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THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE MEDIA

IN TANZANIA – 1979 - 1989.

by

Halima S. Shariff

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of**

MASTER OF JOURNALISM

School of Journalism

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

CANADA.

August, 1990

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**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research acceptance of the Thesis.**

**"The Role and Status of Women in the Media
in Tanzania 1979 -1989"**

submitted by Halima S. Shariff

**in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
degree of Master in Journalism**

Thesis Supervisor

**Director, School of Journalism
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ABSTRACT

Policy initiatives and mass campaigns by various governments the world over have characterized the struggle for equal opportunities for women in all spheres of life. Although the implementation of Tanzania's socialist policies for development and human equality has registered modest progress, it has been marred by pervasive cultural attitudes and practices which stem from the male-dominated nature of this society.

This piece of work is an attempt to discuss the role and status of women in the publicly-owned media in Tanzania. The aim is to draw the attention of media institutions to the situation of women in general and professional women in particular. The intention here is to sensitize the heads of media institutions to women's double role, their unpaid labour in the home and women's absence in the roles of power, and to the general problem of patriarchy.

Overall, women in the media play a peripheral role and their status is lower than that of men. This reflects the general subordinate position that women assume in male-dominated developing societies, like Tanzania. In addition to the double burden that women shoulder, their public and domestic contribution is undervalued, hence women are further marginalized in the development process.

The role of the media in advancing the situation of women could be more progressive if media workers in general and women journalists in particular questioned some of the attitudes and practices that retard the attainment of gender equality. Through direct intervention in the organization and practices of journalism to institute affirmative action, the mass media institutions could set the pace for the struggle to attain equality at workplaces and in the homes.

TANZANIA

LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Source: Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, Tanzania government.

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H.S.S.

Dar es salaam.

August, 1990.

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INTRODUCTION

During the past two decades, the status of women in society has become an increasing focus of concern for social planners, theorists and researchers. The roots of this concern can be traced to different sources from country to country, and its specific emphases vary according to local circumstances and conditions. Most research studies on women in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have pointed out unequivocally that although women play crucial economic and social roles in their communities, their production role is often undervalued (UNCTAD, 1985:2). This undervaluation has contributed in a major way to their marginalization in development.

Various studies, particularly during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85), have expressed concern over women's double-burden as homemakers and as workers outside the home. Studies have also exposed discriminatory acts against women as a result of cultural prejudices, policies that neglect women, and structural barriers within various institutions that militate against women's full participation in the development process and their access to society's resources.

The concern in this thesis with women's employment in the mass media springs from two basic preoccupations. The first is an interest in the development of employment opportunities for women at all levels and in the removal of obstacles to their equal participation in every field of work. The second concern rests on the assumption that there is a link between media output and the producers of that output: the implication of this relationship is that by opening up the media to women workers on a larger scale, the images which have given cause for concern will gradually change for the better (Gallagher, 1980:28).

Against this background, the objective of this study is to investigate women's access to, and representation in, the media and in institutions providing journalism train-

ing in Tanzania. I examined the working conditions of women in the media institutions and the attitudes and practices that prevail in media institutions with regard to women's advancement in the profession.

The goal in this thesis was to investigate how the media have implemented the 'equal opportunity to work' concept enshrined in both the ruling political Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) and government constitutions of Tanzania. In accordance with articles 14 and 15 of the Party's constitution, an individual is guaranteed the right to enjoy equal opportunity irrespective of sex.

A comparison of the employment status of male versus female media professionals was conducted, and in this process I attempted to determine the areas of strength and weaknesses of employment policies and programs in the Tanzanian media. I investigated discrepancies between male and female media practitioners with regard to salary and allocation of beats. I also looked at positions held by women in the media and the types of barriers that they confront in the profession. Finally, I examined the participation of media women in professional organizations that act as action/pressure groups, such as the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA).

The study is significant in two major ways. Primarily, it deals with women who, as documented in various studies, are important participants in the development processes of the LDCs. Secondly, the study addresses the media which constitute a significant part of the consciousness-raising industry in any society. In fact, the World Plan of Action, adopted by the United Nations World Conference of International Women's Year convened in Mexico City on June 23rd 1975 stipulates: "The mass communication media have great potential as a vehicle for social change and could exercise a significant influence in helping to remove prejudices and stereotypes, accelerating an acceptance of women's new and expanding roles in society and promoting their integration into the development process as equal partners" (Gallagher, 1980:15).

Apart from informing, educating and entertaining the public, the publicly-owned media in Tanzania are entrusted with the task of correctly reflecting Party and

government positions and propagating the policy of socialism and self-reliance adopted in 1967. This policy emphasises among other things democracy and human equality (Nyerere, 1966:50). The mass media are expected to play a role in mobilising the masses in the liberation struggles of southern Africa.

Although the impact of the role of Tanzania's mass media in national development has not been documented, the instrumental role of the mass media in other LDCs national campaigns against illiteracy, poverty, discrimination and other societal ills is widely acknowledged. Gallagher, for example, notes: "Mass communication presents but one, though an immensely powerful, force in reflecting and stimulating this process of social change" (Gallagher, 1980:10). This study, however, does not try to prove whether the Tanzanian media have affected national development or whether they relay sex-stereotyped messages to the public which in turn reinforce patriarchal attitudes and practices.

In contrast with the burgeoning body of research from all parts of the world into the question of the *portrayal* of women in the mass media, relatively little is known about the extent and nature of women's *participation* in the media industries (Gallagher, 1979:31).

The study also comes at a significant time in the history of media women in Tanzania. In 1988 women journalists in the country formally established the 'Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA). The association hopes to spearhead the struggle for improved status of women in the society in general. But most importantly, TAMWA aims at improving the professional status of media women.

Against this background, the study, the first of its kind in Tanzania, attempts to expose issues that confront professional women in the country. The findings provide insight into employment policies and practices that affect women's participation at work and shed light on dominant attitudes towards women in the major media institutions.

I believe that an examination of media women's experiences both at work and in

the home yields insights into the problems of professional women and provides a basis for policy changes. The study asks a variety of questions such as the types of assignments female and male journalists get; the working conditions in the media, and most importantly, the experiences and ambitions of women journalists. The study also looks at the measures women journalists are taking to improve the situation.

This study involved interviewing women journalists, heads of mass media institutions, male journalists, journalism school principals, and authorities in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. As a woman journalist with the Daily News, I had feared that in conducting the study, media editors and directors would view me as a 'feminist' (an unpopular concept in the country) and therefore rebuff me. On the contrary this did not happen.

Clearly, the findings of this study cannot be taken as indicative of the situation of women journalists in other developing countries in Africa. However, they could provide a fruitful ground for exploration of issues around women's participation in other male-dominated professions.

The study will, I hope, provoke a critical assessment by the media in Tanzania of their role, particularly with regard to promoting attitudes and beliefs that further isolate women. Because of their place in society, as Mytton rightly observes: "Mass media can bring about a breakthrough in 'traditional society' by offering alternatives to people, opening up to them new prospects and opportunities and showing, or helping to show the way to education, health and prosperity" (Mytton, 1983:136).

The thesis is in five chapters. The first discusses the situation of women in developing countries, highlighting the role and status of women in the media with respect to employment, salary, promotion, allocation of beats and their participation in decision making.

Chapter Two introduces the socio-economic situation of women in Tanzania, particularly after the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967. The chapter puts into

perspective the subsequent chapters by examining women's participation in economic, social and political arenas.

The role of the publicly-owned media in Tanzania's political and socio-economic development is discussed in Chapter Three. The chapter examines media structures, limitations, problems and reflects on the working conditions in these institutions. The chapter also includes a discussion of journalism education in the country.

Chapter Four is devoted to the experiences of women journalists in the area of employment, promotion, training and salary. The chapter includes excerpts from interviews and perceptions regarding women's role. The final chapter assesses the position of women journalists vis-a-vis Tanzania's socialist goals and the role of the media in promoting or discouraging equality between sexes. In assessing the Tanzania Media Women's Association, the chapter makes some suggestions that could contribute towards improving the situation of women journalists in Tanzania.

CHAPTER ONE

A. OVERVIEW

An understanding of the situation of women in developing societies, and particularly in the media in these societies, is necessary to put into perspective the discussion on the role and status of women in the media in Tanzania - the theme of this study.

The literature on women and development has generated sufficient evidence that women in developing countries have been marginalized in the development process. Empirical studies, most of which came out during and after the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), documented the subordinate position of women in the home and the public sphere. Women have limited access to resources in these countries and are powerless, even in deciding on issues around their own fertility.

Women's powerlessness and their subordination, as various scholars have argued, is due to the persistence of male domination through patriarchy in these developing societies. In patriarchal societies men and women are assigned different roles. The sexual division of labour is such that the domestic sphere becomes a woman's domain. Women perform domestic activities which consist of a great variety of subsistence tasks such as carrying water, gathering firewood, caring for the old, young and sick.

In these predominantly agricultural societies women also perform the bulk of agricultural activities. The multiple roles that women play often require long hours. Domestic labour in these countries is an enormous burden and can involve women for more than five or six hours labour per day, on top of any other outside work (Molyneux, 1981:7). Maureen Mackintosh adds:

In very many areas of the world, the sexual division of labour in the home forces women to work for longer hours than men, to achieve at the end of the day a lower standard of living.Gender subordination is thus embedded in the sexual division of labour.

(Mackintosh,1981:3).

Under patriarchy, domestic work, seen as demeaning for men to do, is undervalued, unappreciated and unpaid. Domestic work puts a lot of pressure on women's time and energy. Hence, while many of the productive activities undertaken by women require long hours and improve the family's well-being, they are frequently not considered to be economic activities (Anker; Buvinic; and Youseff, 1982:23). This means women are not only unequal to men but are also exploited. Molyneaux argues that patriarchy which entails the "subjection of all members of the unit to his (male) authority" is an unresolved problem that perpetuates unequal gender relations (Molyneaux, 1985:54).

Even in pre-capitalist systems of production which had undergone some changes, women generally had fewer rights and more obligations than men; "they typically could not inherit property, and were obliged to see their main function as serving their men-folk and bearing children" (Molyneux,1985:54).

Coupled with patriarchal relations are traditions that "have forced women to conform to codes that restrict their behaviour and make them subservient to men -whether fathers, husbands or brothers" (Vajrathon, 1976:95). As a result, the majority of women are at the bottom of hierarchical structures that exist in the household and the society in general. These structures are sustained by a continuous socialization process "that imparts a different set of roles and expectations for females and males" (Lindsay, 1982:82). These roles are internalized. Lindsay notes:

The early socialization process helps instil the view that females should opt for domestic roles or at least be cognizant of the expectation that domestic roles be paramount in their lives.

(Lindsay,1982:82).

Through the socialization process, men are made to believe that housework is the sole legitimate sphere of women (Beneria & Sen, 1980; Lindsay, 1980). Hence, male-dominated power structures, together with sexist views, result in the perpetuation of the oppressed position of women. Vajrathon further argued:

Masculine and feminine stereotyping exists in almost every culture. Men are supposed to be strong, logical, analytical, systematic, fearless and assertive, whereas women are supposed to be opposite: soft, emotional, uncertain, timid, shy, intuitive and fearful.

(Vajrathon, 1976:95).

The most basic sets of power relations therefore, are formed at home. "These power relations as well as a division of labour which attaches deeply ingrained, even if socially determined, roles to each sex are projected onto social relations outside of the household" (Beneria & Sen, 1980:12). This means women's subordination and unequal gender relations are replicated in the public sphere, in areas such as education, employment or politics. Although the specifics of gender-typed subordination vary across regions, historical time periods and classes, "it is deeply ingrained in the consciousness of both men and women and is usually viewed as a natural corollary of the biological difference between them" (Sen & Grown, 1987:25).

Transforming gender relations to enable women to participate equally in all areas in the male-dominated societies of developing countries has remained a monumental task. Because many governments are hierarchical in nature and are comprised mainly of men, they endorse the 'domesticity' of women and the unpaid services women provide for the family (Afshar, 1987:3). For example, in her analysis of the Vietnamese society, Christine Pelzer White argues that a state "is itself a product of that which it governs and is deeply influenced by the 'traditional' attitudes that it is attempting to transform" (White, 1987:228). This explains the difficulties that both socialist and capitalist states face in trying to initiate and implement policies on sexual equality.

Various studies have noted that the situation of women is not significantly better in countries which have official policies promoting sexual equality or increased opportunities for women (Croll, 1981; Molyneux, 1981; Molyneaux, 1985). The studies have noted that there exists a divergence between theory and practical implementation of the declared equality policies enshrined in national constitutions. For example, the status of women has not improved in any significant way in developing socialist countries such as Cuba, China, Tanzania, Mozambique, Algeria and South Yemen (Molyneux, 1985:47).

