urges journalists to observe the quality of information released to the public. Through this forum, the media takes a unified stand on major national issues.

*Sixth* is the **change of media policy**. To cater for the new media landscape, the 1970s socialistic media policy had to be reviewed. Subsequently, the Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 was established. This particular policy encourages the

existence of strong, diverse and pluralistic media, with ownership in public, private and community hands. Rioba (2008) argues that this Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 is different from the previous one as it came as a result of a participatory approach based on consultations from all media stakeholders (media practitioners, lawyers, civil society activists, government representatives). Specifically, the first media policy of the 1970s came from singular and unilateral government efforts and reflected government control on media operations. Meanwhile, the current policy which emerged from various stakeholders encourages public participation in media processes, which is important for promotion of democracy and development.

Similarly, the Broadcasting Service Act of 1993 which through the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission had the major task of regulating broadcasters and their conduct of broadcasting was reviewed following criticisms mainly regarding freedom of information restricted by the Newspaper Act of 1976 as was integrated in the 1993 Act. The 1993 Act was replaced by the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Act of 2003. But still, even with the new act, press freedom is restricted.

These changes that happened in Tanzanian Mainland happened in Zanzibar as well. Similarly, in 1992 Zanzibar witnessed a re-birth of the print media whereby the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government (ZRG) established a newspaper, *Nuru* (Light). Due to financial and production problems, the paper collapsed in 2001. In the same year, *Zanzibar Leo* was established under the control of Zanzibar Information Services. Efforts to establish private newspapers have not been that successful in Zanzibar as some of the newspapers lack financial stability while others have been accused of taking political stands (since they are supposed to be neutral and objective). For instance, *Jukwaa* went bankrupt in 2001 while also being accused of favouring the ruling party. In 2002 *Dira* was established and banned a year later for publishing seditious material. It was also observed to favour the opposition (MCT, 2009).

It is the broadcasting media in Zanzibar that seem to fair well. The first private television broadcaster started in 2002, then in 2003 began FM radio services. Currently, Zanzibar has 21 FM Radio stations and six television stations offering commercial and community-related services operating under the Zanzibar Broadcasting Policy of 2008 (MCT, 2009). In addition, the policy is aimed at a smooth transfer from analogue to digital system, advocates for the provision of information to all by paying more attention to the

marginalized citizens in the rural areas. The policy also urges the media to promote development, culture and human rights issues (Ministry of Information, Culture and Sport – Zanzibar, 2008).

These changes have had a great impact on the famous Television Zanzibar (TVZ), as it is being reported that it is losing its original objective of fostering development by competing with the commercial media in airing entertainment content (MCT, 2009). Just like on Mainland Tanzania, modern communication facilities such as the Internet, satellite and mobile phones are present in Zanzibar, enhancing quick communication. There is also the Zanzibar Editor's Forum (ZEF) established in 2009 with similar aims as the Tanzania Editor's Forum on the Mainland. With the exception of the Zanzibar College of Mass Media, no other serious media training centre has been established in Zanzibar. Efforts to establish a Journalism Department in Zanzibar University is still in the pipeline (MCT, 2009).

Despite these progressive sounding policies in both Tanzania Mainland and the Isles (Zanzibar), they still lack some important elements with regard to the context of this study on media, gender and development. For instance, despite the fact that both policies emphasize the promotion of development and gender equality, they do not mention the practice of development journalism nor do they insist on the establishment of gender policies in media houses, which could be vital for the promotion of both development and gender equality (a detailed discussion of these challenges is provided in section 3.5). Overall, under this current period, the media system tends to follow the Libertarian Theory of the Press, on the one hand. This is vivid by the mushrooming of media outlets, many owned by private people and institutions. As Siebert et al. (1963) argue:

> Under this theory, everyone with economic means can enter the communication field, and his survival depends on his ability to satisfy the needs and wants of his consumers in the face of competition from other units seeking the same market (p. 53)

On the other hand, the media system also tends to adapt the Social Responsibility Theory of the Press by emphasizing on regulating information by associations formed and run by journalists themselves. This follows Siebert et al. (1963) argument that with regard to the importance and impact of the media in modern societies, it is necessary that an obligation of social responsibility be imposed on the media. The next section specifically examines the broadcasting media, the concern of this study.

**3.4 Tanzanian Broadcasting Media**

As already explained, the broadcasting media which are the concern of this study started with radio which was first introduced by the British in 1951 to serve the colonial purposes. Known as the *Sauti ya Dar es Salaam* (Voice of Dar es Salaam), modelled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and was renamed Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) in 1956 by an Act of Parliament. It produced Kiswahili and a little of English programmes, majority of the staff were native Tanzanians (Sturmer, 1998).

After independence in 1961, TBC was nationalized and the name changed to Radio Tanzania - Dar es Salaam (RTD). By early 1970s RTD had four channel services: the national service, which was based on the nation's immediate needs. This channel promoted the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy, peace, unity, safeguarding national independence and promotion of national culture. The external service was tailored towards contributing to the liberation of other African countries, promote good neighbourliness and the image of Tanzania to the world. The commercial service stimulated and promoted the consumption of goods and services produced in the country. The schools services assisted teachers in their work of educating the nation (Sturmer, 1998; see also Ng'wanakilala, 1981; Konde, 1984; Wakati, 1986).

Although RTD covered almost the whole of Tanzania, its concentration in urban areas (in terms of information and information actors) was of great concern. For instance, according to Wakati (1986) in the 1970s RTD showed that it mainly received information from Dar es Salaam (about 44%) in a country that by then had 25 regions (now there are 25 on the Mainland alone and five in Zanzibar); the other regions received very little coverage. Hence from 1971 to 1980, RTD staff travelled to the villages to involve people in 'planning and preparation' of the programmes (Wakati, 1986). Nevertheless, as Wakati (1986) argues, these trips were very short; there was not enough time to make people comfortable and make meaningful contributions. Hence a decentralization process was seen to be more appropriate whereby seven zones were established: Arusha, Dodoma, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza and Songea. Such initiative was expected to enable RTD to easily get information from all the regions and involve many people as actors of information. However, the plan of installing production facilities was only successful in two extra regions, Dodoma and Kigoma, as Dar es Salaam was already an established entity (Wakati, 1986). Overall, it can be observed that the wish to involve people in

programmes productions (using the participatory approach) was not only limited by the top-down system that existed but also RTD's lack of adequate facilities.

Hence RTD continued until the introduction of the liberal policies starting from the mid-1980s when the station started to experience changes. To cope with the challenges brought by the liberal policies such as the liberalization of the media, the national television, *Television ya Taifa* (TVT) was established in 1999. In 2004, RTD and TVT were merged to form the Tanzania Broadcasting Services (TBS). In 2006, a suggestion was made by the TBS management to change the state broadcaster (TBS) into a public service broadcaster (Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation, TBC). In 2008, TBC was officially launched and declared a Public Service Broadcaster (PSB) by the Public Corporation Act of 1992. The primary aim of this change is to give more autonomy to the public and be more accountable to the public. TBC is slowly transforming into a public service broadcaster. It is funded by the government through public funds (Melkizedeck, 2013; Mwaffisi, 2013; http://www.tbc.go.tz, 2014; see also FES, 2012).

Overall, the broadcasting media (radio and television) in Tanzania are dominated by radio (60 radio stations) and are the most popular media in Tanzania. In fact, radio is regarded as the dominant source of information for people of all ages. A survey conducted in 2010 shows that radio is the most popular media in Tanzania with an access of 85 percent among Tanzanians (MCT, 2011; see also Mbogora, 2010). Nevertheless, Johannessen (2006) posits that television in Tanzania is quickly becoming common and widespread not only among the middle class and rich people, but also among ordinary men and women. She adds that for those who do not own a TV set, there are always opportunities to watch in bars, social centres, at neighbours, friends or relatives house or even at work. In addition, there are community television stations, mostly run by district councils all over Tanzania. Moreover, efforts are underway by UNESCO to establish tele-centres in the country's regions (TCRA, 2006; FES, 2010). Overall, Johannessen (2006) argues: "Broadcasting is probably the most significant institution in our history, through which listeners and viewers have come to imagine themselves as members of a national community" (p. 123).

This feeling of belonging to a community by the people (listeners and viewers) is crucial for the enhancement of the participatory communication spirit. The broadcasting media are also divided into four major categories: 'state–public service', commercial, community and partisan broadcasting as elaborated below.

### 3.4.1 'State–Public Service' Broadcasting

The first category of broadcasting media in Tanzania which in this study I term 'State-in transition to-Public Service' broadcasting, commonly referred in this study as 'state–public service' broadcasting; is the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC). As mentioned somewhere else in this chapter, in the socialistic era and before the establishment of television, RTD was purely state-owned. Following policy and structural changes which resulted into TBC, the TBC establishment order of 2007 proclaimed that TBC is a Public Service Broadcaster, though in practice it is still a State Broadcaster. That is why it is somehow difficult to categorize TBC as purely public service (based on its establishment order) or purely state owned (based on its operational activities). As argued by analysists elsewhere in this chapter, it is in transition – gradually transforming into a public service broadcaster.

But, in many Africa countries it is difficult to distinguish between 'State' and 'Public Service' broadcasting. For instance, at times 'State' broadcasting is one that is owned and controlled by the state representing state's interests, and 'Public Service' broadcasting is that which allows government/political interventions to ensure that programmes produced are of value to the society (Moe & Syvertsen, 2009). This means that both these types of broadcasting are not free from government control (although for PSB governments interventions vary from one county to another). In fact, according to Moe and Syvertsen (2009), PSB originally used to describe the state broadcasting corporations established in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, the BBC being a well-known example. As Berger (2009) also notes, "Much of the Africa inherited the British broadcasting model, where state-owned broadcaster funded by public resources was supposed to produce public service broadcasting" (p. 8). Based on this model, it has happened that many African governments use this opportunity (PSB) to serve their own interests (Banda, 2007). Nevertheless, according to McQuail (2000), PSB is also a system that enjoys geographical universality, concerned for national identity, caters for all interests and addresses minorities in society. Atugala (2006) asserts that PSBs are non-profit making; they are also supported by public funds and, to an extent, accountable to the citizens as they are supposed to serve the entire population. These values make PSB more favoured by the public than state broadcasting which strictly serves the state. Overall, Rioba (2008) and FES (2010) observe that TBC is slowly transforming into a public service broadcaster.

TBC *Taifa* (Radio) and TBC 1 Television are the most popular nationally. Other stations include TBC FM. Other public broadcasting media are Television Zanzibar (TVZ) and Radio (Voice of Tanzania, Zanzibar) owned by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. These and some few private broadcasting stations reach almost every corner of the country.

### 3.4.2 Commercial Broadcasting

Commercial broadcasting is the second category of broadcasting media in Tanzania. These outlets are privately owned basically for commercial purposes. The sector is mainly financed through advertisements fees.

The major commercial stations include Industrial Production Promotion (IPP) Media which is one of East Africa's largest media conglomerates established in the 1990s in Dar es Salaam. It comprises nine newspapers (in English and Kiswahili language); two television stations (Independent Television [ITV] and East Africa Television [EATV]); three radio stations (Radio One, Sky FM and East Africa FM). Radio One (the first private and commercial radio in Tanzania) and ITV are the most popular broadcasting media, broadcasting in Kiswahili to the whole of Tanzania terrestrially via satellite. Both Radio One and ITV provide programmes in news, entertainment, education, health, sports, economics, politics and social issues.

Sahara Media Group (SMG), incorporated in 1992, is another big broadcasting company located in Mwanza. It has two radio stations (Radio Free Africa and Kiss FM), a television station (Star TV) and a newspaper *Sauti ya Africa* (Voice of Africa). Radio Free Africa (RFA) and Star TV broadcast nationally. They are quite popular in Tanzania and in neighbouring countries. RFA started broadcasting in 1995 whereas Star Television came into operation in 2000. Both RFA and Star TV air a number of programmes such as: news, various development programmes and entertainment programmes. Other big commercial broadcasting stations include Clouds Media Group and Channel Ten.

### 3.4.3 Community Broadcasting

The third type of broadcasting media in Tanzania is the community broadcasting owned by particular communities or institutions. Rennie (2006) and Matumaini (2009) define community media as media that are situated within a specific locality where there is familiarity between the sender and the receiver, some use local language and address local issues, allow access and participation in addition to serving people in certain communities,

districts or regions. Along the same line of thought, Manyozo (2010) views community broadcasting as developmental oriented, owned by the community to facilitate participatory processes so as to improve collectively community livelihoods. Emphasis on participation is in line with the traits of development journalism (see Chapter One).

There are basically five existing community radios in Tanzania. According to Mrutu (2008), these community radios include Orkornei Community Radio established in 2002 based in Arusha region, northern Tanzania. The community has a population of 1,040,461 people engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. This is comparatively the largest population to be served by a community radio. Sengerema Community Radio is based in Mwanza region, the Lake Zone. It was established in 2003 and it serves the population of 502,919 people who deal with agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing. Orkornei and Sengerema are the most active community radios in Tanzania. Others are Kilosa Community radio located in Morogoro region established in 2006. It serves a population of 488,191 people engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Iramba Community radio located in Singida region was established in 2003 and serves a community of 392,645 people dealing with agriculture and animal husbandry as well. And Mlimani Community Radio based in Dar es Salaam was established in 2003, serving people in urban and rural Dar es Salaam and neighbouring regions engaged in fishing and agriculture.

These community radios operate within a very limited broadcasting radius serving a limited audience as well. Mrutu (2008) further explains that these community stations are facing serious challenges in order to exist such as operating on power operators which is very costly, the use of volunteers as reporters and as presenters and lack of management skills. Despite these challenges, unlike community print media which is almost non-existence, community radios exist. These stations air development-oriented programmes especially on agriculture and pastoralism (see also Matumani, 2009). Like many broadcasting stations in Tanzania, these community radio air news bulletins from international stations such as the BBC, Voice of America (VoA), Deutsche Welle (DW), Al Jazeera and Chinese Central Television (CCTV) (Mrutu, 2008, see also Matumaini, 2009).

### 3.4.4 Partisan Broadcasting

The fourth category is partisan broadcasting. In Tanzania, partisan media is mainly in the hands of political parties and institutional (mainly religious ownership). These include Radio *Uhuru* (CCM owned), Radio Quran (Islamic religion) and Christian radios. In fact,

this category is dominated by Christian religion radio stations. According to Matumaini (2009; see also Sturmer, 1998), Christian radio in Tanzania, dates back to 1962 with the introduction of *Radio Sauti ya Injili* (Radio Voice of the Gospel) owned by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). It started broadcasting from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Following media liberalization in the 1990s, *Radio Sauti ya Injili* opened a branch in Moshi (Northern Tanzania) in 1994 and it covers the whole of the Northern Zone of Tanzania. Since then, a number of Christian religion radio stations have been established. These include *Maria* Radio, *Faraja* Radio, *Mwangaza* Radio, *Tumaini* Radio and Radio *Ukweli*. Matumaini (2009) argues that these religious-affiliated stations broadcast development-oriented programmes in the area of health, community development, education and agriculture. However, just like community broadcasting, partisan broadcasting, especially religious broadcasting has a limited audience (audience with similar religious beliefs).

Despite the advantages of having added new voices to the media system supported by a free market economy, deregulatory policies and other effects of globalization; the broadcasting media and the media in general in the current liberal/transition phase face a number of challenges as described in the next section.

## 3.5 Challenges Facing the Media in Tanzania

Relating to policy, political, economic and professional issues, the media in Tanzania face a number of challenges. To start with, the Information and Broadcasting Policy that was reviewed and adopted in 2003 is still not that attuned to the liberalized media operations. Specifically, in the context of this study, the policy states that privately owned media (which is the largest media category) should participate fully in nation-building and give attention to the ordinary people. However, development journalism (which is key in promoting sustainable development) is not highlighted in the policy. This oversight might make media reluctant to practice it. The policy also states that a media outlet shall never broadcast news that promotes differences based on colour, ethnicity, religion, gender, disability or that promotes hatred. It also rejects the use of offensive language and pornographic content in media which most of the time victimizes women (gender sensitive media are also emphasized in the Women and Gender Development Policy of 2000 – see Chapter Four). However, the policy does not insist on the drafting of a specific gender policy in media houses to ensure that the media operate in gender-sensitive environment. The situation is more or less similar in the Zanzibar Broadcasting Policy of 2008. Due to

lack of such written policies (among other things) which could help to hold the media responsible, many media have continued to be offensive and segregative towards women despite other gender-focused efforts such as gender training, gender mainstreaming, media monitoring and the newly established Media Council of Tanzania's Gender Code of Ethics (see Appendix I).

Generally, there exists gender inequality in the media industry (Okwemba, 2010) and majority of journalists do not give priority to the development role of the media (Rioba, 2012). For instance, in a survey about the role of the media that was done in 2011 involving 221 journalists, Rioba (2012) found that only 43 (6.5%) mentioned 'promoting development' as an important role of the media, 'watchdog' was mentioned by 61 (9.3%), 'promoting democracy' was mentioned by 26 (3.9%), 'voice of the voiceless' was mentioned by only 11 (1.6%) and only 10 (1.5%) mentioned ' fostering debate'. These are some of the roles crucial for promoting development in a country but are not given priority by the journalists. There was however, an important correlation regarding journalists who mentioned these roles. According to what Rioba established, journalists who mentioned the roles of 'promoting development' and 'watchdog' had higher education levels (diploma and above) and had more than 5 years of experience in the job. These findings suggest that journalists' understanding of the importance of these roles is determined by their level of education, what they exactly do (news or entertainment programmes), and perhaps their experience on job which enables them to evaluate their impact on society. Additionally, media stakeholders (activists, politician and academics) involved in Rioba's study unanimously agreed on the relevance of the 'developmental roles' of the media as in watchdog, transformation and forum for debate; suggesting that these roles are crucial for the development of the country. On the other hand, majority of the journalists (67%) mentioned the common Western roles of educating, informing and entertaining. Overall, what can be observed in this recent survey by Rioba (within the context of this study) is the fact that the Western roles of the mass media which underscore neutrality and objectivity are more recognized and valued by journalists compared to roles which highlight the promotion of development that sometimes might undermine the professional values of neutrality and objectivity. Consequently, this implies that development journalism (being critical or not) is either not well recognized or less valued by the majority of Tanzanian journalists.

Other challenges of the media in Tanzania are related to economic circumstances. For instance, often newspaper circulation remains limited due to high costs of production and distribution as well as the low purchasing power of many citizens. It has also been observed that there is an increasing illiteracy rate in the country worsening the reading culture among the population (Kilimwiko, 2009). Similarly, the high cost of batteries for radio sets, poor provision of electricity in rural areas and the high costs of owning television sets has made it difficult for some people, especially in remote areas to access electronic media. Due to the poor media infrastructure and gender inequalities, particularly female rural dwellers remain among the majority of those ordinary people excluded from access to media (FES, 2010). Nevertheless, as already explained, the broadcasting media (especially radio) is still the most accessible media for the ordinary people.

According to Rioba (2008), in Tanzania there are practically no professional restrictions for someone to work as a journalist. That means anyone can practice journalism without a special license. Yet this has led to some problematic consequences. There are many non-professionals who regularly harass sources asking for transport, meal allowances and even bribes. Such 'journalists' are vulnerable to publishing or airing very poor/unethical stories. Salary and the general working conditions are also not sufficient for many Tanzanian journalists. As a result, there have been calls from some professional journalists through their journalism associations to regulate the profession by setting a qualification benchmark and standard scales on salary provisions for those intending to work as journalists. However, these demands have not been met (see also Rioba & Karashani, 2002; Kilimwiko, 2009; Manara, 2011).

Furthermore, it continues to be difficult for Tanzanian journalists to report freely and investigatively given some constraints emanating from the government (some form of the Authoritarian Theory of the media). For instance, the government, using its various organs (such as the Tanzanian Information Service known as MAELEZO, Tanzania Communications Regulations Authority [TCRA], and the Tanzania Ministry of Information) has been banning a number of newspapers and radio stations as well as harassing journalists. The investigative and critical newspaper, *Mwanahalisi*, for example, which was at the forefront exposing corruption scandals involving ministers and top officials in the Tanzanian government, was banned. Furthermore, Eric Kabendera, the 2009 David Astor Journalism Award Winner for exceptionally promising journalist was harassed

by government officials accusing him of selling state secrets (Armitage, 2013). In addition, three journalists died under mysterious circumstances. Richard Massatu was brutally killed in 2011 in Mwanza, in 2012 Daudi Mwangosi was killed allegedly by the police in Iringa while another journalist Issa Ngumba in Kigoma was found dead. In early March 2013, a prominent journalist and Chairperson of the Tanzania's Editors Forum, Absolum Kibanda was kidnapped and severely tortured. Kibanda was accused of publishing a 'seditious' article in *Tanzania Daima* newspaper claiming that the police is often used by the government to obstruct opposition activities. On a general note, press freedom in Tanzania is facing stumbling blocks at a time when freedom of the press is supposed to thrive. A report by Reporters without Borders (2013) ranks Tanzania the 70th out of 179 countries dangerous for journalists due to lack of press freedom; in 2012 it still ranked 34 (Mwachang'a, 2011; Reporters without Borders Report, 2013; Kitabu, 2014). Rioba (2008) further elaborates that the tendency of government to classify as 'confidential' many facts and opinions that could be vital for news reporting hinder many government officials from providing information to the media.

Moreover, private media owners have been blamed for controlling what is published or aired for the sake of protecting their friends in the government or big businesses. Consequently, these media owners have been also appointing relatives or friendly media managers whom they can easily control (Rioba, 2012). Generally, a journalist has conflicting interests between professionalism and major advertisers, politicians, media owners and other influential people (Manara, 2011). Overall, the ability of journalists to stick to professional standards or to serve the public interest amidst these challenges is a major question of concern.

Reflecting on the contemporary media models at a global level, these challenges might also place the media system in Tanzania under the Hallin and Mancini's (2004) 'Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Media Model', especially in elements concerning low newspaper circulation, political and government interventions and weak professionalism.

### 3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline of the development of media in Tanzania. It started with the missionary press which aimed at spreading religion while promoting colonial interests. The colonial press major aim was that of spreading colonial policies and

administration, even when they introduced Kiswahili newspapers. This triggered the demand of indigenous publications to address their own needs. A number of indigenous newspapers therefore came into existence during the British colonial administration that monitored the content of these publications. Later on the nationalists press was launched to demand independence from the colonies both in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Media under the socialistic era aimed at bringing national unification and promoting development under the socialism principles. Development journalism (discussed in detail in the following chapter) was vividly practised in this era and was highly supported by the government as the government's mouthpiece. With the introduction of free market economies and liberal policies from the mid-1980s, the media environment faced a number of opportunities such as an increase of media outlets and media types, the establishment of Public Television in Tanzania mainland and the introduction of the Internet which brought new media opportunities such as e-media, blogs, Facebook, Twitter. There has also been an increase of journalists as a result of increasing journalism training institutions. Journalism associations have also increased. These changes also created an opportunity to a review of media policies and Acts.

The expectation was deregulation policies would lead to greater press freedom. On the contrary, however, press freedom of recent has been a major issue of concern following the banning of several media outlets, the killing, torture and harassment of several journalists. Overall, the media system in Tanzania currently reflects the Authoritarian, Liberal and Social Responsibility Theories of the media; and even the contemporary Hallin and Mancini's Polarized Pluralist Media Model. This brings us to the question on the reaction of the practice of development journalism towards these changes. The next chapter therefore broadly examines the practice of development journalism (with a gender focus) in Tanzania, starting from the socialistic era when the practice was introduced, to the present time.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## DEVELOPMENT, GENDER AND MEDIA IN TANZANIA

This chapter starts by surveying the general situation of development in Tanzania and examines its focus on gender. It then assesses Tanzania's broadcasting media in the context of gender. Specifically, the chapter pays a detailed attention to development journalism (with a gender focus) in Tanzania in the socialistic and contemporary times. Finally, the chapter provides the context and justification of this study by presenting the research issue and research questions.

### 4.1 An Overview of Development in Tanzania

Even before colonialism Tanzania had some form of economic system based on small-scale peasantry production and barter trade. During the colonial period (1891-1961), the colonial administrations of German and Britain introduced a capitalistic mode of production in a plantation economy form. As a result, Tanganyika under both the German and British colonial administrations supplied commercial agricultural products such as sisal, cotton, pyrethrum, tobacco, coffee and timber. Meanwhile, Zanzibar under the Sultan of Arab supplied cloves and spices. The emphasis was on transporting all these valuable products to the industrial/Western world. Hence, the development of the Tanzania nation and its people was not primary to the colonial administrations whose orientation was serving the interests of the economy in Europe (Centre for Media Studies, Research and Networking & MCT, 2009; see also Geiger, 1997).

After attaining independence in 1961, the ruling government had no proper development policy but relied on the colonial policy of emphasizing commercial agricultural exports which was taken over by few African elites (mainly of Indian and Arabic origin) from the colonialists. This resulted into an increase in social inequality between the Africans (of Indian and Arabic origin) and the indigenous population in both urban and rural areas, and unavoidably between men and women. Experiencing tremendous social inequality, the ruling government saw the need to reform development plans so that all the people could benefit (Centre for Media Studies, Research and Networking & MCT, 2009).

The need for reform led to the introduction of the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy introduced in the Arusha Declaration in 1967 (see Chapter Three). Nyerere (1968) argued that the essence of the policy was to develop Tanzania as a nation based on African cultural

roots and values while embracing modern technology to meet the various challenges of modern life. Under the policy, the major means of production were nationalized, thus banking, finance, industry and large-scale trade. Meanwhile, communal villages for peasants to produce together and distribute the products equally among themselves were established. Based on the idea that society is an extension of the family, these communal villages were organized along traditional and socialistic principles and were seen as the main focus of development (Ng'wanakilala, 1981; Konde, 1984).

However, Matumaini (2009) explains that the policy failed because of poor management and lack of funds for its effective implementation as the government realized how costly the whole ambitious project was. Also, the high military spending due to the 1978-1980 war between Tanzania and Uganda further eroded the country's economy and capacity to finance its development. Moreover, the world economic collapse in the early 1980s shook the country's economy at its core, further crippling its ability to finance the Socialism and Self-reliance Policy. In addition, according to Nyerere (1968) the concept Self-Reliance was misunderstood by some people who thought of it in terms of manpower and financial resources instead of maximum use of 'our own' resources, for instance, all the people (without discrimination) with skills. Some people also thought of Self-Reliance as refusing foreign aid. But foreign aid was accepted only if it carried purposes decided by the people. Theoretically, the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy was participatory in nature. However, as Ng'wanakilala (1981), Mbilinyi (1997) and Johannessen (2006) contend, to a large extent this participatory nature was not reflected in practice – see sub-section 4.2.2

Due to failure of the policy several attempts were made to rescue the deteriorated economy. These were the National Economic Survival Programme (NESP) in 1981; the Structural Adjustment Programme of 1982; the Economic Recovery Programme (1986-1989) and the Economic Social Action Programme (1989- 1992). There was also the Zanzibar Declaration of 1990 which introduced new policies and somehow improved the production and exportation of commercial products (Matumaini, 2009; Centre for Media Studies, Research and Networking & MCT, 2009). However, it was realized in the mid-1990s that these government policies and strategies were not compatible with the principles of a market economy and technological advancement that were increasingly favoured in Tanzania through deregulation and globalization (Planning Commission, 1995). Therefore, a more realistic framework emerged from 1996 on which several anti-

poverty policy agendas were hatched and implemented towards boosting economic development (Centre for Media Studies, Research and Networking & MCT, 2009). Tanzania is also a member of regional and global economic organizations, some of the regional ones include: the East African Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Economically[17] the country has shown some progress; for instance, there has been economic growth from an average of 5.3 percent between 1996 and 2000, 7.7 percent between 2001 and 2005, 6.9 percent in 2012 and 7 percent in 2013 (EAC, 2010; Athuman, 2013). However, Tanzania remains one of the world's poorest economies in terms of per capita income (United Nations, 2013; Global Finance, 2013). Additionally, the latest policy strategies have failed to address some crucial issues in the society such as rampant corruption, lack of good governance leading to an increasing gap between the haves and the have-nots. For instance, while blaming poor governance (among other factors), the renowned Tanzanian economist and opposition leader, Ibrahim Lipumba argues that the economic growth reflected in documents is not reflected in the lives of ordinary people as the government has failed to translate development into improving individual lives (Edward, 2013b; Muhanika, 2014). Lipumba's view concurs with findings from Tanzania's leading Economic Research Institutions, the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) and the Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) (Edward, 2013a). The following section specifically examines development from a gender lens.

### 4.2 Tanzanian Gender and Development Profile

This section broadly examines the various efforts in Tanzania in attaining development. It focuses on women's and gender movements in development processes both in the socialistic and liberal eras. The section is divided into three major sub-sections: education, leadership and women's movements towards women's/gender transformation.

### 4.2.1 Women and Education

The inclusion of a women's/gender perspective in the development processes in Tanzania can be traced back to the socialist era. The first president of Tanzania, the late Julius Nyerere had since the establishment of an independent government in 1961 raised a concern over gender inequalities prevailing in the new and young nation. One of his

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[17] The economy depends heavily on agriculture which accounts for more than one fourth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It provides 85 percent of exports and employs about 60 percent of the workforce. The majority of this work-force is women (Okwemba et al., 2011).

notable efforts in fostering gender equality was in the area of education. In the 1970s, the government nationalized all schools and colleges (inherited from the colonial administration) and abolished school fees to provide equal access of education to all children without any bias (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995). Before then, boys were sent to school while most girls remained behind attending to domestic chores. Despite renewed efforts to ensure every child regardless of gender has an opportunity to go to school, the Ministry of Education realized that disparities in enrolment, retention and performance in the national examinations were skewed in favour of the male-child. On the whole, the presence and participation of girls was much lower than that of boys. Gender roles such as attending to domestic chores after classes and early marriages placed on the girl-child disadvantaged her position in formal education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995).

Such gender disparities forced the Tanzanian government to adopt a number of strategies to address the problem. It introduced the 'Quota System' in 1975 where the pass mark for girls to enter secondary schools was kept lower than that of boys to allow more girls to join secondary education. The 'Musoma Resolution' of 1975 was another strategy which allowed girls to directly proceed to University education without the otherwise mandatory one year of work experience. Furthermore, the Tanzanian government in 1977 initiated the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme which required each village to build a primary school for the purpose of increasing pupil enrolment. Special emphasis was placed on the girl-child by monitoring both the enrolment and attendance. From the 1980s, the government initiated the construction of community and private secondary schools. Again in this intervention, girls were given priority. For example, all newly-built community schools were required either to be co-educational or be schools for girls. Also, all the boys' secondary schools were required to have one stream for girls who live near that school so that they could attend as day scholars. Availability of enough and private toilets were also taken into consideration as it was discovered that girls found it difficult to attend schools which did not have good toilets (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995).

Efforts continued even in the current multi-party era. Reviews of teaching materials in both primary and secondary education monitor the extent to which teaching materials are free from gender bias. For example, in 2007 a gender sensitive resource manual known as *Shule Rafiki Kijinsia* (Gender Friendly Schools) aimed at primary teachers to support

gender responsive pedagogy was established. There has also been a special project supported by the World Bank for girls from poor families to access secondary education and progress to tertiary programmes. Other initiatives include the Pre-Entry Service Programme run by the Faculty of Science at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) that upgrades the academic level of female students with low science pass marks to enable them to pursue science-related programmes at the UDSM (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995; UDSM Gender Center, 2006).

### 4.2.2 Women and Politics/Leadership

Besides education, another area that Nyerere thought of in respect to gender is leadership. Under Nyerere, the Union of Women in Tanzania, known as UWT by its Kiswahili acronym for *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania*, was established in 1955 under the supervision of TANU, the principal anti-colonial political party at that time. All other women's organizations/groups had to merge with it. Its roles were to mobilize women for the drive to independence which made women under the UWT an important group of people in Tanzania's history (Geiger, 1997). Even after attaining independence in 1961, UWT remained under TANU and later on under CCM. Through the UWT women had an opportunity to engage in active politics and acquired several important political posts. For instance, the late Bibi Titi Mohammed was first elected female member of the parliament and became Deputy Minister for Health (1962-1969). The late Lucy Lameck was Deputy Minister for Co-operatives and Community Development (1965-1970). Other female leaders include Julie Manning who was the Minister for Justice (1975-1979) and Thabitha Siwale, who led the Ministry of Housing and Lands (1975-1980). Others include Getrude Mongela, who was State Minister in the Prime Minister's Office (1982-1986) and Anne Makinda, who was the Minister of State (1983-1986) (Masha, 2011; see also Meena & Migiro, 1988; Geiger, 1997). Despite this presence of women in leadership positions, women representation in both the government and party organs was still very low (Meena & Migiro, 1988). Koda (2004) found that between 1961 and 1994 the percentage of female Members of Parliament did not exceed 10.

The government's support for gender equality continued to be a focus of the second President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, when the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and the Children was established in the 1990 to spearhead women's and children's development in the country. In 1992, a policy on Women in Development was formulated. In the aftermath of the global conceptual shift of the notion of women in relation to gender

in the mid-1980s, the previous policy was superseded in 2000 by the 'Women and Gender Development Policy' to cater for both men and women but with more emphasis placed on the welfare of women. Consequently, the name of the ministry changed to Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MCDGC) (Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, 1992; MCDGC, 2000).

Additionally, the Quota system ('special' parliamentary seats for women) was introduced in the 1990s to increase female representation in the legislature. Other groups that benefited from this affirmative action include the youth, the army and workers. The idea was to ensure that the voices of these categories of citizens were heard in the Parliament. Without this affirmative action, it would have been difficult for these groups to get representation through the normal electoral process (Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, 1992). As a result of these efforts, there are now an increasing number of women in politics. Women have been leading very significant ministries under the third President, Benjamin Mkapa and even under the current President Kikwete. For example, Asha Rose Migiro was the Minister for Foreign Affairs before her appointment as the UN Deputy Secretary, she is currently the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs; Mary Nagu, is the Minister for Industries, Anne Makinda currently the Speaker of the Tanzania Parliament but had also served as a Minister of State (1983-1986); and Zakhia Meghji, was the Minister of Finance (MCDGC, 2000; Masha, 2011).

With the review of the Tanzania Constitution which is in process as I write, it has been recommended that the 'special seats' notion be abolished. Instead the president is given powers to appoint five people to represent groups/people with disabilities only. Nevertheless, the committee for constitutional review recommended for having two Members of Parliament  (a man and a woman) from each province but these will have to contest election and be given mandate to represent the people (Yamola, 2013; Tume ya Mabadiliko ya Katiba, 2013). While these recommendations are not yet passed as I write, and hence the consequences of these reforms are unknown; but if passed, they will probably help elected female parliamentarians gain credibility. So far, gaining of these women's special seats is connected with rumors of sexual favours and corruption to some women. This tendency undermines attitudes towards female policy makers in general.

Despite all these efforts, the socialistic era has been criticized for being a system that was based on a centralized top-down strategy of leadership and communication. According to Marjorie Mbilinyi, co-founder of Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) and an expert in gender and development in Tanzania, the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance made the population often a passive recipient of development with very limited active input from the population, specifically beyond the elites. For instance, immediately after independence all civic organizations and groups that comprised of ethnic/religious associations, women's associations/groups, cooperative movements and trade unions were banned or subsumed under TANU and later the CCM party. Unfortunately, leaders for the UWT and those who were major decision makers were a few elite women and/or whose husbands or relatives were political or government leaders; ordinary women's chances to lead were very limited (Mbilinyi, 1997). Johannessen (2006) further elaborates that those women distant to the central party could not air their views.

Overall, Johannessen (2006) argues that the practice of the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy hindered ordinary people's participation in development which was at odds with participatory development approaches that the policy makers advocated in theory. The top-down form of communication equated the people to only a mere factor of development (Ng'wanakilala, 1981). I now turn to a discussion on women's independent movements towards equality and development.

### 4.2.3 Women's Independent Movements towards Women/Gender Transformation

Given the fact that UWT was not an independent organization but politically attached to the ruling party CCM, some women saw a great need of having an autonomous organization which could solve some of the women's problems that the UWT failed to solve. Haji (2008) recalls that one of the earliest independent women's organizations was the Women Research and Documentation Project (WRDP) formed by the elite women of the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1980s. Moreover, in 1979 an idea to establish a women's media organization emerged from a group of women journalists, just a few years after the First World Conference on Women in 1975. Eight years later (after encountering resistance from male colleagues in the media and officials in various government institutions), the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) was established in 1987. It was followed by the Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA) in 1989. Haji (2008) elaborates that in the beginning, the focus of these professional associations was on

liberating women from the various social, cultural, political and economic values that marginalized them.

It was not until the early 1990s when the agenda changed from a focus on women only to a focus on both women and men due to a global conceptual shift of women movements from women to gender which occurred in the mid-1980s. Hence, these women's organizations such as TAMWA directed their focus to minorities (men inclusive). Since then, a number of gender organizations have been established. The most notable one is the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) established in 1992. These organizations are aimed at promoting gender equality in sectors such as the economy, politics, education, human/women's rights, health and other social issues. Specifically, the TGNP advocates for gender equality/equity, women's empowerment, social justice and social transformation. It also provides training on gender issues for various categories of people in the society (TGNP Report, 1993). Meanwhile, TAMWA advocates for gender equality in all sectors and promotes human (with an emphasis on women's) rights. It trains her members (female journalists) on short journalism courses, in first degree and a Master degree to enable them improve the situation of women and the minority by the professional use of the media. TAMWA also initiates research and speak for the voiceless by organizing media campaigns for various development issues (Nkya, 2008; see also Haji, 2008).

The global initiatives and reorientation towards gender were not the only reasons for an increase in the women's/gender movements organizations in Tanzania, but also political and economic transformations in the country. These developments fuelled the establishment of these organizations. For instance, Johannessen (2006) in her thesis *'Media, Gender and Development in Tanzania'*, notes that development has to go hand-in-hand with gender transformation in the Tanzanian society. By 'gender transformation in Tanzania' she means a shift from socialistic models of development (which did not provide enough opportunities for ordinary women to participate in various development activities) to democratic models through which women have taken advantage of available opportunities using various international declarations, international organizations such as the UN and numerous local movements by local women's organizations. She sees this political liberalization as crucial for engaging women: "Development and women liberation must go hand-in-hand entailing transformed gender identities that replace

traditional attitudes towards women as subordinate and incapable creatures" (Johannessen, 2006, p. 109).

Overall, the political transformations towards a multi-party system starting from the mid 1980s, the gradual increase of educated women in the country, and the UN Decade for Women Conferences (1975-1995) fuelled gender equality movements leading to the establishment of a number of women/gender associations and organizations in Tanzania. The mushrooming of these women's/gender/civic organizations has given minority people (women and men) a chance and confidence to air their views and opinions, something that was not possible during the socialism era.

Successful co-operation between government and civic organizations on gender issues could be observed in the formulation of the Tanzanian Women and Gender Development Policy (MCDGC) of 2000 which succeeded the Women's Affairs and the Children Policy of 1990. This policy formed partly as a result of pressures from these women's movements with UN Declarations as their yardstick, acts as a central policy. It governs all other policies, programmes and strategies in the country in mainstreaming gender (MCDGC, 2000). Additionally, under the MCDGC which initiated the Tanzania Women and Gender Development Policy of 2000, a women's bank (Tanzania Women's Bank, TWB) was established in 2009 to facilitate women's economic empowerment and advancement, with a specific focus on women entrepreneurs. Since the TWB's establishment, more than 33 billion Tshs in loans have been extended to 25,000 people, 82 percent of whom are women (*Mwananchi,* 2013). In early 2013, the Minister for Community Development, Gender and the Children, Sophia Simba, officially opened a website *Sauti ya Mwanamke* (Voice of a Woman - www.sautiyamwanamke.org) which covers various issues of concern for women such as gender violence, land rights, inheritance matters, health, economic empowerment, and the review of the constitution. These issues were discussed in the national debate organized by local and international organizations in 2013 on gender equality that involved 300 marginalized women from all over Tanzania.

These efforts (the policy, together with other legislative, administrative and affirmative actions) have enabled Tanzania to record many achievements in gender and development. Notable areas in this regard are education, health and water; economic empowerment and participation in decision-making (MCDGC, 2000).

Despite improvements made thus far, Tanzanian women generally remain poorer than men. According to the NBS (2007), 12.9 million of the 40 million Tanzanians live below the national poverty line, with 60 percent of this tally being women. Additionally, studies show that71 percent of the workers in the formal sector are men and in the manufacturing sector where the wage employment is highest, only 18.6 percent of the employees are women (Ellis, Blacden, Cutura, McCulloh & Seeben, 2007). Overall, the economic gap between men and women in Tanzania is increasing (TGNP, 2005; Ellis et al., 2007). With regard to political representation, statistics reveal that after the general election in 2010 only 36 percent of the parliamentary seats are occupied by women in Tanzania, despite the fact that there is an improvement of 6 percent from the previous 30 percent in the 2005 general election (Okwemba et al., 2011).

As for the media, the Women and Gender Development Policy of 2000 calls for more gender-sensitive media programmes and emphasizes the strengthening of the media with the following: gendered perspective information from both urban and rural areas; gender training in media training institutions; media training and promotion (specifically media management) for both women and men, including those with disabilities. However, the realization and application of this policy in the media sector is lacking since women and ordinary people are still marginalized in the media as the following section discusses.

## 4.3 Tanzanian Gender and Media Profile

Sturmer (1998) elaborates that during the colonial era, the print media had no specific column or section for women issues. For instance, the popular *Mambo Leo* was geared towards issues concerning agriculture, education, native affairs, veterinary, health and football. The broadcast media (Radio), on the other hand, had programmes specifically for women issues. According to a Weekly Programme Schedule for TBC of May 1959, women's programmes were allocated two hours and 60 minutes per week. In fact, there was a women's programme every day which lasted for 15 minutes and on Saturdays and Sundays they lasted for 30 minutes. The major programme (Women's Opinion) was broadcasted five days in a week. Similarly, *Sauti ya Unguja* (Voice of Unguja) in Zanzibar had women's programmes. Overall, the content of these women's programmes both in Tanganyika and Zanzibar were not geared towards liberating the women from the patriarchy system but to serve colonial purposes.

Immediately after independence, things changed. For example, contents of RTD in 1966 did not feature any women's programmes. Instead, the main agenda during this time were geared towards the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and diseases in more general than gender-specific terms. There were also broadcasts from British and American Radio Stations and programmes in support of liberation movements of other African countries. Just like in Tanganyika, after independence and the unification, *Sauti ya Tanzania-Zanzibar* (Voice of Tanzania-Zanzibar) prioritized broadcasting religious issues, politics, educational programmes, without having any specific programmes concerning women issues (Sturmer, 1998).

However, there was an exceptional case in the 1970s print media, in particular the *Standard Newspaper,* when Frene Ginwala became the first woman editor (Sturmer, 1998). In addition, the *Standard* printed stories concerning marriages between young Persian girls (whom most of the time were forced into these marriages) and very old members of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. Denial of the stories came from Zanzibar and the issue created serious political difficulties for President Nyerere. However, Nyerere "did not make any attempt to stop the campaign" (Sturmer, 1998, p. 125). Unfortunately, Ms. Ginwala did not last long in office due to political differences between her and her assistants. This somehow slowed down further efforts to write about issues of concern for women in the print media until when female journalists inspired by the UN Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975 came into the picture in the late 1970s (Haji, 2008).

At this juncture, it can be posited that even in the media sector, Nyerere tried to be gender-sensitive but not to the same effect as in the area of education and leadership where some affirmative actions to ensure women participate were evident. In the media sector, there were no such serious plans to ensure a gender-sensitive media evolved. Nevertheless, the UN Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975 appears to have motivated female Tanzanian journalists to accelerate the production and publication of issues of concern for the women. Consequently from the late 1970s/early 1980s RTD's *National Service* had allocated Women's Programmes three hours per week (Sturmer, 1998). According to Haji (2008), there were also a few publications in the national *Daily News* (that superseded the *Standard*) and party *Mzalendo* newspapers. However, radio was far much better in broadcasting issues concerning the women than the print media (Haji, 2008). The establishment of TAMWA and other gender-based organizations such as the TGNP, that

are engaged in gender advocacy and training of journalists and the general public in gender issues helped to galvanize gender-equality awareness in the media and the general public.

Meanwhile, in Zanzibar, women programmes also started to be produced with even more regularity from the late 1970s onwards. However, according to a survey done for Television Zanzibar in the late 1970s, women's programmes were generally disliked by men because of very low production values (Ng'wanakilala, 1981).

While the male/female ratio of working journalists remains uneven, the future seems more promising. There are more female than male students in journalism training institutions. For instance, a survey carried out in Dar es Salaam's largest media training institutions, the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SJMC) of the University of Dar es Salaam and the Department of Mass Communication of Tumaini University shows that there is an average of 60% female students. However, in newsrooms specifically print, they account for only an average of 25% in editorial positions (Thomas, 2010).

With regard to audience, ordinary people (especially women), are marginalized (Mtambalike, 1996; Sanga, 1996; Kwaramba & Morna, 2003; Solomon, 2006). Kilimwiko (2009) posits that even in the little coverage that ordinary people get, most of it tends to be stereotypical. He asks:

> Why is it that as a rule ordinary/average people appear in the news reports only as law breakers, protesters or victims; while presidents, politicians, business executives, diplomats and professionals always account for a large coverage? (p. v).

Kilimwiko (2009) explains that the media (especially private) are profit-oriented and hence they only cater to advertisers who are basically business people or politicians, who are also mostly men. Meanwhile, those with nothing to sell or buy (the poor/ordinary people) are either marginalized or completely ignored. Poor people, many of them women, do not constitute a viable market or audience. There is no incentive to give them a voice in these types of media (see also Muppidi, 2006). This implies that commercial media mainly treat audiences as consumers and not active receivers of information. But sometimes even ordinary people (especially women) are of market value to the media when stereotypical stories and images of women as sex symbols can be used to sell media. For instance, in Tanzania, it is common for tabloids which usually tend to out-sell broadsheet or more serious newspapers, to portray women that way (Kwaramba & Morna, 2003; Solomon, 2006).

Nevertheless, the MCT's (2012b) media monitoring report on the print media, states that there have been notable improvements in the coverage of gender issues such as women empowerment, female genital mutilation, gender-based violence, gender mainstreaming, reproductive health and schoolgirls pregnancies[18]. However, the report argues that there is still a need to explore the ways in which journalists themselves perceive their role in generating news and information with a gender focus. For instance, the report shows that of the 658 gender-based published stories, 39 percent of actors of stories were gender activists, experts of advocacy movements or government officials. Ordinary people, as actors, accounted for only 21 percent. This suggests that journalists view a gender perspective in a story as more to do with gender experts (officials) than the ordinary men and women, a tendency not helpful in promoting gender equality among people of all classes. The situation with the broadcasting media, the main media that the ordinary people have access to, remains uninvestigated. The report asserts that media coverage that does not consider the impact and significance of a gender story is equal to a gender-blind package of information:

> Coverage that fails to explain how certain negative gender relations run counter to social development as well as how best they can be addressed at the institutional level is of little practical use or relevance (MCT, 2012b, p. 59).

In fact, many journalists think about gender 'quantitatively', that is to equate a gender sensitive story with the number of actors (men and women) involved in the story. But this quantitative aspect alone is not enough as there is a need to consider the impact of that particular actor or story on the men and women concerned. 'Impact of a story to ordinary men and women' is actually the essence of gender-sensitive reporting. From the MCT's argument, one can witness the similarities between development journalism and gender. In this regard, the development journalism indicator of emphasis on impact of a story to ordinary people (see Chapters Five and Eight), is similar to the MCT's view on the impact of a gender-based story. This argument can further be strengthened by Made's (2002) description of a gender perspective/focus in a story:

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[18] In ensuring that journalists incorporate the views of both genders, the MCT has established the Gender Code of Ethics which is informed by the following instruments: the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, Tanzania Women and Gender Development Policy, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child, African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the Windhoek Declaration on Media Freedom in Africa, SADC Protocol on Gender Rights and the Beijing Platform of Action. The code is aimed at governing the conduct and practices of all media practitioners, media owners, publishers and media institutions that are members of the MCT (MCT, 2009) – see Appendix I.

> A gender perspective in a story is the impact of the issue, event or policy reported on women and men, and the analysis of this impact through the voices of both men and women in the story as sources, gender disaggregated data (which can tell how issues or policies impact differently on men and women) (p. 28).

This study aligns with Made's (2002) description of a gender focus. Along the same line, Made and Samhungu (2001, p. 142) posit that a **'gender perspective/focus'** is reflected in news coverage through:

> (a) the analysis of an issue or event through the voices and perspectives of both men and women – women as sources of information for stories, rather than the past norm of a dominance of men's voices in the media on all issues; (b) stories highlighting the impact of an event or an issue on men and women; (c) analysis of women's rights as human rights.

Overall, Made (2005, as cited in Geertsema, 2005) argues that a gender perspective in a story is all about good, detailed and fair journalism; as also stated in Tortajada and Bauwel (2012):

> Quality journalism should incorporate a gender perspective in professional practice and promote coverage that moves away from prejudiced information and that does not worsen the already blatant under-representation of women (p. 150).

As this overview has demonstrated so far, there already has been much work establishing facts on the situation of gender in the media in Tanzania in quantitative terms. What is needed is more emphasis on the qualitative dimensions regarding the situation. Therefore, this study intends to examine gender beyond numbers; its aim is to concentrate on the qualitative aspects of gender-sensitive reporting within the context of development journalism.

After this broad overview of development, gender and media in Tanzania, in the remaining sections of this chapter, I narrow my discussion to zero in on development journalism with a focus on gender.

## 4.4 The Role of Development Journalism

Through development journalism, the media in Tanzania has played important roles in the promotion and attainment of development. For a country which had just gotten independence from colonial rule, it needed very clear media strategies to lead the nation towards a 'desired' direction. Development journalism, which was already proving successful in other developing Asian, African and Latin American countries, was seen as appropriate for Tanzania, particularly in promoting its Policy of Socialism and Self-

Reliance (Kunczik, 1984; see also Skjerdal, 2011). This section explores development journalism in Tanzania in the two eras: socialistic and liberal.

**4.4.1 Development Journalism in the Socialism Era**

Radio Tanzania in particular, having reached almost every corner of the country with its ability to cross the literacy barriers, was seen as a vehicle primarily designed for development to combat poverty, ignorance and diseases. Additionally, there was a need to bring more than 120 ethnic groups together to make the nation cohesive and peaceful. President Nyerere's efforts to achieve this objective consolidated the use of Kiswahili as a national language, which helped to bring down barriers based on ethnicity. Inevitably, journalists during the socialism era largely used Kiswahili in presenting news and other programmes to promote development based on the socialism principles (Kunczik, 1984).

This idea of using the media to advance development in socialistic ideologies (journalists as part of national development), otherwise termed as *Ujamaa* (Socialism) journalism (Skjerdal, 2012), easily merged with development journalism since they had shared ideologies: partnership between government and journalists for national development and they were both products of post-colonial journalism ideologies (see also Skjerdal, 2011). In practice therefore, development journalism was easily adapted by the government-owned media in Tanzania when it was introduced in the 1970s. It was credited with success in bringing about development by developing strategies for effective education, reporting and promoting development and hence improved health, nutrition, family planning, agriculture, and literacy levels (Ng'wanakilala, 1981; Kunczik, 1984; Kivikuru, 1990).

Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam (RTD) (now TBC *Taifa*) successfully ran developmental programmes which brought significant developmental changes in the country. The most popular programmes included educational programmes such as school broadcasts and adult education; agricultural programmes such as *Kilimo ni Uhai* (Agriculture is Life); health programmes such as *Mtu ni Afya* (Man is Health), *Chakula ni Uhai* (Food is Life) and *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times); and development information from the regions such as *Mbiu za Mikoa* (News from the Regions) (Kunczik, 1984; Sturmer 1998). Other successful developmental programmes included *Misitu ni Mali* (Forests are Wealth) and *Uhuru ni Kazi* (Freedom is Work) (Sanga, 1996)

Educational programmes were of extreme importance to start with as immediately after independence the majority of the Tanzanians were living in rural areas where very few villages had access to schools. The high level of illiteracy prompted the emergence of ambitious educational projects from the 1960s to the early 1990s and radio was seen as an important tool in taking basic education to the rural population in Tanzania. Among successful educational programmes included 'school broadcasts' designed to support teachers in improving their teaching. Before the Arusha Declaration of 1967, school transmissions were on general subjects such as language, general science, history and geography for primary schools. For secondary schools, emphasis was placed on civics, science and technology. Following the 1967 Arusha Declaration which introduced the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance and the 1972 Iringa Declaration which pronounced agriculture as the backbone of the country's economy through the *Siasa ni Kilimo* (Politics is Agriculture) Policy, made agriculture the major educational matter. Subsequently, hours for primary and secondary subjects were reduced to provide more time for agriculture, with popular programmes such as *Kilimo ni Uhai* (Agriculture is Life) and *Mkulima wa Kisasa* (The Modern Farmer). Even in schools, agriculture was a subject taught both theoretically and practically (Wakati, 1986; Matumaini, 2009). Sturmer (1998) argues that the 'school broadcasts' was one of the most successful and ambitious development project in Tanzania's broadcasting which collapsed in 1993 due to lack of funds.

*Mtu ni Afya* (Man is Health) was another successful development-oriented programme which started in 1973 with the aim of improving health among the citizens by providing information and education on health issues. The programme which ran for a period of twelve weeks was designed to reach two million adults living in rural areas. It was successful as knowledge about vital health practices increased by an average of 20 percent with some 700,000 pit latrines built in the country as a result of such efforts (Kunczik, 1984; see also Ng'wanakilala, 1981). The success of *Mtu ni Afya* created a desire for yet another programme in 1975, when *Chakula ni Uhai* (Food is Life) aimed at providing information on nutrition, and teaching methods of increasing and preserving food production, started. This programme targeted reaching more than two million people. According to Ng'wanakilala (1981), the campaign was such a success that in just one year after the launch of the campaign, Tanzania became an exporter of food to other countries. In 1976 adult education programmes started to be broadcast. All these programmes helped decrease the nation-wide illiteracy rate from 70 percent to 30 percent (Kunczik, 1984).

Programmes such as *Mtu ni Afya* (Man is Health), *Chakula ni Uhai* (Food is Life) and Adult Education were combined with other communication methods such as radio study groups, programme study books and textile materials carrying the campaign's messages (Matumaini, 2009; see also Ng'wanakilala, 1981). These additional techniques made the campaigns more effective. Despite this success, Ng'wanakilala (1981) raises some important qualitative questions focusing on some significant elements of development journalism, *'impact', 'consensus-orientation'* and *'participation'* (see Chapters Five and Eight) as he argues that a campaign reaching two million people (as the case of *Mtu ni Afya*) might not be of primary importance. What is more important is the impact of the campaign. For example, how many people out of the two million actually managed to change permanently as a result of the media blitz? Ng'wanakilala (1981) observes that despite the reach and success of the campaign, the resultant change of attitudes and behaviour were short-lived, as with time "most of the campaign participants elapsed into their old habits" (p. 88). One main reason for this shortfall, as Ng'wanakilala (1981) explains, was that the campaigns were brought to the people and not originated from the people (top-down mode of communicating development). In other words a consensus was not reached between the people and health experts, there was no participatory communication. In this regard, as Mbilinyi (1997), Kilimwiko (2002), and Johannessen (2006) contend, communication during the socialistic era was mainly one-way traffic despite being theoretically presented as participatory. Meanwhile, *Mbiu za Mikoa* (News from the Regions) was another important programme which reported on various development activities from the villages in accordance with the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy (Sturmer, 1998). In general, all these programmes were geared towards promoting and enabling the attainment of development in line with the nation's policy.

Nevertheless, RTD was not only supposed to meet the interests, needs and aspirations of Tanzanians, but also to push for the liberation of neighbouring African countries such as Uganda, Malawi, Comoro Islands, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Wakati, 1986; see also Matumaini, 2009). This Tanzanian development journalism, therefore, extended beyond the national borders. Indeed, Nyerere (1962) once proclaimed that Tanzania was not independent if the rest of Africa were not. He believed that Tanzania could not effectively develop or live in peace and harmony when other African countries were not free from colonial oppression. The belief was that after individual countries gained independence, Africa will pool their resources together and build an African continent that

knew exactly what she wanted to be, where she wanted to go in terms of ensuring political independence, a good economy and faring well in social and cultural issues, hence promoting development on the African continent as a whole. The External Services of the RTD, which broadcast in English and national/local languages of countries concerned helped to foster this message of liberation across the border (Wakati, 1986).

In general, RTD programmes regarding development by then were given high priority. According to Sturmer (1998) features and documentaries with development issues were allocated 60 minutes per week, adult education 14 hours and 30 minutes per week, development-oriented drama 60 minutes per week and current affairs/general information 21 hours per week; other development information were in the form of news. In Zanzibar, Television Zanzibar (TVZ) took the major role of educating the public by producing broadcasts for schools and spearheading literacy campaigns. Agricultural programmes were introduced as well to provide lessons on farming methods. Health programmes covered children's health and prevention of various diseases (Sturmer, 1998).

With an increased transmission of the HIV and AIDS disease which is believed to have entered the country in the mid-1980s, another programme *Twende na Wakati* (Lets Go with the Times) was introduced in 1993 (Sturmer, 1998). The programme which ended in 2009 contributed significantly to raising awareness on the HIV and AIDS epidemic and in enhancing family planning in Tanzania. This serial drama programme used the entertainment-education strategy in the form of soap opera to apply the Albert Bandura's Theory of Social Learning[19]. Unlike the successful previous programmes which mainly used top-down system of communication, this particular programme used a participatory approach to identify themes. For example, focus group discussions with the audience were used as platforms to address issues pertaining to the quality of the programme, evaluate the effectiveness of the programme and get feedback in form of opinions and suggestions for subsequent themes (Matumaini, 2009). The programme was such as a success that it received the UNESCO's Rural Communication Award in 2000 and the Albert Bandura Influencer Award in 2013 for exceptional public health efforts and influence on behavioural change (http://allafrica.com/stories/200003220081.html, 2013).

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[19] The social learning theory of Bandura (1977) posits that people learn from one another through observation, imitation and modelling enhanced by paying attention, being motivated and memorizing certain behaviour.

## 4.4.2 Development Journalism in the Liberal Era

Changes in the political and economic systems in the country mainly brought by the introduction of the liberalization policy in the mid-1980s came with the establishment of the private media. In the beginning, most of the private broadcasting media were seen not promoting development but mainly as outlets for music and entertainment (Matumaini, 2009). However, gradually some of these private media started to expose corruption and poor governance, issues which affect ordinary people's development. Crusade journalism[20] led to the exposure of corruption scandals starting from 2007, one of which culminated in the sacking of the Governor of the Bank of Tanzania (BoT) in 2008 for the loss of Tshs. 133 billion, and the resignation of the Prime Minister and four other ministers for misuse of public office, hence condemning the country to poorly negotiated contracts with far-reaching implications. Eventually, there was dissolution of the entire cabinet (Manara, 2011; see also Tasseni, 2010). The highly investigative private newspaper *Mwanahalisi,* which took the lead in publishing these corruption scandals, was later in 2012 banned. Before the banning of this newspaper, journalists who wrote these corruption scandals were severely tortured by unknown people. Although these journalists were most of the time using anonymous information actors in their reporting, their style of writing— analytical feature articles, gave room for the journalists' opinions and analysis of issues and events. As a result, they established their stand as corruption fighters.  In late 2013, after the banning of the newspaper, its journalists established a blog (*Mwanahalisi Forum*) with a slogan – 'Freedom with Limitations is Slavery'. The blog posts information where people can comment freely. In just 25 days after being introduced the blog had already accumulated 1,000 followers. It was approximated that at least 30 new people were joining the forum every day (www.mwanahalisiforum.com, 2014).

Other private newspapers which reported about this corruption scandal include *This Day, Kulikoni* and *Raia Mwema* (Manara, 2011). These used to be daily newspapers but have now been reduced into weeklies with none or very little criticism. In fact, since then there has never been a serious corruption scandal that has been exposed by the media. Additionally, ITV through its investigative programme *Ripoti Maalum* (Special Report) exposed how deeply rooted corruption was in the police force. However, the programme

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[20] A journalism technique used during media campaign against corruption in 2008 which took several media championed by *Mwanahalisi* newspaper to publicize relentlessly a series of corruption scandals involving a string of top politicians, senior government officials and big business people. This resulted into the resignation of the prime minister, three ministers and dissolution of the entire cabinet of ministers (Tasseni, 2010). Some media practicioners generally coined this style as 'crusade journalism'.

only ran for a few months and stopped when the producer of the programme was inextricably caught up in a corruption scandal himself (believed to have been a plant). He was charged and later released after being found not guilty. The journalist has since stopped working for the media. Although the programme resumed, it has not been as critical and investigative as it was when it started.

With the banning of the critical newspaper, *Mwanahalisi*, and weaknesses in the resumed *Ripoti Maalum* indicate the existence of government control because of the authoritative and punitive media laws the presence of liberal policies notwithstanding. These are some of the serious challenges that the media faces in performing the critical role of promoting development in Tanzania; a role typical of the investigative type of development journalism (see Kunczik, 1988). Nevertheless, ITV, Radio One and Star TV (privately-owned media) have been commended for playing a significant role in fighting against albino killings[21]. There are also 'Breakfast Show' programmes on some commercial media such as Clouds FM and Times Radio, which attempt to criticize irresponsible leaders in the country so that they can reform. On the other hand, TBC Radio and Television ('state–public service' media) have been playing a significant role in rural reporting by exposing and condemning albino killings in addition to promoting environmental protection campaigns. These are development-oriented roles.

On the whole, some positive development-oriented results have been observed in Tanzania thanks to media efforts. Apart from the resignation of the ministers, the exposure of a multi-million pounds corruption scandal involving the British Security Firm (BAE) in the supply of aviation radar to Tanzania worth about 30 million pounds that was illegally purchased in 1999 resulted in BAE returning the money. The money has been directed to educational projects in Tanzania (Doyle, 2011). Additionally, albino killings have reduced and an organization 'Under the Same Sun' was established to ensure their safety (http://utsstz.wordpress.com, 2014). In fact, a Tanzanian freelance journalist for the BBC, Vicky Ntetema, won the 2010 Courage in Journalism Award from the International Media Foundation (IMF) for her exemplary investigative skills in reporting albino killings in Tanzania (BBC News–Africa, 2010). There are also some improvements in environment

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[21] In some parts of Tanzania there is a misconception in witchcraft that albinos or their parts can be used to create or attain wealth. Although this deadly practice has been there for sometimes, it became more public in 2006 when the media repeatedly reported about these horrible events. In fact, many albinos have lost their lives or their limbs as a result of this brutal malpractice, which the media has been steadfast in exposing so that it can be rooted out.

conservation and protection championed by the Association of Tanzanian Environmental Journalists (JET)[22] among other efforts and environmental organizations. JET has managed to contribute to the abolition of a once proposed 'Prawns Fishing Project' at the Rufiji River Delta. According to information from the JET website (www.jettanz.com), the delta contains unique, irreplaceable and world's most productive ecosystems consisting of diverse species of plant and animal life. If fishing was allowed, it could have highly destructed the ecosystem. JET has also campaigned against illegal hunting and poaching of wildlife in collaboration with villagers surrounding the hunting blocks. The controversial case of Loliondo has yet to be resolved. Furthermore, JET has been at the forefront in combating desertification and drought in the country. It has also been promoting environmental reporting by offering annual awards since 2006 to journalists who have demonstrated exemplary skills in reporting on environmental issues (www.jettanz.com, 2012). Similarly, there are improvements in social, political, economic and cultural issues that marginalize women and the minorities, done by TAMWA (see section 4.6).

Furthermore, in 2010, *Twaweza,* a citizen-centered initiative, aiming at large-scale positive social change in East Africa, in partnership with Kilimanjaro Production Company; launched *Daladala*[23] Television programme focusing on ordinary people giving them an opportunity to discuss and analyse social, economic and political challenges they face in their daily lives. This 'mobile' reality Television show which is aired daily on the national Television (TBC 1) is set in a *Daladala* where passengers are randomly picked and offered a free ride to their destinations. During the ride, the passengers guided by the presenter discuss news, current affairs and numerous issues that affect their lives. The daladala is equipped with small cameras, microphones and editing tools. The programme's first season which consisted of 156 episodes aired in 26 weeks, resulted to 2.7 million viewers, exceeding the target of 1 million viewers (http://www.twaweza.org/go/programs, 2012). With this success, the programme expanded to neighbouring countries, Uganda and Kenya, and also introduced a radio show programme. Consequently the name of the programme changed from *Daladala* to *Minibuzz* (http://www.twaweza.org/go/minibuzz-viewers, 2013). In the context of the programme, the word *Minibuzz* has the same meaning as

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[22] Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET) is an independent, non-governmental organization established in 1991. It focuses on using the media to raise public awareness on environmental problems and sustainable development. It also enhances good governance in environmental management.
[23] *Daladala* is a name given to a bus that is officially recognized as a means of public transport in Tanzanian cities and towns.

*Daladala*. However, the programme is more focused on ordinary people in urban areas, whom, just because they board *daladalas* (public transport) are referred to as 'ordinary people'; in the view of this study it is not necessarily the case. A focus on ordinary people's problems and solutions based on involving the people concerned is typical of development journalism practice.

In addition, Tasseni (2010) asserts that citizens have also been involved in the exposure of evils that deprive them of their development. For instance, during the exposure of the grand corruption scandal, which led to the resignation of ministers, some citizens played a key role in uploading relevant corruption materials on the Internet which highly informed the mainstream media. Of late, citizens have also been active in uploading information concerning officials and their relatives who are implicated in drug trafficking businesses, a serious issue in Tanzania today. Similarly, citizens have been involved in campaigns against illegal hunting and poaching of wildlife as explained earlier. Tasseni (2010) refers to this people's involvement in media content production as 'public interest' or 'citizen' journalism. Citizen participation in journalism concurs with the traits of development journalism in the context of participatory communication.

Moreover, a seasoned journalist in Tanzania, Johnson Mbwambo, urges Tanzanian journalists to side with the oppressed so as to help them in their various problems. He regards 'neutrality' as an unfriendly journalistic value to the oppressed people (Mbwambo, 2013; see also Chapter One). Mbwambo's argument is also similar to the traits of development journalism in the context of participatory communication. In fact, the aspect of journalists siding with the oppressed concurs with Banda's (2007) model on development journalism and feminist calls on journalism by Steiner (2009) – see Chapters One and Two.

During the launching of the Tanzania Editor's Forum (TEF) in May 2007, the then Chairperson of the Forum, Sakina Dattoo, explained that the major aim of the forum is to help the government eradicate poverty. She emphasized on partnership between the media and the government in bringing about development to the majority poor Tanzanians. She actually urged the government to support the media in their developmental roles. However, Dattoo cautioned on conditions concerning this support that the media requires from the government:

I just want to make one point clear, this support is very vital but this does not make us pro or against anybody. When issues come in that we will have to criticize somebody, in the context of national interest, we will do so. But at the same time we are not here to destroy anybody either. We are not against the government, we are not against the business community; the media in general is not supposed to be pro or against anybody. The role of the media is national interest […]. By national interest we mean the majority of this country (TEF, 2007).

In this speech, statements like 'partnership between journalists and government in developing Tanzania', 'journalists criticizing the government for national interest', 'majority of the people' – in Tanzania the majority are the ordinary people; strongly reflect the goals of development journalism. In fact, an aspect of journalists criticizing the government concurs with Xiaoge's (2009b) model of development journalism (see Chapter One).

These various efforts by print, electronic and on-line media, private and 'state–public service' owned media, mainstream and non-mainstream media, journalism associations and individual journalists, as well as NGOs and citizens raise some important questions regarding the practice of development journalism in Tanzania's post-1990 liberal era as these efforts strongly reflect the goals of development journalism. Some important questions arise here: is development journalism assuming new shapes? Or, are the 'new' forms and roles of journalism incorporate development journalism traits? This study attempts to answer these questions in its exploration of the practice of development journalism in contemporary Tanzania.

After this overview of development journalism in both the socialistic and liberal eras, I now turn to explore and discuss gender-focused development journalism (GF-DJ).

## 4.5 Gender-focused Development Journalism (GF-DJ)

Tracing a gender focus in development journalism from the socialism era, some of the development-oriented programmes such as the popular '*Mtu ni Afya'* and *'Chakula ni Uhai*', content-wise (basing on culture) were more oriented towards a female audience. Although culture, which determines women's and men's roles in contemporary times depends more on educational, social, technological and economic backgrounds and generally the effects of globalization; culturally, issues concerning food and health were by then more of women's than men's responsibilities. That is, in terms of ensuring family members have eaten and are in good health, although men were supposed to provide

money for food or medical bills. Mannathoko (1992) demonstrates that media efforts to educate women during the socialistic era in Tanzania focused more on health issues. Similarly, in the area of agriculture, informational and educational programmes focused on those who were doing agricultural work. In this case, the women were/still are mostly doing all the field work and men were/are responsible for selling the products (see Okwemba et al., 2011). Furthermore, some development-oriented programmes such as *'Twende na Wakati'* were produced by female journalists.

Based on the aforementioned, it can be posited that the claim of women marginalization in this particular style of journalism and the contradictions against this claim suggests that a gender focus in the practice of development journalism by the broadcasting media is not well known in Tanzania, particularly from a 'qualitative' perspective. In fact, Kivikuru (2009) contends that a number of research in the area of development communication in Africa has been more of quantitative than qualitative. In addition, some of these development-oriented programmes during the socialistic era (with the exception of women's programmes) were not so clear on a gender focus nor did they specifically target reporting with a gender focus. TAMWA's programmes and publications demonstrated a gender focus for social transformation, which started in 1988 to-date.

Overall, apart from TAMWA's women/gender programmes and publications geared towards development in the liberal era, the 'qualitative' situation with other development-oriented programmes in the liberal era with regard to a gender focus is little known. The following section, therefore, specifically examines TAMWA's 'bang' style of journalism as a case study of the GF-DJ practice in Tanzania.

## 4.6 TAMWA's 'Bang' Journalism

TAMWA does research, prepare, air and publish media programmes and media campaigns in the areas of health, corruption, gender violence, unfair cultural practices, women's political participation, gender equality and poverty reduction; aiming at promoting and enabling ordinary women and minority groups in Tanzania attain development (Nkya, 2008). In the context of journalism, the most unique and noticeable of TAMWA's work is the technique of 'Bang Journalism', which reflects characteristics of development journalism as it is geared towards promoting positive social change and development through participatory processes. It also reflects contemporary feminists' calls on media as it serves the interests of women and ordinary people (see Chapter Two).

The 'bang' style of journalism is described as a unique way of using the media to engage the public (especially the ordinary people) using newspapers, radio and television, all carrying the same message while at the same time advocating for positive change in the society. It also sometimes entails using other means of communication such as pictures, cartoons, poems, posters, editorials, dramas, features. As a strategy, it has worked well since its establishment in the early 2000's (Nkya, 2008).

For instance, between 1994 and 2001, TAMWA implemented the 'Information Dissemination on the Health of Women and Children in Tanzania' programme. This development programme dealt with Plague (a disease caused by rat fleas) in Lushoto district in North Eastern Tanzania. A survey carried out by journalists established that the disease which had existed for more than 15 years was fuelled by lack of knowledge. Habits such as sleeping on the floor, going to witch-doctors instead of hospitals once one gets the disease were common and helped to spread the disease. Data from the survey were disseminated to the public by the 'bang journalism', which was for the first time introduced by the then Director of TAMWA, Ananilea Nkya. The extensive publicity of the problem made the government together with other stakeholders intervene and strategize on how to eradicate plague in Lushoto as a matter of urgency. The resultant campaign managed to eliminate the disease primarily through education, sensitization of the people to change habits and provision of medical facilities. Nkya (2008) argues that the bang journalism proved to be a powerful tool for social change.

Following the success of this project, a similar technique (bang style) was used again in 2000 to raise awareness on breast and cervical cancer in a countrywide campaign using the commercial radio, Radio One and experts from the Medical Women Association of Tanzania (MEWATA). Through TAMWA and MEWATA advocacy campaigns, women learnt how to examine themselves for breast humps and cervical tumour. According to Nkya (2008), the breast and cervical cancer campaigns have been the most successful campaigns in the health sector. Apart from the awareness it has brought to the public about the disease, the government has also established the National Cancer Institute in Dar es Salaam. Radio One in the meantime has received the Martin Luther King Drum Award in recognition of its efforts in advancing 'investigative journalism'[24] in Tanzania. On

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[24] In the context of this particular campaign on which the award was based, it is the view of this study that the proper type of journalism that worked in the campaign (basing on its characteristics of promoting social change to the ordinary people) was development journalism executed in the 'bang' format.

individual achievements, the Chairperson of MEWATA during the campaign, Dr. Marina Njelekela is now the Executive Director of the Muhimbili National Hospital, the largest national hospital in Tanzania.

Besides these two most successful media campaigns, TAMWA in 1998 conducted a survey in Dar es Salaam to establish the quality of services offered by both public and private hospitals and pharmacies. The survey revealed that corruption, negligence and lack of medicines were among the major factors affecting the ordinary person; especially women and children. Moreover, a number of pharmacies around town were dispensing controlled drugs without medical prescription as legally required and as though these were over-the-counter drugs. Using the bang style of journalism to publicize the issue resulted into government intervention. A number of hospitals and pharmacies were ordered to close down since they did not meet the required standards. Health practitioners were also ordered to wear name tags, which has since then become a national policy. These tags help patients identify and report corrupt health practitioners (Nkya, 2008). TAMWA has also been involved in anti-corruption campaigns by raising awareness on the benefit of a corruption-free environment. For instance, TAMWA was also involved in the media campaign against corruption which led to the resignation of ministers as explained earlier.

In addition, TAMWA has been at the forefront in campaigns against unfair cultural practices which are harmful to women. These are such as killing of elderly women suspecting them to be witches in Shinyanga and Mwanza regions and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) practised in many regions in Tanzania. Extensive media campaigns to create awareness on the negative effects of these acts were done and they have been reduced or completely abolished in some regions (Nkya, 2008). For instance, TAMWA managed to make FGM illegal in 1998 through the Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act (SOSPA), an Act which was also initiated by TAMWA (Nkya, 2008). TAMWA has also carried out serious campaigns with regard to the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

Based on the aforementioned, it is no doubt that TAMWA has done and is still doing a commendable job in Tanzania with regard to the promotion and attainment of development from a gendered perspective. However, it is important to note that TAMWA, as an organization with its own objectives, deals with specific issues to achieve its objectives. Moreover, most of the research, surveys and campaigns carried out by TAMWA are specifically funded by local and international organizations, hence it is not something that

they do on a daily basis and/or on every burning issue rather it depends on a particular issue that is seen relevant according to the organization's objectives and the availability of funds. According to Lweno (2008), the funding dilemma is a serious challenge for TAMWA's activities.

Despite TAMWA claiming to be a gender concerned organization, its major emphasis remains promoting the welfare of women. This could pose as another challenge to the organization and the practice of development journalism focusing gender as a whole. For instance, while the breast and cervical cancer campaign was going on, a television news programme on ITV aired some men complaining that they also need a similar campaign as many of them also suffer from cancer of their reproductive organs. This particular complaint of this category of people has yet to be taken up by TAMWA or like-minded organizations. Perhaps to create a balance or fill this void, a men's organization has been established in 2010 by a group of few men, the Tanzania Men's Rights Association (TAMRA) with a slogan that says, 'Protect a Man, Protect a Male Child' (www.tamratanzania.blogspot.com, 2012). It is an organization campaigning for men's rights at family, community and national levels. But it has not been effective and popular.

Furthermore, in its use of the 'bang' style journalism, research, campaigns and surveys, TAMWA handles one issue at a time. Yet, this developmental role of the media (development journalism) to create a huge impact must be consistent and address a number of issues and problems of concern to cater for the interests of the various categories of ordinary people. In a country like Tanzania with many media and many journalists, surely such a trend could have brought about much more positive impact with regard to development. Generally the extent to which journalists in their media houses put into practise gender-focused development journalism remains largely not well-known.

In addition, TAMWA is not only concerned with journalism; it has several other activities thusly: (i) serving as a crisis centre, whereby it advocates for legal literacy for ordinary people (especially women and children, the major victims of gender violence). (ii) Promoting women's political participation by focusing on women's participation in decision-making and leadership in various sectors of the country. For instance, through TAMWA's efforts, there were 30 percent women parliamentarians in 2005, compared to 22 percent in 2000 (Nkya, 2008). The number increased in 2010 by a further six percent (Okwemba et al., 2011). (iii) Poverty alleviation, whereby TAMWA has been actively

involved focusing on both men and women. (iv) Gender training, TAMWA also offers gender training to journalists (Nkya, 2008). These other activities (the crisis centre, women emancipation, poverty alleviation and gender training) though equally important, might hinder TAMWA from feeding the media with development promotion programmes and publications on a regular and sustainable basis. Nevertheless, despite these challenges facing the bang journalism, it still stands out as an exemplar of GF-DJ practice in Tanzania. Overall, as argued by White (2013): "In many respects TAMWA has become a model advocacy organization in Africa and has shown how discrimination against women in the media can be rectified'' (p. 32).

At this juncture therefore, following the trend of development journalism and its focus on gender from the socialistic to the contemporary era, it is important to note that the development-promotion kind of journalism practised in Tanzania's media houses, journalism associations, by the citizens and supported by NGOs, today; which sometimes is associated with *investigative journalism* and which journalists (depending on circumstances) broadly refer to as *crusade journalism*, *bang journalism*, or *watchdog journalism*, sometimes associated with *public interest* or *citizen journalism* and urges journalists to *side with the oppressed*; calls for an examination of the practice of development journalism and its focus on gender in contemporary Tanzania. According to the researcher's knowledge this research area has received little scholarly attention.

## 4.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to broadly examine gender, media and development in Tanzania before narrowing the scope to gender-focused development journalism. It has been demonstrated that despite the various efforts in mainstreaming gender in development aspects and the media, women are still a minority group in development processes and in the media. However, there are some gradual improvements.

The practice of development journalism during the socialism era indicates its presence in the liberal era. Whereas in the socialistic era, the practice of development journalism was well-pronounced and its focus on gender somehow visible in some programmes' content and expected nature of audience; in the liberal era literature suggests that some programmes and publications indicate the traits of the practice of development journalism in journalism formats and journalism roles broadly referred to as *investigative journalism,*

*crusade journalism*[25], *bang journalism, citizen journalism, watchdog journalism* and *voice of the voiceless*. These varieties of development-oriented journalism and developmental roles are carried out by individual journalists in their media houses, journalism associations such as TAMWA and JET, supported by NGOs such as *Twaweza,* and carried out by the citizens.

A gender focus in the practice of development journalism in the liberal era is mostly pronounced by TAMWA's *'bang' journalism* which exhibits salient characteristics of development journalism and feminist ideologies on journalism. However, this 'bang' style of journalism faces a number of challenges with regard to its frequency and sustainability particularly because it is associational-based. Basically, these journalistic NGOs such as TAMWA and JET, and the *minibuzz* development-oriented programme sponsored by an NGO, *Twaweza*, depend on funds from local and international organizations for their existence. This raises questions pertaining to their autonomy and even sustainability in the long-term. By and large, what happens in day-to-day professional conducts in media houses with respect to GF-DJ remains largely unexplored from a qualitative perspective. Conclusively, the literature available indicates that the practice of gender-focused development journalism in the Tanzanian media (especially in the liberal era) is not well known, which brings us to the next section where I discuss and establish this research gap.

## 4.8 The Research Issue

This overview on development journalism, feminism, gender and development; underscores multiple significant points but also makes visible several gaps and oversights that need to be addressed further.

*First*, development journalism (despite being an idea of the 1960s) is still practised in some developing countries today particularly in Asia. However, the practice differs from one country to another as it is being influenced and altered by individual countries' social, economic, cultural, political and technological changes and overall challenges of globalization.

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[25] In the view of this study, crusade journalism as was practised in 2008 is similar to the 'Bang' style of journalism as they both pursue an issue until it is resolved and they aim at achieving development-oriented goals. The main difference between the two is that crusade journalism is highly investigative and was practised by journalists who do not belong to an association. It was also mainly focused on corruption. Whereas 'bang' journalism is largely used in health and women issues and is practised under a journalism association (TAMWA).

*Second,* development journalism is still regarded relevant in Africa to deal with numerous developmental challenges. Hence, there is a need to revive and re-model the practice of development journalism in Africa so as to cope with the contemporary development challenges in Africa.

*Third,* literature review demonstrates important overlaps between the salient ideologies of development journalism, feminism and gender; specifically contemporary models on the practice of development journalism in the context of participatory communication as well as gender and feminist theories and approaches to journalism, are closely related. Yet what remains unknown is how these ideologies can work together in practice in advancing developmental needs of ordinary people (especially women). So far, it has been claimed that development journalism marginalizes women similar to other forms of journalism.

*Fourth,* there are continued traces of the practice of development journalism in Tanzania in the contemporary era, yet what remains unknown is how exactly the practice has adapted to the various social, economic, cultural, political and technological changes as a result of deregulation and effects of globalization that have completely changed and are still impacting the media scene in Tanzania. In fact, there is lack of scholarly research in this field in international academic journals and books with regard to development journalism in Tanzania and even less on development journalism focusing gender. The commonly cited work is often outdated by now, rarely addresses gender and does not reflect the current socio-political and economic situation (e.g., Kunczik 1984, 1986 & 1988; Kivikuru, 1990 & 2001; Mwaffisi, 1999, Ramaprasad, 2001).

*Fifth,* the literature shows that there is evidence of a gender focus in the practice of development journalism in contemporary Tanzania specifically with regard to TAMWA's bang journalism. Yet, what remains unknown after the review of literature is what exactly happens besides TAMWA. For instance, how do these journalists fare in their day-to-day work in their respective media houses (when they are not executing TAMWA's assignments)? How do female journalists who are not members of TAMWA (if any) fare? How do male journalists (who are non-members of TAMWA but may have had gender training) practise development journalism with a gender focus in their respective media houses? In fact, despite of a number of quantitative studies on media and gender; qualitatively, it is not well known how development journalism focusing gender is practised in specific media organizations.

Overall, there is a need to extend scholarly research in Tanzania to the actual practice of development journalism and its focus on gender. In fact, what Xiaoge (2009a) observed for other countries, holds true in this case as well: what is missing is the qualitative examination of the practice of development journalism. In Tanzania, the focus should be on the lived experience and actual media practice.