Even when reforms have been successfully implemented there persists a generalized belief in women's inferiority in many socialist countries, particularly in the Third World; despite campaigns to eradicate it, such beliefs still retain considerable force.
(Molyneux, 1981:3).

Patriarchy interacts with existing economic and political structures which, Sen argues, "are highly inequitable between nations, classes, genders and ethnic groups" (Sen & Grown, 1987:25). In this respect, women are pushed further to the periphery of development; overburdened by the dual roles of production and reproduction; and excluded from political decision-making process. Women are vulnerable because male domination denies or limits their access to economic resources and at the same time imposes a sexual division of labour under which women perform the "most onerous, labour-intensive and poorly rewarded tasks inside and outside the home" (Sen & Grown, 1987:25).

Gender inequalities inherent in developing societies enhance the exploitation and discrimination against women in formal and informal sectors. The exploitation of, and discrimination against, women is intense in these countries because most of them are not only politically unstable but also economically insecure. In fact, the situation of women in these societies is reported to be deteriorating. "Rather than improving, the

socio-economic status of the great majority of Third World women has worsened considerably throughout the decade" (Sen & Grown, 1987:16).

Deteriorating economies of most developing countries have forced women's health, nutritional and educational status to decline. In addition, women's relative access to economic resources, income and employment has also worsened (Sen & Grown, 1987:16).

Restrictive fiscal policies, as these nations strive to lower their ever growing expenditures, means social housing, subsidized food and transport are reduced, eliminated or become available only at much higher prices.

(Sen & Grown, 1987:63).

Against this background, it is therefore important to note that "women's role and location in the development process is highly conditioned by their primary role and location in the reproductive sphere" (Beneria & Sen, 1980:13). In carrying out the dual roles of home and work, women must divide their time among a greater number of tasks than most men do. This not only affects women's ability to compete in the public sector but also their status as prospective participants in employment, professional training or politics.

B. WOMEN, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Women's subordinate position in developing countries affects their access to education and employment. Women do not have equal access to formal education from primary school through higher education. As Vajrathron observes, "formal education in most developing countries discriminates against many sections of society, such as the rural masses, the lower classes and above all, women and girls" (Vajrathron, 1976:176). Disparities between male and female enrolment rates still exist. Because women are in highly disadvantageous conditions in developing countries, it is not surprising to have them constituting an estimated 65 per cent of the illiterates.

Apart from formal education, women are also underrepresented in vocational and technical education. A United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) report on female education and training notes:

...marked by far-reaching numerical and sectoral imbalance, the opportunities open to girls in technical and vocational education are still far from equal to those enjoyed by boys. Moreover, girls are usually enrolled at the non-supervisory worker training level, rather than at the managerial technician one.

(Varghese, Chadwick & Charnes, 1984:175).

Also, the emphasis in women's education is directed at areas that will enable women to be more effective in domestic duties, which include child care. For instance, women are generally confined to education that imparts skills in social services such as family welfare, teaching or nursing. Although skills in health, nutrition, and sewing are necessary, "they only keep women outside the mainstream life and underscore their marginalized position" (Varghese, 1984:179).

Even in socialist societies, where sexual equality in the public spheres of education and employment forms an integral component in policies, gender-typing continues to operate. "...the majority of women continue to be assigned to, or elect to do, courses which will train them for occupations associated with the nurturing role, such as home economics, primary education, secretarial work, sewing and health" (Molyneux, 1981:21). Because reproduction is viewed as women's major role, Third World governments are reluctant to invest in a girl's education. Women are generally seen as playing a secondary role. "Daughters are seen as a burden, as an expense which would not be repaid in future" (Molyneux, 1985:54). In this respect,

Female absenteeism and high drop out rates reflect parental prejudices against the value of educating girls, and also continuing pressure on them to work in the household or on the land.

(Molyneux, 1981:25).

Discrimination against women in formal education affects their role in areas such as employment and political participation. Despite rapid increases in the number of women employed in formal wage employment in the past two decades, their low level of education has trapped them in low-skilled jobs (Afshar, 1985:184). In the Less Developed Countries (LDCs), women employed in the formal or modern sector average 21 per cent (UNCTAD, 1985:10).

Women are normally not candidates for advanced training or for positions requiring higher levels of education and expertise. "The fact that women withdraw from time to time to bear and rear children, thus shortening their total working life, makes investment in education and training relatively unrewarding for themselves and for their employers" (Afshar, 1985:184).

In most developing countries, women are generally underrepresented among employees in the non-agricultural workforce (UNCTAD, 1985:8). But within jobs in the formal sector, women are defined as less skilled workers. In most cases, they are concentrated in middle and low level jobs, work in poor conditions and receive low pay. "Women form one of the cheapest and most vulnerable part of the wage labour force, and are thus open to high level exploitation," (Mackintosh, 1981:5). For example, women employed by multinational corporations in free trade zones in South East Asia and other countries in Latin America are highly exploited. The corporations are able to exploit their cheap labour under the pretext that women have 'nimble' fingers, are capable of doing repetitive jobs in relocated industries, are young and have no family responsibilities. Hence, women's docility and subservience provide a conducive atmosphere for smooth operations and for the maximization of profit (Lim, 1981:184).

Women also form the most abused section of the formal labour force because they have little or no protection for wages, benefits and work (Anand, 1984:7). In some countries, women are denied employment because it is believed that they would be a sexual distraction to men (Gallagher, 1979:41; Afshar, 1985:6). Discussing the case of Iran, Afshar argues that women are established as the most important symbol of family

honour and in so doing, the Iranian state justifies virtual imprisonment of women within the household. The mere sight of any part of a woman's body outside the home is thought by the regime to be 'seditious' (Afshar, 1987:6). Such deep-rooted beliefs and women's reproductive role impose some limitations on the participation of women in the labour market. As Afshar notes:

Much of the selective nature of women's employment in, for instance, industry is directly attributable to the restrictions of women's freedom of movement set by the gender relations which prevail in... most developing countries.

(Afshar, 1985:184).

Also, due to old myths and prejudices to which women are subjected at home, their employment in the modern sector is envisaged as little more than a sideline activity and is therefore accorded low status (Afshar, 1987:7). Yet, instituting legislation to protect women against exploitation reflects the assumption that women are feeble and more vulnerable than men. And this, Gallagher argues, puts women at an "enormous disadvantage" in the labour market (Gallagher, 1979:31). For example, in many developing countries including Tanzania women do not work at night because it is regarded as physically dangerous. Gallagher propounds:

Studies in countries such as Japan (1977), Peru (1979) and in Africa (1970) have suggested that measures to restrict women's over-time, night work and so on make women more expensive and difficult to employ....

(Gallagher, 1979:31).

Clearly, in the labour market women take up tasks that are analogous to the household because the double burden women shoulder restrict them from night work

or work that involves travel. Afshar argues, therefore, that the segregation men and women experience in the labour market and the resulting devalued positions that women hold "are clearly an effect of their subordination, and not its cause" (Afshar, 1985:2). In this regard, the most visible aspect of discrimination for women in developing countries, is occupational segregation, i.e. the definition of some jobs as 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' for women (Jelin, 1982:253).

In the labour market, women's share in professional work in the Third World is reported to be the highest in all regions. The proportion of women among professionals averages 46.5 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean, 34.3 per cent in Asia and 23.8 per cent in Africa. Women's relatively high share of professional jobs can be explained largely by their predominance in two professions - teaching and nursing. For instance in Guatemala, 75 per cent of professionals are teachers; in Lima, Peru and Mauritania teachers constitute 74 per cent and 69 per cent of professionals respectively (Anker, & Hein, 1985:25).

Women's share of administrative and managerial jobs is extremely low (less than five per cent) in most countries of the Middle East and North Africa as well as some countries in Asia (Anker, & Hein, 1985:29). These are positions of responsibility where many of the main development decisions are taken. The low representation of women in these positions means, therefore, that women do not have a very significant role in making decisions regarding development planning. There also exists a universal framework, says Afshar, that "regards women as inferior bearers of labour and generally defines their work as the property of men" (Afshar, 1985:1).

In developing socialist countries such as Cuba, China, Algeria, South Yemen and Tanzania which strive to build equitable societies, women are encouraged to enter the labour force in great numbers. But despite the commitment to ensure equal employment opportunities for women in these countries, Molyneux argues that the "state colludes in the production of a gendered labour force by permitting fundamental inequalities to persist in both domestic and public sphere" (Molyneux, 1981:30). Prejudices against women

and hostility towards women's full participation in public life inhibit their advancement.

...whilst great emphasis is placed on encouraging women to work outside the home, and some, albeit limited, attempts are made to lighten the domestic labour load, very little progress has been made in re-distributing the burden of housework between sexes....Domestic labour continues to be regarded as demeaning for men to do...

(Molyneux, 1981:19).

Although legal reforms in socialist countries have brought about a significant improvement in women's position in the areas of family law and the laws of personal status, most of these governments have inherited laws which embody substantial discrimination against women. Thus, as in capitalist countries, the majority of women in socialist societies are concentrated in gender-specific occupations, which tend to be lower paid than those associated with the male labour force.

In other spheres, such as politics, women's participation is also affected. In northern India, for example, women are deterred from taking part in politics, talking about politics, amassing political knowledge, participating in campaigns or voting, in the belief that politics is not a suitable subject for their interest (Devon, 1980:138).

In a study of Andhra Pradesh, India, Carol Walkowitz argues that many male politicians believe that women's membership in Parliament "threatens conventionally-defined marriage relations. Women politicians are subjected to 'character assassination' or 'mud-slinging' as an attempt to inhibit women from standing for office by maligning the sexual reputation of women politicians" (Walkowitz, 1987:221). Even though most socialist countries have encouraged participation of women in politics and their representation in political bodies, prejudices against women are deep-rooted. "...there can be no doubt that ideological and psychological factors play a part in women's political participation," (Molyneux, 1981:27). Molyneux further notes that prejudices against

women in this sector, as in others, also act as a powerful disincentive to women entering political life.

At the top levels of political power, Molyneux contends that the appointment of women is still to posts which are conventionally seen as reflecting 'women interests.' Women are concentrated at the lower levels of the political hierarchy and especially at the local level (Molyneux, 1981:27).

Hence, women's marginality in the modern sector is partly attributable to the sexual division of labour in the home; the double roles of production and reproduction that women perform; widespread notions and beliefs in developing countries that the man is the principal earner, the head of the household. Consequently, women are under-represented in various fields and professions, particularly those that are regarded as male preserves.

C. WOMEN IN THE MEDIA IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

Research on women and the media became an area of concern to UNESCO in the early 1980s. The organisation sponsored regional seminars on women and media decision-making between 1980 and 1985, which drew together women journalists and high ranking media personnel. The seminars were aimed at sensitizing media leaders to the social implications of the neglect of women, both as audience members and as media personnel, and were held in Europe, America, Latin America, Asia-Pacific, the Caribbean and Africa. The research studies which were also carried out focused mainly on questions of portrayal rather than the participation of women in the media. In both aspects - portrayal and participation - most studies have also concentrated on developed countries.

In the case of portrayal of women in the media, Margaret Gallagher, a key researcher in the field of communications and women, notes: "Overall, media treatment of women can best be described as narrow. ...characterized as essentially dependent and romantic,

women are rarely portrayed as rational, active or decisive " (Gallagher, 1979:9). In Asian mass media, women are portrayed in traditional roles as housekeepers or mothers (Lent, 1985:2). In Malaysia, notes Kamla Bhasin, women have been depicted as "vain and seductive, as sex commodities, dull-witted, in constant need of approval (almost always by men) and ultimately best left in the home or kitchen" (Bhasin, 1984:31). Women are depicted in constant competition to allure men.

A similar situation exists in the Indian mass media where Aruna Vasudev found that women are seldom shown as understanding or supportive of each other. The media portray women as being each other's persecutors, and show men enjoying strong relations among themselves (Vasudev, 1984:42). African mass media depict subservience among women as desirable and vital in maintaining society's morality.

Few studies have actually focused on women journalists in developing countries. The studies that do exist reflect the fact that the world of work is a male-dominated world and highlight the severe underrepresentation of women on all levels in media organizations except for the very lowest (i.e. clerical and secretarial).

Studies on women and the media in Egypt, India, Nigeria, and Ecuador (Gallagher, 1987), and by the Ethiopian-based African Training and Research Centre for Women, on Sierra Leone and the Niger (1981) show similar patterns with respect to participation rates, recruitment, promotion and the allocation of assignments. Although these countries have different media institutional forms, Gallagher argues, "women are very much a minority presence in what several of the studies explicitly describe as the 'man's world' of the media" (Gallagher, 1987:11).