Beyond this detailed qualitative examination, the goal of the current study is programmatic. It also attempts to propose a model of journalism that will address the needs of ordinary people (in a gendered perspective) that responds to the failure of development journalism (see Chapter One), the Critical Mass Theory and the glass ceiling effects (see Chapter Two). Hence, beyond the study's focus on examining the current practice of development journalism with a gender focus in Tanzania, it also attempts to answer the feminist calls on developing new forms of journalism that will cater for all minorities (men and women).

The Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media provide an interesting case study for a closer assessment of the practice of development journalism focusing gender. It is relevant because in Tanzania, development journalism was largely practised in the broadcasting media; hence studying the same media to explore the practice, past and present provides important continuity. Furthermore, in a developing country like Tanzania where poverty and illiteracy exist, the mainstream broadcasting media, especially radio, are still the central media for ordinary people due to characteristics of crossing the literacy barriers, affordability, immediacy and wide coverage. Even television has a significant impact given its visual strengths, despite the fact that it is only accessible to few people so far. Actually, as elaborated in Chapter Three, television is more popular than newspapers – a medium for the few elite and middle class individuals in urban areas. In addition, despite the fact that the limited-range community radios (Mrutu, 2008) and Christian religion radios (Matumaini, 2009) have both shown success in promoting development in various areas, these types of radio stations are also limited to their religious/ideological affiliations. In fact, there are still very few effective community and Christian radios to cater for the larger Tanzanian population (Mrutu, 2008; Matumaini, 2009). Overall, the mainstream broadcasting media which do not have a specific audience focus, are the most feasible choice to study the dynamics of the practice of development journalism with a gender focus. They remain the more viable option for serving national development needs.

Based on these circumstances, the study addresses the following main qualitative research questions:

*RQ1:* How has a gender focus evolved in the practice of development journalism in Tanzania's mainstream broadcasting media?

*RQ2:* To what extent is the Tanzanian environment (social, political, economic, cultural, and technological) supportive of gender-focused development journalism run by the Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media?

*RQ3:* How do the mainstream broadcasting journalists ensure gender-focused development journalism in the era of liberalization?

*RQ4:* What is the relevance of gender-focused development journalism in the era of liberalization?

These questions form the kernel of objectives on which this study is based upon.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## METHODOLOGY

The previous chapters have provided both the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that guide this study. They have also established the context within which the study takes place as well as the research questions. At this stage, it is important to reiterate that the primary aim of this study is to explore the practice of development journalism and its employment of gender in Tanzania's mainstream broadcasting stations amidst various changes in the media industry brought on by deregulation and globalization challenges. This chapter, therefore, discusses the choice of research methods employed in carrying out this study. Special attention is given to the research design, as well as other methodological and ethical considerations pertaining to this study.

### 5.1 Methods and Research Design

This study explores the practice of development journalism (with a gender focus) in Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media using a qualitative research approach. This decision was based on Lindlof and Taylor (2002) who recommend qualitative approaches when the goal is to understand the complexities of the meaning of communication practices. Qualitative research is often explorative and open-ended which allows for discovery, description, and understanding. In fact, qualitative research provides a depth and richness of data not available through quantitative data. According to Lindlof (1995), qualitative research focuses more on details, which is also reflected in the fact that there are fewer participants and smaller samples used in qualitative research. In contrast, the quantitative research approach uses a larger sample population to generate numerical data that is used to quantify attitudes, opinions, and behaviours; it generalizes results from a larger sample (Silverman, 2010). Overall, the decision on which approach to employ (qualitative or quantitative) in a research inquiry, highly depends on the research problem and research objectives at hand (Bryman, 1988).

The goal was to employ research methods that can generate in-depth explanations based on the experiences of the people who work in the broadcasting media and related institutions and by evaluating relevant media content. Hence, the study largely adopted a qualitative research design where in-depth interviews and qualitative programme analysis were employed for data collection. Data sources were: interviews with journalists who produce development-oriented programmes, journalism trainers as well as gender and

development/media experts along with an analysis of a sample of development-oriented programmes. These two data collection techniques served as triangulation to address the aspects of validity – in an attempt to confirm the results by using different data sources. But they also served the aspect of complementarity as content analysis of programmes added information on what was said in the interviews.

Research and data gathering in this study were organized in two inter-dependent phases whereby the first one informed the second. In the first phase, I conducted in-depth interviews with development-oriented journalists. In fact, I mainly relied on interviews with these purposely selected development-oriented journalists as the main entry point for addressing the interests of this study. These journalists were also used to identify potential development-oriented programmes for analysis in the second phase. Additionally, in order to contextualize these personal experiences at an institutional level, the first phase also involved in-depth interviews with journalism trainers from leading higher learning journalism institutions, and gender and development/media experts from higher learning institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Furthermore, in an attempt to contextualize the study, I reviewed primary sources such as policy statements, newspapers, speeches on audio tapes and other printed materials related to media, gender and development (see Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

In the second phase I collected and analysed the development-oriented programmes mentioned by journalists during the first phase. A development-oriented programme in the context of this study is defined as a programme that centrally deals with issues that are the concerns of people in relation to their development in social, political, economic, cultural, or technological terms. This is in line with Rogers' (1983) definition of development and the description of development journalism presented in Chapter One.

The first phase as summarized in Chapter Six, titled 'Interview Findings on GF-DJ by Journalists', provides a qualitative presentation and interpretation through thematic analysis of data based on the in-depth perspectives of journalists who produce development-oriented programmes. The interviews were conducted between September 2012 and November 2012. In an attempt to properly and effectively narrate the evolution of 'a gender focus' in the practice of development journalism (specifically with regard to the first research question) the interviews with journalists and gender and development/media experts were juxtaposed with a review of an especially relevant

TAMWA document – entitled *20 years of Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA): Moving the Agenda for Social Transformation in Tanzania*. The book is a central document that narrates the history of TAMWA's struggles towards women and gender transformation in Tanzania by important TAMWA's co-founders. It also discusses the current status and the organization's way forward. My review of this document helped tracing the evolution of GF-DJ practice while developing the stages of the evolution of the practice. The first phase also consisted of a qualitative analysis of interviews with journalism trainers as well as gender and development/media experts; these formed the seventh chapter of this study titled 'Interview Findings on GF-DJ by Journalism Trainers and Experts'.

The second phase resulted in 'Findings of Programme Analysis' (Chapter Eight). Its focus is on a qualitative analysis of a sample of audio (radio) and visual (television) materials. The development-oriented programmes on radio and television were selected following qualitative sampling strategies as a mix of purposive and non-purposive sampling. The data gathered here ranges from 1995 to 2013.

The next section looks at some methodological considerations relevant to this study.

## 5.2 Methodological Considerations

This study mainly concentrated on development-oriented journalists from popular and large mainstream broadcasting corporations in Tanzania. The special selection on development-oriented journalists was based on the assumption that they are more aware of development journalism or principles of development reporting through the programmes that they produce than those journalists who focus on other programmes such as pure entertainment, music programmes for instance. These development-oriented journalists were most likely to provide the answers to the questions raised in this study. As such, this study involved both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting stations grouped into three major categories. First, the 'state–public service' broadcaster category whereby the only representative, the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) was chosen with an emphasis on TBC *Taifa* (Radio) and TBC 1 (Television). Second, in the commercial broadcaster two leading commercial stations were chosen: Industrial Production Promotion (IPP) Media and Sahara Media Group (SMG). The selected broadcasting stations were: Independent Television (ITV) and Radio One from IPP Media, Star Television (Star TV) and Radio Free Africa (RFA) from SMG. These six broadcasting stations (see Chapter Three for details) were included because they are both popular and pervasive in rural and urban areas, among both young and old people in Tanzania

Mainland and Zanzibar (see Jones & Mhando, 2006; Jecha, 2007; Matumaini, 2009; Murthy, 2011).

Notably however, the study did not include community and partisan broadcasting stations due to the limitations of their broadcasting reach and mission that caters only to a limited number of people, despite some studies revealing that community media can be very effective in engaging the community due to its proximity to the audience (Rennie, 2006; Mrutu, 2008). In addition, several studies have already been done in Tanzania regarding this category of media and have indicated that only a few are effective in promoting development to the small communities concerned (see Chapter Three).

Concerning development-oriented programmes, it is important to state here that I did not intend to compare the selected development-oriented programmes with other broadcasting programmes. Rather the intention was to supplement the information from the journalists' interviews and to enhance validity through triangulation (see Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In addition, these development-oriented programmes did not include hard news programmes but other formats of production such as features, discussions, narrations, dramas and interviews. Since news items tend to be short (especially in the electronic media), they might not be good cases for detecting the salient elements of development journalism described in sub-section 5.4.1.

Furthermore, the study involved journalism faculty from leading journalism training institutions in Tanzania, the public-owned School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SJMC), which is based in Dar es Salaam and the private-owned St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT), which is based in Mwanza. In addition, I interviewed gender and development/media experts from leading gender and development/media institutions, in particular from the University of Dar es Salaam Gender Center (GC), the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam (IDS), Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) and the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT). For details about MCT see Chapter Three. Information about TAMWA and TGNP has been provided in Chapter Four. GC is in charge of encouraging gender equality and equity at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). It was established in 2006 following institutional transformations at the UDSM in the 1990s. The centre focuses on research, sensitization, capacity building and affirmative actions on

gender equality such as the emphasis on girls' enrolment in science courses. IDS aims to impart various development perspectives and gender studies to students.

After this overview on methodological considerations, the remaining sections in this chapter discuss the tools employed for data collection, sampling procedures and sample size as well as data analysis and ethical issues.

## 5.3 In-depth Interviews

Since this study mainly explores practices and lived experiences, in-depth interviews were ideal for this investigation. As Keyton (2011) argues, interviews are a practical qualitative method for discovering how people think about their communication practices. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) outline some of the objectives for conducting an interview:

> Gathering information about things or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means; inquiring about occurrences in the past; verifying, validating, or commenting on information obtained from other sources; achieving efficiency in data collection (p. 173).

Another advantage is that in-depth interviews allow the researcher to ask follow-up questions and pursue issues arising from the questions for a considerable length of time (Berger, 1991). Additionally, Weaver and Loffelholz (2008) explain that interviews are the appropriate method for answering the 'why' and 'how' questions. In this study, interviews aided in providing rich, detailed and descriptive information concerning respondents' understanding and experiences.

Interviews were conducted with the development-oriented journalists from the six leading mainstream broadcasting stations mentioned in the previous section. The interviews were geared to answer all research questions (see Appendix II). As advised by Lindlof (1995), an interview guide was used to ensure that all questions were asked and also to provide a structure of the interviews that will be helpful in the analysis. The interviewees were asked to provide responses to open-ended questions. With the exception of tenses (past for retired journalists and present for current journalists), all interviewees were asked nearly the same questions in nearly the same order which enabled a systematic and efficient way of gathering information. Nevertheless, this systematic way of asking questions did not jeopardize a conversational flow between the interviewer and interviewees as it was mainly used as a guide. As advised by Lindlof and Taylor (2011) interview guides are appropriate where respondents have varying experiences and expertise, as such an interview guide (which allows flexibility in questioning) was appropriate for this study

compared to an interview schedule which is more strict and structured (see Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). With this type of respondents where some are more experienced and knowledgeable than others, interviews were ideal compared to focus group discussions for instance, whereby there is possibility of more experienced participants to overshadow the less experienced ones (Smithson, 2008; see also Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). In addition, journalists' nature of work most of the time hinders the possibility of having them all together at a particular point in time for a group discussion.

### 5.3.1 Selection of Respondents and Interview Questions

The focus of the study was on development-oriented journalists from the socialistic era to contemporary times. Purposive sampling, based on snowball sampling technique was appropriate for the kind of respondents expected to participate in this study, as they were supposed to have something in common (see Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). In this case the focus was only on journalists producing development-oriented programmes. Hence, I started the process (snowball) with the most prominent development-oriented journalists I knew (two retired development-oriented journalists). These were used to start off the interviews and were then asked to suggest the best respondents for a similar interview. It is from the retired journalists that some prominent current development-oriented journalists were also recommended for the interview (as noted in Chapter Six, retired journalists are watching closely on how media operates in the liberal era). Eventually, the sample consisted of 19 respondents representing three major clusters: five *retired*, eleven *serving* and three *new* development-oriented journalists. The *new* development-oriented journalists were only mentioned by the *serving* development-oriented journalists (as illustrated in Figure IV). Most of the retired development-oriented journalists (who worked before deregulation) are currently working under short-term contracts in media-related organizations, while the current development journalists are found in their respective media organization. Despite this focused selection, I thrived to ensure representation of both male and female development-oriented journalists. Another consideration in balancing the sample was age and experience of the journalists involved in the study. Below, I present a brief profile of the development-oriented journalists involved in the study. Their names' initials, which are used in the presentation, analysis and discussion of data in the following chapters, are also provided here in.

The five *retired* development-oriented journalists (two males and three females) are as follows:

Edda Sanga *( E.D.)* – co-founder and former Chairperson of TAMWA, former Director of RTD and currently the Media Manager of the University of Dar es Salaam Media.

Halima Kihemba *(H.K.)* – held various positions at the UWT and is currently the District Commissioner of Kibaha Region.

Rose Haji *(R.H.)* – co-founder of TAMWA, former Director of MISA-TAN and currently working with UNESCO's Communications Department in Tanzania.

Suleiman Hegga *(S.H.)* – currently chairperson for the National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA).

Salim Mbonde *(S.M.)* – currently produces a Health Programme for TBC-*Taifa* on contract basis.

These five retired journalists aged above 55 years, had working experience (as journalists) ranging between 25 and 30 years (from late 1960s to the early and mid-2000s), that means they worked in both the socialist and the liberal era. During the interviews, these retired journalists explained that they had received journalism training in-house and later in international broadcasting stations such as the BBC. They also obtained their training in journalism institutions outside the country. Most of them had ordinary diplomas in journalism, with the exception of one female who had a Master's degree in journalism. *R.H.* explained that by then there were two main branches in the Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) broadcasting station, namely: the news section and the programmes section. At that time, most respondents started working as assistant broadcasters and programme assistants and rose slowly through the ranks such as Head of Office Zones, Head of Programmes, Controller of Programmes, Deputy Director of RTD and Director of RTD, for those who were in the programmes sections. A typical career in the news section, as described by *R.H.*, was to start as an assistant broadcaster, then a reporter, before becoming a news editor, a sub-editor and finally a Bureau Chief. Respondents hinted at the fact that it was not easy to reach such heights, especially for a woman. However, the three women who were suggested most often as best journalists in reporting development issues reached these ranks. For instance, *H.K.* was the first woman to be a Bureau Chief. When asked how she got that post she said it was through hard work. Moreover, she had received a Diploma in Rural Reporting; hence she was taken to lead an office in one of the rural areas of Tanzania. Another woman, *R.H.* had also been a Bureau Chief whereas *E.S.* became the Deputy Director and finally the Director of RTD (the first and only woman so far to hold

such a post). Meanwhile, the male respondents, *S.H.* had risen to the post of Controller of Programmes and *S.M.* had reached to the post of Programme Producer.

The 11 *serving* development-oriented journalists (four males and seven females) and three *new* journalists (all males), are presented below.

**TBC *Taifa* - Radio**

- Alex Magwiza *(A.M.)* – producer, editor and presenter of the *Hifadhi Zetu* (Our National Parks) Programme.

- Judica Losai *(J.L.)* – producer of the *Mazingira* (The Environment) Programme.

- Musa Twangilo *(M.T.)* – co-producer and presenter of the *Mazingira* (The Environment) Programme.

- Joseph Bura *(J.B.)* – producer and presenter of the *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm) and *Uchumi Wetu* (Our Economy) programmes.

- Catherine Nchimbi *(C.N.)* – producer and presenter of the *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum) programme.

**TBC 1 - Televison**
- Gabriel Zacharia *(G.Z.)* – producer and presenter of *Tuambie* (Tell Us) programme.

- Amina Mollel *(A.M.)* – producer and presenter of the *Sauti ya Mwanamke* (A Woman's Voice) programme.

**Radio One**
- Isaac Gamba *(I.G.)* – producer and presenter of *Hoja Ya Leo* (Today's Argument). Programme. Also Channel Director at Radio One.

- Abdallah Mwaipaya *(A.M.)* – producer of *Mazingira* (The Environment) programme.

**Independent Television (ITV)**
- Blandina Sembu *(B.S.)* – presenter of *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) programme.

**Radio Free Africa (RFA)**
- Mukhsin Mambo *(M.M.)* – producer of *Hoja Yangu* (My Argument) programme.

- Rahabu Fred *(R.F.)* – producer and presenter of *Ukimwi na Jamii* (HIV/AIDS and Society) programme.

- Deborah Mpagama *(D.M.)* – producer and presenter of *Inuka* (Rise Up) programme.

**Star TV**
- Peter Omary *(P.O.)* – producer and presenter of *Kilimo Bora* (Agriculture) programme.

- Kisali Simba *(K.S)* – producer and presenter of *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) programme.

These 11 serving development-oriented journalists have worked in the media industry for 10 to 16 years and had an age range of between 35 and 45 years. The three new journalists (all males) had less than three years working experience as journalists with an age range between 24 and 34 years. Overall, within this category of journalists in the liberal era, the youngest had worked for two years whereas the oldest had worked for 16 years. Their educational level was similar as most of them (10) had a Bachelor's degree in media studies, with one having a background in agricultural studies. One (male) had a Master degree in media studies whereas one (female) had an advanced diploma in journalism but had also earlier obtained a degree in sciences. Two female journalists had certificates in journalism. These serving journalists hold various posts, most being management posts such as programme producers, programme managers, assistant chief producers, channel directors and anchors.

Most of these journalists (both retired and serving) were/are responsible for pre-production (developing ideas and going to the field), production (editing) and post-production (going on air and analysing feedback) for their development-oriented programmes.

In this study, the in-depth interviews mainly geared towards exploring these selected journalists' understanding of and experiences in practising development journalism with a gender focus. As such, the interview questions to these selected development-oriented journalists were arranged into five major clusters which were connected in such a way that one cluster was designed to lead to the next or build on the previous one (see Appendix II). In the first cluster journalists were asked to provide information concerning their status in the field. The information was on their education, age, position, and responsibility at work to get a grasp of the kind of respondents who participated in the study in relation to what they do. For the second cluster of questions, journalists were asked about the practice of GF-DJ. My aim here was to explore the practicality of GF-DJ on the basis of the journalists' experiences during the socialistic and in the present times (the liberal era). In the third cluster of questions journalists were probed for their views on the Tanzanian media system and the general environment regarding how these support the practice of GF-DJ. The objective here was to examine how deregulation and globalization in tandem with social, economic, political and technological changes have impacted gender-focused

development journalism; another emphasis was on the training journalists receive and how the training helps them to be competent in GF-DJ. Questions on policies (especially gender policies) were also asked to establish whether the policies are there and if they are compatible with GF-DJ. The fourth cluster of questions was based on the roles journalists perform to ensure a GF-DJ. The aim here was to explore whether journalists go an extra mile (personal efforts) to ensure they report development-oriented stories with a gender focus. Meanwhile, the fifth cluster focused on the relevance of gender-focused development journalism. The intention of the questions here was partly to analyse the relevance of the practice in contemporary times as the relevance was also to be analysed in some other questions in previous clusters. Additionally, the interviews were used to identify development-oriented programmes for analysis in the second phase.

Alongside the development-oriented journalists, four journalism academicians who teach studies related to 'journalism and development' from the earlier mentioned leading journalism schools were also purposely selected and interviewed. Their selection was inspired by current journalists as they mentioned courses taught in journalism schools regarding development journalism and gender. Additionally, two seniour lecturers and three officials from gender and development/media organizations were interviewed as well. These gender and development/media experts were also found through the use of the snowball technique whereby retired female journalists proposed them for some questions concerning women/gender liberation and development in Tanzania. The respondents here are as follows:

**Journalism Academicians**

- Ayub Rioba *(A.R.)* – holds a PhD in Journalism. He teaches journalism and journalism ethics at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (UDSM). He is also a veteran journalist.

- Joseph Matumaini *(J.M.)* – holds a PhD in Journalism. He teaches broadcasting and development related subjects at the St. Augustine University of Mwanza (SAUT).

- Ernest Mrutu *(E.M.)* – holds a Licentiate in Journalism. He teaches broadcasting and development studies at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (UDSM)

- Zacharia Malima *(Z.M.)* – holds a Master in Journalism. He teaches development communication at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (UDSM).

**Academicians/ Officials from Gender and Development/Media Organizations**

- Bertha Koda *(B.K.)* – Associate Professor at the Institute for Development Studies of the UDSM. Among other development subjects, she has been teaching gender and development studies.

- RoseMarie Mwaipopo *(R.M.)* – holds a PhD in Social Anthropology currently the Director of Gender Center of the UDSM.

- Kenny Ngomuo *(K.N.)* – Co-ordinator of information and communication of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP).

- Valerie Msoka *(V.M.)* – Director, Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA). She has also been working as a broadcast journalist in both local and international media organizations.

- Pili Mtambalike *(P.M.)* – Regulation and Standard Manager of the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT). She has also worked as print journalist and among the co-founders of TAMWA.

Information from these journalism trainers and gender and development/media experts were expected to provide institutional context. They were not asked as many interview questions and the guide was not as detailed as the one of development-oriented journalists, but originated from some of the key questions that the development-oriented journalists were asked. Overall, these interviewees were asked for their views on development journalism, gender and development (see Appendix III).

In total, there were 28 interview respondents. With regard to gender, these 28 respondents comprised of 13 males and 15 females. The question of sample size in qualitative research has always been debated. Although sample size in quantitative research can be among crucial factors in determining the validity of the study, in qualitative research sample size depends on the interest of the study and saturation – that is when new data can no longer add much significance to what has already been gathered (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; see also Silverman, 2010). In this case, the 19 development-oriented journalists were enough to saturate data as they included the most prominent development-oriented journalists (broadcasters) in Tanzania. More interviews would not have resulted in completely new information. This is also similar to the case of journalism academicians and gender and development/media experts. Nevertheless, this concentrated selection runs the risk of being biased (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, Lindlof (1995) reminds that sample selection in a qualitative inquiry is purposely biased towards "information-rich cases" likely to provide content of interest, along with detailed and rich information to the study's investigations.

All the interviewees were asked to choose what language to use in the interview (Kiswahili and English). The interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 1:15 hour for development-oriented journalists. Most of those interviewees, who lasted up to 1:15 hour, were retired development-oriented journalists, probably because they had more to tell on the research topic. Interviews for journalism trainers and gender and development/media experts lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. Generally, the length of the interviews was based on Keyton's (2011) advice that in-depth interviews should normally last between 30 and 60 minutes. These interviews were conducted between September 2012 and November 2012.

The interviews were audio-taped for later analysis. None of the interviewees declined to be identified in the study except in three occasions where three journalists declined to have their identities associated with some sensitive statements they provided. However, for purpose of simplicity and clarity during data presentation, analysis and discussion (Chapters Six to Ten); the respondents are identified by their names' initials. Where important, the media organizations of journalists are also mentioned (as indicated on the list of their names above).

The next sub-section discusses how interview data was analysed.

### 5.3.2 Thematic Analysis of Interviews

Keyton (2011) argues that most communication scholars use grounded theory or thematic analysis to analyse qualitative data. There have been debates about the differences between these two approaches, as in many ways they seem similar. For instance, Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) demonstrate that these approaches resemble, and in some instances they refer to thematic analysis as grounded theory and vice versa. Likewise, Braun and Clarke (2006) elaborate that both approaches involve: "Reading verbatim transcripts; identify possible themes, compare and contrast themes; and identify structures among them" (pp. 92-93). However, the approaches differ in the sense that building theoretical models while constantly checking them against data is crucial for grounded theory. Meanwhile, thematic analysis may or may not result into a theoretical model as it mainly seeks to understand meanings of phenomenon (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is this theoretical freedom that enables thematic analysis to be a flexible and useful tool for providing rich and detailed accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as: "A method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (p. 82). Meanwhile, grounded theory aims at developing theory derived from

qualitative analysis of data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Fortunately, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) argue that neither approach is so rigid so as to prevent borrowing from the other, to maximize the findings of an analysis and to balance reliability and validity. Specifically, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis is a specific method of analysis in its own right and the most useful in capturing the complexities of meaning of a phenomenon. Based on these grounds, this study opted for thematic analysis, as it seeks to understand the complexities of the practice of gender-focused development journalism amidst deregulation and the effects of globalization.

Therefore, data emanating from interviews were analysed thematically and interpreted in accordance with the objectives of the study, research questions, theoretical and conceptual frameworks and the literature reviewed. The analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six steps of analysing data thematically (see pp. 91-99). Braun and Clarke (2006) posit that these steps are not specifically unique to thematic analysis as other qualitative research methods such as grounded theory, have almost similar stages. Below are the steps I followed.

*First,* familiarization with the data – here I started by transcribing audio data into written form. Since most of the in-depth interviews were in Kiswahili, the transcription was also translated into English before it was put onto paper. Transcribing was an important step of starting to familiarize myself with the data as it helped in making a general sense of the data. It is at this stage that ideas for coding started to emerge.

*Second*, generating codes – after having a general idea about what is in the data, this stage then involved the production of codes from the data. As defined by Lindlof and Taylor (2011): "Codes are the linkages between data and the categories the researcher creates" (p. 248). They serve as tools to organize the data by labelling, separating and compiling data together in categories. As such, it should be noted that there are differences between codes and categories. As Lindlof and Taylor (2011) elaborate: "A major purpose of codes is to characterize the individual elements constituting a category. A Category on the other hand, is devised so as to enable the researcher to define and explain the underlying meaning of these elements" (p. 248). In other words, categories are very initial stages of developing ideas for themes. I began the process by manually coding the data by writing notes on the transcribed transcripts to identify codes. The production of codes was inductive but guided by the research questions. I produced the codes by considering mainly two major stages as

advised by Ezzy (2002): Open coding and axial coding. For open coding, I attempted to reduce the mass data by assigning initial codes; for axial coding, I reviewed and examined initial codes, examined the relationships between codes and collapsed the codes into fewer codes. These fewer codes were then grouped into categories, based on what the codes had in common. Overall, in this second stage, I focused on condensing the mass data by organizing the data into codes, which were then grouped into categories.

*Third*, searching for themes – this stage started after all the data had been initially coded resulting into a list of different codes identified across the data material. These codes, which had been grouped into categories, started to provide ideas for themes. I then sorted the different categories into potential themes. Essentially, I analysed the categories and codes they carry and considered how different categories may combine to form a theme. I identified themes at this stage.

*Fourth*, reviewing themes – this step involved the refinement of themes identified in step three. At this stage, I ensured that the data within themes cohere together meaningfully and that a clear and identifiable distinction between themes is seen. As such, I reviewed the themes to determine whether there was data placed under a wrong theme or had been missed in earlier coding stages and whether themes are appropriate to the data they carry. Since coding is an on-going process, such an incident is expected. As Keyton (2011) argues, the process is repeated until the researcher believes all relevant categories have been identified. At the end of this stage, I had a good idea of the different themes developed and the stories they reveal about the data.

*Fifth,* defining and naming themes – here, I conducted and wrote a detailed analysis, as well as identified the 'story' each theme tells and how each theme fits into the broader story that is being told about the data. That is, with the aid of a core/central theme (the central story–what overall the data is all about) which I identified, I examined and related the core theme (central issue) with other themes and attempted to see how other themes are integrated to the core theme. At this stage, I confirmed the names given to themes.

*Sixth,* final analysis – this entailed the selection and analysis of compelling data extracts in relation to the research questions and to a lesser extent the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Comprehensive analysis and interpretation are presented in Chapter Nine titled Analysis and Discussion).

For the purpose of illustrating and enhancing the reader's understanding of how I analysed the interview data, I present a diagram below Figure III, as a demonstration to the stages I followed in analysing interview data. In this demonstration (as an example), I use some of the identified codes and categories which led to the formation of two themes: 'reactions to the deregulation-induced dynamism in the GF-DJ practice' and 'the relevance of GF-DJ in the liberal era' – see Chapter Six.

Figure III: A Thematic Analysis Network
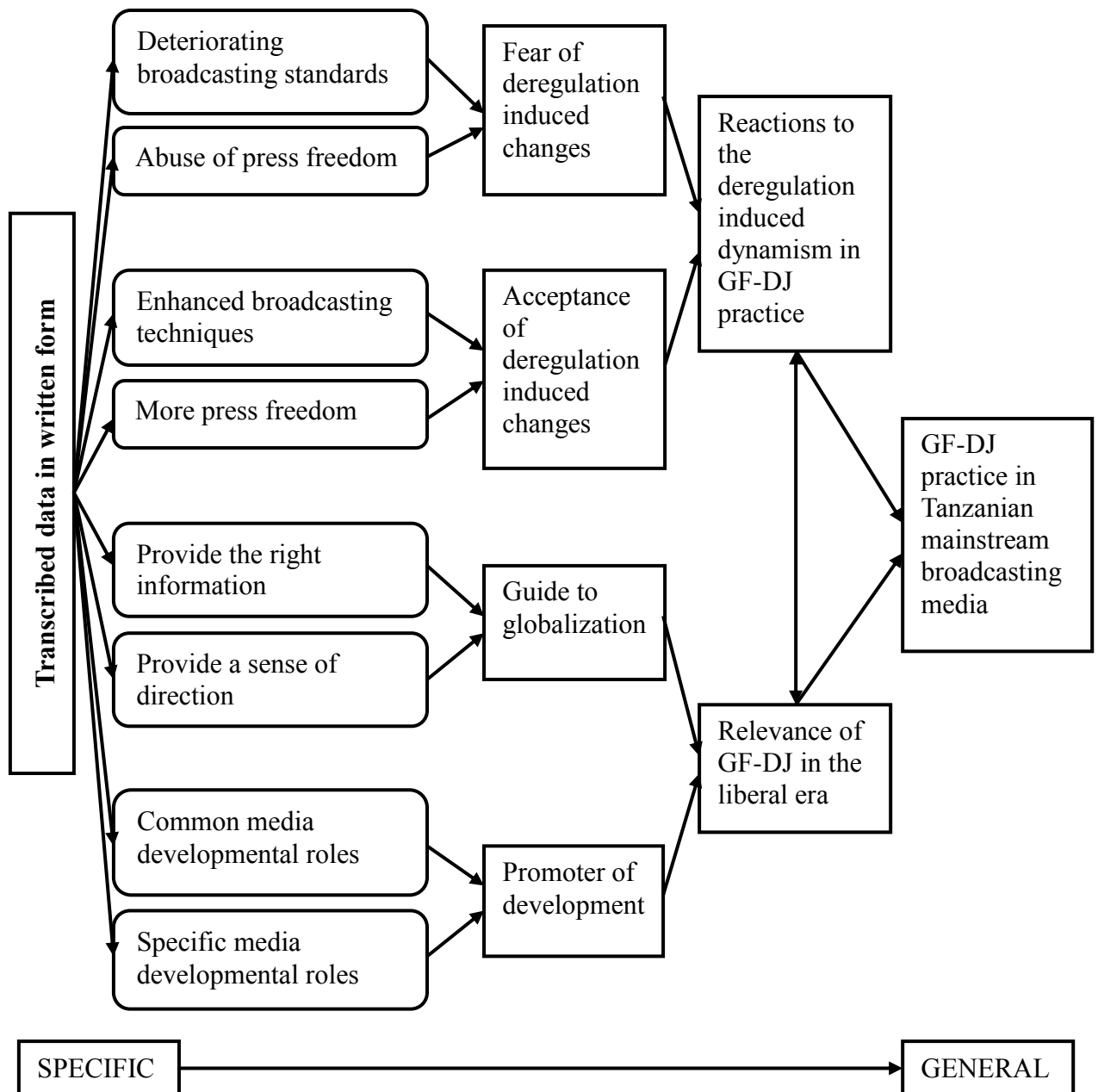


**Source:** Author (2014) as inspired by Braun and Clarke (2006).

As marked in diagram, my analysis started from the transcribed data where I identified several codes. Codes with similar characteristics were grouped together into categories. Similarly, categories were examined to see how they can develop into themes. Themes were also examined to see how they relate with each other and how they fit in the core theme/central issue. Overall, it is important to clearly describe these stages of analysis to enhance the reliability of the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006; see also Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

Whilst we can say that the 28 interviews (19 journalists and 9 journalism academicians and gender and development/media experts) provided first-hand information concerning the practice of development journalism and its employment of a gender perspective, it is important to understand the subjectivity of the answers. Sometimes what journalists say or portray might not be necessarily what they do. For instance, Hanitzsch and Hanusch (2011) cite a study done in 2005 by Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig who demonstrated that while journalists' survey responses regarding professional values did not indicate any significant gender-related differences, their news stories did. Hanitzsch and Hanusch (2011) propose further research to concentrate on this relationship between attitudes and practice. This study took up this advice by adding an analysis of development-oriented programmes to gain more insight into the practice of this type of journalism.

## 5.4 Development-Oriented Programmes

Apart from providing rich and detailed information concerning the practice of development journalism with a gender focus, the interviews also enabled me to acquire programmes for analysis as they were suggested by development-oriented journalists themselves. The programmes were from the six leading mainstream broadcasting stations mentioned in section 5.2. These journalists were asked to mention some exemplary programmes that they thought had a positive impact on society. Since it is almost impossible for a researcher to convince the management of the broadcasting stations (especially private ones) to release their programmes (for fear of competition), the interviewed development-oriented journalists themselves provided a good entry point into this investigation and helped with selecting and acquiring of the intended episodes. Overall, this purposive selection of programmes, just like in interviews, was done in line with Lindlof (1995) who argues that sample selection in a qualitative inquiry emphasizes on "information-rich cases" likely to provide detailed and rich information for the questions asked. Based on the aforementioned, the choice of the selected episodes of

development-oriented programmes produced by journalists involved in the study seemed appropriate for this particular investigation – as exemplars in a case study.

The development-oriented programmes in this study are divided into two major groups: programmes produced in the 1995-2007 period (state owned media programmes obtained from the TBC's archive) and programmes produced in the 2009-2013 period (from the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting). Programme's episodes were selected in three ways: first, based on availability from the TBC's archive with guidance from retired journalists' exemplar programmes. Availability of episodes became a difficult issue during the selection, since some proposed programmes' episodes were lost and some were distorted as a result of poor storage. In such cases, I replaced suggested episodes with similar available ones. Second, recommended by the current journalists' from development-oriented programmes that they have produced. These were provided by the journalists themselves during the first phase of the research. Third, for programmes that could not be collected from the current journalists, I hired a research assistant who recorded the programmes from the day they were mentioned by the journalists during the interviews up to when the second phase of data collection ended in November 2013 (an average of 13 months). Episodes from these recorded programmes were then selected using two methods: (a) Purposive (event-based) sample, i.e., episodes were selected based on crucial events that happened during the time of recording, (b) random sampling where I wrote each name of an episode of a particular programme on a piece of paper, put them in a container and randomly drew one wrapped paper bearing the episode's name from the container. This exercise was done to all the remaining recorded episodes. Eventually, these purposive and random selections resulted into a total of 25 episodes drawn from the 25 development-oriented programmes identified (18 radio episodes from a total of 38 episodes and seven television episodes from a total of 20 episodes). See Chapter Eight for details about these programmes and the episodes.

### 5.4.1 Analysis of Development-Oriented Programme

Xiaoge (2009a) elaborates that previous studies done by Vilanilam (1974), McKay (1993) and Murthy (2000) detected development journalism based on developmental topics such as agriculture, economic, education, employment, health issues, infrastructure, social change, housing. However, Xiaoge (2009a) contends that these topics can also be covered by other journalism practices and, hence, hardly serve as good indicators of development journalism. Xiaoge (2009a), therefore, proposes 12 indicators of development journalism

which are further sub-categorized into: source (the origin of the story), actor (people involved in the story) and orientation (what the story emphasizes) – comprising of the following elements: emphasis on solution to poverty; emphasis on process of fighting against poverty; participation of the ordinary people in anti-poverty battles; empowerment of the ordinary in anti-poverty battles; emphasis on consensus-orientation in anti-poverty battles; emphasis on partnership with government in war on poverty; impact on ordinary people; check on what is planned and what is achieved.

This study adapted Xiaoge's 12 indicators as a codebook for the content analysis of the programmes (see Appendix IV). As demonstrated in Chapter Eight, these indicators were used as analytic dimensions for the analysis of the programmes. As an adaptation, these indicators were modified to address the questions of this study. That is, whereas Xiaoge (2009a) focused on poverty, this particular study focuses on development (as defined in Chapter One). The study also places more emphasis on 'men and women' categorization instead of just 'people' to align with the gender and feminism notions. The study is especially interested in the empowerment of women. It also insists on location (urban or rural) regarding people involved in the story, as it is in the rural areas that ordinary people are mostly found in the context of Tanzania. The study also places more emphasis on 'identification of development-related problems' as an important indicator of the practice of development journalism (see Chalkley, 1980 in Xiaoge, 2009b).

These development journalism indicators now read as: (i) Story source (origin of the story) (ii) Story actors (people involved in the story) (iii) Story orientation (what the story contains) – which comprises of the following components: identification of development-related problems, solutions to development-related problems, participation of ordinary men and women in development processes, empowerment of ordinary men and women in development processes, empowerment of women in development processes, consensus-orientation in development processes, partnership with government in development processes, impact on ordinary men and women, evaluation of development-related projects and processes.

To elaborate on these indicators, story source detects the origin of the story. Whether it is from ordinary people (as defined in Chapter One) or form grassroots institutions, it has to be a bottom-up communication process. In Tanzania, grassroots institutions/organizations are often formed and led by ordinary people (many of them financially supported by local

and international organizations) to advocate for their various demands. For example, agriculturalists and pastoralist organizations in the villages, ordinary women's organizations, health organizations for people with special needs e.g albinos, mentally ill, blind, deaf or other ordinary peoples' organizations with a certain cause. In addition, there are some grassroots organizations set up and run by the elites aimed at the ordinary people. TAMWA is an exemplar of such an organization (see Chapter Four). Meanwhile, story actors are people involved in the story whom according to this study, are of two main types. There are those invited into the studio or approached in the field to grant an interview (story actors), and others who contribute to the programme via phone-ins, SMS, Facebook, Twitter, emails – I refer to this second category as contributors. Despite the fact that the term 'ordinary people' is theoretically defined in Chapter One as poor and less fortunate people, it is important to describe how exactly these people are recognized in the programmes. They are often referred (in Kiswahili) to as: *'mwananchi wa kawaida'* – an ordinary person; *'anayewakilisha wananchi wa kawaida'* – a representative of ordinary people', '*wananchi waishio vijijini'* – citizens living in rural areas where ordinary people are mostly found.

For story orientation, the indicators of 'identification of development-related problems' and 'solutions to development-related problems' range from social, political, economic, cultural, and technological issues. Meanwhile the aspect of 'participation' refers to the involvement of ordinary men and women (how and to what extent) in development processes. As defined in Chapter One, in the context of communication, participation is the involvement of ordinary people in communication systems (in this case broadcasting programmes) towards achieving their development. 'Empowerment' is the ability of people to help themselves and to be self-reliant (Servaes, 1999); it is central to the process of development (White, 2004). It endows ordinary people with political, economic and cultural power to be able to participate in development processes. In this case, the concurrent empowerment of women and men is significant. In other words, these ordinary men and women should first be empowered for them to be able to make meaningful and democratic participation in development processes. 'Empowerment of women' then means the emphasis of these efforts on women. In this study, the indicator of 'consensus-orientation' is closely related to the 'empowerment' and 'participation' indicators. That is, although a person might be participating in doing something, he or she might not necessarily have been involved in the initial stages (i.e. the conception of ideas) of doing

something, which would entail reaching a consensus with others through participation and arriving at a conclusion. In fact, some might just participate to appear to belong to a specific group. These are some of the limitations of the participatory approaches, as Servaes (2008) contends (see Chapter One). In this study, therefore, the indicator of 'consensus-orientation' attempts to overcome this limitation. It is actually a very important indicator of development journalism as it determines the essence of participation. Meanwhile, 'partnership with government in development processes' emphasizes the promotion of a constructive co-operation between the press and the government in nation-building whereby media criticisms to government is emphasized (see Chapter One). 'Impact of story to ordinary men and women' implies how the story positively influences ordinary men and women in their plans and processes of attaining development (see Chapter Four). The 'evaluation of development-related projects and processes' entails a follow up story on the implementation of development-related activities (see Chapters Two and Four).

These indicators were used in this examination of programmes (radio and television) as a starting point of analysis. They helped gain insights into the basic structure in which the development-oriented programmes exhibit and narrate GF-DJ practice. To identify these GF-DJ indicators, I carefully and repeatedly listened to and watched the stories. The first step was to listen and/or view the whole story to get the general idea of what the story is all about. Then I listened for the second time, while marking, on a piece of paper, the indicators of GF-DJ emerging from the stories. I ensured that the indicators are mutually exclusive and exhaustive, as advised by Merrigan & Hauston (2009; see also Jensen, 2012). Mutually exclusive means that a single textual unit only can fit into one indicator as overlapping indicators make it more difficult to match the textual unit with an indicator. In addition, exhaustive indicators related to the aim of fully describing a message population (Merrigan & Hauston, 2009). In a second step of analysis, the episodes were classified as GF-DJ, whereby the study followed the categorizations based on the conceptual framework (*Type 1* and *Type 2*) developed in Chapter Two.