For example, a recent study conducted in seven southern African countries - Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe - shows that of 2,700 employees at radio stations, only 456 were women. This constitutes less than 20 per cent, with only one woman in a managerial position (Lafort, 1989:14). Discussing female journalists in Asian countries, Carty notes: "The numerical strength, status, salary significance and scope of Asian women communicators is small - but not surpris-

ingly so in view of the pressing traditions of masculine-oriented cultures" (Carty, 1985:30).

Most media organizations covered in the studies mentioned above subscribe to equal pay and equal treatment of women and men. But this egalitarian gloss, says Gallagher, "hides a whole battery of attitudes, beliefs and even organizational procedures, which amount to indirect discrimination against women" (Gallagher, 1987:14). In these media institutions, it is assumed that women are incapable of doing certain assignments, that they expect too many concessions at work, that they frequently are absent from work and that they are unreliable and cannot make independent decisions. These attitudes and prejudices are what Gallagher and other communication researchers call "invisible barriers."

Regarding some of the problems that women face in their endeavours to rise in the hierarchy, Merid Gebreyessus, coordinator of a UNESCO training project in Cape Verde, was quoted as saying; "An employer will think twice before giving the job to a woman, even if she is as qualified as the male candidates. He is always worried that her womanhood - maternity, children's education, housekeeping- will conflict with professional demands - mobility, night shifts etc" (Lafort, 1989:14).

These biases serve to restrict and curtail women's career opportunities. The "invisible barriers" which, says Gallagher, even women themselves often do not recognise as "discrimination" compound the horizontal and vertical segregation of women journalists (Gallagher, 1987:15).

In her studies, Gallagher notes women journalists are relegated to areas that have marginal importance and where promotion and career development is difficult to achieve (Gallagher, 1979:34). Most women are not found in the important areas of news, current affairs, economics and politics. They are also underrepresented in areas such as drama, sports and light entertainment - these are important in terms of audience pull and "are crucial to the success of most mass media organizations" (Gallagher, 1979:34).

Women experience vertical segregation in that they are absent from the managerial level of the mass media in developing countries. They are predominant in the lower echelons of media hierarchy. Even in creative/professional levels, says Gallagher, access to top posts "is very limited for women, unless the area of activity is 'feminized'" (Gallagher, 1979:33).

1. Horizontal Segregation

In developing (and developed) countries, studies have shown that women are concentrated in areas of journalism such as education, health, fashion, the arts, and women and children's programs, areas that are seen as marginal in importance. In terms of promotion or career development, these areas are viewed as 'dead-ends' (Gallagher, 1979:34). Since women in these societies are seen as primarily home-oriented, child-centred and emotional, their assignments in the media are thus limited to areas of activity associated with their domestic role.

For instance, in India's television broadcasting network there is a clear understanding that certain types of programs - cultural magazines, and women's and children's programs - are more suited to women producers on the assumption that they will handle them with a greater sense of responsibility (Gallagher, 1987:35). This understanding is also common among women journalists in the case of Sri Lanka. Hema Gunawardene, an assistant director of Sinhala Daily, noted in her examination of women journalists in Sri Lankan media, "Women journalists could be useful because they have a touch (are in touch with) of food, children's education and youth problems and could cover these developmental topics effectively" (Lent, 1985:14).

A study of women and media management in Ecuador showed that most women described themselves as columnists writing news and commenting on city events, the social scene or women's affairs, health and social problems. Even as heads of departments or programs, women tend to edit features on children, women, and religious and educational material. Men occupy the most important positions through the mass media

in Latin America (Camargo, 1987:47). The "importance" derives not only from their place in the organizational hierarchies, but also from the status attached to their assigned activities covering employment, economics, and science. The less prestigious beats are viewed as "light" duties suitable for women - the "weaker" people. Describing the women's tasks in Philippine journalism, Pauline Sicam said in her study: "The woman in journalism is given the job of putting the icing on a cake that is essentially baked by men" (Lent, 1985:36). In the case of Africa, one of the best media authorities in the continent was quoted as saying: "African women journalists? They're sent to cover the inauguration of chrysanthemum exhibitions!" (Lafort, 1989:14).

Gallagher argues that the confinement of women journalists to the so-called feminine beats is also partly due to what she calls "male occupational ideology," a view that many jobs demand qualities which women do not have. A male radio announcer in Ecuador said: "Radio is for men because women have a problem with working hours and radio is on 24 hours a day..." (Camargo, 1987:55). Another newspaper editor noted: "...when I assign them police, political incidents, and similar events they ask 'for the love of God' not to be sent, and will do anything to exchange the tasks with a male colleague, saying that 'these are subjects for men and not for ladies'" (Camargo, 1987:56).

In general, newspaper editors and radio managers in the various studies cited here (Ecuador, Egypt, Nigeria, India) view women journalists as timid, lacking in initiative, uninformed, not career-oriented and are overly emotional. Some readers share similar attitudes. For example one newspaper reader was quoted as saying: "Women are good in the domestic sphere - taking care of the house, children, husband, the family, the home. When they leave this area they become "difficult" and normally forget their major responsibility: the home" (Camargo, 1987:56).

2. Vertical Segregation

Media institutions are hierarchical and bureaucratic in structure. Studies on women and media decision-making in some developing countries have pointed out that women journalists have limited access to the top managerial positions; rather they work in the lower echelons in the media.

A study of women in Indian Television by S.R.Joshi found that across all 18 production centres in Doordashan, only one of the station directors - who play a crucial role in decision-making - was female. There was no woman who had ever become Director General or Secretary of Information and Broadcasting (Joshi, 1987:19). These positions are significant, says Gallagher, because "occupants really do have an opportunity to influence policy and practice in relation to media content" (Gallagher 1987:14). The Indian case showed that the people employed in higher-level administrative posts were those who had already gained considerable professional experience. The lower rate of female recruitment in earlier years thus provides one explanation for the relatively small number of women employees currently at senior levels.

Chinese women journalists are said to play an active role in China today. But while they constitute a third of the country's 40,000 journalists, only four per cent are heads of departments in newspaper and 3.5 per cent are editors-in-chief (The Democratic Journalist, 1989:29).

In Latin America, similar patterns of vertical segregation are evident. As Nelly de Camargo demonstrates in a study of media management and decision-making in Ecuador, women fill only two of the existing 14 managerial positions in radio stations surveyed. Ninety per cent of the total workforce in the stations was male (Camargo, 1989:53). The study also showed that women constituted less than 10 per cent of recruits but 40 per cent of those dismissed from the stations. When recruiting new employees men were normally preferred. The few women working in the stations were said to have a family link with senior managers in the organisations.

In 1984 in Egyptian Radio and Television, women accounted for 32 per cent of the 15,381 workers and occupied 26 per cent of the management positions (Fahim, 1987:85). The percentages, however, included non-editorial departments such as engineering in the electronic media studied. Fahim identified family reasons or maternity leave as a major obstacle to women's career development. In this case, women and men occupying top management positions were found to be between 40 and 60 years of age - an age when pressures on women due to child bearing and rearing had receded. Male counterparts had more work experience and better opportunities for future promotions (Fahim, 1987:90).

The employment of women in broadcasting in Nigeria began in early 1950s, yet by 1985/86, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria reported that women occupied only four out of 16 senior management positions. Although women had been working in television for the past 25 years, Eno Irukwu said not one has headed any of the 25 stations (Irukwu, 1987:71). Irukwu noted that "the woman who has so far risen highest has spent a total of 32 years in broadcasting, 14 of these in senior management. Male counterparts with fewer qualifications and less experience have nevertheless advanced faster" (Irukwu, 1987:70).

Therefore, horizontal and vertical segregation have a cumulative effect on the role and status of women journalists. It is evident in the foregoing discussion that women journalists' access to decision-making positions or even to important assignments is restricted in developing countries. The explanation given for their marginal role in the media is dual responsibilities that women shoulder as their "natural tasks." To worsen the situation, developing countries do not have adequate resources to provide nurseries or other social services in order to alleviate women's double burden (Croll, 1981:368).

Coupled with the hierarchical nature of families and of institutions such as media, recent research on women in developing countries also points out that political values and structures, and the position of the country in the international economic system determines women's experience in the course of development (Charlton, 1984:24). And Maria

Mies adds that it is not only the hierarchical division between the sexes that matters in women's subordination; "there are also other social and international divisions intrinsically interwoven with the dominant relation of men over women" (Mies, 1986:3).

Therefore, as we look into the situation of women in Tanzania in the next chapter, we must first examine its general political and socio-economic conditions.

CHAPTER TWO

A. BACKGROUND: About Tanzania

Tanzania is one of the 31 poorest countries in the world. It has a population of 23.2 million people scattered unevenly throughout the country's 25 regions. The country covers 945,000 sq. kilometres along the East African coast. There are about 120 tribes, each with a different ethnic language. The national language is Swahili and is spoken by over 90 per cent of the population.

Tanzania is a predominantly agricultural economy. Eighty-three per cent of agricultural production is small-scale and carried out on privately-owned plots averaging less than 2.2 hectares. The farmers rely mainly on manual labour and hand implements. Tanzania's economy is heavily dependent on the foreign exchange earnings it generates from the sale of major cash crops, namely cotton, tobacco, tea, cashewnuts, pyrethrum, coffee, sisal. Together, these crops account for more than 75 per cent of total foreign exchange earnings, while minerals, mainly diamonds, account for seven per cent of the earnings.

Before the First World War, Tanzania (then Tanganyika) was a German colony. After the war, it was placed under British control as a Mandated Territory by the League of Nations. The successor to the League of Nations - the United Nations - made Tanganyika a Trusteeship territory under British rule after the Second World War. Zanzibar, which was ruled by the Sultan of Oman, became a British protectorate in the early 19th century. Tanganyika attained independence on December 9th, 1961 and Zanzibar followed on December 11th, 1963. On April 26, 1964, the two sovereign states united to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The mainland (Tanganyika) surrendered all sovereignty while the islands (Zanzibar and Pemba) retained autonomy on non-union affairs such as

health, water, housing and urban development, manpower administration, fisheries and primary education. Union matters include sectors such as defence, police, energy, citizenship and immigration, external affairs, currency, legal tender and higher education. Tanzania has an executive president who is elected by universal suffrage every five years. Zanzibar's President serves also as the Republic's Second Vice President. Constitutionally, the Parliament is the highest decision-making body.

The union of the two governments facilitated the merging of the political parties, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) of the mainland, to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in February 1977. In Tanzania's single party system, CCM is supreme. The party makes decisions and formulates policies for the government to implement. However, the party does not have executive powers nor a budget. The merging of the two parties came exactly a decade after Tanzania proclaimed 'Ujamaa na Kujitegemea' (translated as 'Socialism and Self-Reliance').

Party and government structures run parallel from national to village level (see Appendix A, Charts I and II). The structures are largely intertwined in that most government senior officials are also party leaders. In several cases (for example, in overseeing the national mass media) the role of the party and government cannot easily be differentiated. Under the party structure, there exists a secretariat on mass mobilization and political propaganda of the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) which is responsible for, among other things, the mass media. In the government, the Directorate of Information functions as a link between the mass media, including private newspapers, and the government. The Directorate also monitors the media to see whether they work in line with the agreed policies.

The official ideology of socialism and self-reliance adopted in 1967 was an attempt to disengage from the international capitalist system which Tanzania deemed as exploitative. The ideology rests on the traditional institutions of an 'enlarged' family. The aim was to build a classless society in which, according to the country's first President,

J.K.Nyerere: "There would be no divisions into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterates, those in distress and those in idle comfort" (Nyerere, 1966:50). Nyerere envisioned a society in which all would be equal in dignity; all would have an equal right to respect, a good education and the necessities of life; and all would have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit of their ability.

The Ujamaa policy rests on four basic principles: public ownership of the major means of production; absence of human exploitation; democracy; and human (sexual) equality. The ultimate goal of the development strategy is to reduce and eventually eliminate poverty and ignorance, and to prevent diseases. Like other socialist countries - Cuba, China and the Soviet Union - Tanzania collectivised production under a country-wide program to have people live and work together in Ujamaa villages, and also to facilitate the provision of social services such as health, education and water. The program was also aimed at reducing rural women's workload by bringing the social services closer to them, thus cutting down the time and labour spent on activities such as fetching water, child care and other domestic chores that fall on women's shoulders (Swantz, 1985:53).

1. Current Economic Situation

In its most recent report on Africa issued in 1989, the World Bank noted, "Overall Africans are almost as poor today as they were 30 years ago" (World Bank, 1989:1). In the case of Tanzania, the economy was already dangerously over-extended by the early 1980s brought about by a series of reverses which began in 1979: a sharp decline in commodity prices, the Uganda War, a severe drought, and the second oil crisis (Bienefeld, 1989:7). The former Minister of Finance, Cleopa Msuya, told the 1988/89 budget session in Dar es salaam that between 1978 and 1985 the country had experienced a deterioration in production and in the provision of various services - problems which were manifested in a rapid decline in living standards; an acute shortage of commodities; a breakdown of crucial infrastructural requirements such as roads and transport equip-

ment; a deterioration of social services; and rapid inflationary pressures (Msuya, 1989/90:3).

Despite the government's efforts to put the economy back on track, results had been disappointing by 1985. Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined by 1.7 per cent in 1981 and 3.2 per cent in 1982; real agricultural output was estimated to have declined by 8.2 per cent and 8.7 per cent in 1981 and 1982 respectively. Only marginal improvements were recorded between 1983 and 1985. Production of all major crops declined, affecting foreign exchange earnings (Tibaijuka, 1988:2). The country's own foreign exchange earnings stand at US \$400 million per annum, an amount that can finance only a third of the vital imports, making it difficult to sustain production and service improvement programs (Tibaijuka, 1988:2).

The economic crisis also resulted in an acute shortage of foreign exchange which, Bienefeld says, "triggered a vicious circle in which import shortages deprived industry, transport and agricultural inputs, of spare parts and incentive goods, thereby restricting output, reducing efficiency and further reducing foreign exchange earnings" (Bienefeld, 1989:7). These hardships forced the government to accept the International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment program by implementing an Economic Recovery Program (ERP) beginning 1986.

Various studies have shown that at the macro-economic level substantial achievements have been made (Tibaijuka, 1988; Bienefeld, 1989). There has been an increase in GDP of 3.6 per cent in 1986 and 3.9 per cent in 1987, compared with an average of about 1.0 per cent between 1980-1985, a decline in the inflation rate from an average of 33 per cent (1985) to an average of 30 per cent by the end of 1987, and an increase in the production of food staples and the availability of consumer goods. Despite all this, improvements in human welfare remain an elusive goal. Social services, particularly in the area of health care and education, remain constrained by a continued shortage of basic operational materials such as drugs, books etc. Further public expenditure cuts associated with ERP are likely to reduce the level of health care and the quality of educa-

tion services, thereby making it even more difficult for women to meet their child-care responsibilities (Bienefeld, 1989:49).

B. WOMEN IN TANZANIA

Women in Tanzania number 11,368,312 out of the total of 23,174,336 million people according to the 1988 census (Kasungu, 1990:2). Historically, women in Tanzania have served as the appendages of men, and decisions on major family and tribal issues have been man's domain (Charlton, 1984:191). Traditionally, the family and social structure was such that men were considered superior, women inferior, men active and rational, women emotional and nurturant (Mbilinyi, 1983:221). In the predominantly patrilineal peasant society of Tanzania, women were assigned to distinct roles. The division of labour, even prior to colonisation, was such that women were shackled to individual households while men had opportunities for mobility and links with the world outside their immediate environment (Koda, 1975:183).

In the patrilineal societies that made up most of what is now Tanzania, land rights rested with the man, who either owned or controlled its use. Women were usually given land by their husbands to use for the production of food (Croll, 1981:392). The male head of the clan, or the extended family, controlled the means of production and the allocation of labour (wives, youths, etc) at his disposal. In reference to the colonial period, Koda notes that the male head also controlled the product of labour. So, women were considered as a possession, a source of labour and of wealth earned by their children (Koda, 1983:250).

Nevertheless, some studies have argued that under the traditional system, women enjoyed a relatively large degree of autonomy (Caplan, 1981; Townsend, 1987). In some tribes, for example, a matrilineal line of descent meant women held independent and unconditional rights to land. But Townsend notes that Germans and British authorities "effected changes in several areas towards more 'rational' male inheritance easier to ad-

minister for land tenure, marketing and indirect rule" (Townsend, 1987:205). As a result, women lost their rights to land they had held under matrilineal custom. This loss of a property base further marginalised women.

Colonialism introduced a capitalist mode of production and reinforced the pre-capitalist sexual division of labour and patriarchal family relations emphasising women's role as reproducers, notes Mbilinyi (1983:106). " Women were identified (if at all) as a separate social category, as mothers or as potential wives for educated or Christianized men. They were excluded from agricultural extension education programs or training in industrial skills" (Mbilinyi, 1983:35).

1. Women at post-independence and at the post-Arusha Declaration

In the early 1960s, the "role" and "status" of women in Tanzania started to draw attention. A few papers on the situation of women began to appear. But it was not until the 1970s that the problem of women began to be viewed as that of unequal gender relations in production and reproduction, which together oppressed women in general and exploited particular classes of women.

In the years since independence and especially since the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Tanzania has endeavoured to create a framework for achieving greater equality among its citizens. Every citizen has a right to participate in and benefit from the economic and social development of the country. The need for sexual equality followed the realisation that women were unequal to men in every respect. Nyerere observed: "By virtue of their sex they (women) suffered from inequalities which had nothing to do with their contribution to the family welfare" (Charlton, 1984:191). Indeed, as Nyerere further noted, sexual inequality "is inconsistent with our socialist conception of the equality of all human beings and the right of all to live in such security and freedom as is consistent with equal security and freedom for all others" (Charlton, 1984:191).

In this regard, some progressive legislation and new educational, economic and political reforms to benefit women were introduced. The state's responsibility has al-

ways been to intervene in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and to prevent the exploitation of one person by another, or one group by another. Yet many reforms, as argued in various studies (Croll, 1981, Fortmann, 1982, Mbilinyi, 1983, McCall, 1987), have failed to take hold because they have been introduced in "a hostile environment where male dominance is an assumed and admired heritage and where each step aimed at its demise has been interpreted as a decline in female morals, even by those in government circles," adds Croll (Croll, 1981:398).

Although the law offers rights to men and women, there still exist legal provisions which do not work in the interest of women. For example, laws relating to marriage and divorce, employment and the application of customary law work to women's disadvantage. Women are still without land tenure rights; have no guaranteed custody of children; and, if married, women cannot become independent members of cooperatives (Tibaijuka, 1988:v) Some areas of customary law specific to each ethnic group in Tanzania are recognized in, for instance, the Marriage Act (1971) and the Law of Persons (1963). In these cases, women remain unprotected in areas of inheritance and the custody of children and in ownership of land and property (Tibaijuka, 1988:30).

The fact that about 40 per cent of the people in Tanzania adhere to traditional beliefs means a further denial of legal rights to women. Verghese argues that most religions are patriarchal and define women as being either inferior or subordinate to men (Verghese, 1984:181). In Tanzania, this means continued subordination of women because 30 per cent of the population is Christian, 30 per cent Muslims and a small minority Hindu. Discussing the liberation of women in Tanzania, Koda argued that although some administrative and legislative measures had been taken to effect positive change for women, "traditional and religious customs militate against their effectiveness" (Koda, 1983:71).

Other examples of statutory laws that do not treat women fairly include the Employment Act (1975) which allows a woman to take 84 days paid maternity leave after every three years but denies her annual leave in the relevant year. The Affiliation Ordinance

Act (1978) enables divorced women to claim child support of 100 shillings (\$1.00 Cdn in current exchange rates) per month from fathers. This law has not been reviewed to match current consumer prices such as baby infant formula, which costs over 500 shillings for one Kilogram tin.

In retrospect, argues Tibaijuka, despite commendable efforts to improve the situation of women, they "remain a marginal group" (Tibaijuka, 1988:v). In fact, Nyerere admitted in 1983 that women were still unequal and exploited partners in the economy of the country. There was a growing recognition that Tanzania's poor economic performance was partially explained by the under-utilization of women. As Nyerere told a women's organisation conference in Arusha: "Tanzania wanted to run while others were walking but could not run on one leg" (Tibaijuka, 1988:16).

2. Women in Rural Areas

Analysis of the 1988 census has not yet been completed, but the previous census of 1978 noted that women constitute 52 per cent of Tanzania's population, 86.7 per cent of whom live in rural areas. About 98 per cent of the country's population was engaged in farming, producing food and cash crops. Women in rural areas also engaged in petty trading, beer brewing and production of handicrafts. Other activities that they were engaged in included communal farming, small scale industries, bars, restaurants, shops, lodgings, poultry keeping, tailoring, weaving etc. Some were hired to work in these projects through informal and formal cooperative groups. Nyerere remarked in one of his many speeches:

The truth is that in the villages women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. (Charlton, 1984:191).

Despite women's hard work and immense contribution in production and reproduction, their subordinate position means that "they can neither own nor control the means of production" (Tibaijuka, 1988:15). Irrespective of wives' and children's labour contribution, male heads of households control the cash proceeds of production on their land. "In households," notes Tibaijuka, "the control of and access to the factors of production (land, technology and credit) is usually vested in the male members" (Tibaijuka, 1988:15). Men make all the important decisions because they control the resources and in some cases they even control female labour. Women producers benefit marginally from the fruits of their labour. At the same time, men are under no particular obligation to share the proceeds (from the sale of cash crops) with their wives (Fortmann, 1982:194). The unequal treatment of women is reflected in the fact that they are entitled to be village members in their own right, but are rarely allotted their "own" land by village authorities (Townsend, 1987:205).

Tanzania's policy of "Ujamaa na Kujitegemea", which includes village settlements and communal agriculture, seemed to provide a vehicle to improve the productivity of women farmers and increase their control over the fruits of their labour. For example, the collectivised village program was intended, among other things, to alleviate rural women's workload by providing a range of social services from water to health care. But "all studies on the villagization process argue that not only has it not contributed to the liberation of women, but indeed has heightened women's oppression" (Mbilinyi 1983:95). Indeed villagization has improved physical access to water, education and health care, "but has imposed heavy burdens in fuel collection and agricultural work" (McCall, 1987:192). Wood is used by 96 per cent of the households for cooking, and by 45 per cent for crop drying/processing. In this case, women normally walk between three and five kilometres two or three times a week (Townsend, 1987:203).

Economic and cultural constraints that rural women experience affect their social status. Recent studies point out that the deepening economic crisis is also affecting rural women's health and nutritional status (Bienefeld, 1989; Tibaijuka, 1988). The average

of seven children per woman in Tanzania, coupled with inadequate health services, particularly in rural areas, further debilitates women. Rural women do not benefit from the three-month maternity leave, which means they return to the fields soon after childbirth. "In the absence of a wide-spread network of child care centres, very often they (women) have to take their children to the fields with them" (Croll, 1981:398).

Women and children bear the brunt of the immediate losses resulting from production cost increases because women are usually responsible for subsistence food production, and share relatively little in cash crop incomes. Bienefeld notes:

This means even in the small proportion of households in which the net increase in cash crop income is larger than the increase in production costs, women may still have fewer resources available for meeting the family's subsistence needs; in households that suffer net income losses their position will be correspondingly worse. Work burdens may have increased as a result of the ...economic recovery measures.

(Bienefeld, 1989:32).

The peripheral position that women in rural areas occupy as a result of the sexual division of labour restricts their access to credit facilities, to modern agricultural training and to continuing education. Their participation in public activities such as party meetings or in village government councils is minimal because they have little leisure time, let alone time for political activities. "Women simply do not have time to attend the voluble debates of village governments and lengthy harangues of visiting dignitaries," says Mbilinyi (Townsend, 1987:211). In this case, the burdens that women shoulder are further exacerbated by the lack of opportunity to alter the inequalities through political decision-making.

3. Women in Urban Areas

According to the 1978 census, 13.3 per cent of the female population lives in urban areas and works mostly in the home and in the informal sector. In the informal sector, 73 per cent of the urban women are engaged in activities such as operating bars, restaurants or working as domestic servants. Some 13 per cent of those in this sector are self-employed; i.e. they own and run their own businesses. The proportion of urban women employed in the formal sector, which involves working in public offices or industries, is 14 per cent. Wage labour in the formal sector serves as an alternative to the oppressed position of women in peasant commodity production, says Bryceson (in Afshar, 1985:141) However, women have historically been disadvantaged in acquiring wage employment largely due to the patriarchal attitudes regarding women's roles in society.