Overall, despite the advantages of content analysis especially in capturing the changing trends and offering new insights into the nature of the practice of journalism (see Stroud & Higgins, 2009), it cannot answer ''why'' questions – which were covered well in the in-depth interviews. Additionally, Kolmer (2008) warns of the volatility of media content as it

is affected by ephemeral topics and trends in the media. In this sense, triangulating content analysis with in-depth interviews helped ground media content and contextualize it beyond its date and direct circumstances of production. This approach improved the validity and reliability of the study (Jensen, 2012; Krippendorff, 2013). Moreover, Lindlof and Taylor (2011), point out that triangulation aids in uncovering different perspectives (see also Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig, 2005). The contradiction within data (disjuncture) encourages further analysis and re-evaluation of theoretical constructs. Further analysis and investigations as asserted by Lindlof and Taylor (2011) ensure rigour. Figure IV below summarizes important steps taken in the overall qualitative research approach adapted in this study.

Figure IV: A Qualitative Research Approach
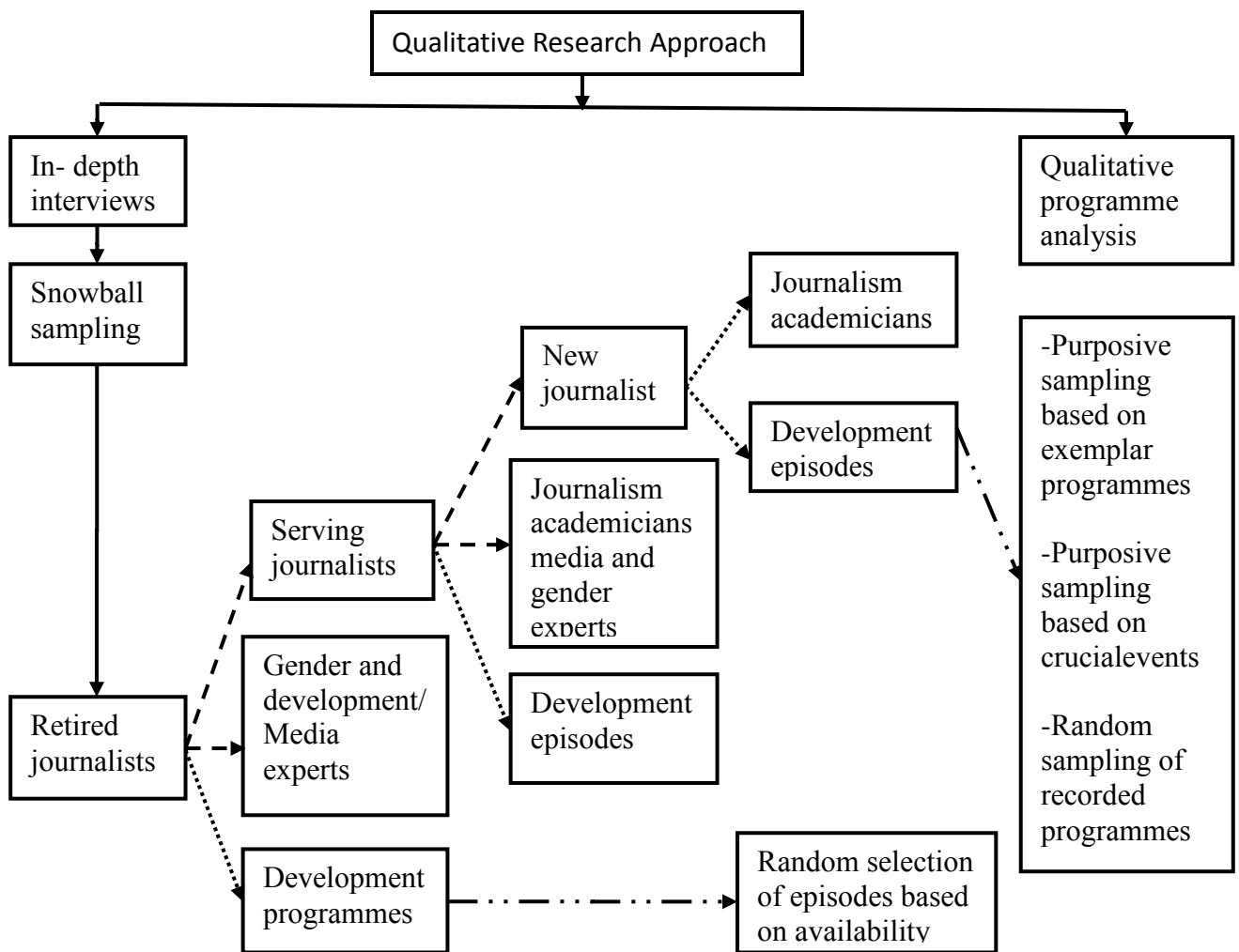


**Key:**
━ ━▶ **Recommended,** ┈┈▶ **Mentioned,** ━ ┈▶ **Obtained through**
*Source:* Author (2014).

Finally, following standard qualitative research ethical considerations as advised by Lindlof (1995; see also Fisher & Anushko, 2008; Silverman, 2010; Jensen, 2012; Brennen, 2013), data collected from participants was carefully stored. The purpose of the research was explained to the participants but carefully without providing details so as to avoid influencing the respondents and their opinions. I also sought participants' consent prior to taking part in the study and prior to being recorded as well as for their names to be mentioned in the study. In a few selected cases, I assured the respondents of anonymity when respondents specifically requested it for providing information which they sought was sensitive.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated the overall qualitative research approach, design and methods that were employed in this study. Being purely qualitative, the study employed in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis in the data collection process. In-depth interview data was analysed thematically and programme content was analysed qualitatively. Ethical considerations were adhered to. These include explaining the purpose of research to the respondents, seeking their informed consent prior to taking part in the study and assuring confidentiality of the data. The following three chapters (Six, Seven and Eight) present and analyse the data.

# CHAPTER SIX

## INTERVIEW FINDINGS ON GF-DJ BY JOURNALISTS

This chapter presents data gathered in the first research phase which involved qualitative in-depth interviews with 19 retired and serving development-oriented journalists, who produced/produce development-oriented programmes. As a whole, the data presented in this chapter answers the four main research questions: (i) How has a gender focus evolved in the practice of development journalism in Tanzania's mainstream broadcasting media? (ii) To what extent is the Tanzanian environment (social, political, economic, cultural, and technological) supportive of gender-focused development journalism run by the Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media? (iii) How do the mainstream broadcasting journalists ensure gender-focused development journalism in the era of liberalization? (iv) What is the relevance of gender-focused development journalism in the era of liberalization?

The presentation of the data is based on a thematic analysis of the explorative, open-ended and in-depth interview questions, which resulted in five major themes: (i) A 'gender focus' in the practice of development journalism; (ii) Conduciveness of media environment to GF-DJ; (iii) Reactions to the deregulation-induced dynamism in the GF-DJ practice; (iv) The implementation of GF-DJ; (v) Relevance of GF-DJ in the liberal era. Whereas the first three themes focus more on the evolution of a GF-DJ practice as a whole, the last two themes dwell on the implementation and relevance of the practice in this liberal era.

### 6.1 A 'Gender Focus' in the Practice of Development Journalism

This section provides answers to the first research question on how a gender focus evolved in the practice of development journalism. However, since a gender focus was initially introduced by a few female journalists with an intention of promoting development to the women through media (development journalism), that is, to these few female journalists, 'a gender focus' and 'development journalism practice' went hand in hand; hence the focus in answering this question will be on the evolution of both concepts (gender and development journalism, GF-DJ practice).

Apart from the interviews, documents on TAMWA were reviewed, particularly, one entitled *20 years of Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA): Moving the Agenda for Social Transformation in Tanzania* on how GF-DJ practice evolved in Tanzania. This analysis suggests that the GF-DJ practice has two distinct eras, namely: socialistic and liberal. The details of the evolution are here presented.

### 6.1.1 GF-DJ in the Socialistic Era

The analysis of the data suggests that the evolution of a GF-DJ practice during the socialistic era can be divided into two major stages: GF-DJ practice before and during the establishment of the famous Women's Media Association (TAMWA).

#### 6.1.1.1 GF-DJ before the Formation of TAMWA

*Understanding of the term 'Development Journalism'*

This section begins with respondents' understanding of the term 'development journalism'. Overall, the retired journalists demonstrated a unanimous understanding of the practice of development journalism based on the principles of the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. Consider the samples of their definitions of development journalism below:

> *Development journalism has to do with programmes that promote and encourage development in areas of health, education, economy and all facets of life that can enhance people's development. Development journalism helps us to develop; it gives us the imperatives to development (E.S.).*

*H.K.* viewed development journalism as a type of journalism that focuses more on rural areas, as she reasoned:

> *Back then when I was a journalist in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s; the country and the people in it were generally poor. But poverty was more rampant in the rural areas. My view was that development journalism needed to concentrate more on the rural areas where majority of Tanzanian men and women resided. Extra and strategic efforts were needed in the rural areas to rescue men and women from the extreme poverty they were living in; development journalism being one of such strategies. And that is what I exactly did when I was reporting from the rural areas.*

Meanwhile, *S.H.* saw development journalism simply as a type of journalism that supports the attainment of development in a particular society.

*A Women's/Gender Focus in Development Journalism*

Retired female journalists recalled that the idea for a women's focus in journalism can be traced back to 1975 with the International Women's Year Conference pioneered by the United Nations (see also Chapter Four). This conference which was held in Mexico emphasized equal rights and justice for all. Respondents explained that the conference opened the eyes of Tanzanian female journalists on various patriarchal issues that were a challenge and obstacles to the well-being of many women. According to *E.S.*, these developments motivated female journalists to use the media (as agenda setters) to report about difficulties that women faced and, hence, hindered their development:

*We saw the media (radio specifically) as an important way to get into these women's private homes, as they were hardly allowed to go into public places. We therefore prepared women's programmes for radio and wrote articles for the print media so as to expose the various social, economic, political and cultural issues that posed obstacles to women's development.*

Hence, it can be posited that the focus on women in the practice of development journalism in Tanzania started to be a bit more visible in the late 1970s.

Respondents recalled that early reporting was mainly on positive issues, featuring success stories about women and the emancipation of women advocated by the Union of Tanzanian Women (UWT). *H.K.* (who also held various positions at the UWT) explained that this was made possible by the *'Wanawake na Maendeleo'* (Women and Development) programme aired by the then only radio station (Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam, RTD). The programme started by mainly featuring success stories about women, such as the first woman pilot in Tanzania, the first woman train driver, the first woman lorry driver, and other women's success stories. *H.K.,* who was also the producer of the programme, believed that by portraying such success stories about women and publicizing the emancipation of women by the UWT leaders, could promote women in various development issues. This strategy was continued by other female journalists such as *E.S.* and *R.H.* who took over the programme when *H.K.* was assigned other duties. However, these rather 'soft' success stories, which according to *H.K.* were most of the times carrying UWT messages, could not liberate women from the strong patriarchal (cultural) system that the majority of the women were subjected to.

Hence, in the early 1980s, a few critical female journalists championed by *E.S.* and *R.H.* thought of reporting about 'school pregnancies', a topic linked to cultural and political issues as early marriage of girls 15 years and older was legally sanctioned by the Marriage Act of 1975 (see Chapter Four). According to *E.S.*, this was a burning issue during that time because many young girls were dropping out of schools because they were either getting pregnant or being forced into early marriages. *E.S.* explained that the 'school pregnancies' topic was broadcast in five consecutive news programmes. It was rather unusual for a women's issue to be given such a priority in the news programme. *E.S.* asserted that the information touched many people and it became a popular issue discussed by the public. She further explained that before then, apart from the 'Women and Development' Programme (which was not critical), women's issues were hardly addressed

in news programmes. She reasoned that perhaps because these issues were not well-known by journalists or they were not seen as important for a country whose majority of the people lived in extreme poverty, struggling with diseases and low educational levels. It can, therefore, be posited that 'critical' programmes regarding women's liberation started to be produced mainly from the 1980s on.

The retired female respondents explained that the resonance of reporting about school pregnancies encouraged them and other like-minded female journalists to tackle yet another 'critical' programme. This time the focus was on domestic violence against women, specifically wife battery. Just like the 'school pregnancies' topic, wife battery was also a sensitive cultural issue. Unfortunately, this particular programme was not allowed to go on air (until years later). It was rejected by male editors on the basis that it was against Tanzanian cultural and moral norms and values to discuss issues about married women in the open. However, *E.S.* opined that it was actually more than that:

> *These female journalists were going to the battered women asking them to testify. I believe men feared that the testimonies could create a negative image for some men who were abusing their wives, some of whom were in very sensitive public positions. So, these men were threatened because they didn't know how this would end.*

*R.H.* argued that this rejection raised concerns among the female journalists. They realized that an establishment of a women's media association was very essential, as *R.H.* explained:

> *It was during this time we realized that we do not have enough power working as individual female journalists, so the idea to establish an association speeded up.*

Although this evolution of a gender focus in the practice of development journalism was mainly pioneered by female journalists, some male journalists were also involved. These few male journalists mostly without knowing reported their development stories with a women's/gender focus. For instance, *S.M.,* a retired male journalist was once posted to head the RTD office in Kigoma Region. He recalled that by then Kigoma Region was almost forgotten and was one of the poorest regions in Tanzania. He noticed that although almost everybody had problems, the situation was worse for women in the region. *S.M.* was of the view that it would be something different to involve women in his programmes and discuss with them their various problems and issues. He believed that such reporting

would add flavour to the programme. To him, this just came natural and was not a result of a conscious decision to add a gender focus.

*S.M.* then produced a number of programmes concerning women in Kigoma Region on various issues, such as challenges that women face, their position in society and their huge contribution to development. At that time, women in Kigoma Region wanted to have a say on the money that was earned from their agricultural produce. They complained that they were the ones doing all the agricultural works, yet their husbands were the ones selling the produce, and used the money to drink and marry more wives. By using the radio programme, *S.M.* helped these women to promote the creation of women's groups so that they could address their issues together (in villages, wards, localities) for more impact. *S.M.* asserted that these groups were very effective in the promotion of education. For instance, he observed that in the late 1970s there were more women than men in adult education classes in Kigoma Region.

Overall, these interviews suggest that although the focus of women/gender on stories concerning development issues was mainly generated by female journalists, there were also some male journalists–albeit very few–who unwittingly reported development stories with a women's/gender focus.

### 6.1.1.2 GF-DJ during TAMWA

*E.S.* argued that the establishment of TAMWA in 1987 strengthened the position of female journalists. With TAMWA in place, female journalists were no longer pushing women's liberation as individuals but as a group, a more effective strategy. *R.H.* recalled that as struggles continued to ensure women's voices were heard in the mainstream media, TAMWA established a women's magazine *Sauti ya Siti* (The Voice of Siti) in 1988, whose concern was covering various developmental women's issues from a women's perspective. However, TAMWA did not only focus on improving the women's situation in the media (see Chapter Four), but also intended to liberate women in all facets of life, as *E.S.* explained:

> *Apart from dealing with problems of women in the media, TAMWA also dealt and is still dealing with social, political, economic and cultural issues that affect women's development and hence affect women's portrayal in the media. Some of these issues include: Women in leadership and politics, unfair cultural practices such as rape and child marriages, health issues such as HIV/AIDS, corruption, land ownership and others.*

*E.S.* argument is supported by Johannessen (2006) and Mbilinyi (1997), who observe that unlike the UWT which was too political and failed to address some of crucial women's problems associated with culture, TAMWA was more liberal and looked at women's problems from social, political, economic, and cultural perspectives (see Chapter Four).

The female journalists within TAMWA clearly defined women-focused development journalism and saw their mission as that of liberating women through the use of the mass media from the various social, cultural, political and economic difficulties enhanced by the patriarchy system that hindered their development. As both *E.S.* and *R.H.* asserted, *"the focus was on women and their development"*.

However, some men who were aware of these women/equality movements did not support the movements. *E.S.* recalled that these men (some of them colleagues) viewed female journalists who were members of TAMWA as a 'bunch of frustrated and confused women', who possibly were unmarried, divorced or lesbians. Reflecting on these accusations, she argued that some of these vicious reactions by men were understandable in hindsight because there were mistakes made in the early sensitization of the women/gender equality movements:

> *I think by then it was too early for Tanzanian men to start thinking of gender because of cultural barriers and lack of education and sensitization about gender issues. I have to also admit that there was a problem in defining gender issues. We, as pioneers of gender equality movements, were not very conversant with the dynamics of gender. We needed to be trained more and more to understand the issues for us to be able to correctly convey and interpret them to the public; and perhaps more importantly apply them in our lives. Additionally, the concentration was more on women without knowing that men were also important stakeholders who should have been sensitized as well so that they can understand the focused pertinent issues concerning women. In this way they could permit and support women to involve themselves in various activities concerning gender equality and development for all.*

Despite these shortcomings, women's focus on development journalism continued to gain momentum. The liberalization era gave the movement new impetus with consequences for today.

### 6.1.2 GF-DJ in the Liberalization Era

*Understanding of the term 'Development Journalism'*

The serving and new development-oriented journalists' idea of development journalism has not significantly changed from the way it was perceived under the socialistic era. In

fact, almost all respondents (both retired and serving journalists working for 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting), had the same perception regarding the essence of development journalism with regard to the promotion of development and improvement of people's lives despite giving different definitions of the term in line with their own experiences, perspectives and contexts. Consider the samples of the serving and new development-oriented journalists' definitions of development journalism below:

Reflecting on *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument), a programme that he produces, *I.G.* contended:

> *This programme is development-oriented because it ensures that people get basic social services such as education, water, health services, employment, security, and infrastructure. These are the critical issues to the development of the people and the nation as a whole.*

*R.F.* was of the view that development-oriented programmes help people positively transform to a more advanced state. *P.O.* and *D.M.* also shared the same views concerning the agricultural programmes that they produce:

> *Development journalism is journalism that informs and improves people's lives, especially in a sensitive sector like agriculture which is the backbone of our country. Farmers need to know new farming methods and where to sell their produce at good prices so as to improve their lives* (P.O.).

*J.B.* went to great lengths to relate development journalism specifically with his own life experience:

> *Coming from an ordinary family myself – a pastoralist family, I see development-oriented programmes as an important tool in liberating pastoralists. The pastoralists who have no permanent settlements in search of greener pastures for their cattle and whose kids rarely go to school because they are always on the move need to be educated and persuaded that they can transform their wealth–the many heads of cattle–that they already have in a way that will bring sustainable development to them, for instance, taking their kids to school, build better houses, raring their cattle in better and modern ways, marketing their products inside and outside the country. These programmes, among other techniques, can help them transform their lives to match the huge wealth that they possess.*

*A.M.* sees development journalism as a type of journalism that allows the marginalized people to be involved in processes of development. To her, it is the voice of the voiceless. Most importantly, it is a type of journalism that is supposed to bring about positive impact in developing the ordinary people in her case women, children and the disabled. Reflecting on the watchdog role of the media, a serving journalist from 'state–public service' broadcasting who preferred anonymity on this particular comment; insisted that

development journalism should be critical:

> *Development journalism should not always support the government; it is a type of journalism that also criticizes the government in a constructive manner though, in issues concerning development.*

This critical view on development journalism concurs with Xiaoge's (2009b) model of development journalism (see Chapter One). This view echoes *M.M.* from commercial broadcasting who insisted that development journalism should *"condemn what is supposed to be condemned and praise what is supposed to be praised"*.

When asked whether they (retired, serving and new development-oriented journalists) are referred to or would call themselves development journalists, the majority of them declined. However, they regarded themselves as such in respect of what they do. For instance, a few of the respondents were of the view that since there is no specialization in the journalism field in Tanzania, there are no specific development journalists, except journalists who among other programmes, mainly produce development-oriented programmes. While they defined development journalism in accordance with their own experiences, they all underscored the 'development promotion role'. However, they named the practice differently. Most of the younger/new journalists, for example, were not even aware of the term 'development journalism'; instead, they knew of 'the development role of the media', the 'critical role of the media' which they associate with 'watchdog journalism', and the 'voice of the voiceless' role. To them these roles were more or less similar to development journalism.

### *A Gender Focus in Development Journalism*

As previously illustrated in Chapters Two and Four, following the conceptual changes in women's movements in the 1980s from the concentration on liberating women alone to the concentration on liberating the marginalized ordinary people (men inclusive), efforts on reporting as well as training on gender equality issues for both women and men peaked in the mid-1990s. Female and male journalists from different media who were trained especially by TAMWA took ideas on gender-focused reporting to their newsrooms. However, the difference between theory and practice continues to be a problem. As *R.H.* argued, the acceptance and implementation of these ideas so far remains discouraging:

> *I dare say that the mainstream media has failed women because there is very little improvement in the coverage of women in the media. The improvement is very small compared to the efforts that have been being done in all these years.*

However, respondent emphasized that there have been successful media campaigns and programmes reflecting 'a development-oriented style of journalism' by TAMWA, as *R.H.* elaborated:

> *TAMWA had designed a 'Bang' style of journalism to carry out some important media campaigns on the areas of health, economy, politics and other social issues. These media campaigns and programmes were very successful in transforming ordinary people's lives, especially women. They promoted and helped these ordinary people attain development. One very effective media campaign I can recall is with regard to breast and cervical cancer, which urged women to come out and check their health status concerning the subject in question. A number of women's lives were saved.*

As discussed in Chapter Four, TAMWA's 'bang journalism', which is practised to date, employs salient characteristics of development journalism by promoting social change for the ordinary people.

In sum, the responses demonstrate that the focus on women/gender within the practice of development journalism in Tanzania was initiated by female journalists. With the establishment of TAMWA, the practice intensified. However, in the beginning, the reporting mainly focused on female issues. Following global conceptual shifts from 'women' to 'people/gender' to 'women/human rights' the practice of gender-focused development journalism changed towards projecting the welfare of both males and females. In fact, these shifts can be traced in how the respondents defined gender in the context of journalism. As noted earlier, retired female journalists had a unanimous understanding of a women's perspective in the context of journalism, as that of ensuring that the marginalized women in society get their voices heard in the media to aid their development. Now, the understanding of gender in the context of journalism in the liberal era varies. Consider the following statements:

> *Gender issues are female issues associated with the Beijing Conference. Reporting with a gender focus is basically reporting about women issues (M.T.–male).*

> *Gender issues are all about reporting success stories about women. These are stories about successful business women, politicians and academicians (I.G.–male).*

> *Gender issues are about human rights, the knowledge both men and women have about human rights and how they defend their rights when someone denies them the rights. The media help people to know their rights by reporting who, when and how these rights are violated (J.B.–male).*

*Gender-sensitive reporting is reporting about safety, inclusion and equality to both men and women. It is more concerned about women's rights as human rights (B.S.–female).*

*Reporting with a gender focus is balancing the story so that both men and women, young and old, rich and poor; basically people of all calibres are heard. However, that depends on the story in question; if I think I need a woman as information actor and she is available, I will involve her. But, I believe the way I balance the story is how I report with gender focus (A.M.–male).*

Of importance here is that these serving and new development-oriented journalists viewed gender differently. Male journalists still commonly regarded gender issues as women issues. It was, however, encouraging hearing from a male journalist that gender in journalism is all about balanced reporting, implying that he sees the importance of including all voices in his reporting. Connecting gender with human rights was also of particular interest as it indicates another conceptual shift of the women/gender issues to human rights issues (see Chapter Two). A key finding here is that these variations reflect how differently journalists understand and practice a gendered perspective reporting.

Whereas in the socialistic era development journalism was practised only in the state-owned media (RTD in this case), in the liberalization era it has been practised in both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting stations (see sub-section 6.1.2). This is mainly because of changes in the political, social, economic and technological sectors enhanced by deregulation which has enabled an increase in media outlets, media literacy, and gender sensitivity (see Chapters Three and Four). A development–oriented form of journalism (with a gender focus) is also practised by journalist associations such as TAMWA with its 'Bang' journalism and supported by NGOs–as discussed in Chapter Four. The following section presents the findings on conditions surrounding GF-DJ.

## 6.2 Conduciveness of Media Environment to GF-DJ

This section responds to the second research question. It broadly presents factors surrounding the practice of GF-DJ in the broadcast media. The findings are categorized into two major sub-themes: 'adequacy of journalism training on GF-DJ' and 'gender situation in the broadcasting stations'.

## 6.2.1 Adequacy of Journalism Training on GF-DJ

In this section, the respondents recall the training or skills they had received in journalism schools or other institutions in subjects related to development journalism and gender.

### 6.2.1.1 Training on Development Journalism

Retired journalists explained that they were not trained as broadcasters in the first place; rather, they received training in other areas such as education and literature. They were, therefore, recruited as broadcasters on the basis of their voices, good command of the language (English and/or Kiswahili) and their knowledge of various issues. At that time, there were no journalism schools in the country. The first such school, the Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ), was only established in 1974 while some of the respondents started working in the late 1960s. *E.S.* narrated that the journalism training they received was based on in-house training (whereby new employees received three months basic journalism training). Once recruited, the new journalist would be assigned to a seniour journalist to mentor him/her until he/she was confirmed in employment. These new journalists would then go outside the country for formal journalism training, mostly in African countries such as Kenya and Egypt. Some went to Western countries.

Retired journalists reported that besides complementing the directives from the mentors and own interest to produce development-oriented programmes, the training they received outside the country made them competent enough to produce the programmes. The courses that they highly spoke of in enhancing their development reporting skills included 'Community Development', 'Rural Development' and 'Rural Broadcasting'. They did not specifically mention courses labelled 'Development Journalism' per se.

As to the situation of the 14 serving journalists, only three male journalists studied 'Development Journalism' whereby two studied in higher institutions where development journalism was one of the models in the development communication course, while the other respondent studied in short-term course. Five other journalists (one female and four males) explained that although they did not study development journalism as a course, the other subjects they studied helped them in reporting stories related to development. These subjects included Principles of Economics, Political Science, Cultural Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, Development Studies, Advocacy Journalism, and Public Development Communication. *P.O.,* a producer of a development-oriented programme concerning agriculture admitted that his background in agricultural studies helped him to be a competent reporter on agricultural matters. Equally, *J.L.* explained that her background in science studies enhanced her skills in producing an environmental programme she was running.

A point to note in this section is that training in development journalism is very important although specialization in certain areas is considered an added advantage. However, as noted, specific training in development journalism (as a subject) is not given priority in journalism training institutions.

**6.2.1.2 Gender Training for Journalists**

Retired male journalists did not study any gender course because gender training in journalism started only with the establishment of the TAMWA in the late 1980s with a focus on training female journalists. In contrast, twelve of the 14 serving and new journalists interviewed had studied gender issues; two studied them as part of their journalism degree; and the rest attended short courses offered by TAMWA, TGNP and other similar organizations. All the seven interviewed women had attended some courses on gender. And of seven male journalists, five had gender training. However, as posited by *R.H.,* gender issues are still not well-understood and fully accepted, especially by male colleagues:

> *Many people–both men and women–don't understand gender. Men especially think that gender is about women issues. Most of the men don't want to understand it, don't want to be told about it. And a few who listen and contribute to it positively don't actually practise it. Generally, to many men, the concept is either not well-understood or accepted and because of that, it is very difficult to integrate it in either media houses or other areas.*

*R.H.'s* argument resonated with the answers of the serving and new journalists with regard to their understanding of the concept gender in the context of journalism (see sub-section 6.1.2). Besides the outright rejection of the concept of gender by some males, this unclear and inconsistent description of the concept leaves much to be desired when it comes to the adequacy of the gender training for journalists. *R.H.* saw weaknesses in gender training offered in journalism schools and by gender organizations. She asserted that gender training has to be very practical and directly linked to examples from cultural practices. Similarly, she urged organizations to be more committed to the cause:

> *The organizations dealing with gender equality advocacy are nowadays more focused on money than commitment for change. A serious wish for change in the patriarchy culture needs commitment and commitment is about passion and huge interest in seeing the desired change. There is a serious lack of commitment these days.*

Overall, the responses concerning training on development journalism and gender suggest a complicated division between theory and practice of GF-DJ. Development journalism

per se is not a subject taken seriously in the journalism training institutions. As demonstrated in sub-sections 6.1.2 and 6.2.1 the majority of the respondents (apart from those who studied development journalism) draw on individual motivation and a quest to use the media to help people in need. Their understanding of the concept, therefore, reflected their respective programmes' objectives, nature of information actors, and target audience – see sub-section 6.1.2. Moreover, despite the fact that 'gender' is an active subject offered in some journalism schools and by other gender/civil organizations, the training leaves a lot of loopholes on exactly how it is practised in the journalism field. This situation is not conducive for the practice of GF-DJ. The next section looks at another factor – the issues of gender in actual media organizations.

### 6.2.2 Gender Situation in Local Broadcasting Stations

During interviews, *E.S.* and *R.H.* recalled that when they worked as journalists, women in the media were a minority in numbers as well as in positions compared to men. They were paid low salaries and generally worked in poor conditions (lack of enough and modern equipment, lack of transport, housing and other allowances). Women were also sexually harassed by male colleagues. The women explained that this situation frustrated the journalists, some of whom quit the profession altogether because they found it very difficult to cope with such an environment and, at the same time, take care of their domestic responsibilities as wives and mothers. Respondents explained that this situation persists to date in varying degrees.

Narrating her own experience while working as a journalist with RTD, *R.H.* said that seniour male colleagues discouraged promising female journalists by inundating them with work:

> *I was really frustrated by my seniour (a male) who would always ensure that I had a lot of work. I used to work from Monday to Monday, no weekends for three years. My children were almost forgetting me. Imagine the responsibilities I had: a manager of the* Twende na Wakati *(Lets Go with the Times) Programme, head of External Service, producer of five weekly programmes, presenter and early morning newsreader. Honestly, it was too much work. But, I thank God that I accomplished all those tasks successfully.*

Additionally, *R.H.* blamed male colleagues in management particularly for the obstacles they placed in the path of gender-focused reporting:

> *As a female journalist, you can bring a story which you see has a human face reflecting both men and women. But when it reaches the (male) editor's desk,*

*it either doesn't come out or it is put last or it is not given a headline or it gets allocated centre piece.*

Women were and are still also discriminated upon as an audience. For instance, when asked why women were not participating as information actors in a critical and investigative programme such as *Mikingamo* (the Obstacles), the producer of the programme, *S.H.,* opined that women were just careful not to get themselves into trouble, and had a totally different view from the normal 'women are shy':

> *I do not think that women were shy; they were just very careful! They thought more about their families and children; they did not want to endanger them in any way. They were not ready to reveal the corrupt people because they did not want to involve themselves in problems that will threaten their lives and those of their families.*

Using a similar logic regarding the production process, *S.H.* explained that in the production of the programme, women journalists were often just narrators whereas male journalists went into the field to interview people. He argued that he did not want to involve women in the rough ways of investigative techniques such as wearing hidden microphones, dealing with informants that required ultimate secrecy; for him, this was a job for men. These arguments and actions in contrast to those of female journalists demonstrate that there were huge differences between male and female journalists in reporting. There is also an element of chauvinism in the male attitude towards GF-DJ practice. In fact, gender-focused reporting was more of a concern for female than male journalists although a few men did chip in once in a while and unwittingly reported their stories with a women's/gender focus.

In contemporary times, however, things are different. A salient finding in this study is that the majority of the younger/new journalists and some mid-serving journalists of either gender were not as apprehensive about gender-focused reporting as some middle and older female (retired) journalists. On the question about the presence of a gender policy in the media houses or the MCT's gender code of ethics (see Chapter Four, which illustrates that most respondents were not aware of it by the time this research was carried out), the issue did not seem to be much of a concern to most of the male and younger female journalists. Some of these younger female journalists were also quite relaxed about a gender policy. Consider the following statements in affirmation of this assertion:

> *There is no gender policy, but I don't think there is any problem with not having one, as the situation is not bad* (R.F.).

*I don't know if it is there or not. I have never seen or heard about it. But what I know is that there are both men and women in every department in this organization, which is OK!* (*A.M.*).

*There is no gender policy but there is respect for human rights. We are treated equally* (*D.M.*).

*They give us maternity leave and by virtue of that, they do consider gender issues* (*B.S.*).

In fact, when commenting on gender policy most respondents were more concerned with issues of parity in numbers of men vs. women in the organizations or their positions, both quantitative aspects. Very little consideration was given to the relevance of a gender policy in respect of guiding and improving the quality of reporting concerning development and other information. This lack of urgency on such an important matter as a gender policy in the newsroom suggests that the relevance of gender integration in Tanzania's media industry might actually be diminishing. As one serving female journalist who wanted to remain anonymous for this particular statement, asserted:

*Reporting with a gender focus just happens by coincidence. It is not a compulsory in the newsrooms. The point is, as long as the story qualifies to be news basing on the traditional news values, it doesn't matter whether it is gender-focused or not. Reporting with a gender focus is basically a personal initiative. It highly depends on you the journalist, the way you select your sources of information as well as the topics.*

These responses also show that in the current crop of journalists, there are no differences between males and females with regard to gender sensitivity in reporting. This particular finding concurs with the recent global survey by Hanitzch and Hanusch (2011) which revealed that there are no significant gender differences between male and female journalists in their journalism values (see also Steiner, 2012). It can therefore be posited that despite the presence of development journalism practice in the broadcasting stations involved in the study, its focus on gender might be diminishing with the younger generation. This disregard of the gender focus is not conducive for the sustained practice of GF-DJ.

On the other hand, the women's presence as producers and reporters of development-oriented programmes is encouraging. In the sample of 19 identified good development-oriented journalists, 10 were women. However, these female journalists were concerned with programmes culturally assigned to women such as women's issues and health issues. Only one female journalist dealt with agricultural and pastoralist issues which were mainly

reported by men. Generally, men produced programmes related to economics and politics. Men also dealt more with 'live programmes' that had a format of debate/discussion. The only area in which both males and females produced were programmes focusing on agriculture and the environment. As in some studies reviewed in Chapters Two and Four, 'soft' issues are still often assigned to women, whereas 'hard' issues are given to men.

In conclusion, findings in this section show that training concerning development journalism and gender does not provide a sustained environment for the practice of GF-DJ since development journalism as a subject is not taught in many journalism schools and the training in gender is not effective enough. Although development journalism is varyingly practised in all the broadcasting stations involved in this study, its focus on gender has been diminishing with the younger generation. There are no observable differences between male and younger female journalists on their approach to gender in the context of journalism.

The next section looks at the respondents' comments with regard to changes brought about by deregulation of the media, along with economic and political liberalization, advancement of technology and overall effects of globalization, and how the changes impact the dynamics of the practice of GF-DJ.

## 6.3 Reactions to Deregulation-Induced Dynamism in the GF-DJ Practice

This section presents comments from respondents on the dynamism of the practice of gender-focused development journalism, as a result of changes brought about by deregulation and overall globalization challenges. This section partly responds to the first research question because some of the comments reflect on the respondents' observed impact on changes to the practice of GF-DJ, hence its evolution. It also partly responds to research question two as some of the comments reflect the environment in which GF-DJ is currently practised.

All the respondents argued that deregulation of the media–which brought about advanced communication technologies, an increase of media outlets, more variety of programmes and presentation–enhances the audience's ability to participate in media production processes. The audience can now instantly interact with the media through mobile phones, the Internet, Facebook, Twitter and so forth. Respondents argued that audience participation is crucial for development.

In fact, the idea of audience participation did not just come up in the liberal era but the desire for it was evident even during the socialism era. However, it is more feasible and pronounced in the contemporary era. The following four relevant aspects emerged during the interviews. The first aspect partly reflects the socialism era while the others connect to the current situation. *First,* the way the respondents treated and thought about their sources of information: for instance, the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) programme during the socialistic era involved citizens in exposing people who were misusing public property. The producer of the programme, *S.H.* said that it was important to involve the citizens to guard public property against dishonest people:

> *The programme created a participatory style of security; it highly involved the citizens in taking care of the public properties. This encouraged citizenship and promoted the spirit of development among the people.*

In fact, Moshiro (1990) argues that the programme was the only way an ordinary person could expose corrupt higher authorities without fear of being arrested or reprisals as most of the time the information actors (informants in this case) were anonymous. However, this programme did not last long (see Chapter Eight for details). In general, the involvement of ordinary people during the socialistic era was very limited, despite the desire that the journalists of that time had. As *E.S.* argued:

> *The ordinary people that we wanted to interview, especially in the villages had to be given permission to talk to us by the local administration. In this case, a journalist could not freely choose the information actors he or she desired. It was, therefore, not easy and sometimes not possible for a journalist to get the information that he or she was looking for because information actors were already selected for her or him. What I can say is that these ordinary people could not fairly and freely get involved.*

*E.S.* further elaborated that this situation was even worse for ordinary women because they were also hindered by the patriarchy system to participate in most public matters, including being actors of information in the media. However, as discussed in Chapter Four, the women's associations such as UWT, TAMWA, TGNP, and TAWLA really helped to bring women into the open, helped them to gain their confidence, and slowly they started participating in various public matters, including the media. In the liberal era, on the other hand, people have become freer to participate. Now it depends on the programme and nature of the topic of who contributes. Nevertheless, generally men contribute more than women as the co-producer of the environment programme, *M.T.* explained:

> *If it is about timber, you find more male than female information actors. If it is about water, firewood, you find more female than male actors. If it is about*

*the Ozone layer then there is a task of first explaining and educating about the topic to the potential information actors for them to understand so that they can contribute. In general, there are more male than female information actors.*

*Second,* the objectives of the programmes: development-oriented programmes in the liberal era mainly aim at involving the audience in raising problems/issues concerning various social, economic, political, cultural and technological aspects and produce follow-up reporting to ensure that solutions are found. *Third*, ideas development: the audience's ability to suggest ideas for coming programmes has also increased. For instance, in the programme called *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm), radio listeners can ask the guest politicians questions using their mobile phones or through emails and receive answers instantly. *J.B.* the producer of the programme, argued:

> *These audiences' questions and opinions guide me on the kind of questions to ask the politicians as well as formulating ideas for coming programmes.*

*Fourth,* styles/format of production: the selection of the format of the programme in the liberal era highly depends on the financial muscle of a given station. All the serving journalists indicated that they mainly produce their development-oriented programmes in forms of interviews, discussions, narrations and in news. These are cheap, fast and easy to produce. Sometimes, features, small documentaries and broadcast magazines are also produced. There are a few exceptions though, as TBC continues to create more elaborate dramas and documentaries. These are generally expensive and time-consuming. However, some respondents argued that discussions are far more effective, especially if a programme is aimed at finding a solution to a certain problem. Citing a live discussion programme *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument), *I.G.,* the producer of the programme, explained:

> *The discussions are effective because they bring together in the studio all people who are concerned with the problem in question–the person affected by the problem, the ordinary person, the experts, the policy and decision-makers; and together they discuss the situation. But the programme also allows for the participation of the listeners who participate by asking questions, giving their views and opinions as well as suggesting solutions for the issue or problem at hand. The participation is through SMS, e-mails, Facebook, and Twitter. The participants normally ask questions which the common or ordinary person in the studio would have asked. Most of the time these participants and the ordinary people in studio are against the government or authorities concerned with the issue. In other words, many people who participate in this programme are ordinary people who are highly affected by the issue.*

A salient finding in this section is that all the respondents embraced aspects of audience participation in their development journalism practice. In the socialist era, this was apparent in how some respondents integrated information actors (although very limited) whereas in the liberal era the presence of many media, advancements of technology, the format of the programmes and overall an increase in media literacy among the audience are major factors in enhancing participation. Audiences in the liberal era also influence the objectives of the programmes and how journalists develop ideas for the subsequent programmes.

Therefore, while many newer broadcasters shy away from expensive production formats such as documentaries, live programmes such as the popular discussion programmes leave a lot more room for instant participation by the audience as compared to the socialistic era documentaries, soap operas, dramas and features, which were not live. Audience are also willing to participate, indicating growing media literacy among the population. In general, there has been a realization of press freedom which was very limited during the socialistic era. Although these changes were viewed as advantageous to the practice of GF-DJ (conducive environment for the practice), some respondents had their own reservations about some of these changes. The next section therefore presents these reservations in two sub-themes: 'fear' and 'acceptance' of the changes brought by deregulation.

### 6.3.1 Fear of 'State–Public Service' Broadcasters on Deregulation-Induced Changes

Retired journalists, who used to work for the state broadcasting media, were more concerned about the on-going deterioration in standards of broadcasting and respect for broadcasting ethics. For instance, *R.H.* attributed such deteriorations to the advancement of technology:

> *Technology has made some journalists lazy. They are no longer neither creative nor innovative; they just depend on the Internet for almost everything. They copy things from the developed world without considering our country's context. There are a lot of entertainment programmes from the developed world–movies, soap operas, and music–presented in our media, which are not suitable to our context and we are already witnessing the young people blindly copying the Western culture. Overall, there is a huge lack of seriousness in our media these days and I believe that's why there is some failure in some key issues such as gender-focused reporting of development issues.*

In the same vein, *E.S.* posited:

> *Broadcasting today is done very superficially. I wonder whether the economic, political and technological changes are what obligate*

*broadcasting to be so! The majority of broadcasters today are DJs: broadcasting music, jokes, and light issues that are anyway not only done unethically, but are also useless to the present Tanzanians. Effective broadcasting in Tanzania today should bring about the desired change, provide new knowledge and inform the Tanzanian society. These are crucial development promotion functions that are not properly done in the broadcasting media these days.*

A serving journalist from 'state–public service' broadcasting, *J.B.,* was of the view that lack of professionalism and the quest to make profits, a tendency common for the commercial media, have led to various cases of airing misleading information. When the media was owned by the government, he noted there was a huge sense of professionalism, nationalism and a visible nation's direction because people received the same information from one media. On the other hand, *J.B.* said that these days Tanzania as a nation has somehow lost its direction.