There have been efforts to rectify inequalities in education since independence. The racially segregated education system introduced during the colonial period was abolished. Major shifts in education, which included changes in the organisation and content of the curriculum, came after 1967. The emphasis was on education for self-reliance - to prepare youths to take up their role in society in the spirit of self-help and cooperation. The government's move to institute Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1977 was a vital step in the equalization of education opportunities for women because it became compulsory for parents to enrol their seven-year olds in school. Parents who did not take their children to school were either fined or jailed. Until then, boys had been given preference over girls, who were generally kept at home for domestic work or for early marriage. The proportion of women enrolled in schools in 1984 shows that women still lag behind in primary education, vocational training and higher education (see Table 1). In primary schools, the discrepancies in enrolment between boys and girls may be due to a high drop-out rate among girls (compared to boys) and the increase in the number of girls being expelled due to pregnancies. Between 1979 and 1983, pregnancy cases increased from 2,131 to 7,343 (Tanzania Government, 1988:18). Cases of

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF WOMEN COMPARED TO MEN ENROLLED IN SCHOOLS.
1984.

Percentages of those enrolled**(%)**

1. Primary schools (registered)	49.4
2. Government Secondary (registered)	33.72
3. Private Sec. Schools	38
4. Govt. High Schools	32
5. Private High Schools	42
6. Technical Colleges	10.7
7. University of Dar es salaam	18.9
8. Sokoine Agriculture Univ.	8.6
9. Teacher Training Grades A/C	36/37

Source: Lihamba, A.; et, al (1988), in The Impact of structural adjustment policies on women: The case of Tanzania's economy recovery program by Anna Tibaijuka. pp 26.

drop-outs among girls differ from one region to another. However, research findings have shown that keeping girls at home for domestic work and for early marriage are the main factors underlying the high drop-out rate.

Discrepancies in enrolment between the sexes are more pronounced at secondary school level, in vocational training institutes and in higher learning institutions such as the University of Dar es salaam. The table also shows that women constituted less than 38 per cent of those enrolled in secondary schools. In technical colleges and at the university level, women were 11 and 19 per cent of the those enrolled. Yet, in teachers' training (regarded a woman's field), they made up about 37 per cent of the trainees.

Regarding university education, the enrolment of women increased in 1977 after the government waived a policy (Musoma Resolution 1974) which required prospective entrants to higher learning institutions to work for two years before pursuing their studies. As a result, 1977 recorded a substantial increase in the enrolment of women, when they totalled 184 out of the 601 entrants, and by 1979, women constituted 25 per cent of the total number of university students. In the years before 1977 women's enrolment had not exceeded 11 per cent of the total (Tanzania Government, 1988:23). Studies have further shown that women tend to enrol in arts subjects and are overrepresented as secretaries, teachers, social/community workers or nurses. Female enrolment in the fields of science and technical subjects at the University is low. For example, female enrolment in the technical fields rose from 6.4 per cent in 1982 to 11.8 per cent in 1985. Men clearly dominate in this area (Tanzania Government, 1988:30). Men also dominate vocational training fields such as motor mechanics, electrical installation, refrigeration and air conditioning, as shown in Table 2. For instance, the table shows that only 86 women compared to 364 men enrolled in vocational training centres in 1979.

As far as adult education is concerned, the national literacy campaign in the mainland, which reached its peak in 1975, dropped the illiteracy rate among women from 44 per cent in 1975 to 12 per cent in 1981. The illiteracy rate among men went from 34 per cent to 7.1 per cent during the same period (Tanzania Government, 1988:30). Women's

TABLE 2

**ENROLMENT INTO DIFFERENT VOCATIONAL TRADES AT THE NATIONAL
VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES IN 1979 (NUMERICAL)**

<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	
1. Motor Vehicles Mechanics	2	136
2. Mechanists (fitting & turning)	4	45
3. Llectrical Installation	5	55
4. Painting and Signwriting	9	26
5. Office Machine Mechanics	14	22
6. Tailoring	22	2
7. Refrigeration & Air Conditioning	4	34
8. Armature and Motor Rewinding	25	21
9. Civil Draughting	<u>1</u>	<u>23</u>
Total	<u>86</u>	<u>364</u>

Source: National Vocational Training Division - Extract from the Annual Manpower Report to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1979, in the Situation of Women in Tanzania pp.31.

registration in Folk Development colleges which offer basic skills to men and women in subjects such as home economics, carpentry, and tailoring rose from 437 to 882 between 1981 and 1983 (Tibaijuka, 1988:26).

Some of the constraints to women's higher education or training include pressure from families not to attend training; a heavy workload which leaves little time for education; lack of child care facilities for the mothers and high rates of fertility (Tibaijuka, 1988:27). There is also a preference to educate boys over girls in some ethnic groups, and overall poverty, handicaps a family's ability to cover school costs.

C. WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

Women are employed for wages in agriculture, industrial and service sectors of the economy in both formal and informal sectors. The constraints that women face in education result in low-skill and low-paying jobs for women. "Low education has placed the majority of women to be in the low paid jobs which carry less privileges and benefits" (Kasungu, 1990:1).

In the formal sector, women are segregated, dominating the service sector as nurses, teachers, secretaries, office attendants, telephone operators and social workers. This job segregation, an International Labour Organization (ILO) report argues, is beneficial to employers, including the government because job segregation by sex and wage differential lowers wage costs (ILO, 1986:168). Other benefits, the report adds, are "women's lower mobility, vertically and horizontally, which leads to greater skills and job experience at given wage level for men" (ILO, 1986:168).

In both formal and informal sectors women work and live under difficult conditions. For example, women lack capital, skills, training, childcare and health facilities, proper working sites and good housing in the informal sector (Kasungu, 1990:7). Government support in this sector is usually lacking. There is no discrimination on the basis of gender under the legal conditions of employment in the formal sector in Tanzania, but women suffer more from layoffs, lack of housing, training opportunities and

low rates of promotion. Although data on formal employment categorized by sex is scanty, Tibaijuka notes that the majority of the 12,760 civil servants who were declared redundant in the 1985 retrenchment exercise were women: "To the extent that women dominate the common cadres we can assert that they were hit the hardest" (Tibaijuka, 1988:32).

Over the years, women in urban areas experienced a dramatic decline in wage employment from 44 per cent in 1967 to 23.9 per cent in 1978 compared to a very slight decline for men from 74 per cent to 70 per cent over the same period. According to 1986 estimates, women in wage employment constitute 14 per cent (Kasungu, 1990:2).

Employment for men and women is governed by two pieces of legislation - The Employment Ordinance Cap 366 and the Security of Employment Act. Employment in parastatal organisations is regulated by the Standing Committee on Parastatal Organisations (SCOPO) and is in line with the Employment Act. In government ministries or departments and in parastatal organisations, women employees face more restrictions due to the assumption that men are the major breadwinners in families.

For example, according to SCOPO regulations, women are not entitled to the leave allowances given to men. An ILO report says, a woman has to show a letter from her husband testifying that he will not claim allowances for travel for wife and children before she receives an allowance (ILO, 1986:155). But employers do not subject male employees to such treatment, which contradicts the terms and conditions of service that do not distinguish between men and women, married and single, divorced or widowed, "because all employees are entitled to leave with pay, and to travel allowance for husband and children every two years" (ILO, 1986:155).

Government and SCOPO regulations also guarantee all employees in certain categories housing without consideration of sex or marital status. But, as observes the report, "in practice, married women are most discriminated against, and must often prove that there is due cause why they should not reside in housing provided by the husband" (ILO, 1986: 155). It is generally assumed that a husband feeds for family and therefore

he is entitled to housing, leave allowances and other benefits. Women also face problems related to skill acquisition, access to credit, and to resources of production. Kasungu argues that the problems are exacerbated by the fact that women are employed in positions which do not qualify them for any fringe benefits like housing and transport. "They do not even have decision-making powers to influence policies" (Kasungu, 1990:10).

Studies by Swantz and Bryceson (1976) and Meghji (1977) have shown that women are discriminated against in the labour market (Afshar, 1985:145). For instance, Meghji found in a study on the Moshi Textile Mill that the management stopped hiring women in 1975 because they argued women were not productive during the obligatory 12-week paid maternity leave and therefore forced the mill to incur unnecessary additional costs. Employers, who were predominantly male, resented employing women because the latter were frequently absent from work due to child birth and menstruation. "It is clear that while the Maternity Leave Act was a positive step forward in ensuring women's rights as mothers, it tended to jeopardise their position as wage-earners," Meghji concluded (Afshar, 1985:143).

Women's family responsibilities are socially defined and regulated, but they are then used against women in the labour forces. Policies encourage the further privatisation, individualisation, and feminization of child care.

(ILO, 1986:165).

In addition, problems associated with women's multiple roles are said to be contributing to their slow rate of promotion (Kasungu, 1990:11). Women are scarce in top positions in the civil service and parastatal organizations. For example, in 1987, women constituted 16.7 per cent of senior officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs while they made up 85 per cent of the typists and 100 per cent of the telephone operators. In the Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development, there were only 10.8 per cent female senior officers (Kasungu, 1990:9). Employers have been quoted in various studies

(Meghji 1977, Mgaya, 1976) as saying that women are more patient, docile and steady on the job than men (ILO, 1986:164).

The main pressing problem facing women in wage employment is lack of child care facilities. Employers do not provide these services despite the fact that various government directives have been passed to oblige them to do so (Kasungu, 1990:9). Kasungu argues: "The few centres available are both inadequate and inefficient...cater for few hours in a day and close at very inconvenient times for working mothers. Employers are usually reluctant to invest in child care to minimize costs" (Kasungu, 1990:9).

Under such circumstances, parents employ domestic servants (ayas) to look after children while they are at work. But most of the ayas, says Kasungu, "are young, unskilled and semi-educated rural girls who migrate to towns and are ready to accept any available job they come across" (Kasungu, 1990:9). Mothers are not satisfied with these services and are constantly worried about the safety of their children. In fact at times, mothers fail to concentrate on their work due to uncertainty of services rendered by these ayas. Cases have been reported of children being abandoned or mistreated by ayas (Kasungu, 1990:10).

Working women also face sexual harassment at work. Unemployed girls offer favours to men friends in order to enter wage employment. Breaking away from such relationships means job termination, demotion, transfers or humiliation for girls. Although there has been no study on this topic in Tanzania "several trade disputes tend to verify existence of this practice" (Kasungu, 1990:13).

D. WOMEN IN POLITICS

Women in Tanzania are politically organised through the women's organisation, 'Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania' (UWT). UWT, one of five party mass organisations, is centralised and represented from village to national level. Women in Tanzania, like their male counterparts, have a right to vote and to stand for election to positions in the party and government. Discussing four socialist societies - Soviet Union, Cuba, China

and Tanzania - Croll noted that in each of the four societies women "clearly have not entered into formal positions of collective decision-making in proportion to their representation - either in production or in the population as a whole" (Croll, 1981:371). Men continue to dominate leadership committees and occupy positions of authority.

In Tanzania, there is little direct female contribution to, for example, village planning (Townsend, 1987:210). A survey by the Prime Minister's Office in 1979 in some 514 villages showed that women constituted only 6.5 per cent of all village managers. Another sample found an average of three to five women among the 25 member village council. In Tanzania's 2,800-plus villages, women constituted less than 15 per cent of the village leaders. Until 1980 there was not a single female village chairman or secretary.

Although the Party - Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) - and UWT encourage women to contest political leadership posts, it was not until the 1980s that action was taken to involve women in political decision-making, by endorsing a policy to have preferential seats for women in Parliament. Between 1965-70, seven out of the 183 members of Parliament (MPs) were women; 10 years later (1975-1980), there were 17 women out of the 234 members; and in 1985-1990 there are 25 women MPs out of 244 members of the house. But only one woman in the latter group is an elected MP. The rest are nominated by the President or are occupying the 15 preferential seats allocated to UWT. In addition there are, at present, four women cabinet ministers in the mainland and two in Zanzibar. The number of women ministers has never been so high.

Women's representation in the party hierarchy, however, is minimal. There is only one woman in the CCM's 18-member Central Committee and 20 women out of the 118 members on the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC). These are key decision-making organs of the party. Even in the Party and government highest bodies, women have tended to be appointed to committees that deal with health and nutrition issues while finance and economic planning, defence and other security matters are left in the hands of male parliamentarians or party leaders. Commenting on the role of women in socialist states, Molyneux observed:

But at the top levels of political power the appointment of women is still to posts which are conventionally seen as expressing, or which reflect, the occupational association of women with 'women's interests' - education, women organization.

(Molyneaux, 1981:26).

Apart from women's heavy workload which is said to be increasing as the country's economic situation worsens, the cultural values that assign sex-specific roles to men and women in society have led to the popular belief that politics is for men (Mbilinyi, 1983:176). Molyneaux argues that there are two limitations that prevail with respect to women's participation in politics: women's reluctance to enter the field, and insufficient efforts to provide conditions which might make greater involvement possible.

E. CONCLUSION

Women in Tanzania suffer a double tragedy as citizens of a "peripheral" country in the world economic system, and as members of a predominantly patriarchal society. With the pressure to reverse the country's current economic decline, Tanzanians have to work harder. For women - the main agricultural producers - this has meant longer working hours. This also means further exploitation of women - the primary force in domestic production and reproduction - whose contribution in reproduction is undervalued and unappreciated.

Women are under a constant pressure to divide their time between the home and the workplace. Patriarchal attitudes that characterize social relations in Tanzania reinforce the sexual division of labour, sustaining women's subordination and low status both at home and in the public sphere. Traditional customs and beliefs that women are inferior to men aggravate gender inequalities and restrict the realisation of women's legal rights, their upward mobility at work and their access to resources. The male is regarded as the principal earner and the decision-maker whereas a woman's income is "insignificant."

Women experience segregation in education, employment and political participation. In these areas, they play a "marginal" role; a role analogous to their roles as daughters, mothers and wives. Occupying low-skilled, low-paying jobs and being away from the roles of power, women are unable to influence policies that will better their situation.

Women are overrepresented in the service sector and excluded from the sciences, politics and other professions that are regarded as male preserves. It is evident that men command high positions and prestigious jobs because they are said to be more flexible and adaptable to jobs that are demanding. Journalism is one of the professions treated as a male domain. In order to understand the situation of women in this profession in Tanzania, it is important to look at the structure of the mass media, working conditions in these institutions, and limitations with respect to women's participation.

CHAPTER THREE

A. OVERVIEW: The African Mass Media

The majority of the press and radio institutions in Africa were built on European models. The indigenous African press, however, evolved as a political instrument to spearhead the struggle for independence in the late 1950s. Even after three decades of independence, European and American influences still pervade the news media (Hachten, 1971:272). Most of the news media in Africa depend on five major wire services for foreign news - Reuters, United Press International (UPI), Associated Press (AP), Tass and Agence France Press (AFP). Wire services such as China's Xinhua, the Rome-based Inter Press Service (IPS), and the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) also transmit local and foreign stories that get disseminated in African countries. Hachten observes: "For news about themselves and the outside world, Africans are largely dependent on European correspondents and news services, principally Reuters and AFP" (Hachten, 1971:271).

In addition to their traditional functions - to inform, educate and entertain - the news media in the developing countries of Africa have an additional responsibility to promote social, political and economic development. African governments use, and will continue to use, the mass media for establishing national unity and modern economic and social institutions. It has been argued that the media's pro-development role is necessary to hold together the fragile new nations. Paul A. Ansah said:

...since political institutions in developing countries are fragile and any criticism of the government may be interpreted as a challenge to the legitimacy of the government, the media should refrain from scrutinizing the affairs of the

government too closely. The media should, therefore, confine themselves to serving as a one-way conveyer belt between the government and the people and helping to educate the people on the development goals defined by the government.

(Ansah, 1988:13).

Entertainment carries with it cultural and ideological messages which are equally as powerful as the more obvious ideological content of news and current affairs programs (Mytton, 1983:135). Although private newspapers and magazines exist in Africa, African governments normally own and control the major mass media. "The media in Africa and in many other less developed areas of the world," says Mytton, "are frequently established, supported, subsidized and staffed by the state. They are sometimes part of the very apparatus of government requiring inputs of cash and other resources in order to survive" (Mytton, 1983:132).

Two decades ago, William Hachten pointed out in his book; Muffled Drums: The News Media in Africa (1971) that the continent "is least endowed with news resources: fewer newspapers, periodicals, fewer broadcasting transmitters and receivers, and fewer cinemas. These scarce news media serve the few educated elites, usually 10 per cent or less of the people, who are clustered in the cities" (Hachten, 1971:271). Towards the end of the 1980s, Martin Ochs noted: "...the African press today stands last among the earth's regions, handicapped and muffled by lack of facilities, underdeveloped training institutions and, far more often than not, inordinate political or bureaucratic controls" (Ochs, 1986:1).

Modern facilities for news media are seldom available. The printing and broadcasting facilities which do exist are poor and outdated. Ochs notes that there are no daily newspapers in almost 10 per cent of African nations. Additionally, the lack of well trained journalists and schools of journalism compound the mass media problems in the con-

continent. The President of the African Council of Communications Education, Francis P. Kasoma, said: "Africa's ability to inform the world and particularly her people, still faces serious constraints. Journalists are poorly trained. Many countries still do not have journalism schools especially in sub-Sahara Africa" (Kasoma, 1989:8).

Various studies have identified Africa's poor economic situation as a major reason for the technical inadequacies of news media in the continent (Hachten, 1971; Ochs, 1986; ACCE, 1988). As Mytton rightly points out "communication facilities and technology are closely related to economic resources. Lack of money is often the most serious obstacle to their development" (Mytton, 1983:13). And it is basically lack of money that prevents Africa from acquiring the necessary hardware, which has to be imported. It is estimated that as much as 60 per cent of the investment in news communication has to be provided in foreign currency which is scarce and costly in most developing countries.

Mytton succinctly notes: "In any event, the major constraints on the media in Africa are neither political nor social but economic. Africa's media are now stagnating and even, in places, going into decline" (Mytton, 1983:131).

B. THE MASS MEDIA IN TANZANIA

In this study, I will be examining the six publicly-owned mass media institutions, namely the government-owned Daily News, the party-owned Uhuru, Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam (RTD), Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA), Sauti ya Tanzania, Zanzibar (Radio Zanzibar) and the Zanzibar Television Station. In Tanzania, there are also some privately-owned newspapers such as the weekly Business Times and other monthly and quarterly magazines, most of which carry fictional stories.

The emergence of the mass media is relatively recent. During the colonial period the press and radio were under the colonial powers and European missionaries. For example, during German rule (1880-1918), a private newspaper called Zeitung was es-

established in 1889 to serve the interests of German settlers (Konde, 1984:14). Other newspapers established during the German era included Pwani na Bara (Coast and Hinterland), Msimulizi (The Newsbearer) and Habari za Mwezi (Monthly News).

In 1930, during the period of British colonial rule, the Tanganyika Standard (now the publishers of the Daily News and Sunday News) was established. The paper worked to safeguard British interests and perpetuate their power over Tanganyika. Newspapers run by missionaries served a religious function, but also indirectly supported the colonial administration. As Hadji Konde argues:

These newspapers were supposed to show identity with the local population but in effect they helped in the oppression and subjugation of the African majority. They were for the settler community and a vehicle for the colonial administration. (Konde, 1984:15).

During the British era several tribal and national indigenous newspapers emerged. They included Komkya for the Wachagga tribe of Kilimanjaro; Limuli for the Wahaya tribe of Kagera region, and Arumeru for the Wameru tribe of Arusha. The independence party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), established in 1954, launched its newspaper, Sauti ya TANU (The Voice of TANU) in the national language, Swahili, in 1959. The main objective of the paper was to mobilise membership for the independence struggle.

Other similar papers emerged, such as Mwafrika (The African), a private paper that supported TANU. In the case of Zanzibar, Arabs and Indians were active in the press in 1920s. Zanzibar and the Pemba islands do not currently have any indigenous newspapers. However, in the early 20th century there was a weekly paper, Samachar, a pro-Pakistani paper published in English and Gujarati. A pro-British voice, Africa Kwetu also published in English and Swahili; Al-Falak and Al-Nandha published by the Arab Association were both strongly opposed to colonial rule. All these newspapers

had disappeared by the late 1960s (Ochs, 1986:58).

A decade before independence was achieved in 1961, the British colonial administration opened a radio station, Dar es salaam Broadcasting Service which initially catered to Dar es salaam residents only. As the station expanded and was heard in other regions bordering Dar es salaam, it was renamed Tanganyika Broadcasting Service (TBS). TBS was controlled by the colonial governor who had legal jurisdiction over the programs aired, and it assumed a structure similar to that of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). TBS was renamed Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) and aired programs in English, Swahili, Gujarati and Hindustani (Kaungamno, 1975:10). Broadcasting in Zanzibar was started by the British colonial government in 1953. After independence from Britain in 1961, the mass media took on a more important role in political communication in Tanzania, complementing the role of TANU and the government. The new government had control over the radio and much of the press. The role of the mass media became more defined after the implementation of the national policy of socialism and self-reliance, which required the nationalisation of the major means of production including the mass media.

The TBC became a government department in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and was renamed Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam (RTD) in 1965. The political party -TANU - launched two dailies, Uhuru and The Nationalist. The nationalization of Tanzania's press was completed in February 1970 when the white-owned daily newspaper, Tanganyika Standard, was taken over and renamed The Standard. In 1972 The Standard and The Nationalist merged to form the Daily News and a weekly Sunday News published by the Tanzania Standard Newspapers.

In Tanzania, as in other less developed countries, there has emerged a view of the media which encourages an engineered, controlled press committed to government objectives and priorities. Mytton explains:

All national resources - including the resource of information - must be directed toward development. If information is allowed to cause dissent or loss of international prestige, it detracts from the greater goal. By this reasoning, the control of news is not only legitimate right, but also a national necessity.

(Mytton, 1983:137)

In this respect the mass media were charged with the task of promoting and propagating the ideology of socialism and self-reliance; encouraging the masses to produce more because the whole idea behind the ideology was to attain self-sufficiency. The mass media were also challenged to encourage public debates on various national and international issues; to safeguard national unity; to promote liberation struggle in southern Africa; and to promote good relations with neighbouring countries. In so doing, the mass media serve as a government mouthpiece explaining Tanzania's position on various issues to the international community.

When The Standard was nationalised in 1970, President J.K.Nyerere, who also served as Editor-in-Chief of all dailies, issued a Press Charter which outlined media responsibilities. Key excerpts of the Charter are:

As a nationally owned newspaper the first aim of The Standard will be to serve the interests of the people of Tanzania, it will be expected to operate without government subsidy but its purpose will be service, not the making of profit.

The new Standard will be a socialist paper; it will support the socialist ideology, as defined in the Arusha Declaration. It will be free to criticise any particular acts of individual, party or government leaders to publicise any failures in the community.

The new Standard will endeavour to spread an understanding about socialism in Tanzania among its readers. By its discussion, and its articles, it will demonstrate that the priorities in the building of socialism are a matter for free discussion among the citizens of a socialist state.

The watchwords of the new socialist Standard of Tanzania will be: 'The Socialist Equality and Dignity of Man.' It is in that spirit that it will seek to serve the citizens of this United Republic, without distinction on grounds of race, religion, sex and tribe.

(UNICEF, 1984:11).

Although Nyerere supported the principle of press freedom, he argued that the mass media in a developing country have to have some limitations. Nyerere said:

The government of the United Republic has made it absolutely clear that it regards a flourishing, virile press and radio as essential for national development. Whatever may happen elsewhere, the press and radio in newly independent countries must play a positive role in national life. It is part of their duty to increase the mutual understanding among the people in different parts of the country and act as a link between the government and the people.

(Burton, 1964:36).

As Wilcox notes, Tanzania's mass media can neither criticise directly the Party chairman, nor the President, nor the official policy of "socialism and self-reliance" as defined in the Arusha Declaration. But the media are free to criticise government programs and participate for or against any proposal put forward by the party for public discussion (Wilcox, 1975:40).

In light of this, Tanzanian journalists practise self-censorship in order to abide by the norms. To date, there is no official guiding policy, such as an information and communications policy, and the Press Charter is the only document of reference. An assistant lecturer at the University of Dar es salaam and also a former journalist, Harrison Mwakyembe, was quoted as saying that newspaper men and women practised self-censorship because of fear of offending the government. Reginald Mhango, news editor

of The Daily News, also said in an interview: "We practice a lot of censorship sometimes ...dropping some stories or deleting some details...but relatively speaking we are freer than what people think."

As far as private newspapers are concerned, the 1976 Newspaper Act makes it almost impossible for them to contravene government wishes and policy. It sets out provisions to be adhered to by the press and gives the Minister of Information the power to cancel registration of a newspaper that fails to meet its declared objectives.

The Act also grants any police officer power to seize a newspaper that he or she reasonably suspects to be contravening the Act, by for example publishing false news or information that will cause fear, alarm or incite violence against the authority. It is seditious and punishable by fine or imprisonment - if a newspaper attempts to cause hatred or discontent or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility in the country (Bawazir, 1988:78).

The structure of media institutions is such that managers and boards of directors of media (the highest decision-making authority for individual media institutions) are also involved in the national political process in one way or another. For example, all media managers (who include newspaper managing editors and radio directors) are presidential appointees. They are accountable to the President or the Prime Minister or, in the case of Zanzibar, the Zanzibar President who is also the Second Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The media managers attend high level party meetings such as the National Executive Committee (NEC) which are normally held behind closed doors.