Contrary to these concerns, press freedom was regarded by all the respondents as key to the promotion of development. However, the retired and serving journalists from the 'state–public service' broadcasting were much more concerned about how it is put into practice and misinterpreted by some journalists. They cautioned that press freedom should not lead to broadcasting 'nonsense' or 'bringing chaos' to society. In this regard, *H.K.* asserted:

> *Press freedom as it is practised by some journalists these days might have some disadvantages to nationalism. Some journalists just go on air, broadcasting things which are sometimes not true or without considering the impacts they cause; not only to few individuals but to the nation as a whole.*

Negative consequences due to an abuse of press freedom, was also expressed by most of the serving journalists from the 'state–public service' broadcasting. For instance, *A.M.* argued:

> *Even in a country like the United States of America where press freedom is highly exercised, the journalists there put their nation first. When you observe how they report their stories, you see that there is a huge consideration of nationalism and then professionalism. I am afraid that many of our journalists in Tanzania don't look at press freedom that way and this has resulted into conflicts within our society.*

Along the same line, *S.M.* worried about diminishing of professionalism:

> *This freedom where anyone can be a broadcaster – even untrained ones – is very dangerous. These are the ones who get people's names and places wrong. They say things of bad taste; they have no journalistic respect and ethics. At RTD, we used to have Kiswahili language programmes, which are*

*no longer there. This could also be the reason why many young people these days do not speak proper Kiswahili.*

Retired journalists, *S.H.* and *H.K.,* also shared a similar view. *H.K.* explained that she sometimes calls particular broadcasting stations to correct them when they make grammatical mistakes or other professional mistakes. Meanwhile, *S.H.* urged current journalists to emphasize international news as it is also important in the promotion of development. He claimed that international news is given very little attention in broadcasting these days.

Other problems emerged with regard to gender equality. Some male journalists expressed concern about their status in the future. For example, the retired journalist, *S.M.*, asserted that the movements have made some men inferior:

> *Some men have a feeling that these gender equality movements have made some women disrespectful of traditional values, especially when these women are educated and have good economic conditions. Men who are associated with these women, especially as their husbands have become inferior especially when they are not as educated or as economically powerful as these women. These men fear that if things go on like that then women will rule them.*

In similar vein, a young serving journalist, *M.T.,* feared that in future women will overpower men as their presence has been increasing not only in the media sector but also in all sectors in the country. He argued that something has to be done for men as well. A point to note here is that these male journalists' comments might not be very surprising. As we have already seen in sub-section 6.1.2, most men associate gender issues with women's issues. Moreover, some men feel that there has been more emphasis on the liberation of the female gender, as the studies presented in Chapter Four demonstrate as well. Some ordinary men feel they are left behind in some important social services. This feeling among ordinary men might discourage further engagement with issues of gender or human rights, which might not be an effective concept for the liberation of the ordinary people and the society as a whole.

## 6.3.2 Acceptance of Deregulation-Induced Changes by Commercial Broadcasters

Unlike the retired and serving journalists from the state (public) media, the serving journalists from the commercial media did not show any conflict between appropriate levels of nationalism and abuse of press freedom. They actually asserted that press freedom was still lacking despite some improvement. For instance, *I.G.* remarked that there is more press freedom these days as one can challenge the president and other

leaders, something impossible in the old days. However, he argued that there are still some restrictions as a consequence of the Newspaper Act of 1976 and also the Broadcasting Policy of 2003 (see also Chapter Three), which he thought, needed to be repealed to allow for a freer environment to access and report information concerning development. *M.M.* also presented a similar argument.

However, these restrictions do not come from the government alone; they are also produced from within the media houses in the form of self-censorship which eventually limits press freedom. For instance, one respondent who wanted to remain anonymous on this comment explained that some sources who were very critical of the government or major advertisers (after they became known by that particular broadcasting station) were not allowed into the studio. As the respondent explained, a journalist can invite these critical voices but the management of the broadcasting station will deny them access to the studios. An important finding here is that the private media to avoid conflicts with the government or advertisers will rather censor themselves to ensure they do not broadcast anything than to annoy the government or major advertisers (see also Kilimwiko, 2009; Rioba, 2012).

An additional obstacle to development journalism was perceived lack of audience interest, especially young people. The respondents asserted that reporting issues concerning development needs a lot of creativity to attract young audiences while at the same time coping with the ever changing media environment:

> *The general media system in Tanzania needs to change. There is a tendency for media houses to report on the same issues using the same style year after year, which is very boring. Generally, the old styles are boring to the young generation. I see a need of creativity and frequent audience surveys to get the grasp of audiences' preferences* (*M.M.*).

A similar view was also shared by *P.O.* who argued:

> *Journalists need to change the way they approach the community. With the diverse media we have and technological advancement, information has been reaching people very fast. The approach, therefore, has to be different, preferably be more participatory. The audience need to feel they are part of the programme, not just listeners or viewers. Additionally, entertainment attracts the youth who are the majority of the Tanzanian population. Journalists should learn how to present relevant developmental information but in an entertaining way.*

Respondents also blamed the commercial media owners for not providing enough support for rural reporting. In consequence, there are demarcations between rural and urban areas

in the making of these programmes. In fact, many of the stories are on cities and not on rural areas where more development and gender-related challenges need to be addressed.

As here observed, there are some differences between the retired (older) and the serving (younger) generation, the 'state–public service' and the commercial broadcasters with regard to the way they view changes in the media industry. Whereas the older generation dislikes most current styles of broadcasting, the younger generation considers the old styles as boring. A key finding is that with regard to reporting development issues, the serving journalists (both from 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting) prefer a participatory journalistic approach; they consider the advancement of technology as an advantage in enhancing audience participation. This preference for participatory journalism style is also reflected in how these journalists treat their sources, the objectives of the programmes, idea development and the style/format of the production they prefer (see section 6.3). Employing methods of participatory journalism is also suggested by Xiaoge (2009b) and Banda (2007) as one of the effective ways of practising development journalism in contemporary times (see Chapter One).

In conclusion, the findings presented in this section show that a number of changes that have been brought about by deregulation such as channel proliferation and technological advancement are considered an advantage to the practice of GF-DJ as they stipulate 'audience participation'. This was observed to be a huge advantage and a very conducive environment for the practice of GF-DJ. However, these changes were also considered to be of a disadvantage to the practice of GF-DJ when factoring in the abuse of press freedom, government rules and regulations and media self-censorship. In a nutshell, with the exception of the notion of 'audience participation', deregulation-induced dynamics is yet to provide a conducive environment in which GF-DJ can be practised and enhanced in Tanzania.

Overall, these first three themes presented in this chapter [(i) A 'gender focus' in the practice of development journalism; (ii) Conduciveness of media environment to GF-DJ; (iii) Reactions to the deregulation-induced dynamism in the GF-DJ practice], as earlier explained, demonstrate more on the evolvement of GF-DJ practice in Tanzanian mainstream broadcasting media.

The following section describes the commitment of female and male journalists to ensuring that they report development-oriented stories with a gender focus amidst the various challenges demonstrated in this section.

## 6.4 Implementation of GF-DJ

This section answers the third research question on how journalists make efforts and deploy strategies to ensure that development-oriented stories they report have a gender focus amidst the various challenges demonstrated in the previous section. It should be noted that all the retired journalists that were involved in this study had worked in both socialist and liberal era and hence they experienced working amidst the unfolding changes. Despite most of them no longer working as journalists, they are watching developments in the media with keen interest. This section presents the findings in two sub-themes: the first one presents the views of retired journalists who were working under the influence of TAMWA (as the champion for gender-focused reporting for social change) and the second one presents serving and new journalists, both TAMWA and non-TAMWA members, who mostly have been trained in gender issues.

### 6.4.1 Efforts by the Retired Female Journalists to Ensure a GF-DJ

Although *E.S.* argued that she personally ensured the involvement of women in media production processes, such as having them as actors of information, she was careful about which women exactly were to be involved:

> *I did a lot of research about female actors I used in my programmes. I just didn't pick any female actor; I focused on female actors that I believed could help in bringing about change. For example, my major female actors of information then are now ministers and leaders in various sectors in our country. Under TAMWA, I did a lot of programmes to deliberate on women in various areas such as wife-battery, school children dropouts, school pregnancies. My ultimate goal in doing those programmes was to see change.*

Following the global conceptual shift from 'women' to 'gender' in the 1980s, trouble was also taken to look for male actors in support of what TAMWA was advocating. *E.S.* believed this could also help to sensitize men. She specifically looked for strategic allies such as parliamentarians through whom she could push for TAMWA's demands:

> *As TAMWA's Chairperson, one day I had an opportunity to give a speech at the Parliament where I threatened the Parliamentarians, the majority of whom were men that if they do not come to terms with TAMWA's wishes, by then we wanted the Parliamentarians to support the enactment of a new law to curb sexual offences, TAMWA would sensitize women, who are the majority of voters, not to vote men into office. The Parliamentarians did*

*not like this one bit though it worked very well as TAMWA achieved what it wanted; the law, 'The Sexual Offences Act (SOSPA) of 1998, was passed.*

As a female and an individual, *E.S.* argued that being TAMWA's first chairperson strengthened her and enhanced her chances of getting more prominent posts. For instance, it led to her promotion to first female Director of *RTD*. *E.S.* recalled:

> *Apart from being hard-working and the long experience I had with RTD, I think also being TAMWA's co-founder and its first chairperson added a lot of credits towards attaining that post. TAMWA was an organization that changed things, it shook the media establishment which was based on patriarchy; it also shook the political establishment and governance structures which were based on patriarchy as well.*

Explaining on how she used her position as *RTD* Director to ensure a gender-sensitive media environment, *E.S.* explained that she provided the women with training and various other opportunities geared towards enhancing their performance. For instance, she gave the women the chance to produce programmes, including development-oriented programmes that were hitherto produced only by men. Women were given responsibilities such as preparing documentaries, broadcasting news, features and doing outside broadcasting. She also ensured that qualified female journalists got into leadership positions. Additionally, she recruited qualified women into the profession and explained to them what they were supposed to do: excel in the profession and help the disadvantaged groups especially the women through media coverage. However, she also admitted that the situation of women as sources of information was difficult to change because women continued to be a minority of those who contributed as sources of information.

*R.H.,* another retired female journalist, recalled that her central effort to ensure a GF-DJ practice was to co-found TAMWA whose major aim was to defend women's rights in the media:

> *Establishing TAMWA was not an easy task as most men, both in the media and the government, were against it. There was no money to run various activities and we did not even have an office. It was a serious struggle. But here we are TAMWA is more than 20 years old now. Thanks to all those women who sacrificed a lot during the establishment of this important organization.*

*R.H.* asserted that she has been at the forefront in advocating for development issues, especially for the women through the various programmes she produced. As TAMWA's co-founder, she fought for women's rights in terms of wages/salary payments, rejection of sexual harassment in newsrooms, equal opportunities in leadership positions and women's

voices to be heard. She regards her major achievement in her career as being the first female journalist to break the silence on rape in the 1990s in Tanzania. Before then, it was a taboo to speak about rape in public. Her programmes on rape which were aired for two consecutive weeks resulted into TAMWA's advocacy for laws on violence against women and children, the SOSPA (see Chapter Four). She has also been a pioneer in advocating for the HIV and Gender policy in the media where the reportage on HIV and AIDS has been very hostile towards infected people, especially women.

One of the key findings in this sub-section is the way in which these female journalists' efforts individually or collectively under the umbrella of TAMWA helped to foster changes by looking for specific topics and sources that influenced the change of a situation, while side-lining the Western journalistic values of objectivity and neutrality, which is also typical of development journalism (see Chapter One). Another salient finding is the fact that these female journalists had been fully involved in the process of change. They considered themselves first as women who were affected by similar problems affecting other women/people and secondly as journalists. These findings correlate with the contemporary model on the practice of development journalism by Banda (2007) and also the feminist calls on journalism towards such orientation by Steiner (2009). These retired female journalists went to great lengths to bring about changes in the patriarchy media industry and also initiated the enactment of vital gender-based laws such as the SOSPA.

## 6.4.2 Strategies Employed by Serving and New Journalists to Ensure GF-DJ

While men cannot be members of TAMWA, this does not automatically rule out their responsibility in reporting with a gender focus, as a number of them are either aware or have received gender training (see sub-section 6.2.1). Similarly, not all female journalists are members of TAMWA. For instance, out of seven serving female journalists interviewed, three were not TAMWA members. When asked why they were not members, one said that she had not yet gotten the time to travel to Dar es Salaam to register at the TAMWA headquarters. The other two did not have any sound reason for being non-members although they indicated that they might join in future.

Nevertheless, it was established that in the liberal era, some male and female serving and new journalists did take seriously the issue of reporting with a gender focus to an extent of creating their own techniques of involving information actors, especially female actors who tend to be reluctant. Unlike the retired journalists whose efforts were not only limited

to sourcing females but also the more systemic approach of establishing of an organization, TAMWA, through which they managed (to an extent) to change the patriarchy system in certain sectors in Tanzania; the serving journalists mainly focus on engaging females as actors of information. For instance, a male journalist, *M.T.,* explained that whenever he is confronted with female potential actors who are not willing to participate he does the following:

> *I first get used to the potential actors especially the women until we become friends; such that they are relaxed and comfortable. I then explain and educate them on the issue and request them for an interview. But sometimes it might require permission from the husband to interview the wife. When they understand your motive, they co-operate.*

A similar technique was mentioned by other serving journalists such as *B.S., A.M.* and *C.N.* However, succeeding in having a woman accept being interviewed is not always enough. *G.Z.* observed that some women willing to be interviewed are not competent enough, and may fail to exhaust the questions:

> *Some women do not have enough knowledge and they are not well-informed about the issues. If you produce a programme with such an actor, you end up having a lot of narrations [i.e., commentary by journalist] which do not make a programme live. You may not wish to have that kind of an actor again.*

Although some blamed women for being reluctant or not competent enough, journalists' production styles aggravated the problem. As *J.L.* explained:

> *Sometimes, the journalists interview both males and females, but when the story comes out, it is only males who are seen or heard. So, women get discouraged and have been complaining that their views and opinions are not valued by the journalists. So, the next time such women will not be so forthcoming and participate in media production processes. This shows that once these women contribute, they want to hear, see themselves in the media.*

This poses a journalist/source trap-cycle whereby, journalists blame the actors and vice-versa. However, *J.L.* put the burden squarely on the journalists' shoulders by urging them to always ensure that they get a point from female actors that will qualify to get into the programme:

> *If our intention is to help these ordinary people, we should bear in mind that they have several weaknesses. For instance, some of them are not well educated, some don't have enough media access to know and understand various issues. My advice to journalists is that they need to ask the female*
>
> *actors the questions several times or from various angles to ensure that what they say will make some sense to the particular programme's requirements.*

This similar view was also shared by *M.T.*, who argued that journalists also need to educate the potential actors on the topic of the interview.

Overall, the responses indicate that reporting development issues with a gender focus now, often relies on a journalist' personal efforts and interest. These personal efforts demonstrated by *J.L.* and *M.T.* also resonate with the strategies advocated by Banda (2007) and Steiner (2009). Although it is evident that in the socialistic era female journalists were more concerned with reporting with a gender focus than their male counterparts, in the liberal era there are no differences between male and female journalists, as findings in this section show that these few committed journalists were both men and women. Yet, out of the 14 serving respondents, only five (three females and two males) showed this commitment. A salient finding regarding the concerns of this study is that despite the gender concept appearing to be diminishing among the younger generation–both men and women–there is a remnant of journalists from both genders who continue to be committed to gender focused reporting. Additionally, the serving journalists' strategies mainly relied on audience participation, suggesting that their strategies are based on a condition that is already conducive for them to practice GF-DJ. However, these respondents did not indicate any effort or strategy that could be employed to overcome systemic restrictions from the government or from their media houses against reporting 'critical' development stories with a gender focus. The study findings also suggest that respondents from both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting were likely to operate within the professional confines of their respective media houses. Only the retired journalists under the umbrella of TAMWA challenged the system in significant ways. Besides efforts to ensure female and minority participation, they also lobbied parliamentarians to enact laws and policies favourable for women, minorities and a GF-DJ practice among other things.

As it has already been established, development journalism played an important role in the socialistic era. The findings in the next section respond to the fourth research question on the likely contribution of GF-DJ practice in this liberal era.

### 6.5 Relevance of GF-DJ in the Liberal Era

All respondents agreed that in Tanzania's post-1990 liberal era, the practice of development journalism is of high importance in providing people with the right information to help them make informed decisions. According to *E.S.*, this was so because there is a lot of interaction and information coming in from other parts of the world at the

moment. As such, GF-DJ should help Tanzanians to embrace only those changes that are appropriate in their context. In this regard, GF-DJ should help the audience to know where they come from, where they are and where they are going. *E.S.* felt that people are *"not going anywhere, if they do not know their goal"*. Explaining the role of the media in this liberal era, *E.S.* said:

> *All the more reason we should do these development-oriented programmes is to give us a sense of direction as a nation. So that in the wake of globalization, we know where our position is, we do not just wonder about. And if it is imperative for us to change, we change without forgetting that we are a nation, Tanzania. It is only development journalism that can guide us now, just like it did a wonderful job in uniting us as a nation immediately after independence.*
>
> *Likewise, a Tanzanian today would like to know about: new diseases– diabetes, heart diseases–not only HIV and AIDS; how the environment is going to affect them, and new scientific research discoveries. We are confronted with a lot of problems that we need answers to and we do not get them. And this is what I feel broadcasting in terms of employing development journalism should do–bringing the information that will help Tanzanians live a better life and making them know what is going on around the world and see how to best adapt to them while at the same time remaining as a Tanzanian.*

A similar view was also shared by a serving journalist, *A.M.,* who posited:

> *Many Tanzanians these days are not well-informed. The level of illiteracy is increasing. The technological advancement such as Twitter, Facebook, search engines–I am afraid to say–are not well-utilized by young people, for instance in areas of primary importance to the development of young people such as education and employment. Many young people use them for chatting, listening to music, watching videos and other things of similar type. Development journalism is therefore really needed today to guide the young generation.*

*R.H.,* a retired journalist opined that Tanzania as a country with many development challenges needs the help of the media to attain development. She asserted that development in a country couldn't be obtained without the effective use of the mass media because the media acts as a watchdog, voice of the voiceless and an important stimulus towards attaining development. Furthermore, she argued that the media can achieve this through an effective application of development journalism.

Equally, the serving journalist *C.N.* was of the view that development journalism is very relevant in preparing the youth for self-employment as there are no permanent jobs or formal employment these days. She argued that there is a need to produce programmes that

educate, motivate and equip the youth with skills and courage to embark on self-employment after undergoing training or acquiring their diplomas. *S.M.* (a retired journalist) also shared a similar view. Furthermore, *A.M.* argued that development journalism is very relevant as it is concerned with raising issues, challenges and problems that are obstacles to development:

> *When the problematic issues remain in silence, no one especially those who can provide help will hear, hence no one will suggest solutions for them. The silent majority, many of them women, have a lot of issues and problems. The media using development journalism can help by giving them a voice.*

Several respondents acknowledged the continued relevance of the practice of GF-DJ in this liberal era given the positive impact of specific current programmes. Examples mentioned were the *Kilimo Bora* (agriculture programme), *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum) and several women's programmes. These programmes had, for example, encouraged people to consider self-employment as an alternative to formal employment in both the private and public sectors. Similarly another programme by *A.M.*, *Hifadhi za Taifa* (National Parks) was successful in attracting Tanzanians to visit their national parks reserves, hence helping to develop domestic tourism and the economy. The programme won the National Journalism Award as the best radio programme for the year 2012. Additionally, the *Inuka* (Rise Up) programme has introduced various problems faced by agriculturalists and pastoralists, most of them ordinary people. These ordinary people along with experts, policy and decision makers have even managed to find solutions to various issues. As the producer of the programme, *D.M.* explained:

> *There was an incident where the seeds supplier delayed the seeds to the farmers. However, when the seeds finally arrived to the farmers, they were all wet. Nevertheless, because there was no alternative, the farmers could not wait for new seeds (if at all they were there). They planted the seeds and nothing grew. The farmers complained about the event through this radio [broadcast], and the seeds distributors and the storekeepers had a case to answer. I was very happy to have been able to help these poor people.*

*D.M.* explained that the programme has also been able to raise awareness on HIV and AIDS in this particular group of agriculturalists and pastoralists. Because of being located in very remote areas and the tendency of not staying in a permanent place, they are rarely visited by organizations dealing with HIV and AIDS. Programmes on environmental protection as well have created a measurable impact. The producer of the environment programme, *A.M.* demonstrated:

*We ran some environmental programmes emphasizing on recycling plastic waste. That has worked very well especially with the plastic bottles. You don't see them scattered all over the streets anymore. Through collecting and selling them for recycling, people have managed to create self-employment. Plastic bottle recycling is a good business for ordinary people. We had another programme on 'noise pollution' in which we raised issues concerning the discomfort brought about by the noise especially from bars and hotels located in the residential areas. Through the programme, people raised their complaints before the bars and hotel owners. The government responded by stating that bars in the streets should be sound proofed and closed at 10:00 pm. And to certain extent, the bar and hotel owners have abided by the rules and restrictions.*

Overall, the responses illustrate that development journalism is still regarded as relevant in this liberal era in solving a number of problems that are obstacles to development. The journalists' responses however, indicate that despite the importance attached to GF-DJ practice, it is not well-utilized by the journalists. For instance, the serving journalists could have in place efforts and more systemic strategies, including a media gender policy, to ensure an effective and sustainable GF-DJ practice.

Table III below provides a summary of the GF-DJ practice in the socialistic and liberal era while highlighting some notable differences as demonstrated in this chapter.

Table III: GF-DJ Practices in the Socialistic and Liberal Eras

| Aspect | Socialism | Liberalism |
|---|---|---|
| Objectives | *Development Journalism*<br><br>*Adhere to government Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance where a critical type of development journalism was not allowed to thrive. | *The 'state–public service' broadcasting runs a few development-oriented programmes which questions and criticizes the government.<br><br>*The commercial broadcasting as well has a number of critical development-oriented programmes. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Gender*<br><br>*Women programmes were geared towards liberating the female gender. | *There is a shift of focus in the programmes from a focus on 'women' to a focus on 'gender/people'. This is more pronounced in the 'state–public service' broadcasting. For the commercial broadcasters, the focus is still more on women although the audience is comprised of both men and women. |
| Ideas development and Participation | *Limited audiences' ability to participate in media processes; such as being involved in ideas development for the programme and as information actors. This was mainly because of the existing media policy, low media literacy and poor technology. | *With deregulation, advancement of technology and an increase in media literacy; chances of audiences' ideas to be involved in formulating programmes have increased. Audiences' chances to participate as information actors have generally increased. |
| Formats of Programmes Production | *Broadcasting features, live casting, drama, soap operas, interviews, radio magazines, news, documentaries and narrations. | *Interviews, discussions, narrations, news, less complex features and broadcasting magazines. |
| | *Limited room for audiences' participation.<br><br>*Preferably recorded programmes. | *More room for audiences' participation.<br><br>*More live programmes. |
| Training | *Better trained or skilled in development journalism style.<br><br>*Gender sensitive training focused on female journalists. | *Majority not well trained or skilled in development journalism.<br><br>*Gender training is offered to men and women. |
| Perception of the concept of development journalism and gender | *Development Journalism*<br><br>*Retired journalists understand and know the concept as development journalism' based on the traditional meaning and the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. | *Journalists understand the concept depending on own experiences, perspectives and contexts. Also connect the practice as 'the development role of the media', 'watchdog journalism' or 'voice of the voiceless'. Common among most younger. |

| | *Gender*<br><br>*Have unanimous understanding with concentration on liberating the female gender. | *Have various interpretations, mainly based on global conceptual shifts from 'women' to 'gender' to 'human rights' issues. |
|---|---|---|
| The Practice of GF-DJ | *Practised in the state owned media (RTD). | *Practised in both 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting stations.<br><br>*Practised in and supported by journalism associations such as TAMWA ('Bang' journalism).<br><br>*Supported by NGOs. |

**Source:** Author (2013)

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated that a gender focus in the practice of development journalism started in the late 1970s and was pioneered by female journalists who were inspired by the International Conference on Women of 1975. The global conceptual shifts ('women' to 'gender' to 'human rights'), the establishment of TAMWA in 1987 and deregulation brought changes to the practice, whereby gender (men and women) was considered. New journalism styles were also developed such as TAMWA's 'Bang' journalism, which exemplifies successful GF-DJ practice. Overall, there was unanimous understanding of the concept 'development journalism' as a tool for promoting development. Yet, there were inconsistencies with regard to the naming of the concept: whereas the older generation named the practice 'development journalism', the younger generation referred to 'the development role of the media', 'watchdog journalism–particularly concerning the aspect of criticism', and 'voice of the voiceless'. Other factors such as the stated objectives of programmes, story ideas development, training, where and how development journalism is practised, suggest changes in the practice of development journalism. In the liberal era, the practice at times tends to get short-changed and equated with (somewhat superficial) efforts to encourage the participation of ordinary people in media programmes (voice of the voiceless) and the general media role of criticism (such as watchdog). Additionally, there were some inconsistencies in how gender is understood (defined) among the younger generation. However, the attitudes reflect the global conceptual shifts in gender equality movements from 'women and development' during the socialistic era to 'gender and development' and 'human rights issues' in the liberal era. This conceptual shift was

observed in how some younger respondents defined gender in the context of journalism, the objectives of some of the women's programmes, particularly *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum), as well as the gender of the audiences. Feedback indicated that some men were also listening and viewing these women's programme.

Two main themes emerged concerning the environment in which GF-DJ is practised in Tanzania's broadcast media: concerning the *effectiveness of training for development-oriented journalists,* the data indicates that the majority of the respondents did not study development journalism as a subject. In contrast, the study found that gender studies are offered in many journalism schools and gender organizations. However, the journalists' understanding and application of gender in reporting is not unanimous and as effective as it should be. Regarding *the actual gender situation in the broadcasting media,* the findings suggest that although a development–oriented journalism is practised, its focus on gender might be diminishing among the younger generation of journalists in Tanzania. In this regard, there was no difference between male and female journalists. Furthermore, all serving respondents unanimously argued that the advancement of technology, the variety of media, various forms of programmes' presentations and overall, an increase in media literacy has increased audience participation in broadcasting programmes. The respondents favoured a participatory style while reporting their development programmes with 'live discussions' formats being much preferred. A critical stance was also felt and noticed in some respondents. Besides increased opportunities for audience participation, the findings demonstrate that the environment in which GF-DJ is practised in Tanzania is not conducive.

In general, the data suggests that the practice of development journalism as well as its employment of a gender focus is changing with regard to the objectives of the programmes, ideas development for programmes, audience participation, formats of programmes production, training, perception of the concepts of 'development journalism' and 'gender', where and how GF-DJ is practised. Currently, GF-DJ largely stems from a journalist's personal efforts and interest. However, besides ensuring that ordinary people (especially females) are involved in programmes as actors of information, there were no efforts by the serving journalists concerning overcoming obstacles imposed by the government and within the media houses unlike earlier efforts by TAMWA associated female journalists.

Nevertheless, the respondents argued that development journalism is very relevant in this liberal era. This is also reflected in their understanding of development journalism, their various efforts to practise it with a gender focus and their pride in the impact and achievements of specific programmes. However, the findings also suggest that despite the theoretical support given to the practice of GF-DJ, in practice it remains under-utilized by journalists.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**INTERVIEW FINDINGS ON GF-DJ BY TRAINERS AND EXPERTS**

This chapter presents interview findings concerning a group of nine individuals made up of four journalism trainers as well as five gender and development/media experts. The aim, as stated in Chapter Five, was to learn how representatives of relevant institutions view GF-DJ practice. Their questions were therefore related to some of the key questions asked to development-oriented journalists. Overall, these respondents were asked for their opinions on: (i) The media system in Tanzania with regard to GF-DJ practice especially issues such as training and support from media houses and the government; (ii) the broadcasting media coverage of GF-DJ stories; (iii) the relevance of GF-DJ practice; (iv) the contributions of the institutions in promoting development with a gender focus, emphasizing on the extent to which the institutions/organizations co-operate with the media in promoting development from a gendered perspective; and (v) recommendations on how to enhance the contribution of the broadcasting media in promoting gender-focused development.

In this chapter, just like the previous one, data is thematically presented guided by the research questions. Not all respondents were able to answer all questions in details as there were weak connections between development, development journalism and gender. For instance, some gender and development experts evasively answered questions related to the media due to lack in expertise between their area of specialization and development journalism. On the other hand, gender and development experts with a firm grounding in media – mainly officials from TAMWA and MCT – could link the three aspects in more details. Journalism trainers also often linked journalism and development well although some were a bit sluggish in connecting with the concept of gender. These interview experiences illustrated a somewhat weak connection between the three aspects–journalism, development and gender. Therefore, the themes below were generated inductively based on the responses from all the nine respondents, with some questions being answered in more detail by journalism trainers and others by gender and development/media experts.

## 7.1 Media System in Tanzania Concerning GF-DJ

This section responds to the first research question. It presents three major aspects that sustain GF-DJ practice within the media system in Tanzania. Major arguments concern the training on 'development journalism' and 'gender', the situation in media houses and the government.

### 7.1.1 Training in Development Journalism and Gender

Respondents described several challenges concerning the teaching of development journalism in journalism institutions and of gender in both journalism institutions and gender-related institutions. For instance, *A.R.* asserted:

> *Most journalists are lacking in some specific issues although they have journalism degrees or diplomas. For instance, they lack in issues concerned with the role of the media in development, issues of gender, media and development; and how these issues are connected, as well as their relevance to the development process in the country.*

*A.R.'s* argument concurs with the answers by the journalists, especially in the latter (see Chapter Six). Similarly, *P.M.* argued that the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) was not happy with how the media reflected gender-sensitive reporting, prompting the MCT to intervene:

> *We are not happy with how media reflects gender; it is lopsided. The MCT's Gender Code of Ethics therefore, took a very conscious effort to see if we [MCT] can assist the media to look at gender issues. Due to that gender problem, the MCT is also involved in gender training in the media. We are now developing a training manual on gender so that gender training becomes more systematic. Developing a gender code of ethics and now this gender manual is a conscious effort by the council to ensure that we engender the media. Since we see that the efforts that are presently working have not been that effective.*

*P.M.,* who worked as a journalist and a trainer in gender issues in journalism, added that emphasis on gender issues interests the MCT as the media is a key instrument in promoting democracy which cannot be attained if one gender is marginalized in the development process. She insisted that gender-focused reporting is simply practising good journalism:

> *Gender-focused reporting is just good journalism–having a good story with details, in-depth story comprising a variety of voices. That is if you want a good story, it has to be multi-sourced with different perspectives, different gender–men, women, old, young, officials, ordinary people. Gender-focused reporting is just good journalism, it is good reporting, it is professionalism.*

*P.M.'s* description of gender-focused reporting is consistent with *A.M.'s* definition (see Chapter Six) and Made's (2005) description (see Chapter Four). According to *P.M.,* training in gender in the context of journalism is focused on how to balance stories, how to have many and various voices, why journalists should have multiple information actors made up of both men and women and why a women's perspective can help journalists understand the issues better.

With regard to development journalism, *J.M.* argued that most journalism institutions do not teach it because they are not aware of its importance. They also do not regularly review programmes and, as *E.M* .explained, follow curricular that do not see the course as relevant.

Reasoning further on why development journalism is not taught, *A.R.* connected to its historic contingency:

> *When the liberal thinking came into being, most of the people threw away things that were associated with the past such as socialism. For instance, they thought of development journalism as a kind of journalism that is controlled by the government or state. With the liberal era, therefore, the thinking was liberal, westernised. People started copying curricula, copying media systems, copying styles of journalism from the West. You cannot find development journalism in the West.*

It is apparent that these findings are similar to what journalists argued in Chapter Six. Indeed, journalism and gender trainers also pointed out similar challenges concerning offering training in development journalism and gender in Tanzania, a situation which undermines the practice of GF-DJ.

### 7.1.2 Development Journalism Support from Media Houses and the Government

All four respondents from journalism training institutions argued that both the individual media houses, especially the private ones, as well as government institutions related to media currently do not support the practice of development journalism adequately. For instance, *J.M.* observed that media in Tanzania generally do not support development journalism practice because of lack of clear in-house strategies but also because of the personnel's lack of awareness, knowledge and skills in implementing development journalism.

Although *E.M.* agreed that development journalism is still being practised in Tanzania today, he was concerned about the changes brought about by deregulation which have affected media ownership and, hence, to a large extent affected the practice of development journalism. He argued: *"The private/commercial media will only do development journalism if they have an interest and if it brings profit".* Furthermore, *E.M.* said that some people, especially in government, believe that development journalism in this liberal era is only about criticizing the government, especially when the media performs the watchdog role: *"Perhaps that is why the government is not supporting it".*

Hence according to *E.M.,* development journalism is weakened by two factors: (i) Profit motives – it is not supported by private, mostly commercial media because they are not convinced it is profitable. And (ii) fear of criticisms – government institutions do not support it since it appears to only focus on criticizing the government. Moreover, the few private media trying to promote 'critical' development journalism are being threatened, banned or loaded with government advertisements, and, hence, fail to perform the critical role (see Chapter Four). As a result, ordinary people are forgotten in this clash of interests between the media and the government. *E.M.'s* argument concurs with *A.R.* who explained that the private media owners were not likely to expose institutions that also sustain them by giving them adverts. The advertising issue is tricky since the government is also the biggest advertiser in Tanzania (see Chapter Four). Hence, the media that are business-conscious tend to shy away from exposing anything that would create a rift between them and the government and, hence, threaten to block the advertising flow.

Meanwhile, while most journalists (as Chapter Six demonstrates) were either not concerned about or believed that the situation concerning gender was fine in their media houses, *P.M.* offered a different view:

> *Practically, gender equality in newsrooms is not OK! Much more men than women are in leadership positions, even in content more men than women feature as actors, and even worse, sexual harassment still persists. This situation which is mainly patriarchal creates imbalances and unfair treatments for the female gender.*

Overall, the environment for practising GF-DJ is not conducive right from the training level to the media houses' vested interests and the influence of the government as central advertiser even in commercial stations. The next section explains how GF-DJ is practised under these circumstances.

## 7.2 Media Coverage of Development Stories with a Gender Focus

This section responds to the second research question. *A.R.* explained that what he sees today in the media is not necessarily what can be termed as development journalism, arguing:

> *In the liberal era, the role of the media depends largely on political and economic superstructures that exist. Hence, the role of the media in this liberal system and free market philosophy has become different, such that the media cannot be left or relied upon for a developmental role or tools of development. This is because in liberal democracy strand in a free market environment every individual is free to own media; as such media is run as any other business. As long as this person makes profit the content does not*

*matter, whether it is developmental or not. On that note, I seriously don't see whether our media are dedicated to development journalism.*

However, *A.R.* also noted some exceptions:

*There is one aspect of media role in liberal democracy which could be seen as an aspect of promoting development, such as the 'watchdog role' whereby the media envisage wrong doings by those in power and expose such wrong doings, such as corruption, as well as criticizing the government and those in power. To me, I see that as a developmental role.*

*A.R.'s* argument concurs with responses from younger development-oriented journalists who emphasized the 'watchdog role' with regard to the critical aspect, 'developmental role' and 'voice of the voiceless' (see Chapter Six).

With regard to gender, *A.R.* was of the view that gender issues can be looked at from two major vantage points: (i) who is there in the media to decide the news agenda (professionals) (ii) how do men and women feature in news and other programmes (actors of information). According to *A.R.,* female journalists are better positioned when it comes to the practice of gender-based development journalism:

*In my view, men and women look at some issues differently. For instance, in my view some women are more concerned with social justice issues, issues of sufferings than men. Hence, the only reason I think 'some' women in positions will mean some kind of change towards social justice, towards real development is because women have not been concerned about selfish motives as we see with their counterparts.*

Similarly, *E.M.* argued that as the majority of journalists are men in all levels in the media industry, the prospect of the oppression to the other gender (female) is inevitably raised. The imbalance in numbers and positions also affect how male and female journalists report from a gendered perspective:

*For instance, the issue of sexual violence is reported fairly and better by female journalists compared to male journalists whom sexual violence does not largely affect.*

Overall, the idea of women journalists being more qualified and the importance of women in seniour positions were also shared by *V.M.* However, this is contrary to what the development-oriented journalists have demonstrated in Chapter Six. The few who practice GF-DJ comprised both men and women, not only women. In fact, there were no differences between male and female journalists when it came to practising GF-DJ as they both employed similar techniques in their reportage (see also Hanitzsch & Hanusch, 2011; Steiner, 2012).

On the other hand, *Z.M.* was more concerned about female representation, arguing that these days more women feature in the media as sources of information than in the past. However, *Z.M.* noted that the calibre of women featuring in the media left much to be desired as these were mostly politicians or women with certain positions in government or private institutions, who did not necessarily represent the interests of the majority poor women who remain largely marginalized in the media. This view is similar to what the MCT (2009) survey established (see Chapter Four). In this regard, *Z.M.* urged journalists to also involve ordinary women in the villages as they were the most affected by daily challenges of earning a decent life.

This section affirms that there is evidence of the practice of development journalism in this liberal era, and that this practice is assuming new forms. This finding is similar to what was established from responses by development-oriented journalists. However, changes within the gender concept have not been observed in this category of respondents. Yet Steiner (2009) is of the view that theories of Critical Mass and Glass Ceiling have failed (see Chapter Two). Respondents in this section continue to be convinced that an increase in the number of women in media and other sectors will change the situation of women and the minorities in Tanzania. They are actually confident that intrinsic gender characteristics make women more qualified to work in gender-based development journalism and development as a whole. The next section which responds to research question three looks at the relevance of GF-DJ practice.

## 7.3 Relevance of Development Journalism

Respondents, especially journalism trainers, supported the idea that development journalism should be practised in contemporary Tanzania. On this point, *E.M.* for example, argued:

> *There are a lot of problems in the country right now. For instance, land grabbing issues by foreign investors, mineral stealing by foreign investors through poor contracts, huge problems with the education system such as mass failures, lack of facilities, teachers' strikes, problems with the health system including medical doctor's strikes and complaints, lack of facilities, lack of medicine – with worse situations in the rural areas. Development journalism needs to address these issues strongly.*

A similar view was also shared by development-oriented journalists (see Chapter Six).

Meanwhile, *J.M.* urged media practitioners to specialize in development journalism as it is relevant in speeding up the process of development in Tanzania. Furthermore, *Z.M.*

asserted that development journalism is still very relevant in Tanzania today because it can serve as a driving force in poverty alleviation.

This section has established that development journalism is regarded as relevant in this liberal era particularly with regard to solving a number of development-related problems. These statements echo the responses from development-oriented journalists (see Chapter Six) and a review of literature (see Chapter One).

## 7.4 Institutional Contributions to Promoting Gender-Focused Development

This section presents findings for the fourth research question. The focus is on explaining the contributions of the institutions in promoting gender-focused development. The goal of training institutions in higher education such as the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) and The School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SJMC), is to conduct research and educate people that will be working in various sectors in the country geared towards promoting development with a gender focus. *B.K.* elaborated:

> *Our contribution to promoting development with a gender focus is to produce human resources that are well-equipped with skills in integrating gender into policies in various sectors in our country.*

Similarly, the major objective of the Gender Centre (GC) of the University of Dar es Salaam is to ensure female development in academics, such as promoting the presence of female students and staff in areas where there are few females, particularly in the sciences. However, in this role, the University of Dar es Salaam's gender and development experts' connection with the mainstream media to publicize their activities was found to be limited. Other than connecting with the University Media (Radio Mlimani, Mlimani Television and the Hill Observer), these UDSM institutions had little connection with the mainstream media. However, the mainstream media, specifically the broadcasting media, as argued elsewhere in this study, can create more impact in boosting gender-focused development as it reaches many people from different walks of life. The University of Dar es Salaam's Media are community media (see Mrutu, 2008), and only have limited geographical reach. Overall, apart from an emphasis on gender and development, their area of specialization, an emphasis on media did not come strong in this category of respondents.

Another relevant institution is the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). Its many contributions include pushing for the integration of gender in various sectors in Tanzania, as elaborated by *K.N.*:

> *The TGNP has been able to agitate for the establishment of Gender Desks in various institutions and organizations. One good example has been police stations where there is a desk specifically dealing with issues concerning gender violence.*

*K.N.* said that overall through advocacy and sensitization more and more women have been able to open up and talk openly about issues of their concern. They have also been able to contest for various public leadership positions. Additionally, *K.N.* commended the contribution of both mainstream and community media in collaboration with the TGNP:

> *We are partners with the media and we have specific journalists whom we have been training to understand the organization and its objectives. We have been working with these journalists for some time now; they understand what we do and they help us to properly put it in the media.*

On the other hand, *K.N.* noted that some male editors neglected or spiked stories concerning women, a challenge also mentioned by female journalists (see Chapter Six). This challenge actually prompted the TGNP to train some reporters and editors so that they could be gender-sensitive and responsive to the needs of women as well. She elaborated that these reporters and editors have been facilitating the publicizing of activities done by the organization. Overall, with the exception of TAMWA, MCT and, to an extent, TGNP who deal with the mainstream media in almost all their activities, other gender and development organizations have little connection to the mainstream media. This finding suggests a lack of connection between some gender and development experts and the media. This disconnection might hinder the promotion of development for the ordinary people.

The next section focuses on women's liberation organizations. The first sub-section looks at the conduct of women/gender organizations and the second is on the current status of women/gender organizations.

### 7.4.1 Continued Emphasis on Women by Women/Gender Organizations

This section came out of the concerns raised by gender and development/media experts on their continued emphasis on the female gender. All five gender and development/media experts agreed that they were and still are right by placing emphasis on the female gender. This was contrary to the retired female journalists (and activists) who indicated that it was a mistake to over emphasize the female gender at the initial stages of women liberation movements (see Chapter Six).

All the gender and development/media experts reported that focusing on women did not mean they were neglecting men. Men as husbands, brothers, fathers, sons, uncles, etc. also benefited from improvements in the welfare of women. The statements of the gender and development/media experts illustrate their attitudes:

> *TAMWA is a women's organization, YES! But are these women living on an Island? Women are highly connected to men; one cannot survive without the other. Focusing on women does not mean that we are neglecting men. These men also benefit in one way or the other as these women live among men (V.M.).*

*K.N.* also supported the focus on women although she classified the TGNP as a 'gender' organization:

> *At the TGNP we see the need of empowering women to be able to fight the system that undermines them. Success is there when the patriarchy system morphs into a more equality-based system. However, it is a gradual process as it takes a long time to change culture. Although efforts are geared towards both men and women, the emphasis has been on women because they are the major victims of this patriarchy system.*

A similar view was also held by *R.M.*:

> *These movements have been regarded as women's issues. Since their first introduction, the focus was on women, which was not wrong! Because women have been a disadvantaged group for a very long time, there was a need to empower them so that they can stand up for their rights within the process of changing the system. There was a need to do this and at the same time making men understand that this was not their fault, rather it was/is a system put in place that differentiates men and women in an unfair way. Maybe these earlier women overdid it but it was not wrong; it had to be done that way. Even when you look at the Millennium Development Goals, they are in a gender context but they emphasize on women.*

A salient finding in this sub-section is that contrary to the interviewed retired female journalists, gender and development experts did not find it problematic to place more emphasis on women in a bid to bring their issues to the fore. In fact, they argued that it was a necessary requirement to restore gender parity in society. The next sub-section presents the results of the efforts on liberating women from the shackles of the patriarchy system.

### 7.4.2 Status of Women According to Women's/Gender Organizations

Although *R.H.* was downbeat about women's improvements in Tanzania (see Chapter Six), *V.M.,* who has lived outside the country for more than 20 years, was rather more optimistic and noted huge improvements for women compared to the past. *V.M.* insisted that the efforts of women's/gender organizations have brought significant changes:

*Women can now talk openly, there are now many women in leadership positions; improvements are generally observed even within the society with their awareness of gender issues. We should know that the change of culture is a gradual process but so far success is there and success continues.*

A similar view was also shared by *P.M.* who acknowledged that changes have taken place although they have been gradual:

*These changes are slow because they are based on entrenched cultural, political and social dispensation. Though this problem started with culture, it has been embodied in other political, social, and economic systems. It should also be noted that this is not only a Tanzanian culture; it also is a global culture with other countries better or worse off than others. In a nutshell, there are changes although they are happening gradually because the problem has already been entrenched.*

*R.M.* added:

*Changing the patriarchy culture challenges the status quo; one needs to be courageous enough and know that one is confronting the opposition. This particular opposition is not necessarily physical but rather engrained mind-sets because it has stuck in people's minds as has been directed by religion and culture with regard to the position and roles of men and women in society. These are things which take a long time to change.*

*R.M.* praised the gender/civil organizations such as TAMWA, TGNP and TAWLA for having done a commendable job on gender advocacy. As a result of their efforts, she believes that women have been empowered and can stand up and demand their rights. Thanks to the intervention of these organizations, the mind-set of many of the people has been changed, a crucial step towards changing the patriarchy system. Along the same line, *B.K.* admitted that there are improvements made thus far, but also cautioned that changing culture is a gradual process:

*These results and changes that we are seeing have yet to well penetrate the system for them to be able to confront the system. For instance, it is true that women have increased in leadership positions, but the system has not changed that much. The techniques that have been used such as the women's special parliamentary seats have not yet been able to confront the system. Even in other countries where women in leadership positions are near parity or parity to men such as in Rwanda, South Africa, and Mozambique, they still have not been able to confront the system. We can call them 'cosmetic' or temporary techniques that we have been able to inject into the system, which is good but still there is a big job ahead of us to change the patriarchy system.*

*B.K.'s* view is similar to what research reveal (see TGNP Report, 2007; Steiner, 2012). On this note however, *V.M.* said what was significant was how women were prepared for higher societal responsibilities. She insisted on training these women accordingly once

they get leadership positions, arguing that having women as leaders does not help much if they are not trained on how to use their positions to help society:

> We should not just complain and blame that nothing is done. What is our contribution in helping them to succeed? As fellow women and the society as a whole, have we provided support for these women so they can do the needful for other women and the society as a whole?

Additionally, *B.K.* advocated in some circumstances, 'revolutionary' measures:

> As activists, we are saying changing the system–be it in the media or any other sector–entails bringing about revolution in the system. We need a new system, a move from patriarchy to an equality system. That's when we can say we have achieved, we have reached a stage or level that we want. But for now we can say we are heading in that direction. For now let's continue to assess the techniques that we are using now and see how we can improve or change so that we reach where we want. These techniques are themselves an achievement. For instance, one technique that has received a number of challenges is 'women's special parliamentary seats' – we need to re-think about this strategy. Women should also be very careful as they can be used to weaken a technique that helps them; that's a direction I see the notion of 'special seats for women is heading.

This similar view was also shared by *P.M.* who elaborated:

> You see when you look at these movements, women's rights or gender rights; something big and very catalytic happened and took the movements a leap forward. For instance, the World War II forced women out of the private realm, the homes, and went out, started working and do other public activities as there were no men around, all men went to war. So, sometimes there is a need of a revolutionary act or something very catalytic to happen to shake up the system in such a way that there is no going back.

The statements in this section suggest that the gender and development experts are seeing improvements although they admit that they are gradual. This attitude counters some of the journalists who were more pessimistic (see Chapter Six). Findings further suggest that the experts see a need in revisiting the women's liberation strategies for positive results to be sustained. The next section presents the experts' recommendations on how best to practice GF-DJ, a response to the fifth and last research question.

## 7.5 Recommendations on Effective GF-DJ Practice

*A.R.* recommended that in Tanzania, Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) should set standards for other media (print, online) to follow in the promotion of development. Specifically, *A.R.* explained that the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) should completely turn into a Public Service Broadcaster that will be a model for other broadcasting stations and generally the media, to emulate. This view was also shared by

*Z.M.* who asserted that the broadcasting media, especially radio, is an effective tool for executing development journalism:

> *The emphasis of development journalism in Tanzania should be placed in the electronic media, specifically radio, because of its benefits to penetrate in the rural areas.*

*A.R.'s* and *Z.M.'s* views are consistent with Banda's (2007) idea (see Chapter One). In fact, *A.R.,* just like Banda also emphasized the PSB model.

Another issue was the conflict between press freedom, mandates for development and economic success. *A.R.,* who did not wish for the media to be restricted by stringent rules, explained that in Tanzania, there is a need to focus on how to regulate the use of the media for promoting development and making sure that the media are part of the development process. In this regard, *A.R.* asserted:

> *The media have an obligation to focus their attention more on challenges that we face as people and as a country, before they can start the luxury of enjoying as a business entity.*

Meanwhile, *B.K.* encouraged vigorous training for as many people as possible in gender issues to bring about equality in development. *B.K.* elaborated that, as a country, Tanzania had ratified many international instruments regarding gender equality, but the country lacks enough professionals to deal and train people in these issues so that they can seamlessly be integrated into laws and into practice. Overall, all gender and development/media experts recommended instituting more effective gender training.

Similarly, journalism trainers unanimously called for training of development journalism as a stand-alone course in journalism institutions. On that note, *A.R.* called for the establishment of a Media and Democracy Institution that would give journalists an opportunity to learn about specific issues such as the role of the media in democracy, the role of media in development, aspects of gender and media in development. Understanding that these aspects are connected will aid future journalists enhance their reporting skills and, hence, promote gender-focused development in general and gender-focused development journalism in particular.

## 7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, journalism trainers argued that currently development journalism is not given enough relevance, primarily because of a shift from socialistic to liberal ideologies where almost all things associated with socialism, including development journalism, were abandoned. This resulted into a new journalism curriculum which copied more of the

Western journalism styles. In addition, development journalism is generally not supported by commercial media houses because it is not profit-oriented. Government equally reticent it especially when it performs the 'watchdog role' which is seen as overly critical of the establishment by government officials. Nevertheless, respondents observed that development journalism is still varyingly practised in Tanzania. It is assuming new forms due to political and economic transformations as a result of deregulation. Concerning gender, there was agreement among the respondents that an increase of women in the media and leadership positions in various sectors will improve the situation of women and the minorities.

Just like in Chapter Six, development journalism was regarded relevant as the country is still poor. There were also concerns about poor management of natural resources which only benefit a few powerful people, leaving the majority poor people in dire circumstances. Hence development journalism was recommended as vital in playing a watchdog role in a bid to promote sustainable development based on egalitarian principles for all individuals. This chapter has established a tenuous connection regarding the three aspects of this study–development, media and gender–as a major challenge to gender-based development journalism and ultimately gender-based development. Journalism trainers, who took part in this study, all linked media to development, but some evasively associated gender aspects with media and development. Meanwhile, gender and development/media experts often connected gender issues to development, while some were shallow in commenting on the importance of the media.

Whereas in Chapter Six retired female journalists admitted that they were wrong in initially focusing only on females during the early stages of the women liberation struggles, gender and development experts saw nothing wrong with such an approach. They argued that this focus helped to raise the profile of women's problems and improve the situation of women along with that of the society as a whole. While retired journalists, particularly the outspoken gender activists, reported that their efforts had not produced enough fruits, the gender and development/media experts were more optimistic and observed gradual improvements.

Finally, PSB was seen as an appropriate model to emulate in carrying out the media development-promotion role. It was suggested that TBC should completely turn into a PSB. The experts also recommended more training in development journalism and gender.

**CHAPTER EIGHT**

**FINDINGS OF PROGRAMME ANALYSIS**

In Chapter Six, interviews with journalists only partly described GF-DJ practice. To complement the description of GF-DJ practice, this chapter presents an analysis of 25 episodes of development-oriented programmes. As explained in Chapter Five, the episodes subjected to this analysis were those produced by development-oriented journalists and are thus appropriate for use as exemplars in a case study. The study in line with Xiaoge (2009a) first identified the GF-DJ indicators in the episodes and second used the identified indicators and inputs from journalists' interviews to classify GF-DJ practices based on the conceptual framework in Chapter Two.

**8.1 Overview of Selected Development-Oriented Programmes**

This section starts by presenting an overview of the programmes and episodes from state broadcasting for the 1995-2007 period and followed by programmes and their selected episodes from the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting stations for the 2009-2013 period. Some information that is provided here comes from journalists' interviews since these programmes were identified by the journalists during the interviews.

**8.1.1 Development-Oriented Programmes, 1995-2007**

The programmes that were identified by retired journalists include *Wanawake na Maendeleo* (Women and Development) which was launched in the 1970s. *H.K.* explained that at the beginning, the programme's major objective was to promote various women's issues in social, economic, cultural and political sectors to enhance the spirit of development among women in line with the Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy championed by the UWT. Following the global rise of women's liberation movements, *E.S.* stated that the programme started discouraging women's oppression caused mainly by the patriarchy system. In this regard, the programme was geared towards women's liberation.

However, the global conceptual shift from women's liberation to marginalized people's liberation and to the protection of 'women/human rights' fuelled further changes in the programme's orientation, including a change in the programme's names. For instance, in the early 2000s, the programme changed its name to *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) with similar objectives to those of its predecessor, the *Wanawake na Maendeleo* (Women and Development) programme. Notably, *E.S.* argued, the 'names' that were given

to these women's programmes automatically put men off as they found them to be exclusionary: *"These men viewed women's issues as women's issues, not knowing that women's issues are actually societal issues".*

Eventually, in the mid-2000s the name changed again to *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum) with an objective of promoting development for both men and women as explained by *C.N.,* the producer of the programme. But even with this change of name *C.N.* observed that the major information actors in the programme remained women. Concerning this category of programme, two episodes of the *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) programme were randomly selected. These were *Wanawake na Mapinduzi* (Women and the Revolution) which focused on women in Zanzibar, who were either present during the 1964 Revolution in the archipelago or belonged to a family in which some members participated in the revolution. Another episode was about an interview with a female Member of Parliament (MP)–Special Seats, who encouraged the empowerment of women, especially women with disabilities, in development processes.

*Haki Yangu* (My Right) was another programme involved in the study, which superseded the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) Programme. As briefly introduced in Chapter Six, *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) was an investigative development-oriented programme which started to be broadcast in the early 1980s. *S.H.,* the producer of the programme explained that the programme was aimed at exposing corruption in the country by raising awareness on what public property is and how to use it for the benefit of the society. It thus alerted people on taking care of public property and fighting against obstacles to development based on the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. However, after one year of its existence journalists engaged in its production started receiving life threatening messages and actions, especially when they started probing into the activities of government officials and major business people. In an interview *S.H.* pointed out that the sudden death of the initiator and supporter of the programme in 1984, the then Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, Edward Moringe Sokoine, further weakened these journalists' resolve to continue with the programme:

> *The late Sokoine was in the frontline fighting corrupt leaders and highly supported the programme and the journalists. He told us that he wants those people mentioned as corrupt to be investigated and if it is true that they are found corrupt then the law will punish them.*

Due to these challenges, the production of the programme stopped. *J.L.* explained that the programme resumed in the late 1990s with similar objectives but under a different name and a different format. Thus, *Haki Yangu* (My Right), which is in a drama format, replaced the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) programme. *J.L.* explained that although the *Haki Yangu* (My Right) programme's goals are very similar to the earlier *Mikingamo* such as promoting good governance and discouraging corruption, the new programme had never been as investigative and critical. Moreover, the new programme is staged as fictitious events even when based on real life accounts, hence not taken as seriously as factual coverage of actual leaders.

For illustrative purposes, an episode of the *Haki Yangu* programme was randomly selected. This episode had a theme on civic education as the general 2000 elections were approaching. It informed and educated people about fair and democratic election procedures, especially on how to avoid corruption. The episode, therefore, reflected election pressures, whereby there were two election contestants – a man who corrupts people, buys the people to vote for him while he is not seen to be a competent leader. There is also a woman who is fair, capable and has qualities of a good leader. She is not corrupt and tries to follow the required election procedures. The drama portrays this woman as possessing characteristics of what constitutes an ideal candidate for a political post.

Another programme was *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times)*,* a popular drama programme which started in 1993 and concluded in 2009. For its effectiveness, it received global awards in educating the society on family planning and HIV/AIDS prevention (see Chapter Four). The episodes analysed include those with themes on 'leadership and responsibility' and 'family planning'. *Twende na Wakati* emphasized the provision of feedback by imploring the audience to provide opinions about the programme. As the producer of the programme, *R.H.* explained, the feedback was essential in developing fresh episodes and in improving the programme.

*Majira* (Seasons) was another programme which started to be broadcast in the 1970s and continues to date. It airs development-oriented news from all over Tanzania. Four episodes of this programme were analysed. A summary of these episodes is presented in Table IV.

**8.1.2 Development-Oriented Programmes, 2009-2013**

The serving and new journalists, on their part, identified several development-oriented programmes in the 'state–public service' broadcasting (TBC). From each programme, an episode was selected for analysis. Specifically, from TBC *Taifa*, the journalists provided exemplar episodes from programmes that started to be aired between the early and mid-2000s: *Hifadhi za Taifa* (National Parks) which promotes domestic tourism, I received an episode concerning the impact of development projects on people living near national park reserves. From *Mazingira Yetu* (Our Environment), which is aimed at promoting sustainable development, I was provided with an episode on environmental conservation. *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum), which motivates and persuades women and men on various development activities, such as entrepreneurship, I was given an episode on women's day commemoration. Meanwhile, the *Uchumi Wetu* (Our Economy) programme, which discusses various sectors and their contribution to development, I received an episode on the role of the Ministry of Finance in developing the country. And from *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm), which questions the contributions of politicians in the development of the country, I was given an episode that focused on the review of the Constitution of Tanzania.

Another programme, *Tuambie* (Tell Us) aired on TBC Television (TBC 1), with the aim of educating, informing and advising people on daily burning issues that pose obstacles to development. From this programme, I selected (based on events) an episode entitled 'The role of religious leaders in restoring peace'. The discussion in this episode was mainly on the tension that arose between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania between 2012 and 2013 following the burning of churches, killing of Catholic priests, pouring of acid on both Muslim and Christian religious leaders. This wreaked havoc within the Tanzanian community, breaking peace between Muslims and Christians who used to live in harmony. It was a very sensitive issue which was covered by the international media as well such as the BBC and CNN. I was interested in how this particular programme handled this quite sensitive issue, since social peace is essential in the development of any country. *Sauti ya Mwanamke* (AWoman's Voice) was another programme on TBC 1 aimed at liberating the female gender. Here an episode on violence on women caused by unfair cultural practices was randomly selected.

For the private media category, Radio Free Africa (RFA) and Star Television (Star TV) which belong to Sahara Media Group (SMG), Radio One and Independent Television

(ITV) which belong to IPP Media were selected; the serving journalists identified the following development-oriented programmes. Again, from each programme one episode was picked for analysis as follows: *Ukimwi na Jamii* (HIV/AIDS and the Society) on RFA. The programme which was launched in 2005 aims at providing information on HIV and AIDS to the public. The journalist provided an exemplar episode on the impact of HIV and AIDS on women. *Inuka* (Rise Up) on RFA, which started in 2009, focuses on agriculturalists and pastoralists in the rural areas. For this programme a journalist provided an exemplary episode on agricultural information. In fact, *Inuka* (Rise Up) is akin to another programme, *Kilimo Bora* (Agriculture) on Star TV which started to be aired in 2010 and intends to improve people's lives by providing them with information on the current trends in agricultural development. An episode on this programme was randomly selected concerning information on planting vegetables.

Another programme on Star TV is *Ukumbi wa Wanawake* (Women's Forum), which started in 2009. Its goal is to liberate women, especially those in rural areas, on the patriarchy-induced challenges they face. An episode on women and employment was picked from this programme. *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk), another programme on Star TV started in 2011. It seeks solutions to various social, cultural, political, economic or technological problems people encounter in society. From this programme, an episode on human trafficking was randomly picked. The discussion in this episode revolved around how human trafficking has become a central and dangerous business in Tanzania. The general objective of *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk) is similar to those of other programmes such as *Tuambie* (Tell Us) aired by TBC 1 and *Hoja Ya Leo* (Today's Argument) on Radio One – raising problems and issues hindering development for public debate.

In *Hoja Ya Leo* (Today's Argument) on Radio One, I selected an episode which discussed counterfeit medicine. This episode was inspired by the distribution of counterfeit HIV and AIDS anti-retrovirals (ARVs), which are life-supporting drugs. These counterfeit drugs were distributed to citizens and the Ministry of Health as well. This scandalous issue was covered by all the media, which raised public alarm. I was interested in how this sensitive issue was covered by this particular development-oriented programme. Another programme is *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) on ITV which encourages, promotes and elevates women socially, culturally, politically and economically. From this programme, I selected an episode concerning the Cherie Blair Foundation (CBF) team's

visit to Tanzania. I specifically picked this episode because at that particular moment it was different from other episodes since it hosted a prominent international figure (Cherie Blair–wife of the former Prime Minister of Britain, Tony Blair) in discussing developmental issues with Tanzania's ordinary women. The CBF helps poor women in developing countries. Meanwhile, from the *Mazingira* (The Environment) programme on Radio One, an episode on the effects of fire on the environment was randomly picked. In this episode, an expert was explaining how to handle a fire accident, how to control and extinguish fire in an environmental-friendly manner. From ITV, the programme *Dakika 45* (45 Minutes) discusses the challenges and success that politicians and seniour officials encounter while promoting development. An episode concerning the government's developmental plans was randomly picked. Table IV provides a summary of the different episodes selected from the different programmes.

Table IV: Development-Oriented Programmes/ Episodes

| Programmes and their Episodes/Topics | Format | Duration and Frequency | Year |
|---|---|---|---|
| **State Broadcasting (RTD)**<br><br>***Women's Programmes***<br>*Baraza la Wanawake* - Women and the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964 | Narrations and Interviews | 30 min. (Once a week) | April 2004 |
| *Baraza la Wanawake* - Women and Leadership | Narrations and Interviews | 30 min. (Once a Week) | June 2002 |
| ***Drama Programmes***<br>*Haki Yangu* – Civic Education on the 2000 General Elections (Part I & II). | Drama | 60 min. | April 2000 |
| *Twende na Wakati* – Leadership and Responsibilities | Drama | 30 min. | Oct. 1995 |
| *Twende na Wakati* – Family Planning and HIV/AIDS | Drama | 30 min. (Once a Week) | Jan. 2000 |
| ***News-Oriented Programme***<br>*Majira* – Broadcasts developmental news in social, political, economic, cultural issues from regions all over Tanzania. | News-oriented (Twice a Day) | 30 min. | Dec. 1999 |
| | | 30 min. | Aug. 2004 |
| | | 30 min. | Dec. 2006 |
| | | 30 min. | May 2007 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **'State–Public Service' Broadcasting (TBC)**<br><br>**TBC Taifa (Radio)**<br>*Hifadhi za Taifa* – Impact of development projects on citizens who live near the national parks. | Narrations and Interviews | 30 min. (Once a week) | May 2010 |
| *Mazingira Yetu* (Our Environment) – Preservation of the environment for sustainable development. | Narrations and Interviews | 30 min. (Once a week) | Oct. 2010 |
| *Uchumi Wetu* (Our Economy) – The role of the Ministry of Finance in developing Tanzania. | Interview | 30 min. (Once a week) | July 2012 |
| *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm) – The review of the constitution in Tanzania. | Discussion | 30 min. (Twice a week) | May 2012 |
| ***Women's Programme***<br>*Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum) – Commemorating women's day. | Interviews | 30 min. (Once a week) | March 2011 |
| **TBC 1 (Television)**<br>*Tuambie (*Tell Us) – The role of religious leaders in the storage of peace in Tanzania. | Discussion | 60 min. (Once a week) | April 2013 |
| ***Women's Programme***<br>*Sauti ya Mwanamke* (A Woman's Voice) – Unfair cultural practices on women. | Narration and Interviews | 30 min. (Once a week) | Nov. 2013 |
| **Commercial Media**<br>**IPP Media - Radio One**<br>*Hoja Ya Leo* (Today's Argument) – The presence of counterfeit medicine in the country. | Discussion | 1hr and 30min.<br><br>(Thrice a<br><br>week) | Oct. 2012 |
| *Mazingira (*The Environment) – Effects of fire on  the environment. | Narration | 20 min.<br><br>(Twice a week) | Nov. 2012 |
| **ITV (Television)**<br>*Dakika 45* (45 Minutes) – Challenges and success of politicians in promoting and attaining development in the country. | Interview | 45 min.<br><br>(Once a week) | Feb. 2013 |
| ***Women's Programme***<br>*Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) – The Cherry Blair | Narration and | 20 min. | July 2013 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Foundation (CBF) team visit to Tanzania concerning development projects for women. | Interview | (Once a week) | |
| **SMG – Radio Free Africa (RFA)** *Ukimwi na Jamii* (HIV/AIDS and the Society) – Impact of HIV/AIDS on women. | Interview | 20 min. (Once a week) | Nov. 2009 |
| *Inuka* (Rise Up) – Providing information on modern agriculture. | Narration | 20 min. (Once a week) | Dec. 2011 |
| **Star TV** *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk) – Human Trafficking business in Tanzania. | Discussion | 1hr and 15 min. (Every day) | June 2013 |
| *Kilimo Bora* (Agriculture) – Information on vegetable plantation. | Narration and Interviews | 30 min. (Once a week) | Feb. 2013 |
| ***Women's Programme*** *Ukumbi wa Wanawake* (Women's Council) – Women and employment. | Narration and Interview | 30 min. (Once a week) | Nov. 2013 |

*Source:* Author (2014)

*Note*: Despite the fact that the programmes have a planned duration, sometimes the duration of episodes varies depending on particular topics.

The primary selection criteria for all programmes and episodes was based on the fact that all of these programmes intended to promote and enable Tanzanians to attain development in all sectors. As Tanzania is a poor country, these programmes targeted ordinary people in both urban and rural areas as well as policy and decision-makers. Journalists cautioned that with the exception of specific women's programmes, the involvement of women, as information actors, in these programmes tends to be low. However, according to *C.N.* men currently also listen to the women's programmes despite rarely being information actors in these women's programmes.

## 8.2 Programme Analysis

As explained in Chapter Five, the primary intention of analysing these episodes was to supplement information from the journalists' interviews; hence the sample is based on a small but typical selection. Following a codebook adapted from Xiaoge's (2009a) model – see Appendix IV, this section starts with the identification of GF-DJ indicators relying on

three major types of indicators: story sources (where the story originated); story actors (people involved in the story) and story orientation (what the story contains or emphasizes).

### 8.2.1 Identifying GF-DJ Indicators

Respondents in Chapter Six described some indicators of effective GF-DJ practice which fall under the category of story orientation: women's empowerment (see sub-sections 6.1.1.1 and 6.1.1.2), identification of development-related problems and provision of solutions (see sub-section 6.1.2 and 6.3), empowerment of ordinary people (see sub-section 6.1.2), enhancement of participation (see section 6.3), impact on ordinary men and women (see section 6.5). This section traces these indicators in the episodes and identifies further indicators of GF-DJ practice by analysing the episodes of the development-oriented programmes. The section starts with the first two categories: story source and story actors and ends with story orientation, as per the arrangement (see Appendix IV).

### 8.2.1.1 Story Source

Measuring this first indicator was complicated since it was not easy to detect whether the story originated from the grassroots (bottom-up) or otherwise (top-down), especially when the programmes were not in the category of hard news. Nevertheless, from the episodes analysed some topics as observed by the researcher were event or calendar driven. These include the following episodes: *Mapinduzi na Wanawake* (Women and Revolution), which commemorates Zanzibar Revolution Day; *Haki Yangu* (My Right), held in preparation for the 2000 General Elections; *Hoja Ya Leo* (Today's Argument) induced by the flooding of counterfeit ARVs medicine among the community; *Tuambie* (Tell Us), was occasioned by religious unrest between Christians and Muslims; and *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) influenced by the Cherry Blair Foundation (CBF) visit to Tanzania.

Some topics seem to originate from the already planned schedule basing on the explanations from presenters/journalists, for example, *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk), *Kilimo Bora* (Agriculture), *Inuka* (Rise Up) programmes. This tendency actually concurs with journalists' explanations in Chapter Six that topics in programmes normally result from a planned schedule or are event-driven. Only occasionally, topics were generated by the people. For example; an episode on the *Inuka* (Rise Up) programme on Star TV, farmers invited the journalist to help them air their complaints about poor seeds distribution. The *Mazingira* (Environment) programme on ITV, citizens raised concerns

about noise pollution (see section 6.5). As explained by the journalists, ideas for these episodes originated from the people bothered with these issues (identification of development-related problems by the citizens).

### 8.2.1.2 Story Actors

Here I start with episodes collected from the TBC archive. In the two episodes of the *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) all main actors were women. And out of a total of four women involved as actors, three were ordinary women. There were no grassroots organizations/institutions involved in both episodes. In *Haki Yangu* (My Right), the actors were from a local artiste group which comprised six men and three women (all of whom were posing as ordinary people). There were no grassroots institutions involved either. For *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go With the Times), people involved in the two episodes analysed in this drama programme were actors posing as ordinary people (four men and three women). No grassroots institution was involved in here either. There was no actor involved in the *Majira* (Seasons) episodes as the journalists reported on behalf of the people concerned. No voices of the people concerned were included in the reportage and no grassroots institutions were involved.

Meanwhile for episodes obtained from the journalists and the recorded ones, an actor indicator shows that the five episodes analysed at the TBC *Taifa* involved four grassroots institutions and 14 ordinary people (out of 38 people). Additionally, of these 14 ordinary people, eight were females. On the part of television (TBC 1), in *Tuambie* (Tell Us) there were two male actors in the episode chosen for analysis. There were also about five phone calls from contributors from various locations in Tanzania (all of them males – however it could not be determined whether they are ordinary people or not as their identities were not fully provided). And for *Sauti ya Mwanamke* (Voice of a Woman) there were four actors (three women and one man). Of the four, three were ordinary people (two women and one man). One grassroots institution was involved. Hence, of the two episodes (from the two programmes) analysed at TBC 1, there were a total of six actors, three males and three females. Of the six actors three were ordinary people (a man and two women).

Overall, for TBC ('state–public service' broadcaster) the seven episodes analysed indicated that there was an involvement of five grassroots institutions and 17 ordinary people out of 43 people involved in the episodes. Specifically, of the 17 ordinary people 10 were women and seven were men. Nevertheless, it was not easy to determine whether

contributors via SMS and phones were ordinary people or not, since the presenter was not mentioning their names all the time. They could only be detected if they made phone calls but again apart from voices which determined the gender of the speaker, it was difficult to establish whether the speakers were ordinary people. Nevertheless, the difference between male and female actors was not that alarming. Specifically, out of the 43 people involved in the episodes 21 were men and 22 were women, an almost even distribution. Also as elaborated earlier, the ordinary people involved were 10 and seven women and men, respectively. It should however be noted that the two women episodes analysed, to a large extent, had females as actors of information. Not surprisingly, of the 17 people involved in the women's episodes, only four were males. For other episodes, the ratio between male and female actors was rather levelled. Of the 26 people involved, 15 were males and 11 were females.

Meanwhile for commercial media, on Radio One, of the two episodes analysed none involved grassroots institutions. There was only one ordinary person (male) out of four males that were involved. On ITV, of the two episodes analysed one involved a grassroots institution. And with regard to ordinary people one female was involved out of a total of five actors (one male and four females). Overall, for IPP Media, the development-oriented episodes analysed show that of the nine people involved, five were male and four were females. Of these, only two were ordinary people (one male and one female). Only one grassroots institution was involved in the four episodes analysed. An important point to note here is that all the four female actors came from the women's episodes, *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal). Although men were also seen in the background of this women's television episode, their voices were not heard. The rest of the episodes had only males as actors. These were episodes to do with politics (*Dakika 45* – 45 Minutes), the environment (*Mazingira* – The Environment) and from a discussion-oriented programme (*Hoja ya Leo* – Today's Argument). Although the difference between male and female actors was very small (a difference of only one point), all the female actors came from a women's episodes.

Concerning *RFA,* the two episodes did not involve grassroots institutions at all and of the three people involved (two males and one female), one female and one male were ordinary people. Meanwhile, for Star TV, of the three episodes analysed, 11 people were involved (eight males and three females). Of the 11 five were ordinary people (three males and two females). One grassroots institution was involved. Overall for SMG, of the 14 people

involved as information actors, four were females whereas ten were males. Only five were ordinary people (three males and two females). The difference between male and female actors was big here, with males taking the lead.

Overall, the findings in this section present a mixed picture. Whereas in the 'state–public service' broadcasting exhibit no huge differences between male and female actors as there was only a slight difference in their presence in the episodes, the commercial media offered varied gender representations. For instance, although the episodes in IPP Media had a small difference between male and female actors, all the female actors featured only in the women's episodes. Also, despite the men being seen in the background in the women's episodes, their voices were not heard. Meanwhile, for SMG episodes there was to be a noticeable difference between male and female actors, and, similar to TBC 1, a male actor was interviewed in a women's episode.

### 8.2.1.3 Story Orientation

The adapted nine indicators of GF-DJ (described in Chapter Five) guided the analysis of story orientation. These indicators are: the identification of development-related problems, solutions to development-related problems, participation of ordinary men and women in development processes, empowerment of ordinary men and women in development processes, empowerment of women in development processes, consensus-orientation in development processes, partnership with government in development processes, impact on the ordinary men and women, evaluation of development-related projects and processes. Clarifications on these indicators are provided in Chapter Five.

#### *(i)      Identification of Development-Related Problems*

A good number of episodes exhibited this indicator (18 out of 25). The problems mentioned were related to health, education, infrastructure, corruption, politics, good governance, culture and human rights. Whereas problems mentioned in the then state-owned and in the current ('state–public service' and commercial) broadcasting were almost similar (e.g. health, education, infrastructure), issues concerning good governance (democracy, participatory processes) and human rights have surfaced in the liberal era both in the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting; with the commercial broadcasting taking the lead. However, as explained in Chapter Five, the programmes and episodes were selected because they focused on development issues. Thus, the focus on development-related problems was to be expected.

*(i)* ***Solutions to Development-Related Problems***

Fourteen of the 25 episodes exhibited this indicator. Some of the suggested solutions highlighted issues concerning good governance, fair and democratic elections, health services, and participatory approaches (government and the people). The emphasis on participatory approaches which is stressed by citizens in some current episodes is in tune with Xiaoge's (2009b) and Banda's (2007) ideas.

*(ii)* ***Participation of the Ordinary Men and Women in Development Process***

Concerning this aspect of participation, 10 out of the 25 episodes analysed demonstrated this indicator. For instance, *a female actor* advised women to join and work together as she was speaking on the *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) programme:

> *My advice is that women should form co-operative unions because the strength of poor weak people is unity, and unity is co-operation. Our government also emphasizes on co-operation.*

Similarly, the *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) on ITV emphasized participation when a female actor, asserted:

> *I believe African women can do anything if you help them get access to capital so that they can grow their businesses. Tanzanian women know what people here want, they know their local markets. So, I am not here to tell them what to do or what to sell, I am here to help them take their ideas and make sure that those ideas actually work.*
>
> *So, I want to come very humbly to say that can I help you with my international expertise and the knowledge that we've got from other similar programmes in other countries such as Sierra Leone or Nigeria or Israel and Palestine or India. And whether we can be part of a community together that helps each other so that we can learn from you and you can learn from us, and that way I think we all benefit.*

The underlined sentences in the excerpts show the emphasis on participation by involving people concerned, ensuring that people fully participate by contributing their ideas as well as expertise. This strategy does initiate a two-way communication. Other episodes which demonstrate this indicator are from programmes such as *Mazingira* (The Environment) and *Hifadhi za Taifa* (National Parks) on TBC *Taifa*. For example, this statement from the *Hifadhi za Taifa* (National Parks) episode:

> *We used to see TANAPA as an enemy, an organization that is only concerned with wild animals and not with the development of human beings. But now, after understanding the objectives of the organization, we see that it is a good organization with which we can collaborate in developmental issues* (Ordinary person, pastoralist, in the village).

This development journalism indicator of participation was also observed in the *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument) episode on *Radio One* as one official urged citizens to collaborate with the authorities concerned to ensure that medicines in pharmacies are safe and genuine:

> *We are saying that a citizen is the last inspector of commodities that he or she is using. Everyone has a part to play to ensure his own safety. As a regulatory authority we play our part but that does not prohibit the person concerned, the person who is using the medicine to be extra careful. The citizen has this responsibility. <u>Let us collaborate, work together</u> to ensure that medicines in the market are safe and genuine. The citizens know these people who are selling fake medicine. Tell us! <u>Let us co-operate</u> to curb this crime.*

The underlined words *collaborate, work together, co-operate* indicate the use of participatory approaches in development processes. Moreover, participation in the *Hoja Ya Leo* (Today's Argument) was also encouraged through the integration of audience reactions which were obtained via emails and phone messages (see also Chapter Six). In this particular episode, the presenter read about 40 messages. Although many others were still coming in, they were not all read out due to time limitation. The messages came from different parts of Tanzania and contained views, opinions, suggestions, questions from members of the audience. It was, however, not possible to determine the gender of these contributors who sent messages because most of the time the presenter did not fully identify them. This manner of participation from the audience through the use of SMS, Facebook and Twitter was also observed in other live programmes such as *Tuambie* (Tell Us) programme on *TBC 1* and *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk) programme on Star TV.

Overall, the indictor of participation was often initiated by story actors who urged citizens to participate in development processes. These story actors included both ordinary people and people in positions of power such as politicians, government leaders, policy-makers, decision-makers and other prominent people. Apart from 'live' programmes, in some recorded programmes the story actors were invited to the studios and others were interviewed in various locations (see sub-section 8.2.1.2). In the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) programme there was an exceptional aspect of participation as the story actors were most of the time anonymous for fear of risking their lives and losing jobs as they provided sensitive information about corrupt government officials and big business people (see Chapter Six). *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times), as elaborated in Chapters Four and Six, had also a participatory orientation. Besides story actors, some journalists also

emphasized the aspect of participation. For instance, in the *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) on ITV, the presenter, as she was ending the programme, urged women to collaborate in development projects**.**

### *(iii)    Empowerment of Ordinary Men and Women in Development Processes*

A number of episodes reflected this indicator. As elaborated by this statement from the story actor in the *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) episode:

> *If development processes do not consider both the male and the female gender, then there is no development.*

Meanwhile*,* for *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) programme on *ITV,* the *actor* stated:

> *If we all work together, men and women equally, side by side, so that women are treated with respect and have equal value and equal wealth with the men both in your laws but also in reality in the homes and in the communities, then there is nothing to stop Tanzania growing because if they use in honesty the power of the women working alongside the men then this is an unbeatable combination.*

One important thing to note in this episode of a women's programme on ITV is that although the sources of information were women, men were seen in the background working alongside women in this women-led organization. Even without being interviewed, their presence could not be ignored. Meanwhile, men were actors in the *Ukumbi wa Wanawake* (Women's Council) on STV and in the *Sauti ya Mwanamke* (Woman's Voice) on TBC 1. This is in tune with *C.N.'s* explanations that some women's activities and programmes these days also involve men (see Chapter Six).

This indicator was not only observed in women's episodes but also in other episodes. For instance, in the *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm) on TBC *Taifa*, a female official was concerned about the involvement of all people in the process of reviewing the constitution:

> *Things which are crucial for the development of our nation, such as the constitutional review, should involve all categories of people in this nation: men, women, the disabled, and so on. This is a very important matter as it determines our nation's direction in 50 or even 100 years to come. It is, therefore imperative for all people to get involved.*

This female actor was specifically concerned about the ability of disabled people to provide their opinions regarding the review of the constitution of the country, which has far-reaching implications for the United Republic of Tanzania. She called for mechanisms to be put in place such as the use of Braille and sign-language interpreters to ensure that

blind and deaf people have the opportunity to provide their ideas and understanding of what is going on. Overall, eleven out of the 25 episodes exhibited this indicator.

### (iv)     Empowerment of Women in Development Processes

Although women's empowerment was evident in the women's episodes, this principle was observed in other programmes as well. For example, the following question was asked to a female gender activist by a male presenter of *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm) on TBC *Taifa* (the topic was 'The review of the constitution in Tanzania'):

> *Women have been lagging behind in giving their views on various issues in the society mainly caused by customs and traditions. As a gender activist what are you going to do to ensure that women's voices are heard in the process of reviewing the constitution?*

This gender activist replied:

> *As a woman working with TGNP we are strategizing on that to ensure that the marginalized women's voices are heard. The strategies include holding seminars, workshops, dialogues whereby citizens, including women, will be educated and directed on how to air their views. By using the media, these voices of the marginalized women and people in general will be heard.*

Similarly, a male story actor in this same programme asserted:

> *Journalists need to go to the villages to help bring out problems women go through, to persuade women to air their views and provide opinions in this process of reviewing the constitution.*

Another male journalist of the *Mazingira* (The Environment) programme on TBC *Taifa* asked a female actor concerning a project about the preservation of the environment:

> *As a woman, how do you think your position and involvement in this project will benefit the process of fighting environmental degradation?*

The female actor (who is also an ordinary person in the village) answered:
> *Being a woman, I will make it easy for fellow women to understand the benefits of protecting our environment. As a woman it will be easy to persuade fellow women.*

Other good examples on an emphasis on women empowerment were observed in all the women's episodes: *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) on ITV, *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum) on TBC *Taifa*, *Sauti ya Mwanamke* (Woman's Voice) on TBC 1, and *Ukumbi wa Wanawake* (Women's Council) on STV. These are examples from the *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) and *Ukumbi wa Wanawake* (Women's Council):

> *Women are such a strong resource for a country if they are given the tools to take their economic opportunities forward. These tools are such as: banks to*

> *support women with capital, access to markets and the private sector that take women seriously, access to media to promote these women's activities and access to technologies* (Female actor, ITV*).*

> *Women should trust themselves; they can do any kind of job* (Female actor, STV*).*

> *Men should allow their wives to work* (Male actor, STV*).*

Meanwhile in the *Baraza la Wanawake* (Women's Council) programme, an episode *Wanawake na Mapinduzi* (Women and the Revolution) showed that women's empowerment was direct to political matters. For example, an ordinary woman who witnessed the Zanzibar Revolution in 1964 said:

> *I remember a woman, Mashavu Binti Ismail. She was one of the earliest women in Zanzibar who volunteered to persuade and convince women to get out of their homes and participate in politics. The many women she managed to persuade include my grandmother and my mother. Binti Ismail was one very popular and important woman in Zanzibar's politics. She participated in the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution as well.*

Similarly, another female actor (an official) in the same episode *Wanawake na Mapinduzi* (Women and Revolution) elaborated on how the revolution empowered women:

> *After the revolution women started going to school, started working. Today we are witnessing women holding seniour positions. Before the revolution, women and overall indigenous people were not going to school; they could not get jobs; they were poor; they had no income. After the revolution, education was free for everybody.*

In the *Haki Yangu* (My Right) episode, women were urged to participate in politics and contest for various political posts whereas in *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times) women were urged to work hard and take good care of their health by adhering to family planning measures and avoiding behaviour or spouses that might put them at risk of contracting HIV and AIDS.