Members of boards of directors of media institutions are either parliamentarians, leaders in party mass organisations, or directors in various government ministries. These boards decide on the budgets, development plans, and media personnel of their organisations. They can either endorse or reject proposals made by managements (see Appendix A Charts III & IV for organizational structure of Uhuru and Daily News). The structure of the mass media hierarchy enhances government control. Chart V in Appen-

dix A shows the organizationaal structure of the editorial department of Uhuru/Mzalendo newspapers which is similar to that of the Daily/Sunday newspapers.

There has not been a comprehensive evaluation of the impact of the mass media in Tanzania. But most national educational campaigns carried by the media, particularly by radio, are assumed to have enlightened the people on various issues. Evidence from campaigns suggests substantial short-term effects (Hornick, 1988:133). For example, the campaign "to plan is to choose" stressed the choice of rural socialist development and its implications to the masses (in 1963). The "Man is Health" and "Food is Life" campaigns dealt with national health issues towards improving the nutritional well-being of the society, "Forests are Wealth" aimed at afforestation and "Use of Ventilated Pit Latrine" encouraged hygiene. Under the latter campaign, it is reported that 700,000 latrines were constructed (Hornick, 1988:7).

UNICEF notes that such media education campaigns have managed to keep mass education at a minimum cost. For instance, the "Man is Health" campaign is said to have cost US \$0.50 per villager (UNICEF, 1984:22). However, despite such encouraging records, Tanzania's media infrastructure has remained urban-oriented. The Director of Information in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Abdallah Ngororo, says the national mass media "serve the interests of the already privileged elites living in towns" (Ngororo, 1989:3). The concerns of elites, he adds, are not relevant to the needs of the villagers who form the majority of the population. "Thus, the people most in need of development information for sustaining and improving the national economies and for promoting qualitative changes in the life of the community, and the individual, do not have access to this vital weapon" (Ngororo, 1989:3).

Daily News Managing Editor, Joseph Mapunda said in an interview: "As journalists, we are not interested in the people," implying that journalists are not interested in the average person. It is clear that the press and radio in Tanzania have tended to serve as a one-way channel - from the leaders to the people. The orientation in the press has been that of presenting news stories from the angle of leading political figures rather

than from the public's point of view (UNICEF, 1984:29). Table 3 shows the distribution of local stories about political leaders and stories about the public, broadcast on Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam news bulletins at different hours. The sample was picked randomly by two radio newsroom reporters. The survey shows that there were 140 stories about leaders, compared to 66 stories about the general public in the 12 news bulletins picked randomly over a 12-month period. In this lopsided communication, people in rural areas, particularly women, are ignored. "If the needs of rural populations in developing countries are not served by urban-based newspapers, the needs of rural women - the overwhelming majority of who are illiterate - are particularly ignored" (Gallagher, 1982:80).

Coupled with this bias towards elites and urban areas, the mass media also face a bigger problem that constrains them from expanding services to the rural areas - i.e. lack of money and resources. The mass media in Tanzania (as in other poor countries) are heavily dependent on imported materials such as machinery, newsprint, chemicals, tape recorders and spare parts. The importation of these materials requires foreign exchange which is earned through the sale of cash crops abroad. The foreign currency problem is intrinsic in the generally deteriorating national economy. That aside, since mass media are service-oriented institutions, they are not allowed to raise their charges in order to make a profit.

Newspapers are not allowed to allocate more than 40 per cent of their space to advertising and priority is given to editorial content. Newspapers therefore operate under difficult financial conditions compounded by increasing printing costs. The Party's daily Uhuru and weekly Mzalendo newspapers received 4.5 million shillings and 9.4 million shillings respectively in 1986/87 as party grants, but printing costs amounted to 86.66 million shillings and 71 million shillings respectively (Bawazir, 1988:46). So far, the Daily News and Sunday News are financially self-supporting, but with escalating printing costs they are merely breaking even.

Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam (RTD) and Zanzibar Radio and Television are total-

TABLE 3**NEWS COVERAGE OF POLITICAL LEADERS AND MASSES.**

<u>Month</u> <u>& Year</u>	<u>Week of</u> <u>the Month</u>	<u>Time of</u> <u>Bulletins</u>	<u>Local Stories</u> <u>on Leaders</u>	<u>Local Stories</u> <u>on Masses</u>
<u>1983:</u>				
July	1st	7a.m.	10	2
August	2nd	1p.m.	2	8
Sept.	3rd	8p.m.	15	12
Oct.	4th	7a.m.	16	5
Nov.	1st	1p.m.	9	6
Dec.	2nd	3p.m.	19	5
<u>1984</u>				
Jan.	3rd	7a.m.	14	2
Feb.	4th	1p.m.	3	-
March	1st	8p.m.	13	4
April	2nd	7a.m.	9	10
May	3rd	1p.m.	7	3
June	4th	8p.m.	23	9
Total			<u>140</u>	<u>66</u>

Source: Omari, D. and Mwaimu (1984). Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam newsroom reporters, in UNICEF, 1984 pp 30.

ly dependent on the government. The revenue these institutions generate from commercial programs is submitted to the government. RTD Director David Wakati said the station generated 26 million shillings in 1988/89, which was above the targetted 16 million shillings. The government also finances 85 per cent of the needs of the news agency, SHIHATA.

Director of Information Ngororo is critical regarding the government attitude towards the media. He said that although the media lie at the core of the entire development process in Tanzania, the information and communications sector is given low priority in terms of allocation of funds. The government's primary concerns are to channel available resources to agriculture, to improve industrial production capacity and thereby strengthen the economic infrastructure. Even in the absence of an economic crisis, the tendency has always been to neglect the media in terms of resource allocation. In fact, the President of the African Council of Communication-Education, Francis Kasoma, noted:

...some African states, perhaps the majority, still treat mass communication as an afterthought in the national development plans. They devote only a few paragraphs (in their budget speeches) and a couple of thousands of their devalued national currencies to the mass media sector. The money, in most cases, is not even enough to maintain the services at the same level, let alone improve them.

(Kasoma, 1989:8).

The generally poor financial position is aggravated by the mass media's chronic problems of lack of basic equipment, worn out transmitters, lack of newsprint and other materials such as ink. Red tape in the government banking system, adds RTD Acting Engineer Juma Seleka, delays the importation process. The production manager of Television Zanzibar, Abdulharnid H. Dau, said lack of essential spare parts has cut in half the local production of programs, which previously accounted for 80 per cent of programming.

Newspaper circulation has been dropping drastically. In the case of Uhuru (a daily), annual circulation dropped from 3,476,757 in 1979/80 to 2,886,447 in 1982/83. During the same period, annual circulation of the weekly, Mzalendo dropped to 3,891,336 from 5,570,269. The most recent figures for daily circulation (1987/88) were 100,000 (Uhuru) and 100,000 (Mzalendo) (Bawazir, 1989:19). Daily circulation of the Daily News dropped from 63,000 in 1984, to 50,000 in 1987 and to 45,000 by 1989. In the same period The Sunday News circulation declined from 64,000 to 56,000 and 50,000, said the Circulation Manager, Juma Sengo.

Other problems faced by the media are lack of reliable transport (each institution has an average of two vans to ferry reporters to and from their beats) and a shortage of typewriters, tape recorders, and stationery.

In the newsrooms of both electronic and print media in Tanzania, journalists can be assigned to cover any beat, ranging from the courts to the Parliament. The one exception is sports reporters who normally are assigned only to that beat. (In the following chapter, I will discuss the tendency in the media to confine women to the "soft" news beats). Over time news editors identify reporters as talented in specific areas and assign them to those beats. This is different from the Western media whereby journalists master specific issues and cover beats that are in their area of speciality. In Tanzania, the young journalists do beat work while most of the senior journalists edit news or feature stories.

All the mass media institutions discussed in this study face shortage of staff, leading therefore to sacrifice of quality for quantity as the media try to meet their daily production schedules (UNICEF, 1984:25).

C. TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OF JOURNALISTS

About 80 per cent of journalists in Tanzania have a diploma in journalism acquired from the Dar es salaam-based Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ) or the Journalism Department of the Nyegezi Social Training Institute (NSTI) based in Mwanza. Both schools offer a two-year diploma in journalism where students acquire skills in news

writing, editing, broadcast journalism, photojournalism, press law, public relations, political science, development communication and research methods. The schools cater to students from neighbouring countries, namely Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, and also to the liberation movements - the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania.

As in all other institutes of higher learning in Tanzania, political education is also a core subject. Political education, together with a three-month apprenticeship with national mass media institutions, enables a journalism graduate to understand the political and professional environment he or she will be working in once they begin to practise journalism, says TSJ's Principal, Samwili Mwafisi. Background courses such as sociology, economics, management studies, political science and development communications are intended to increase the students' ability to analyse social issues. Both schools depend heavily on journalism texts and manuals from western Europe and North America. Mwafisi notes that in the case of TSJ, special emphasis is put on development communications, an approach to media embraced by most Third World countries. Development communications emphasises the need for using the mass media to fight illiteracy, poverty, and disease, and to build a political consciousness to support national development processes.

The problem, however, is that these journalism schools are poorly equipped. TSJ does not have a photo lab or a broadcasting studio. It lacks teaching equipment, good library facilities, staff and financial resources. Mwafisi said, for example, that most of the lecturers are on a part-time basis, drawn from the University of Dar es salaam and the national mass media. Currently, the NSTI's Journalism Department has seven lecturers, of whom three are part-time. The head of department, Deogratius Binamungu, said they need at least 12 lecturers.

The number of graduates has increased in both schools over the years. Since its establishment in 1963, the Journalism Department at Nyegezi has trained 500 journalists, of whom 40% are male. About 80 per cent of their graduates are currently engaged in

journalism. TSJ, established in 1975, has trained 289 journalists, of whom 75 per cent (or 218) are men. The average number of women enrolled each year is six in a class of between 25 and 30 students. Not all graduates join the national media institutions; there are those who take up public relations jobs in various parastatal institutions and government ministries.

Advanced training in journalism can only be obtained overseas. Training opportunities abroad depend heavily on the availability of funding from donor agencies such as the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and from Eastern European countries like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The media institutions are unable to plan for advanced training for their staff because they do not know whether they will receive scholarships from the agencies. Even if they get one or two training opportunities a year, experience has shown that it is the senior, well-established journalists who are mainly men who get selected.

Soliciting scholarships from other agencies or universities abroad has not been a fruitful exercise. In this respect, most journalists seek sponsors on their own. However, the experience of most journalists has been disappointing because they do not have the minimum requirement of a first degree (in any field).

Employment in mass media institutions follows the same employment regulations as in other public institutions. The six media institutions covered in this study have a total of 275 journalists, 66 (or 24 per cent) of whom are women. There is a slight difference, however, with respect to salaries and other benefits between civil servants and employees of parastatal or semi-autonomous institutions. The latter are not directly managed by the government. Civil servants receive slightly less in salaries and fringe benefits than those who work in parastatal institutions. This means journalists at the Daily News, Uhuru, and Shihata earn slightly more than those at Radio Tanzania Dar es salam (RTD), Radio Zanzibar and Zanzibar Television.

Journalists in Tanzania have long working hours, generally stretching from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. or 8 p.m. in the press. Sub-editors who report to work at noon continue to 11 p.m. or past midnight, depending on whether there are operational problems such as power cuts. At radio stations like RTD, some shifts begin at 4 a.m. and others end at midnight. The shortage of reporters, evident in all the media institutions covered in this study, forces most of those on duty to work without a day off for at least three months.

Long working hours notwithstanding, journalists face additional problems of lack of reliable transport, housing and working equipment. Most journalists depend on public transport which is unreliable and often crowded. Few journalists (less than 10 per cent) in all media institutions have personal cars. With regard to housing, it is normally the senior staff with families - who are predominantly male - who are allocated houses. In most cases, journalists are supposed to make their own housing arrangements.

But the most pressing problem that the majority of journalists face at the moment is an increase in the cost of living coupled with low salaries. Apart from high food costs, there have been increases in rents in Dar es salaam, and in public transport, electricity and water. Depending on what part of the city one is living in, a room may cost up to 1,000 shillings a month, whereas the majority of journalists receive a gross monthly salary of less than 5,000 shillings. Increases in consumer costs and tax mean journalists survive on subsistence wages.

These hardships are inevitable, argues Bienefeld, because of the country's economic downturn. "In fact, the empirical evidence that is most widely used...shows that urban wages and salaries were squeezed more fiercely than any other form of income on the onset of the crisis in the mid 1970s..." (Bienefeld, 1989:12). The urban real wages declined by 62 per cent between 1977 and 1983 and by an almost incredible 88 per cent between 1969 and 1986 (Bienefeld, 1989:49). Average real salaries were reported to have fallen even more dramatically than wages although this effect, Bienefeld argues, was offset by a large increase in social and financial labour-related expenses, particularly in the parastatals (food, transport and medical services).