A total of eleven out of the 25 episodes showed this indicator; and out of these eleven episodes, five were women's.

### (v)    Consensus-Orientation in Development Processes

Despite the importance of this indicator as explained in Chapter Five, only one out of the 25 episodes to a little extent demonstrated this indicator. As shown by this statement from the leader of the women's group in the *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) on ITV:

> <u>*We accepted*</u> *to join together and created this women's group which will help to co-ordinate and invite other women to the group in Dar es Salaam and Kibaha but later as we grow women from other regions of Tanzania will also*

*be involved. <u>Our main aim</u> is to help women entrepreneurs to grow in business, enhance their skills and increase their revenue.*

In this example, there is an attempt to elaborate that there is some form of agreement between these women as shown in the underlined words – *'we accepted'*. For example, they formed a group after reaching a consensus before they started working together by participating in the development activities as elaborated by the underlined words – *'our main aim'*.

### (vi)    *Partnership with Government in Development Processes*

This indicator was often observed in the state and 'state–public service' broadcasting stations as evidenced in 10 out of the 16 episodes where this indicator was apparent. Meanwhile, the commercial media had only three of the nine episodes advocating partnership with the government. The examples below portray a mixed picture pertaining to this indicator and how it is used in episodes in the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting. For instance, in the commercial media, the *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) on ITV, story actors asserted:

> *Our government should give priority to these women entrepreneurs so that they can get loans from banks with better terms. The government should help to ensure that policies are set for these women to get affordable loans and also policies are set to protect these women's intellectual property rights such as copyrights for their various designs and artistic works* (Ordinary woman).

> *Tanzania is a developing country, which is a democracy, which has a good system of government and therefore you can feel secure that in investing in Tanzania you are investing in a country where there is a good structure for development* (A foreign woman official).

Unlike these statements which are more positive, in the *Tuambie* (Tell Us) programme on TBC *Taifa* (a 'state–public service' station) this partnership is emphasized by story actors and audiences who participated via SMS, Facebook, Twitter; however, the emphasis of this partnership is more on a critical basis insisting on government officials to adhere to ethics, respecting human rights and treating citizens equally as these extracts elaborate:

> *Citizens want their government to respect and protect their [citizens'] rights* (Islamic religious leader).

> *Using force is an indication of failing to respond to the citizens' demands. There is no nation that used force against the majority of citizens and won; using force is neither a permanent nor a primary solution. We have examples such as Egypt and Libya where force did not help as the citizens finally won* (Christian religious leader).

> *Why is it that politicians in this country [are] too selfish? They endanger citizens' lives for their own personal motives. These kinds of politicians should be avoided* (Contributor).

> *There is no peace in this country. Citizens don't get their rights until they riot* (Contributor).

> *Leaders should adhere to ethics while serving the citizens* (Contributor).

Statements in these extracts imply that citizens want to partner with government but only when there is good governance. Criticizing the government is one important feature of 'critical' development journalism which is in line with Banda's (2007) and Xiaoge's (2009b) models of development journalism (see Chapter One). The feminist theories on journalism by (Steiner, 2012) also support a critical journalism (see Chapter Two). This is also in line with one 'state–public service' broadcaster and *M.M.,* who works at a commercial broadcaster; they defined development journalism as a kind of journalism that does not only praise but also criticizes the government whenever necessary (see Chapter Six).

The commercial media also had elements of criticisms. One good example is with the *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument) episode on *Radio One.* These are a few examples from citizens who were complaining about the presence of counterfeit medicine in the country:

> *The government is to blame; it does not set strict rules and regulations with regard to medical supplies* (Contributor).

> *The government has failed regarding this issue* (Contributor).

## (vii) *Impact on Ordinary Men and Women*

This was another difficult indicator to measure, particularly as one need to conduct audience research to determine comprehensively the impact of a programme. Nevertheless, from the review of literature (see Chapter Four), we observed that *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times) had a positive impact on the Tanzanian community, a fact confirmed after an audience research was carried out. Additionally, from journalists' own words (see Chapter Six) we have learnt that a programme *Inuka* (Rise Up) once ran a story (in just one episode) which eventually brought justice for the agriculturalists in rural Mwanza. Similarly, on Radio One the *Mazingira* (Environment) programme aired a series of episodes concerning noise pollution that resulted into rules put in place by government authorities to stop further noise pollution (see Chapter Six). In *Kilimo Bora* (Agriculture) and *Jukwaa la Maendeleo* (Development Forum), the presenters implore ordinary men and

women to become self-employed particularly in the absence of openings in formal employment. However, beyond relying on previous research and journalists' own words, further audience research is needed to measure the impact of these programmes.

### *(viii) Evaluation of Development-Related Projects and Processes*

This is another crucial indicator of development journalism practice as it provides feedback on development projects and processes. However, of the 25 episodes analysed only three demonstrated this indicator. This is despite the fact that interviews showed that objectives of most of these programmes emphasized on this indicators (see section 6.3). One was the *Hifadhi za Taifa* (National Parks) programme on TBC *Taifa.* Introducing the episode, the presenter elaborated that the aim of that particular episode was to revisit developmental projects that have been sponsored by the government through the Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) organization and see how the projects are faring, how the people have benefited. These statements elaborate:

> *Since this idea started to be implemented from 1994 to 2000, TANAPA in Arusha has already contributed about 400 million Tshs. to various developmental projects for people living closer to the national parks in Arusha region. But the emphasis has been on education where there has been construction of classrooms, teachers' houses and buying of desks and books. The project has been a success as you can see* (TANAPA Official).

> *With TANAPA's huge contribution, we have been able to build classrooms in our school. Before then we had no classrooms (*Ordinary person-student in the village).

> *TANAPA has helped us in the plantation of trees by providing us with seeds. This has helped in protecting our environment* (Ordinary person in the village).

Overall, the ordinary men and women in the villages were describing how they have benefited from their collaboration with TANAPA mainly in the education sector.

Another story is from ITV, *Jarida la Wanawake* (Women's Journal) whereby one of the objectives of the Cherry Blair Foundation (CBF) tour was to see how the women's projects funded by the organization were progressing. This particular episode showed the team visiting one of the projects regarded as an exemplar. This indicator was vividly observed when an ordinary woman (leader of the Women's Group) excitedly explained about the outcomes of the CBF:

> *One of the things that the CBF is doing is to connect Tanzanian women entrepreneurs with big entrepreneurs around the world. One important outcome of this connection that we are very happy about is that one*

> *Tanzanian woman entrepreneur from among us is in the process of getting*
> *a loan from one of the biggest bank in the world, the Bank of America. She*
> *was linked by one big entrepreneur in America.*

Similarly, this indicator was noticed in the *Mazingira* (The Environment) programme on TBC *Taifa* which was following up on the impact of training provided by local and international environmental-related organizations such as the Network of Forests Management in Tanzania (MJUMITA) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) on 300 villages in Tanzania with regard to good governance under the participatory management of forests project in the country:

> *Before the training we were not well aware of the benefits of forests to us.*
> *For instance, in the beginning forests were of no benefit to us. But now, after*
> *the training we understand well about the Forests Law of 2002 which has*
> *made us take good care of our forests for our own development.*

> *In the beginning we used to get 20 percent of what we sell from the forests,*
> *like timber. This was very little money, it could not help us. But now after*
> *understanding the laws and policies concerning forests, we have been able to*
> *take good care of our forests and we now get 80 percent of what we sell from*
> *the forests. This money is for developing our village* (Ordinary person from
> the village).

Additional follow-up and audience research revealed that *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go With the Times) had achieved incredible results following change of behaviours that fuelled the spread of HIV and AIDS (see Chapter Four).

To sum up the results of the category of story orientation, findings from the selected episodes demonstrate that there are indicators which are strongly shared by both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting. These indicators are *problems identification* and *provision/suggestion of solutions.* However, the indicator of *partnership with government* was observed more in the 'state–public service' than in the commercial broadcasting. Meanwhile, there is an indication that programmes do empower men and women despite the strategic emphasis being placed more on empowering women. Additionally, the findings show that the indicator of *participation* was reflected more in live than in recorded programmes. New media technologies such as SMS, Facebook and Twitter were found to enhance the participation of the audience in live programmes. *Consensus orientation* was demonstrated by only one episode whereas *impact on ordinary men and women* relied on audience research and presenter's own words. Additionally, *evaluation of development-related projects and processes* was evidenced in only a few episodes.

The findings in this section suggest that a gender-focused development–oriented journalism is being practised in the broadcasting stations studied, some significant variations of the indicators in the actual episodes notwithstanding. However, to further elaborate on this practice of GF-DJ in the studied broadcasting stations, it makes sense to classify gender-focused development journalism based on the indicators presented above and the interview findings presented in Chapter Six, a task to which I am now turning.

### 8.2.2 Classifying GF-DJ

The classification of GF-DJ utilizes the two interrelated types as developed in the conceptual framework in Chapter Two: *Type 1* and *Type 2*. This here established classification is based on the GF-DJ indicators identified in the selected development-oriented episodes in this chapter and interview findings from journalists presented in Chapter Six, as discussed below.

***Type 1: Journalists and ordinary men and women (citizens)–Engaging and empowering the ordinary men and women in the process of development.***

As described in the conceptual framework, a journalist in this category is required to engage and empower ordinary men and women by giving them a voice to help identify their development-related problems and solutions, challenge and criticize oppressive structures. A journalist should also discourage 'professional' boundaries between him and ordinary men and women by embracing the fact that journalists and ordinary men and women are all 'citizens' facing similar problems. Concerning this type, journalists during the interviews claimed to have involved both men and women in their programmes. This was also reflected in some of the analysed episodes in *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument), *Tuambie* (Tell Us) and *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk) whereby, without bias the audience were invited to air their views. In these episodes there was also an encouragement of a dialogue in the studio among the journalists, actors invited into the studio and the wider audience who were contributing via SMS, email, Facebook, Twitter. In fact, of particular interest was the aspect of criticism coming from the actors invited into the studio and contributors (listeners and viewers). These strategies were used in *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument) on Radio One where citizens challenged a medical expert from a government institution for his failure to recognize counterfeit medicine that flooded the Tanzania medical scene. The following extracts exemplify the tone of this episode:

> *You have studied medicine, you are an expert and yet you cannot recognize fake medicine. What about us, the normal citizens with no knowledge of medicine? Who will help us with this problem? This is a big shame!* (Ordinary person in the studio).

> *The government is to blame; it does not set strict rules and regulations with regards to medicine?* (Contributor).

> *How come there are fake medicine? How do they get in? This simply means corruption* (Contributor).

> *It is poor people in the villages who are and will suffer most* (Contributor).

This critical stance from the citizens was also noticed in the 'state–public service' broadcasting (TBC 1) in the *Tuambie* (Tell Us) episodes concerning the religious tension between Christians and Muslims in the country, as these statements demonstrate:

> *I think the major cause of such religious unrest between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania is based on the absence of 'equal rights' among citizens. For instance, if there are no equal rights among citizens, then there will be no peace. If the leaders are not treating people equally right, there will be no peace. If there are huge differences in income between individuals, there will be no peace. If there are differences in resources distribution among people, then there will be no peace* (A Christian Religious leader).

> *There is unrest because the majority of people don't get their basic rights, especially when the leaders are irresponsible and mostly corrupt* (Contributor).

> *Where the government is now taking us is dangerous because these days people must riot or demonstrate for them to get their rights* (Contributor).

Similarly, critical voices from contributors via Facebook on *Tuongee Asubuhi* (Morning Talk) episode on Star TV were based on the question posed by the presenter: *"Given an opportunity to be the leader of this country, what will you do to overcome the many challenges that are facing the country?"* The answers from around 20 contributors were geared toward criticizing the leaders for being irresponsible. These contributors suggested the followings: creating employment, promoting good governance, provision of infrastructure, stamping out corruption, punishing corrupt leaders, and provision of social services concerning health, education, and water. These proposals from members of the public suggest that the situation in various sectors in the country is deplorable.

An important observation here is that the story actors strongly attempted to criticize the government as well as side with the citizens/ordinary people. Meanwhile, the journalists/presenters of the programmes mainly stuck with the Western journalistic roles by trying to be neutral and objective. They mainly focused on guiding the discussions in

line with the topic. Nevertheless, these journalists viewed people as active members in development processes by engaging and empowering these people (a few of them, ordinary people). In some episodes such as in *Duru za Siasa* (Political Realm) and *Mazingira* (The Environment), the empowerment of ordinary women by the journalists was vividly observed (see for example, sub-section 8.2.1.3). These characters, however, were scarcely present in recorded programmes, particularly those aired on the then state-owned RTD (now TBC).

In the overall data analysis in this study, one of the two points of *Type 1* was identified: journalists tend to view ordinary men and women as active recipients of developmental information whose voices must be heard. They encouraged them to identify their developmental problems and possible solutions. They also allowed citizens to criticize the government and its organs for their failures so as to instigate a positive change. In fact, the points of encouraging citizens to express their problems and suggestions for solutions on the programmes were also noticeable in the objectives of these programmes (see sub-section 8.1.2) and as expressed by the journalists (see Chapter Six). It is, however, important to note that despite the involvement of ordinary men and women as actors in the stories (see sub-section 8.2.1.3), their chances as contributors to participate via SMS, Twitter, Facebook, phones, depended entirely on their (citizens') own willingness and ability, as the journalists just invited everybody who was willing to contribute. Despite this journalists' engagement with the citizens in the episodes, the overall findings demonstrate that while running the episodes, these journalists tried to maintain a neutral and objective stance by not siding with the citizens. Hence, the other point (as mentioned in *Type 1*–see conceptual framework in Chapter Two) of journalists disregarding professional boundaries between them and the citizens did not arise in this case.

### *Type 2: Journalists and the government–Fostering constructive co-operation between the press and the government.*

Most state and 'state–public service' episodes appeared to have manifestations linked with the first point, which is: journalists' emphasis on co-operating with the government in developmental issues. Yet the second point – journalists criticizing the government and its related institutions/structures on issues concerning development for the sake of promoting positive change – was less evident. In general, journalists tried to maintain a neutral and detached stance. In fact, in some instances, journalists were even attempting to stop the

criticisms by intervening when the actors' criticisms, especially on the government became too stinging. An example is this statement from the story actor in the *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument) episode:

> *The problem is not fake drugs, the problem is bad governance, poor leaders and poor plans [...]* (Actor invited in the studio)

So, while this actor was busy criticizing the government, the journalist interrupted:

> *You should focus more on the topic of today please, which is 'Counterfeit medicine and the impact to the Tanzanian society'* (The Journalist).

And the actor hit back:

> *You have called me here to talk about this problem, why are you now trying to stop me? Why are you intervening? [...]* (Actor invited in the studio).

This intervention from the journalist suggests a fear of criticizing the government for reasons mentioned in Chapter Four. The journalist was apprehensive about the implication of such stinging remarks on the media organization as well as on himself for allowing the comments to go on air uncensored. On the other hand, this type of objective and neutral stance, sometimes even defending the government (as noticed in the journalist's interruption above) was also noticed amongst some journalists interviewed (see Chapter Six). This actually aligns more with the Banda's (2007) model where the journalists' criticisms of the government is less emphasized; instead it is the citizens who take this role.

Based on the aforementioned, the type of development journalism as it has been described in the interviews by retired journalists and as evidenced in the analysis of the episodes aired on state broadcasting, i.e during the socialistic era, falls more under the second type, as criticizing the government was not common. Yet it has to be noted that historic attempts to change the attitude towards the government and big businesses had serious consequences. The journalists who tried to run critical programmes such as the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) faced serious, even life-threatening challenges and frustrations, which eventually led to the closure of the programme. Nevertheless, more recent incidences of restriction of press freedom and overeager obedience by some development-oriented journalists towards the government – as demonstrated in this study, recall the practice of development journalism under the authoritarian philosophy, what was also termed as government-say-so journalism (see Chapter Four).

In contrast, for 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting media, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact type they practice. They appear to fall between being neutral and objective on the part of journalists and in some instances being critical and siding with the citizens/ordinary people on the part of the actors. In fact, they exhibit a mix of both types. For instance, in the first type, journalists recognize citizens as active partners in development by engaging ordinary men and women in identifying development-related problems and solutions, challenging and criticizing the government and its organs. Although this type posits that there is no boundary between journalists and ordinary men and women (as they are both citizens), it was apparent that journalists in 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting media maintained a neutral and detached stance supposedly in the name of professionalism. However, this was somehow elusive as the objectives of most of these programmes were to improve ordinary people's lives. Similarly, by journalists choosing certain critical topics and critical actors (most of the time criticizing the government and other structures in favour of the ordinary people) showed these journalists solidarity with the ordinary people.

Despite the emphasis being placed on the media-government partnership in the second type, this partnership is more evident in the 'state–public service' than in commercial broadcasting. As is typical for *Type 1*, the element of criticizing the government was common amongst the actors and contributors/audience in episodes of both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasters. For *Type 2,* this criticism is supposed to come from the journalists, but journalist tried to remain neutral and objective. As earlier stated, this concurs with Banda (2007) who does not place much emphasis on the role of criticism by journalists but by the citizens (*Type 1*). On the other hand, Xiaoge (2009b) clearly urges journalists to be critical (*Type 2*).

It can therefore be posited that the analysed episodes and the interview findings presented in Chapter Six provide ample evidence of the traits of a gender-focused development journalism practice in Tanzanian's mainstream broadcasting media. However, contrary to the development journalism practice under the authoritarian philosophy that was earlier practised in the country, the practice of development journalism (with a gender focus) as exhibited by the contemporary development-oriented journalists (see Chapter Six) and the programmes they produce (as presented in this chapter) tends to be both journalists' and/or respective media houses driven (especially in choosing topics and actors) on the one hand; and on the other hand, it is also citizen-driven (especially on the critical aspect). Overall,

this particular or rather 'new' type of development journalism with a gender focus is more of a manifestation of Banda's model and feminists' approaches than Xiaoge's model.

**8.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the aim was to identify GF-DJ indicators as well as to classify the current GF-DJ practices. This was done based on an analysis of purposive and random selections of 25 development-oriented episodes and interviews with development-oriented journalists in Chapter Six.

Results from the data showed the following: *first,* story source – there was no indication that stories were derived from the grassroots (bottom-up) as stories were mainly event-driven or stemmed from a pre-planned schedule. *Second,* story actors – there were more ordinary people/organizations involved in 'state–public service' than in commercial broadcasting. However, the ratio between featured ordinary men and women was not that alarming. *Third,* story orientation – the indicators of *problems identification* and *suggestions for solutions* rated high in both 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting. The indicator of *participation of ordinary men and women* was more commonly identified in the 'live' than recorded programmes, and was enhanced by the discursive mode employed in the programmes as well as the utilization of new media technologies. Meanwhile, the *empowerment of men* was not as dominant as the *empowerment of women*. *Partnership with the government* was observed more in episodes of the state (old) and 'state–public service' broadcasters than in commercial ones. Additionally, crucial indicators such as *'consensus-orientation', 'impact on ordinary men and women'* and *'evaluation of development-related projects and processes'* were in evidence in only a few episodes. Overall, the results of this study show that GF-DJ practices were more common in 'state–public service' than in commercial broadcasting.

On the other hand, the classification attempts of the contemporary gender-focused development journalism were complicated. For instance, live programmes with a discussion orientation and some recorded programmes exhibited the first type of GF-DJ: journalists viewed citizens (including ordinary men and women) as active recipients of development whose voices must be heard by encouraging them to identify their development problems and solutions, challenge and criticize the government. Nevertheless, there were no indications of journalists siding with the ordinary men and women. The journalists remained objective and neutral while running the programmes;

although this was diluted by their choice of critical topics and critical actors in favour of the ordinary people. In the second type, the 'state–public service' broadcasting adhered to the point of co-operating with the government on issues concerning development. This, however, was less common in the commercial broadcasting. Although the element of criticizing the government was exhibited in both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting, it was the actors of information (i.e., people involved in the programme) and audiences (listeners and viewers/contributors) who were criticizing the government and siding with ordinary people. Apart from directing the discussions by asking questions and reminding participants of the topic under discussion, journalists thrived to be objective and detached, at times even leaning towards the government by interrupting or preventing criticisms on government. Nevertheless, the journalists' choice of critical topics and actors, and allowance of criticisms from actors and audiences, demonstrated these journalists' support for critical journalism in favour of the ordinary people.

Overall, the picture arising from the data presented in this chapter indicates that it was during the 'state-owned' broadcasting that development journalism strongly emphasized co-operation with the government, yet discouraged criticisms, hence being reminiscent of development journalism under the authoritarian philosophy. Meanwhile, the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting reflected aspects of both *Type 1* and *Type 2 –* journalists' driven concerning the choice of topics but also citizen-orientation especially on the critical attitude. This development-oriented type of journalism reflects more of Banda's model and feminist ideologies than Xiaoge's model. The following chapter provides further analysis of the findings presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight as well as a detailed discussion of the study findings altogether.

# CHAPTER NINE

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter is to further link the findings presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight to the theoretical and conceptual considerations of this study while, at the same time, addressing some pertinent issues about the practice of gender-based development journalism. The chapter is arranged into six interrelated sections: political, policy and ideological influences; economic influences; professional vs practical influences; public service mandates of broadcasters and development journalism practice; nation, globalization and successful models of GF-DJ practice; and new media theory for new situation in Africa.

### 9.1 Political, Policy and Ideological Influences

In the socialistic era, development journalism was used to advance political agendas based on the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. The idea of the press being partners with the government in national development through development journalism was a one-sided affair as communication was mainly top-down (authoritative) from a few government elites to the majority ordinary people who had very little communication input. A shift from socialistic to liberal policies starting from the mid-1980s, encompassed political pluralism, diverse media, variety of programmes, numerous forms of presentation and advanced communication technologies. Along with these development transformations, traditional development journalism as practised under the aegis of Socialism and Self-Reliance was abandoned as socialistic ideologies largely became irrelevant. As *A.R.* (2012) puts it: "With the introduction of liberal policies, most socialistic ideologies including that of development journalism were regarded as old fashioned".

This political shift triggered a change of the communication system to a more liberal one accompanied by Western journalism ideologies such as an emphasis on press freedom, values of neutrality and objectivity (see Chapter Six). Nevertheless, several scholars argue that there are still developmental roles of the media that are practised in Tanzania in the liberal era both in the 'state–public service' and private media (Kivikuru, 2001; Ramaprasad, 2001; Rioba, 2012). As a matter of fact, the present study demonstrates that whereas in the socialistic era the practice was unanimously understood and termed as development journalism, in the liberal era the variations in the naming of the concept suggest some changes within the practice of development journalism which is now

described as 'the development role of the media' and 'voice of the voiceless'. It is also associated with the 'watchdog role' in particular to the critical aspect. These changes in terminology have happened despite the fact that the understanding of the concept by contemporary practitioners is the same as that during the socialistic era.

Furthermore, there have been other emerging development-oriented journalism terminologies in the liberal era such as bang journalism, citizen journalism and crusade journalism. Some of these types, such as crusade journalism, embrace highly investigative strategies which augment the critical type of development journalism (see Chapters One and Four). To a large extent, these terminologies reflect salient features of development journalism and what it has morphed into under Tanzania's liberal political and economic environment. These current developmental types of media practice, unlike the ones during the socialistic era, focus more on political and economic justice as well as human rights issues. Women's rights issues are more emphasized in the bang journalism. The critical roles in these types of journalism align more with the Xiaoge's (2009b) model of development journalism that emphasizes the journalists' critical stance towards the government as a crucial factor. However, these critical strategies, which were dominant in the print media, have recently triggered a backlash by the government who issued warnings and banned newspapers. In the most severe cases, journalists who practised these roles have been threatened, tortured, even abducted (see Chapter Four). As a consequence, the critical impetus, especially in the print media has drastically dwindled. What remains, however, are some variants of government criticisms voiced by information actors in the broadcasting media (though to a limited extent), as findings of this study demonstrate in Chapter Eight.

It can be observed that, whereas during the socialistic era development journalism was basically operating under the conditions of the Authoritarian Theory of the media, in the liberal era the mentioned development-oriented roles and terminologies align with the Libertarian and Social Responsibility Theories of the media. The evidence presented in this study affirms the continued relevance of the practice even under the changed operational environment (see Chapter Six). Indeed, despite these changes, the essence of development journalism remains, as it thrives to promote and assist ordinary people to attain development; the hallmarks of development journalism (see Chapters Six and Four).

Overall, the development-oriented topics favoured by journalists and producers in the liberal era deal with good governance, democracy, participatory processes and human and women rights. These issues surfaced more in the commercial broadcasting than in the 'state–public service' broadcasting (see Chapters Six and Eight). This finding contrast with Banda's (2007) argument that development journalism in the context of public journalism and typical PSB mandates works well with PSB channels but not commercial media. However, the finding confirms Berger's (2009) argument on the need to separate broadcasting institutions (Public Service Broadcasters) and broadcasting practices (Public Service Broadcasting) as both the state and commercial media can serve the public interest. In fact Berger argues that in some instances:

> Some state or public owned broadcasters are very poor at the practice where their service is really to government rather than the public. Some private stations on the other hand do meet public service broadcasting standards (p. 8).

In other words, on the one hand, it might be difficult for state or some public service broadcasters to go against their employer/the government, which leads to the failure of serving the public. On the other hand, some private media without such tie might be better in serving the public.

During the socialistic era, the development-oriented topics mainly focused on nation-building in line with advancing the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, which ended up mainly serving political interests of the elites (see Chapters Four and Six).

Gender-focused reporting in Tanzania was initially motivated by the global women's movement (The Beijing Conference of 1975). This kind of reporting gradually shifted from women's success stories and UWT emancipation messages guided by the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance to critical stories which focused on cultural practices harmful to women. Furthermore, taking advantage of a political shift from socialist to more liberal coupled with an increase in media outlets and various forms of presentations, as well as an increase in media and gender literacy, the women's journalists association (TAMWA) embraced 'bang' journalism starting from the early 2000's to speed up the positive social change. It can be argued that the success of these women journalists' efforts in liberating women and minorities are connected to a combination of circumstances: strong will; the motivation to also liberate themselves as 'women' first, and professionals second; common understanding of 'gender' activism as that of liberating women and minorities from

various patriarchal social, cultural, political and economic obstacles that hindered their own and nation's development through the use of the mass media (see Chapter Six). What TAMWA members demonstrated is somewhat contrary to van Zoonen's (1994) argument: 'it is rare for women to change media content since it is not likely that they have enough in common due to the dynamism of the gender concept, and unsupportive organizational policies and routines'. These female journalists, under the umbrella of TAMWA, have managed to have common knowledge and understanding by being in an association. Like they said: "We realized that we do not have enough power working as individual female journalists, so the idea to establish an association" (*R.H.,* 2012). In fact, these female journalists besides emphasizing women's issues in media content (some change in local media content), they even invented a new form of journalism – bang journalism; among other achievements such as the change and establishment of laws and policies in favour of women and the minorities. Of course these achievements are not only the result of the commonality among these women; varying support from media organizational routines, government policies and other like-minded institutions factor in. This common knowledge and understanding, however, contrasted sharply with the conception of the term by serving and new journalists [concurred with van Zoonen's (1994) argument mentioned earlier]. Their responses (from both men and women trained in gender issues, members and non-members of TAMWA) indicated that gender both as a concept and a practice in journalism might be diminishing due to a number of reasons:

*First,* respondents indicated a lack of understanding of the gender concept which is caused by deficient training in gender issues (see Chapter Six). As a result, there is a tenuous connection between theory and practice. Another reason is the global conceptual shifts of emphasis by women's organizations from 'women' to 'gender' to 'women/human rights which appears to confuse many journalists. In fact, most of the interviewed male journalists still regard gender issues as simply women's issues. Furthermore, the dilution of the gender concept might also be generally influenced by an increasing focus on 'women's/human rights' issues. An academic interest in this area is also growing rapidly (see for example Grimes, 2005; Sonwalkar & Allan, 2007; Hellinger, 2009; Krogh, 2010; Moyo, 2011; Zhang & Brown, 2011; Ray, 2012; Rose, 2013; Tsetsura, 2013). These authors' approach to journalism is based on the fact that the promotion and protection of women/human rights is essential to attaining development. These journalism scholars' influences trickle down to journalism practitioners.

*Second,* the study also found that specific gender policies are not very common in media organizations, which can partly explain why most journalists are not motivated to integrate gender in their stories even when they are aware of its importance.

*Third,* as one of the retired female journalists explained, there is declining commitment by organizations concerned with gender advocacy and training from which many journalists have benefited. As explained by *R.H.* (2012), these organizations are now more business oriented than commitment for change. Nevertheless, arguments typical for the Critical Mass and Glass Ceiling Theories (Steiner, 2012) were also brought forward as explanatory factor. As *B.K.* (2012) points out, "It is true that women have increased in leadership positions but the patriarchy system has not changed much. There is a need for a new system: [A shift] from patriarchy to an equality system". These views were also shared by other gender and development experts who, nevertheless, observed a gradual change of the system. In fact, *R.H.* (2012) for example, only registered very small improvements in the media despite all the efforts made thus far as she lamented: "The mainstream media has failed us, despite all the efforts". Thus, despite the increase (not a 'critical mass' though) of women in the media in Tanzania both as media professionals and actors of information, the situation of women's marginalization shows little improvement. Not surprisingly, the gender and development experts cautioned that changing the patriarchy system entails changing the cultural system, which is a long and gradual process.

Whereas the recent global survey shows that there are no longer gender differences between male and female journalists in their journalism values (Hanitzsch & Hanusch, 2011; see also Steiner, 2012), respondents (journalism trainers) were of the view that there are differences between male and female journalists and that female journalists are better placed to bring about development. As *E.M.* (2012) explained, "The issue of sexual violence is reported fairly and better by female journalists compared to male journalists whom sexual violence does not largely affect". This argument holds that some topics are better narrated by women just as it is considered more appropriate for a woman to be frisked by a fellow woman at the airport security check-point. In addition, even intrinsic feminine expertise is invoked. As *A.R.* (2012) argues, "Women are more concerned with social justice issues, issues of sufferings unlike men who are more concerned with selfish motives". Consequently, "some women in position will mean some kind of social justice towards real development". *E.M.'s* and *A.R.'s* arguments notwithstanding, achieving

desirable results beyond the individual level of presumed empathy and expertise entails a need of a shift from patriarchy to an equality system, as aptly argued by the gender and development experts.

On the whole, it can be argued that the failure of the 'critical mass' and the experience of a 'glass ceiling' in action and implementation, among other mentioned factors, might have demoralized many local journalists from pursuing a gender-focused reportage as they do not see the desired changes. Many might not even know what to do to improve the situation, hence putting the application of the concept on the wane. This is where Steiner's (2012) Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories come in. Steiner sees a need to revisit our understanding of gender issues in the media (see also Gadzekpo, 2009; Bosch, 2011; Tortajada & Bauwel, 2012; Buiten, 2013). Her ideas help explain how this understanding in theory and practice continues to be affected by changes within the concepts of gender and feminism and the journalism field as a whole as a result of social, political, economic, cultural and technological changes triggered by deregulation and overall effects of globalization.

I now turn to economic challenges pertaining to the practice of gender-focused development journalism.

## 9.2 Economic Influences

The commercial broadcasting media are profit-oriented and, hence, prefer certain broadcasting formats in their development-oriented programmes. The respondents in this study cited interviews, discussions, narrations, and news, which are cheap and easy to produce. Meanwhile, the more complex formats such as drama, documentaries and features, which were produced by the state media (RTD) have largely been abandoned or are produced to a lesser extent in the 'state–public service' broadcasting. The more popular options have been journalistic narrations, interviews and discussion programmes both in the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting.

The economy has also influenced professionalism. Journalists are trapped between fostering their professional ideals in promoting development critically (watchdog role) and the media owner's profit motives. In fact, as *E.M.* (2012) pointed out, development journalism is not favoured by the government due to its critical (watchdog) role and not favoured by commercial media because the media owners – who rely on advertising – fear it could eat into their profit by cutting off advertising from the major advertisers who either

tend to be government institutions or big corporations which are hypersensitive to criticism. Eventually, this leads to media's self-censorship as a result of these political influences (fear of being in government's bad books) and economic influences (fear of losing advertisements).

Economic reasons are also behind the decision of media owners to hire unqualified or less qualified media personnel for low salaries, a tendency common for commercial media (see Chapter Three). However, the respondents in this study were qualified, most of them with college journalism degrees. This concurs with Rioba's (2012) findings that although the journalists who mentioned developmental roles as relevant were very few, they were on average more qualified than those who mentioned other roles (see Chapter Three). This suggests that development-oriented programmes cannot just be produced by any journalist as appropriate skills and knowledge are vital.

### 9.3 Professional vs Practical Influences

This section discusses some salient professional and practical issues that arouse in this study. These include: journalism values and participation of ordinary people in media.

### 9.3.1 Neutrality, Objectivity and Criticisms

In the past, criticisms against the government were strongly suppressed to protect the nation's interests. This situation has not changed much as currently most of the media either prefer to be neutral or side with the government and big businesses to protect their economic interests. It has been observed that particular media outlets or/and individual journalists risk dire consequences when they criticize the government outright (see Chapter Four).

However, the findings in this study suggest that there is another way these development-oriented journalists practise the element of criticism in their programmes; they allow criticisms to come from the actors of information and by relying on certain critical actors to regularly feature in the programmes (see Chapter Eight). This tendency by journalists could also serve as a manifestation of a particular journalist's stand or attitude towards the critical topic under discussion. In this regard, critical journalists unable to publicly criticize the government or/and take sides (in this case align with ordinary people) because of personal, professional and organizational factors, tend to take sides indirectly by allowing criticisms from actors. For example, one can observe this tendency in the *Hoja ya Leo* (Today's Argument) programme that regularly uses some particular critical actors in the

programme. By maintaining the position of neutrality and objectivity or sometimes even siding with the government when hosting the show, these journalists might be 'playing it safe' so as not to offend the government or/and big advertisers. In contrast, print journalists who played a critical role in the 2007/2008 corruption scandals faced direct attacks and the banning of their newspaper. While using anonymous information actors, the feature articles gave these journalists a lot of room for their own analysis and opinions. By revealing their view on corruption directly, these journalists became vulnerable (see Chapter Four).

This inclination towards impartiality and objectivity also demonstrates that these broadcasting journalists' professional training comprises of mainly Western journalistic values, which often do not practise or train in development journalism. As *A.R.* (2012) asserted, "You cannot find development journalism in the Western journalism curriculum". Similarly, it can be posited that adhering to impartiality and objectivity makes these journalists feel that they are professionals while at the same time belonging to a 'global' journalistic community as measured by the 'global' Western journalistic values.

In addition, some serving journalists in this study demonstrated that there are other ways through which neutrality and objectivity values can be set aside using different techniques as the following statements illustrate: "Journalists should help information actors, especially female actors, by asking them a question several times or from different angles to ensure that what they say will make sense of the particular programme's requirement" (*J.L.,* 2012) and, "In some instances one needs to educate potential actors about the topic before starting the interviews" (*M.T.,* 2012). These statements hint at deliberate efforts being made to abandon the values of objectivity and neutrality towards information actors to promote the agenda of the programme. These strategies allow journalists to adapt values of impartiality and objectivity in line with the traits of development journalism. This practice echoes van Zoonen's argument in Gender Discourse Theory of Communication (1994; see also Myers, 2009; Johannessen, 2006) that journalists report within some contexts: organizational policies and routines, cultural, economic, political, social and technological contexts. That is, journalists are never context-free, further proving how difficult it is for journalists to be totally neutral and objective.

With regard to a women/gender focus, journalists can look back at earlier TAMWA's programmes in which the tendency of relying on critical/particular actors was actually

common, as only actors who could motivate people to move towards the 'desired' change were used in the programmes (see Chapter Six). In essence, these TAMWA journalists took stands. They were highly involved in the process of social change as they first thought of themselves as women who face similar problems as fellow women and as journalists (professionals) second. Under these circumstances they were not objective or neutral in their reportage. More recently, from a feminist perspective, Steiner (2012) in her Feminist Standpoint Epistemology and Intersectionality Theories also advocates 'critical actors' for "a more fair, diverse and democratic communication" to enable what she calls 'critical journalism'; this emphasis on 'particular actors' for a 'particular cause' also side-lines objectivity and neutrality values. In fact, the on-going global debates on neutrality and objectivity, underscore the challenges and criticisms associated with these values (see Chapter One).

Based on the foregoing discussion and drawing on Made's (2005) notion of 'gender focused reporting is good/professional journalism' (see also Tortajada & Bauwel, 2012), it can be posited that if a gender focus will be taken as being 'professional reporting', it will motivate every journalist (men and women) to strive towards such reportage as a gender focus would be considered to constitute professional reporting. This aspiration is also signalled in *P.M.'s* (2012) words: "Gender-focused reporting is just good journalism, it is good reporting, it is professionalism". Similarly, *A.M.* (2012) contended: "Reporting with a gender focus is balancing the story so that both men and women, young and old, rich and poor; basically people of all calibres are heard". *R.H.* (2012) simply referred to gender-focused reporting as "a story with a human face – comprising of men and women". In fact, the retired male journalist, *S.M.* (2012), who practised at a time when gender issues were strictly women issues, and thus gender training was mainly for female journalists, nevertheless reported his stories with a gender focus (see Chapter Six). To him, involving women in his programmes, which focused in rural areas, was something different from normal reporting. As he recalled: "Such reporting added flavour to the programme. It was just natural, I did not notice that I was reporting with a gender focus. The programmes had a positive impact on the lives of these women". *S.M.'s* explanations further support the view that gender-focused reporting is professionalism.

Connected to these challenges is the question of participation. How exactly do journalists involve ordinary men and women in development processes through their programmes?

### 9.3.2 Participation of Ordinary People

Retired journalists recalled that the desire for people's participation in media communication has been present since the establishment of RTD, which strived to foster the Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance (see also Chapter Four). For instance, Ng'wanakilala (1981, p. 68) argues: "To ensure that people get the right information, they have to participate in its production. This implies the right of the people to produce their own information." But how exactly were/are people involved in media processes?

During the socialistic era there were about two but very limited kinds of participation as elaborated in Chapters Four and Six. The first, which I term 'selective' participation as explained by *E.S.* (2012), was that in some programmes, actors of information were selected by government and party leaders located in every corner of the country. This kind of participation hindered the provision of balanced and fair information as these selected people could only talk positively about the government and its leaders. As Kilimwiko (2002) reminds us, the kind of media that operated during the socialistic era had only one major task – to support the government whether it does right or wrong. This 'cosmetic' participation did not help to liberate the ordinary people who were the target of such communication (see Kilimwiko, 1981; Johannessen, 2006). Selective participation was also noticed in TAMWA's programmes as explained in section 9.1. This selective participation on the part of TAMWA was, however, for a good cause as Chapter Six demonstrates.

The second type of participation which I call 'anonymous' participation was mainly associated with the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) programme. Due to the investigative nature of the programme that exposed corrupt and irresponsible leaders, the information actors remained anonymous for fear of losing their jobs or compromising their personal safety. Despite creating positive change, *Mikingamo* was short-lived (approximately one year), and so was its mode of anonymous participation. The programme was credited for exposing corruption and incompetence among public officials. As Moshiro (1990) contends, the *Mikingamo* (Obstacles) programme was like the government's eye as it was used by the police who followed up and took into custody those who were mentioned as corrupt. In the liberal era, anonymous participation is also exercised, for example, during the exposure of the corruption scandals in 2007/2008, that led to the resignation of the ministers and necessitated a government cabinet reshuffle (see Chapter Four).

Overall, participation in some programmes in the liberal era has become more varied and open as journalists have explained (Chapter Six) and as was illustrated by the analysed programmes (Chapter Eight). Although in the interviews journalists supported a 'participatory stance' with some insisting on a 'critical stance', practically in their programmes they more likely performed a neutral and objective role. However, absolute impartiality and objectivity turned out to be elusive when it came to the way they purposely selected well-known critical actors. Openly, the journalists did not side with the citizens as part of the participatory process demonstrated by Banda's model (2007) and feminist calls on journalistic practice by Steiner (2008). Nevertheless, their solidarity with the citizens could be detected in the objectives of the programmes (emphasis on problem solving, involving and empowering the citizens), and sometimes the choice of critical topics and critical actors in favour of improving ordinary people's lives. However, audience participation remains mainly on the level of contributing during the programme as actors and contributors. Less common are more engaging models of audience participation (see for example the little extent to which ordinary people are originators of stories in Chapter Eight sub-section 8.2.1.1) that have not reached the level of some media in the developed world. In the U.S for instance, Sharp (2013) observes that the engagement of citizens in programmes production is rather high and begins even from the conception of ideas. Sharp (2013) cites *Curious City*, a public-radio show in Chicago where the audience vote for what ought to be investigated and reported. The topics most highly voted for are then assigned to journalists to report about. The main argument is to build audience participation at its extreme which would increase audience ratings. In the context of this study, this intensive participation could be helpful in empowering and engaging ordinary people in development plans and processes.

In Tanzania, the use of new media technology successfully increases participation. Citizen media ranges from using Internet outlets such as Facebook, Twitter, or e-mail to word-of-mouth campaigns to reach those who do not have access. This approach triggers people's quest to participate and air their frustrations against the government and oppressive structures in the hope that their complaints will lead to the desired change. These types of interactions from the citizen journalists and public forums sustained by modern communication technologies often trigger further investigation by the mainstream media. As Chapter Four demonstrates, the use of the Internet played a critical role in providing clues for the mainstream media leading to the investigation and exposure of the largest

corruption scandal ever by the Tanzanian media, the so-called External Payment Arrears (EPA) scandal. In this regard, citizen journalism was used mainly as a tool to inform the mainstream media and not as a completely independent form of media. In fact, there has been a tendency of citizens being concerned about the authenticity of information that is sent via Internet, questioning the credibility of the sources of information. In other words, the citizens' trust is more with the traditional media due to its systematic procedure of acquiring and distributing information by 'professionals'–journalists. Nevertheless, these types of interactions brought about by the new media (citizen journalism) broaden the scope and enhance the quality of the debates on various issues of public interest.

Despite the fact that the number of people who have access and use Internet in Tanzania is growing [11.5% of 45 million people in 2013 to 20% of 45 million people in 2014 – (Mtweve, 2014)], still 20% (mostly the elite living in urban areas) is a small fraction of the 45 million Tanzanians. The poverty stricken ordinary people in the villages cannot afford these 'pleasures'. In any case, poor infrastructure in the rural areas makes access to the Internet for the majority of the rural dwellers impossible [see for example, White (2011) on the relative insignificance of the social media in Africa]. In this regard, broadcasting, in particular radio, is regarded as the most accessible medium in Tanzania (see Chapter Four). As also argued by Gatua, Patton and Brown (2010):

> Radio is the cheapest and most widely available information and communication technology that lies within the grasp of the poor. Therefore, radio constitutes the obvious place to start in terms of building basic inclusion in community, national, and global information flows (p. 176).

## 9.4 Public Service Mandates of Broadcasters and Development Journalism Practice

Given the importance of broadcasting in Tanzania it is important to evaluate the potential of Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) as an instrument of GF-DJ practice. Some respondents from 'state–public service' and some journalism trainers argue that PSB is an effective model of broadcasting suitable for the current Tanzania operational environment. Specifically, *A.R.* (2012) is of the view that the PSB should set standards for other media to emulate. *A.R.* (2012) fears that in the liberal media system and free market economies, "the media cannot be left or relied upon for a developmental role". As such, mechanisms have to be put in place to ensure that the media perform the developmental roles. The PSB is one such answer. Indeed, the notion of the PSB has, in recent years, won the critical acclaim of many journalism researchers both in the developed and the developing world.

Fürsich and Shrikhande (2007) for example, advocated an updated development mandate to be implemented in newly transforming public service broadcasters in India and other countries of the Global South (see also Banerjee & Seneviratne, 2006; Banda, 2007). In Tanzania, recent studies such as Millanga (2012), Rioba (2012) and Mwafissi (2013) came up with similar support for PSB.

In fact, the concept of PSB augurs well with the Social Responsibility Theory. Most of the respondents from 'state–public service' broadcasting appeared to subscribe to this idea. Some, without even mentioning public service broadcasting advocated its merits. This type of broadcasting was also seen as a bulwark against the experienced negative influences of a globalizing media industry. The following quotations illustrate this point: "[We need] broadcasting that allows press freedom but at the same time protect nationalism" (*J.B.,* 2012) and "[I hope for] broadcasting that will protect nationalism" (*A.M.,* 2012). In fact, *J.B.*, a young journalist, praised the socialistic days when the media was owned by the government, arguing that receiving information from one source (government media) created a huge sense of nationalism and gave the nation a definite direction towards development. He was of the view that Tanzania, as a nation, has somehow lost its direction in this liberal era. The above mentioned values—press freedom that to an extent allows government intervention and protection of national values—resonate with social responsibility concepts of public broadcasting. In this regard, the Social Responsibility Theory of the media (as a supporter of press freedom advocated by the Libertarian Theory, but urges for some form of control of this freedom) argues:

> Although libertarian principles may be basically sound, their operation in the complex of contemporary society demands some form of control, preferably by the media themselves with a benevolent government in the background unobtrusively checking the ground rules (Siebert, et al., 1963, p. 29).

Nevertheless, an important question is: which format and style of journalism PSB in Tanzania should adopt to cater for the needs of diverse audiences, specifically the majority ordinary men and women in the country? In this regard, I posit that there is a need to re-invent development journalism in Tanzania, just like in other African countries which share a similar inclination (see Chapter One). Moreover, this study has demonstrated how PSB can be an important vehicle for carrying out development journalism [see Banda (2007) in Chapter One]. Furthermore, Xiaoge (2009a) reminds us that development journalism can be carried out by any other media provided the aim is to foster national development and to serve public interest:

Development journalism is a supplement to rather than a replacement of other practices. It can be practised in different media systems, depending on nature of news stories and target audiences. Essentially, development journalism is designed to facilitate and foster national development, be it social, cultural, economic or political (p. 17).

Drawing on Xiaoge (2009a) and *A.R.'s* (2012) wish for PSB to set standards for other media to follow, it can also be posited that the practice of development journalism in Tanzania is not only limited to PSB but can be practised in other media. In fact, the findings in this study already demonstrate that a gender-focused development-oriented type of journalism (GF-DJ) is practised in both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasting, even though it is more apparent in the former than in the latter.

## 9.5 Nation, Globalization and Successful Models for GF-DJ

In this midst of liberal transformations, the impact of globalization and new media technologies in various ways alter or even confuse journalists' perceptions and roles in developing nations with young democracies such as Tanzania. In here, development journalism becomes imperative in guiding both the journalists and the nation as a whole, not only in achieving development but also in dealing with other national as well as global challenges. As *E.S.* (2012) asserted:

> *The relevance of development journalism is to give us direction in this era of globalization. To remember where we came from, where we are and where we are going. To provide the nation with a sense of direction such that we embrace the globalization changes with an appropriate context, a Tanzanian context.*

Based on the ongoing discussion, I would posit that in these turbulent times, an effective broadcasting style in Tanzania today that will guide the country through extreme transformations while serving ordinary men and women is renewed emphasis on development journalism particularly with a gender focus (GF-DJ), as reflected in elements in both *Types 1* and *2* of the conceptual framework. Although this orientation might sound too optimistic due to political, economic and professional influences discussed in sections 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 respectively; nevertheless, this orientation has been well-executed in the 'bang' journalism promoted by TAMWA and has proved to be very successful in promoting and enabling ordinary people attain development. The challenge being its sustainability in the long run due to various limitations: it focuses more on women than on men; it is association-based; it depends on funds from local and international organizations; it is not done on a daily basis and on every developmental issue (see

Chapters Four and Six). However, irrespective of these shortcomings, I argue that TAMWA's style of journalism is an exemplar of a GF-DJ practice in Tanzania. It can also be argued that changes, no matter how difficult or impossible they seem to happen, they have to be discussed about and advocated, as keeping quite is an indication of accepting the current condition.

Nevertheless, data also indicates that female journalists who are TAMWA members were not very effective when they worked alone in their respective media houses. This concurs with van Zoonen's (1994) argument about the dynamism of the gender concept and its impact on media content discussed in section 9.1 and Chapter Two. Thus, it seems more effective when these female journalists work under the umbrella of TAMWA on specific media campaigns. Drawing on the reviews (see Chapter Four), the success achieved by female journalists working under TAMWA, besides their commonality in knowledge and understanding of gender as discussed in section 9.1; is the result of a number of other related factors: there is significant support for the practice (a policy) from the association; there is a stated purpose, a goal, a mission that needs to be realized, and not 'just' the task of covering a story; and there are enough preparations (research, training about the subject and how best to cover it). Other factors include the availability of resources such as funding, transport, equipment to enable journalists to cover the topic comfortably; the provision of enough time for journalists for the assignment; and the involvement of male journalists who are also provided with training and assigned duties – this helps to bring various perspectives to a story; in addition, there is also systematic feedback on the work depending on the specific campaign (see also http://www.tamwa.org/index.php/about-us/activitysuccess.html).

In contrast, the majority of other journalists, some journalism trainers as well as gender and development experts demonstrated a more tenuous relationship between development, development journalism and gender (see Chapters Six and Seven). For journalists, this could be caused by factors opposite to those that made it possible for TAMWA to succeed in executing associational activities. These factors include: lack of gender policies in media houses, poor preparations and research about the subject, reporting as routine and not with a passion to bring about change. Other factors are such as lack of consistency (media campaigns), lack of funds and equipment (See Chapters Four and Six). For some gender and development experts and some journalism trainers, the issue seems to be

caused by lack of effective policies that connect these three aspects (development, development journalism and gender) so that they could seamless operate in tandem.

In addition to the exceptional model of TAMWA that operates in tandem with the media but from the outside, another approach is to promote re-energized gender focus within the media. I posit that a liberal feminist stance, particularly integrating gender in the mainstream media (see Gallagher, 2001; Geertsema, 2010), can be effective. Notably, the dynamics of the meaning of the concept 'feminism' does not only refer to 'women' but also to the 'minorities'. Similarly, the aspect of 'participation' which is central to this dissertation requires the involvement of a variety of people within a society and not only women. In addition, a question raised by this study is whether ordinary men and women can better be served by generally mainstreaming gender in the media or inventing a new style of journalism or by re-modelling a specific style of journalism that already exists which also easily merges with the gender and feminist ideologies on journalism. Regarding this question, I argue for a gender focus in an already existing journalism style, particularly development journalism, which can be revised or reinvented or modified to suit the current situation, as discussed in this study. The study also supports Steiner (2009) in her quest for the presentation of the minorities in the media from a feminist perspective, who states: "Encouraging journalists to revise, if not reinvent ways of understanding and representing human action is commendable" (p. 127).

## 9.6 New Media Theory for New Situation in Africa

Finally, I wind up this chapter by arguing that there is a need to revisit media theories in Africa and establish ones that will effectively work in contemporary African situations. Mwangi (2010), for instance, proposes a social-democratic communication model that is based on African history and culture. It views information not as a commodity but as a product generated by the public to serve the public's interest. Importantly, the model urges for participation through inclusion and dialogue of ordinary people where also gender equality is emphasized. Mwangi's model is similar to the GF-DJ model proposed in this study in emphasizing on: ordinary people, gender equality, public's interest, citizens as active media participants, participation, and dialogue. Although it is not the task of this dissertation to propose a new communication theory to this effect, issues that arose in this study set some tent poles for theorizing the proposed model of gender-based development journalism as inspired by van Zoonen (1994), Robinson (2005), Banda (2007), Xiaoge

(2009b) and Steiner (2008, 2009 & 2012). Besides Mwangi (2010), these points have to be seen in tandem with other arguments pointing towards a need to establish African media theories. These are such as: the *Ubuntu* journalism philosophy (see Chapter Two), Skejrdal's (2012) categorization of media alternatives in Africa and questions arising from Obonyo's (2011) discussion on communication theory for Africa. Other relevant arguments are raised by Berger (2002), Shaw (2009) and Mutere (2012), among others. These arguments are mainly based on African historical, social-cultural issues and democracy towards establishing an African media theory.

Concerning a gender focus in efforts to establish a communication theory in Africa, Gadzekpo (2009; see also Bosch, 2011) puts the task to feminist media research as she explains missing links between African media studies and feminist concerns. She argues:

> Feminist media research has a critical role to play in providing the missing links in African feminist scholarship on the media. Feminist media research in Africa must monitor old concerns and define and articulate new ones. In the process, research must generate Africa-specific data about emerging issues and trends in the media and at the same time develop new feminist theories that take account of the complex and fluid African condition (p. 78).

The contribution of this dissertation therefore, is to theorize and connect a gender focus to the earlier work on a new African communication theory which besides some aspects of *Ubuntu* journalism and Mwangi's (2010) proposal, do not consider gender issues. Moreover, through the proposed GF-DJ grounded in the close investigation of the current and past media situation in Tanzania, a pure gender angle is extended to a relevant media framework for dealing with African poverty and inequality situations.

Given the dramatic changes that digital and mobile technologies have caused around the world including African countries (see for example, Bosch, 2010; Camera, 2010; McEwan, 2010; Atton & Mabweazara, 2011; Mudhai, 2011; Akpabio, 2012; Goggin, 2012; Salgado, 2012; Chiumbu & Ligaga, 2013; De Bruijn, 2014), it has become popular to propose social media and citizen journalism as the panacea for increasing civic participation and hence development. For instance, Salgado (2012) argues that the new media strengthens civil society through: disseminating media content, stimulating the presence of different actors in the public sphere, promoting participation and discussion, influencing journalists who use the new media to look for new approaches and opinions. However, Ngomba (2013) reminds us of the short-sightedness of this argument. Although he also recognizes the importance of the social media in enhancing people's voices by citing examples of the

'Arab Spring' and Turkish protests against the government, Ngomba (2013) argues:

> In several contexts where technical limitations curtail the possibilities of mass social media-facilitated protests, there is a need for more contextually relevant, people-led communication approaches that can put pressure on political and economic decision makers to establish and pursue more people – centred development priorities (p. 32).

Along the same line, Nyamnjoh (2005) points out that: "The media do not have the same potential in every society, nor are they accessible to everyone in the same way or to the same extent" (p. 2).

Ngomba's and Nyamnjoh's arguments caution that in developing countries, Tanzania for instance, where the social media are more of an urban phenomenon, especially the elite who have access and skills to use it as demonstrated in sub-section 9.3.2 (see also White, 2004 & 2011; Moyo, 2011; Salgado, 2012); there is a need to promote a medium and a journalism brand that can reach and involve more of the diverse groups of ordinary people. Specifically, Akpabio (2012) argues that new media limitation is even worse to many women in Africa who are bound by cultural practices and poor infrastructure. Against this backdrop, I argue that development journalism through broadcasting (especially radio), continue to be the most effective tool; not only as an authority because it is carried out by the mainstream broadcasting stations but also because of mainstream broadcasting's wider reach to ordinary men and women in rural Tanzania who have no access to digital or even print media. As also Banda (2007), Millanga (2012), Rioba (2012) and Mwaffisi (2013) argue, PSB can be very effective in this regard.

Moreover, this GF-DJ model proposed here is not just applicable to Tanzania or Africa but can also work in the developed world. For instance, the underlying idea of development journalism in this study as advocated by Banda (2007) and Xiaoge (2009b) is similar to public/civic journalism, citizen journalism and advocacy journalism already practised in the developed world (see Chapter One). In fact, the idea of PSB that is imbedded in Banda's (2007) model is a Western invention (see Chapter Three). Besides, as discussed in Chapter One, from an ethical perspective, Musa and Domatob (2007) contend that development journalism and Western journalism share the ethical values of promoting the truth and advancing the society. Similarly, Nordenstreng (1989) observes that the promotion of human rights, freedom of speech and social responsibility are observed by both development journalists and Western journalists. In the context of gender and

feminism (as a global movement), Robinson (2005) provides a definition of feminist journalism, similar to that of development journalism (see Chapter Two). Hence, development journalism (with a gender focus) has both a local and 'global' place as a professional practice.

Furthermore, Waisbord (2010), despite being sceptical about the usefulness of development journalism in the contemporary times, he is of the view that it is still favoured in countries of the Global south and globally. For instance, Waisbord posits that the concept 'development' is still entrenched in global technical, financial and government institutions. It is a concept used to refer to progress for a better future and human emancipation. Similarly, development journalism (as journalism focusing in improving human conditions), is taught in journalism training institutions in many countries in the Global South. In fact, UNESCO (2007) urges for development journalism training in the developing countries and young democracies (see Chapter One; Freedman et al. 2009). Nevertheless, Waisbord (2010) argues:

> We need to reconsider the validity of DJ in light of new intellectual debates and the problems of dividing the world into developed/developing regions […]. It is imperative to approach it critically and integrate it in current debates about normative models of journalism in a globalized world (p. 156).

The GF-DJ model proposed in this study sees itself as a step towards an attempt to address development journalism challenges in the contemporary period for effective serving of the ordinary men and women in development plans and processes.

# CHAPTER TEN

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

At this stage, it is important to reiterate the main pillars of this study as they are the basis for the conclusion, further research and recommendations. The general objective of this study was to explore GF-DJ practice in Tanzania, using the mainstream broadcasting stations as a case study. In long interviews with development-oriented journalists, journalism trainers, gender and development/media experts, it was examined how GF-DJ is practised in Tanzania's mainstream broadcasting stations. Moreover, development-oriented programmes were analysed to provide insights into how this practice is translated into media practice. The first research question took a historic perspective to trace how a gender focus evolved in the practice of development journalism in Tanzania. Another question focused on the environment in which GF-DJ has been practised more recently in Tanzania's mainstream broadcasting stations. The motive was to grasp the various social, political and economic factors surrounding development-oriented journalists as they execute their duties, such as journalism and gender training, along with the specific conditions in broadcasting stations and the media industry as a whole. Meanwhile, the question on how journalists ensure gender-focused reportage aimed at explaining various attempts by journalists of reporting with a gender focus. Finally, the fourth research question probed the relevance of the practice by analysing journalists' explanations, comments from journalism trainers, gender and development/media experts and insights drawn from earlier scholarship. The methodology used in this study comprised of in-depth interviews and qualitative programme analysis. The summary of this dissertation is provided here in under the following sub-titles: theoretical and conceptual considerations; interview findings; programme analysis; interpretation of the findings; limitations of the study and future research; and recommendations.

## 10.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations

The literature review showed that development journalism, despite being an idea of the 1960s which appears to have been abandoned in Africa in the 1980s following deregulation and effect of globalization, is gaining renewed interest within the journalism circles in developing countries. Yet, there appeared to be little research concerning the subject, particularly in relation to Tanzania. Additionally, while there are strong similarities in the underlying assumptions between development journalism, gender and feminist

approaches on journalism; this dissertation was the first structured effort to link development journalism, feminism and gender for creating a type of journalism that involves and empowers ordinary men and women towards positive social change. Thus, this study developed a model of Gender-Focused Development Journalism (GF-DJ) and evaluated its feasibility with an in-depth study of Tanzania.

The GF-DJ model was developed from a framework based on new versions of development journalism as promulgated by Banda (2007) and Xiaoge (2009b), along with feminist theories and approaches to journalism by van Zoonen (1994), Robinson (2005) and Steiner (2008, 2009 & 2012). The theoretical framework acted as a kernel of guidelines on how the ideologies of development journalism, gender and feminism can work together in ensuring that the voices of the ordinary men and women are heard in the media and help in their development. There have been previous attempts in incorporating gender in the journalism field in Tanzania and, globally, in areas such as gender mainstreaming in the media, media monitoring, gender training and advocacy, women's/feminist media; however, a consolidation of ideologies of development journalism, feminism and gender has seldom been a focus in the journalism field. As such this framework contributed to advancing the theoretical foundations of these efforts. The basic premise of the framework is that, ingredients of development journalism basing on Banda's (2007) and Xiaoge's (2009b) models relate to some forms of journalism such as public/civic journalism, citizen journalism, advocacy journalism and the African *Ubuntu* philosophy on journalism. In fact, most of these consolidated ideas on development journalism correspond to the gender and feminists' ideas on journalism by van Zoonen (1994), Robinson (2005) and Steiner (2008, 2009 & 2012).

Development journalism, public/civic journalism, citizen journalism, advocacy journalism and the African *Ubuntu* philosophy on journalism share the following mandates: treat citizens as active participants and not passive consumers of information; focus on the grassroots/ordinary people; aim at social change and improving people's lives; view the media as a forum for discussion for various community issues; emphasize participatory techniques as opposed to neutrality and objectivity values. Development journalism, public/civic journalism, citizen journalism and advocacy journalism reflect a critical stance. These characteristics are similar to features extolled by gender and feminist concepts of journalism, which also emphasize a focus on grassroots/ordinary men and

women. Other common features include treating audiences as active receivers and not passive consumers of information; aiming at positive social change; an emphasis on participatory techniques and a critical journalism orientation. In practice, these types of journalism do not emphasize objectivity and neutrality values as promulgated under conventional journalistic practices.

This framework enabled me to connect two poles: the coverage of ordinary men and women as elaborated by journalists during the interviews and in the programmes where ordinary men and women serve as actors, on the one hand; and the models of development journalism, gender and feminist approaches to journalism on the other hand. In other words, the goal was to compare and contrast the theoretical aspirations of development journalism models as well as gender and feminist approaches to journalism to the actual practice of gender-focused development journalism.

## 10.2 Interview Findings

Interviews with retired female journalists showed that a women's and later a gender focus in development journalism in Tanzania dates back to the late 1970s and was pioneered by female journalists. Through a women's journalists association, TAMWA, these women managed to bring significant changes to the media industry and other sectors in the country. These changes included the introduction of a new journalism style called 'bang journalism', which depicts characteristics of GF-DJ as outlined in the conceptual framework; mainstreaming of gender in the media and other sectors; media monitoring; gender training in journalism schools and other sectors; and agitation for a change of laws and policies in favour of women and minorities through media activism.

The understanding of development journalism and gender was similar among the old generation (retired veteran female journalists). Meanwhile, the younger generation (i.e. serving and new journalists) tended to subtly change the terminology by referring to the practice of development journalism as 'the development role of the media', 'voice of the voiceless', and 'watchdog journalism' – especially when performing the 'critical role. Nevertheless, the essence of development journalism as an important function of the media towards development remained intact. However, among the younger generation a gender emphasis in journalism appeared to be fizzling out as these younger journalists were not as conscious about gender issues as the older (female) generation. The understanding of the gender concept by younger journalists actually varied as they referred to all the three

gender movements WID, GAD and Women/Human Rights. Specifically, most of male respondents still erroneously regarded gender issues as women issues. Nevertheless, even with the likely dilution of the gender concept, there was a remnant of the serving and new journalists comprising men and women who emphasized a gender focus in their development-oriented reporting. Those journalists who did not care about gender issues comprised males and females as well.

In general, the variations in development journalism and gender in Tanzania's post-1990 liberal era indicated that both concepts continue to evolve. This evolution, partly caused by journalists' individual efforts to practise, is mainly caused by a shift of policies from socialistic to liberal, lack of enough and proper training on development journalism and gender, lack of support from respective broadcasting stations, lack of motivation among journalists to incorporate a gender focus in their reporting and, generally, a tenuous connection between development journalism and gender among the serving journalists. These reasons make it difficult for them to report development-oriented information with a gender focus. Nevertheless, all the respondents regarded development journalism as relevant even in the liberal era.

Similarly, during interviews with journalism trainers it emerged that they regarded development journalism as relevant in the contemporary era. They also observed that development journalism is still practised in Tanzania based on development-oriented roles such as the watchdog role and serving as voice of the voiceless. However, they also admitted that development journalism has appeared to have changed due to political and economic transformations resulting from the deregulation the country has embraced. They were of the view that development journalism is neither steadfastly supported by commercial media houses (for fear they might compromise their profit when antagonizing their major advertisers), nor by the government (fearing its critical nature, especially when performing the watchdog role). Consequently, this dislike of development journalism's watchdog/critical role by the government affects the 'state–public service' broadcasting performance since this category of broadcasting is funded by public resources through the government. In fact, it was observed how some 'state–public service' broadcasters were cautious to say anything against the government. This situation also affects the commercial broadcasters because the government through its various institutions is the major advertiser. Development journalism is also not given priority in journalism training

institutions because of often-copied Western journalism curricula which do not feature development journalism. In addition, development journalism is affected by its misleading association with abandoned socialist values. Nevertheless, some journalism trainers and journalists regarded public service broadcasting (PSB) (radio in particular), as an important vehicle for promoting development, the main goal of development journalism.

Gender and development/media experts demonstrated that gender equality and development should be inseparable if the intention is to enable all people regardless of gender to attain development. They supported focusing more on the female gender as women are still in a more disadvantaged position than men. Nevertheless, some of the respondents (journalism trainers, gender and development/media experts) underscored the existence of a tenuous connection between development, development journalism and gender.

## 10.3 Programme Analysis

The analysis of development-oriented programmes indicated that most of the development-oriented stories were not driven by the concerns of ordinary people; instead, they were mainly event-driven or they followed a planned schedule. Nevertheless, a few ordinary people were found to be involved as information actors, more so in the 'state–public service' than in commercial broadcasting. Overall, the GF-DJ practice was found to be more evident in the 'state–public service' than in commercial broadcasting. Whereas development journalism during the socialistic era was mainly top-down operating in a media system that embraced the Authoritarian Theory of the media, in Tanzania's post-1990 liberal era especially in some 'live' discussion programmes, the practice was more citizen-oriented. To a limited extent, citizens were even allowed to criticize the government. The practice was a strategy driven by journalists as they used their influence on the choice of topic and actors while maintaining a neutral and objective stance themselves during the programme. The GF-DJ practice was therefore more aligned with Banda's (2007) model and the feminist concepts than with Xiaoge's (2009b) model. In fact, it reflected the Social Responsibility Theory of the media (observed more in the 'state–public service' broadcasting) and Libertarian Theory of the media (observed more in the commercial broadcasting). With the exception of specific women's programmes, women are still a minority in other programmes, especially those which have to do with politics, economics and other issues treated as domains for men under the patriarchal system.

In general, in this study, the serving and new journalists reflected a participatory and critical stance in the interviews but they posed as neutral and objective in their programmes; while at the same time some of these journalists intentionally choosing critical topics and well-known critical actors to suit their programmes' critical stance.

## 10.4 Interpretation of the Findings

These findings led to three main points of interpretation:

*First,* there is a state of confusion on the part of serving and new journalists as they try to balance between professionalism (Western journalism ideologies) by being neutral and objective and their quest to serve the ordinary people. In some instances, this attitude requires these journalists to abandon the values of neutrality and objectivity by emphasizing participatory techniques and taking a stand especially against oppressive structures (the government inclusive). To balance between these competing sets of values, journalists end up 'playing it safe' by relying on the information actors and contributors (audience) to play the critical role. There are also some 'behind the scene' techniques for pre-recorded programmes which are subjected to editing before they are put on air. These include asking the actors questions several times and from various angles so that they can understand and make meaningful contribution that will qualify to be involved in the programme. Another way is by preparing/educating potential actors on the topic in question before starting the interview so that they can make meaningful contributions.

*Second,* the 'state–public service' broadcasters are more concerned with national identity and, hence, prefer a 'limited' press freedom as they have to contend with some form of government intervention (thus reflecting the Social Responsibility Theory). The commercial broadcasters, on the other hand, are more concerned with press freedom and ideally without any government intervention (hence reflecting the Libertarian Theory). A gender focused development-oriented journalism practice in Tanzania's liberal era, therefore, is theoretically positioned between the Social Responsibility and Libertarian Theories of media, contrary to the development journalism that was practised under the strict government control during the socialistic era. It should however be noted that, despite this difference in exercising press freedom between the Social Responsibility and Libertarian theorists, these theories advocate similar functions of the media. As argued by Siebert et al. (1963, p. 74), these functions are:

(i) Servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs, (ii) enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-governance, (iii) safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against the government (iv) servicing the economic system, primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising (v) providing entertainment (vi) maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests.

As demonstrated in this study, both the 'state–public service' and commercial broadcasters, despite their various differences, think along similar lines as reflected in some media functions outlined by these theories. Nevertheless, overall in their everyday practice many contemporary journalists were cautious about criticizing the government and hence preferred to reflect a more neutral and objective stance.

*Third,* development journalism or rather a GF-DJ practice is still relevant in Tanzania. Successful precursors of development journalism and GF-DJ in particular, have been created by journalistic NGOs especially TAMWA's 'bang' journalism. Despite some shortfalls these journalistic campaigns from TAMWA and other like-minded NGOs have been filling gaps that journalists in the mainstream media were unable to fill, let alone execute in an effective manner. The successes of these GF-DJ antecedents encourage a wholehearted adoption in the mainstream media as a conduit for bringing about positive social change and development in Tanzania.

## 10.5 Limitations and Future Research

The current study faced some limitations in acquiring the development-oriented programmes for analysis. Due to poor storage, many of the old programmes are either lost or distorted, hence, other than selecting based on availability it was not possible to select the programmes' episodes in a systematic way as had been planned earlier. Similarly, other than recording some of the current programmes, it was almost impossible to obtain some programmes from commercial broadcasting stations.

The lack of clarity of some development journalism indicators such as the *story source, story actors* and *consensus-orientation* was another limitation as these variables were difficult to operationalize and identify. For instance, as a researcher listening to the programme, it was difficult to detect where the story originated. In addition, sometimes the presenters failed to provide the details of contributors (audiences who sent SMS, emails or phone-ins during the programme). This category of story actors could therefore, not

effectively be identified. Similarly, the indicator of *impact of a story* could not be measured without audience research.

Therefore, future research in this area needs to refine and clarify these development journalism indicators further. Emphasis should be placed on audiences and their perceptions of participatory approaches in media towards their development as this will effectively capture the important indicator of *impact*. While this study focused on the mainstream broadcasting media in Tanzania, it hopefully triggered interest in examining development journalism (and its focus on gender) more broadly in Tanzania, Africa and beyond, particularly from a comparative perspective. As the quest for an African media theory that will address the continent's poverty and inequalities (among other issues) continues, researchers will increasingly have to examine media, development, and gender as interrelated concepts. In addition, Kivikuru (2009) argues for future research in the field of development communication in Africa to focus more on qualitative questions. Along the same line of qualitative research, Gadzekpo (2009; see also Bosch, 2011) asserts that there is a dearth of scholarly material on African women, media and development. The framework proposed in this study can provide some guidelines towards this qualitative enquiry.

## 10.6 Recommendations

Finally, the issues this study has raised based on the qualitative in-depth analysis of 28 interviews and 25 episodes in relation to its theoretical and conceptual frameworks have led to the following recommendations.

*First,* there is a need to revisit journalism curriculums in use in Tanzania's media training institutions so that they can reflect the current development and gender situations in Tanzania. This view is also shared by other journalism researchers concerning journalism curriculums in Africa (see for example, Wimmer & Wolf, 2005; Gadzekpo, 2009; Kasoma, 2009; Bosch, 2010; Fourie, 2011, Schiffrin & Behrman, 2011). In this regard, transformed development journalism, which is generating renewed interest in Africa, might be a good starting point. Development journalism, feminism and gender should also be theoretically and practically connected during the training of potential journalists to promote a form of journalism that is aimed at enhancing development for both ordinary women and men. Currently, gender courses and short-term training are already offered in many journalism schools and gender-related organizations, respectively. However, development journalism

is rarely offered as an integral course of journalism training in many media schools in Tanzania. The reality is that development journalism needs to be introduced as a required course into journalism schools. More importantly, development journalism and gender should be taught as one integral course. As such, development journalism with a gender focus in journalism schools need to be remodelled to ensure that it is more oriented towards practice with ample hands-on experience while making use of real-life examples drawn from the local context.

In addition, specialization on how to report on some specific developmental sectors, such as the newly discovered extractive sector in Tanzania (mining, gas and oil), and even tourism (the second export earner, after agriculture) as well as agriculture (where majority of poorly paid workers are women) is equally important. This is because there have been complaints from the ordinary people that they are not involved and do not benefit from these sectors (that only a few elites enjoy), and the overall failure of these sectors in developing the country so far. An effective application of the critical and participatory functions of GF-DJ practice could help to improve the situation.

*Second,* there is a need to establish effective and respected gender policies in Tanzania's media houses. This has worked very well in Nordic Europe (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) and some countries in the Western Europe. There is actually a need to establish an effective policy that connects development, media (development journalism) and gender. Overall, as Steiner (2012; see also Gadzekpo, 2009; Bosch, 2011; Tortajada & Bauwel, 2012; Buiten, 2013) argues, revisiting gender theories in the media is imperative to make them relevant for meeting the contemporary challenges.

*Third,* as TBC is being transformed into a PSB, it is also time for the organization to consider mandates and appropriate styles of journalism that will serve the diverse groups of ordinary people in Tanzania. As such, TBC might think of opting for gender-focused development journalism. The same goes to other media outlets since this type of journalism is not only restricted to the public service broadcaster. Concerning this point, *A.R.* (2012), advocates some form of 'regulation' in ensuring that the media are deployed for developmental purposes in Tanzania. He argues: "The media have an obligation to focus their attention more on challenges that we face as people and as a country, before they can start the luxury of enjoying as a business entity". This wish, however, will only come into fruition if there are effective media policies and media laws that favour the

public interests of the majority (ordinary men and women) and promote the interests of the common good.

Overall, this dissertation has demonstrated that the Western journalism ideologies are still challenged by some specific developmental issues in the Global South. The current situation needs a special commitment of media scholars to engage in and develop media theories and systems that improve ordinary men's and women's lives. As demonstrated in this dissertation, despite the relevance of development journalism in the contemporary period, it is becoming vaguer both as a concept and a practice. It is important therefore for these theories to be specific on exactly what development journalism is and how it should be practised. As advised by Waisbord (2010) and the GF-DJ model proposed in this study, the development of these theories should capture a broader, global perspective. In addition, Waisbord's argument (2010; see also Tshabangu, 2013) to replace the term 'development journalism' with more precise terminology which reflects models and practices of journalism in contemporary media systems is commendable. This dissertation and its GF-DJ model sees itself as a step in this direction.

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# APPENDICES

**Appendix I: MCT's Gender Code of Ethics**

## Gender Code of Ethics

**Preamble**

The Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) recognises the importance of freedom of expression as the cornerstone of a participatory and functional democracy and that women and men in all their diversity have a right to be heard.

Members of MCT recognise that in fledging democracy such as the United Republic of Tanzania, the media plays a critical role in ensuring the realisation of this right and shall put in place mechanisms to ensure that the views of women and men, regardless of their class, social standing and whether they are from urban or rural areas, are given equitable chances to be heard.

Members also recognise the key role of the media in changing attitudes and mindsets. They pledge through this code to strive for gender balance and to challenge gender stereotypes in and through the media.

This code is informed, among others, by the United Republic of Tanzania Constitution; Tanzania's Women and Gender Development Policy; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); the African Charter on Human and People's Rights; the Windhoek Declaration on Media Freedom in Africa; and the Beijing Platform of Action.

**Definition of terms**

**Discrimination** means any act, omission, distinction, exclusion or any differential treatment which disadvantages or compromises any person either directly or indirectly based on sex, race, pregnancy, sexual orientation, age, disability, nationality, and/or marital status or other analogous ground."

**Gender stereotyping** means media that portrays a person or persons of a certain gender in a manner that exploits, objectifies or demeans."

**Negative gender portrayal** refers to language, attitudes or representations (either explicit or implied) which tend to associate particular roles, modes of behaviour or characteristics to people on the basis of gender in a manner that restricts and entrenches the role of persons of such gender in society or sections of society."

**Sexist language** is language that unnecessarily excludes one sex or gives unequal treatment to women and men"

**Application**

The Gender Code of Ethics will govern the conduct and practice of all media practitioners, media owners, publishers and media institutions that are members of the Media Council of Tanzania.

This Gender Code of Ethics should be read in tandem with the Media Council of Tanzania

Professional Code of Ethics and shall have equal force in the arbitration of cases brought for adjudication.

**Seek the truth and report it as fully as possible (Mainstreaming coverage of gender)**
Media houses shall at all times give fair and equal space to men and women in their reporting in all their diversity.
Broadcasters shall increase the number of programmes on gender specific topics as well as programmes that challenge gender stereotypes.
In their coverage of politics, economic issues or war, members shall ensure that women's voices and their issues are heard.
Media houses should put in place training programmes to improve their practitioners' understanding of current and emerging gender issues and its various manifestations.
Media practitioners shall be encouraged to continuously research and keep themselves abreast of current debates on gender issues.
MCT shall collaborate with media training institutions to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in their curricular.

**Act independently**
Media houses shall take proactive steps to equally seek out the views of both women and men in their diversity regardless of their social standing.
Media practitioners shall at all times strive to be impartial and avoid publicly associating themselves with partisan statements or organisations.
Members shall increase programmes on gender specific topics and allow more women to be involved in the production of such programmes.
MCT recognises that women are not a homogeneous group. Media houses will be encouraged to give inclusive coverage of all women that goes beyond differences of class, social standing and whether they are from rural or urban areas.

**Minimise harm**
Media should report all issues as fully as possible but there is a need to balance harm and discomfort with alternatives that maximise the goal of truth telling. Therefore media houses shall be required to refrain from;
Publishing the identity or details of rape or sexual violence victims that could lead to the identification.
Promoting pornography and violence against women and children.
Depicting women as helpless victims of violence and abuse unless the violence is integral to the story.
Degrading or exploiting women as helpless victims of violence and abuse,
Degrading or exploiting women and undermining their role and position in   society; and
Reinforcing gender oppression and stereotypes
Publish stories that might incite violence and hatred based on gender.
Glamorising violence against women

**1. Language**
Media houses shall prohibit the use of sexist language in their coverage.
When editing and selecting facts, details and graphics, media houses shall not oversimplify and report gender issues out of context.

**2. Marketing and advertising**
Media houses should ensure that consistent standards are applied between advertising and

editorial content.

Gender stereotyping or negative gender portrayal should not be permitted in advertising.

## 3. Workplace issues

Media houses are encouraged to incorporate gender balance in their recruitment policies to ensure equitable representation of women in all levels of decision making.

Media houses shall be encouraged to ensure that their employees have access to training and mentoring programmes that are inclusive of both female and male staff with special attention to female staff.

Media houses should be encouraged to adopt policies that discourage sexual harassment.

Media houses should ensure that both female and male have equal opportunities to specialise in reporting any beat in the newsroom.

*Source:*
*https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=Media+Council+of+Tanzania's+gender+code+of+ethics*

**Appendix II: Interview Guide for Development-Oriented Journalists**

**Introduction:**
- Gender:
- Education:
- Broadcasting station:
- Position:
- How would you have described/describe the goals of your work?
- What was/it that you wanted/want to achieve as a journalist?

- By virtue of programmes that you produced/produce or participated/participate in producing, would you have considered/consider yourself a development journalists/reporter? Why?
- How did you become a development journalist/reporter?
- When did you start working as a development journalist? Why?
- What were/are your duties as a development journalist?

**The Practice of development journalism focusing gender:**
- What kind of issues did/do you report about? Why?
- How did/do you develop ideas for reporting?
- Who were/are the major actors of information on those issues? Why?
- Where did/do you find the actors of information? Why?
- How were/are the ordinary people involved in programmes making? Why? (By 'ordinary people' I mean: the less fortunate/poor women and men – young, middle aged and old)
- Were/are the ordinary people (men and women) equally involved? Why (not)?
- Was/is it easy or difficult to involve these ordinary people? Which gender in particular and Why?
- How did/do you report issues in development journalism programmes?
- What prompted the way you reported/report? Why?
- Do you think that you reported/report in a different or similar way as the other styles of journalism? Why?
- What intention did/do you have in mind for reporting those issues? Why?

- Who were/are the major targets of those programmes? Why?

**The Tanzanian media system**

- Did you learn any development journalism reporting skills? Where and How?
- Did you learn any skills for reporting development journalism stories with a gender focus? Where and how?
- What do you understand by the concept 'reporting on a gender focus'?
- What are the differences in the Tanzanian broadcasting media system of your time comparing it with today's? How would you describe the changes?
- How are the changes to the advantage or disadvantage to the practice of development journalism focusing gender in the broadcasting media?

**Roles of a development journalist in ensuring gender focused development journalism:**

- Did/do you have a gender policy in your media house? How did/do you implement it in your day-to-day work?
- What do you understand by the concept 'reporting on a gender focus'?
- Did/do your colleagues approve of reporting on a gender focus? How?
- Were/are you encouraged by (media house policy, economic status, ownership, structure, characteristics) to report on a gender focus? How?
- What were/are your personal initiatives toward reporting on a gender focus (individual attitudes towards gender)?
- What were/are the problems that you are faced while reporting on a gender focus?
- What topics on women were/are easy / hard to get through in the newsroom?
- Did/do you think the audience was/is interested in hearing about stories reported on a gender focus? Why?
- How did/do you overcome the challenges of reporting on a gender focus?

**The relevance of development journalism focusing gender**

- What do you think development journalism focusing gender can contribute to the daily life of the ordinary people in Tanzania? Why?
- Did you at any time had feedback from the audience about your programme? How was the feedback like?
- Can you mention one best episode of a development-oriented programme that you have produced? What was great about it and why?

- Can you identify one of the worst development journalism programmes you have heard? Why is it the worst?

**Conclusion**

- What can be done to improve development journalism focusing gender?
- What do you wish for this profession (DJ) in future?
- Anything else?
- Finally, whom would you recommend for a similar interview (as a development-oriented journalist)?

**Appendix III: Interview Guide for Journalism Trainers and Experts**

(i)       What are your views concerning the media system in Tanzania with regard to development journalism focusing gender?

(ii)      What are your views concerning the broadcasting media coverage of gender focused development-oriented stories?

(iii)     Is the practice of gender focused development journalism relevant in Tanzania today? Why?

(iv)     What are the contributions of your institution/organization in promoting development with a gender focus?

(v)      What do you recommend in improving the contribution of the media (especially broadcasting media) in promoting development with a gender focus?

**Appendix IV: Codebook for Content Analysis of Programmes**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Story Source (origin of the story)** | Bottom-up (originating from grassroots) |
| **Story Actors (people involved in the story)** | Grassroots institutions<br>Location: Urban/Rural |
| | Ordinary men and women<br>Location: Urban/rural |
| **Story Orientation (what the story contains)** | Identification of development-related problems |
| | Solutions to development-related problems |
| | Participation of ordinary men and women in development processes |
| | Empowerment of ordinary men and women in development processes |
| | Empowerment of women in development processes |
| | Consensus-orientation in development processes |
| | Partnership with government in development processes |
| | Impact on ordinary men and women |
| | Evaluation of development-related projects and processes |
| | Others |

*Source: Author (2013) as adapted from Xiaoge (2009a).*