A quarterly review of Tanzania's economic trends shows a decline in real incomes in the formal sector employment, affecting morale in the public service and thereby reducing productivity. "The erosion of incomes from public service and the inability to provide necessary working tools and a conducive environment is a major bottleneck to long term development" (Quarterly Review, 1989:6). Most reporters, therefore, complain of low salaries and high living costs. Robert Karashani, a sports reporter with the Daily News, said: "I am single and my salary does not see me to the end of the month." Another reporter with the paper, Lucas Liganga, said: "I rarely get time to socialise because I am exhausted by the time I leave here and I don't have the money." Shida Msangeni of RTD added: "With the current inflation rate, salaries are basically meaningless." It is therefore common among journalists to moonlight on second jobs.

D. CONCLUSION

The mass media in Tanzania are plagued with operational problems that have been aggravated by the overall economic crisis facing the country. The media have remained urban-oriented since independence despite their task to promote development in the whole of Tanzania. Rural areas and peasants get less priority not only because of resource constraints but also due to media's attention to political figures. The media give priority and prominence to Party and government leaders, hence serving as a one-way channel. The institutions relay messages from leaders which revolve around appeals to increase agricultural and industrial production in order to revive the economy.

Against a grim economy, the mass media experience operational difficulties such as lack of equipment, transport, housing, training opportunities and shortage of staff. Inadequate salaries coupled with increasing cost of living are making life more unbearable for male and female journalists who, as full-time employees, may not have the time for moonlighting on second jobs. Journalists generally work long hours; for female journalists this means a heavy workload added onto heavy domestic responsibilities.

As it is, priority to housing is given to senior male journalists with families, and training opportunities abroad are made available to the well-established journalists, most of whom are male. Given the underrepresentation of women in the media and the preference that is given to men, the following analysis attempts to elucidate on the extent to which men dominate the media structures, and the types of visible and invisible barriers that hinder women's entrance at all levels of the mass media in Tanzania.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter examines the situation of women journalists within the media institutions in Tanzania. I will focus mainly on types of assignments that women journalists undertake, the access they have to decision-making positions, and on the perceptions of female and male journalists and media managers on the participation of women in the media. I will also examine the dominant attitudes and practices in the media that, in one way or another, affect the role and status of women journalists.

A. RESEARCH PARAMETERS

In order to answer these questions, I conducted field research in Tanzania in the summer of 1989. My study focused mainly on the editorial departments of the media, that is newsrooms and program departments of both the print and electronic media. In the study, I was concerned mainly with women journalists in the six publicly-owned media, namely the Daily/Sunday News; Uhuru/Mzalendo; Tanzania News Agency (Shihata); Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam (RTD); Sauti ya Tanzania, Zanzibar, (Radio Zanzibar) and Zanzibar Television.

I sent out 130 survey questionnaires covering a range of issues to male and female journalists and managers in the organizations named above. Of the 90 who replied to the questionnaire, 38, (42.3 per cent) were women. According to personnel records of these institutions there are only 66 women (24 per cent) out of a total of 275 journalists. The questionnaire was designed to identify perceptions and attitudes on women's employment in the media, beats they cover, their participation in decision making and their salary scales. The questionnaire was also designed to show the level of education and salary scales of journalists overall (see Appendix B for a copy of the questionnaire).

In-depth interviews were also conducted. I arranged to interview 40 women journalists to provide an insight into the types of beats women journalists get to cover; their own preferences in terms of beats; and the problems they face in the workplace. The interviews were also conducted to determine women's perceptions of their current role and future prospects in journalism.

Interviews were also conducted with 16 heads of the media institutions and departments within the institutions. I attempted to cover all those responsible in making decisions regarding editorial work. These included Managing Editors of the major newspapers, Directors of the radio and television stations, Deputy Editors, News Editors and Program Directors in the six mass media organs. Ten male journalists, picked randomly, were also interviewed at length in order to establish their views on women journalists and the overall problems they faced as journalists.

B. RESEARCH FINDINGS:

1. Working conditions of women in the media

The findings of this study show that journalism in Tanzania is predominantly a male profession. The survey shows that 94.6 per cent of the women and 92.5 per cent of the men are full-time employees (see Table 4). In the past decade, the number of women working in the media in mainland Tanzania has been increasing steadily. For instance, in 1979, there were only about 30 women journalists and by 1989 the number was 66, according to records from personnel departments of the mass media in mainland Tanzania. The increase has also been registered in terms of women who enrol in journalism training. The Tanzania School of Journalism had eight female students out of a class of 25 in 1989 compared to none in a class of seven, a decade earlier.

Although the number of women in the media has been increasing steadily over the last decade, women journalists are still viewed as morally "loose" or "easy." According to Daily News Managing Editor Joseph Mapunda, the image of journalism is associated

TABLE 4**EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT WORK**

<u>Status:</u>	<u>GENDER</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Full time	92.5%	94.6%
Part time	5.7%	2.7%
Free lance	1.9%	2.7%
<hr/>		
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>100%</u>

N= 90

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

with "drinking and smoking," and hence more appropriate for men. "In our society, journalism is viewed as a wayward profession, not suitable for women," he added. As a result, women journalists face additional limitations within and outside their respective media institutions.

All women journalists interviewed for this study said they experienced problems when dealing with news editors, male colleagues and some news sources (who as spokespersons of public and private institutions are usually men). Often, news sources assume that women journalists are out to look for both stories and men. Such attitudes, says Agnes Kyaruzi of Uhuru/Mzalendo newspapers, "make news sources take us for granted and ask us for a date. I have had several such cases." Halima Mwiomba of Shihata said: "It is quite common for news sources to make advances at you because I think they are not ready to accept that women can make good journalists." Mwiomba, who is an alternate news editor at the agency, argued that most news sources view women journalists as incompetents who would be better placed in secretarial positions. Betty Mzuanda, also of Shihata, added that she was asked by news sources on several occasions whether she would really be able to cope with the hazards of the profession. "These doubts among news sources affect our self-esteem and erode our confidence," she said.

In the course of their work, most women journalists in Tanzania have to be cautious about who they associate with in public and private. They cannot freely go out for lunch or dinner with male news sources for fear of being the subject of gossip among colleagues and members of the public. Discussing a possible news story over a beer or a coffee is not part of their professional life, although it is a common practice among male journalists. Socializing with a news source is not viewed as compromising one's professional credibility in Tanzania, but rather as a necessary step towards cultivating and strengthening links between reporters and news sources. In Tanzania, a journalist is expected to entertain a news source although it is also common for sources to entertain journalists. In all respects, male journalists are freer in their movements and in establishing closer contacts with news sources. As a result, they constantly have an edge over

women journalists.

Irrespective of her marital status, a woman journalist can ill-afford to socialize freely with news sources because she is bound to be misunderstood. "As a female reporter I cannot afford to be seen in public several times with, say, one or two of the 'big shots,' because I will be a target of humiliating rumours," said Mwiromba. For married women this may be mistaken for "flirting" and for single women it is likely to be seen as a desperate search for a potential husband or for financial support. It is important to note that women journalists cannot say that a news source who was with her for lunch or dinner is a friend because the concept of friendship between a man and a woman does not exist in Tanzanian culture. Any relationship (excluding blood relatives) between the sexes is normally seen as being sexual. If, for instance, a woman journalist establishes close rapport with a male news source, it is likely to be assumed that she is having a 'sexual' rather than a professional relationship. The widespread attitudes prevent women from having diversified sources of information. At the same time, they easily expose women journalists to rumours that may damage their personal and professional reputations.

Sexist attitudes are also common within the mass media institutions. Moses Kitururu, a reporter with the Daily News, said it is common among male reporters to question why a female journalist constantly gets stories from the same news source. In this sense, Kitururu added, it becomes easy to tarnish the image of a woman journalist by merely associating the number of stories she gets from the source to a possible sexual relationship. Mkumbwa Ally, a senior reporter of the Daily News, agrees that in such situations women become easy targets for mud-slinging. He added that very few, if any, male journalists would give credit to women who produce good stories. In the same light, there is an assumption in the media that it is easier for women than it is for men to get stories from male sources. Ichikaeli Maro of the same paper said that male journalists would not hesitate to remark "if sources are not yielding, just send these 'flowers' (women journalists)...all they need to do is 'smile.'"

Close contact between news sources and male journalists is accepted as normal practice in Tanzania. A male reporter might be scrutinised and even accused of receiving bribes by his colleagues, if he frequently produces "public relations" types of stories. This rarely happens, but the custom of news sources offering cash or other favours to journalists in order to get their stories published or broadcast is a common phenomenon.

While it is common to see the bylines of male journalists, this is normally a problem in the case of women. Frequent bylines on stories by a woman raise eyebrows and put her morality to question. The assumption is normally that there must be "something going on" between the woman journalist and the news editor or chief sub-editor responsible for giving bylines.

Because many of the problems that women journalists face are not specific to journalism, it is important that they be viewed within a larger context of the socio-economic status of women in Tanzania in general. As elaborated in the first two chapters, women assume a peripheral role and position in male-dominated societies, such as Tanzania. They are marginalized both in the home or private sphere and in the workplace as a result of the sexual division of labour under which men and women are assigned specific roles. The domestic sphere has remained a woman's domain in these societies. That aside, traditional values and attitudes inherent in these societies and the socialization process that perpetuates women's domesticity continue to hinder the realization of equal gender relations at home as well as at work. In this regard, the double burden of home and work, and the matrix of cultural attitudes and practices in the Tanzanian society in general, help shape women's roles and positions in their respective professions.

Experience in public institutions in Tanzania, as noted earlier, has shown that women are the last to be employed and the first to be fired, not only because of lack of skills but also because they are regarded as a "burden." The fact that women take three months maternity leave and may be absent from work to attend to domestic problems, places them at a disadvantage with the employer. Studies have argued, therefore, that employers become hesitant to employ women.

In this respect, apart from the problems cited earlier in this study that face all journalists in Tanzania, (such as poor housing, inadequate salaries, poor working tools and lack of transportation), women journalists also have to balance their home and work schedules. According to the survey, 59.5 per cent of women journalists are married and 67.6 per cent have children (see Table 5). Over half of the male population (63.4 per cent) are married and 71.1 per cent have children. The majority of women journalists in the media institutions surveyed shoulder a double burden and are, therefore, under pressure to divide their time between their work and their home. "Sometimes," said Sarah Dumba of RTD, "you leave your ailing child with a housegirl at home and go to work because your boss is not totally convinced that you genuinely need a day or two off work."

These multiple roles make it even tougher for women to operate because journalism as a career requires flexibility and mobility. The survey also shows that 97.3 per cent of women compared to 86.8 per cent of men are between 20 and 39 years (see Table 6). This is a crucial age for women to bear and raise children. It is also a crucial point in one's life in the profession, because it is the time when opportunities for promotion and other forms of professional advancement occur. Therefore, while women are at home men enjoy opportunities offered at work. And, as argued in chapter one, this double burden affects women's real ability to compete with men in employment or professional training.

In such a situation, the provision of child care facilities at the workplace would considerably ease women's problems. But these facilities are non-existent in all the media institutions surveyed in this study. Women depend on young girls between 13 and 18 years to take care of toddlers and do some housekeeping. But all the women interviewed agreed that these girls are unreliable and lack experience, in which case the women are constantly worried about their young ones. In all fairness, these housegirls are themselves children who need parental care. Some women journalists depend on relatives to help with child care. All of them complained, however, that "sometimes housegirls do

TABLE 5**MARITAL STATUS BY GENDER**

	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
What is your <u>marital status</u>		
Married with children	61.5 %	51.4 %
Married without children	1.9 %	8.1 %
Single with children	7.7 %	8.1 %
Single without children	21.2 %	21.6 %
Divorced with children	1.9 %	8.1 %
Divorced without children	----,----	2.7 %
Widow/widower with children	1.9 %	---,----
<u>Widow/widower without children</u>	<u>1.9 %</u>	<u>---,-----</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>99.9 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 89

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE 6**AGE IN THE MEDIA BY GENDER**

<u>AGE</u>	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
20 - 29	26.4 %	43.2 %
30 - 39	60.4 %	54.1 %
40 - 49	13.2 %	2.7 %
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 90

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

not come to work," or "the relatives are sick," or "the child is sick." In all these circumstances, it is the woman who stays home.

The mass media institutions are, however, not planning to open child care centres within the coming five years. Despite the acknowledgement of women's dual roles by the heads of the mass media, financial constraints are a limiting factor. As noted in chapter three, the mass media in Tanzania are operating in difficult financial conditions. This means they have to maintain low operational costs in the face of a worsening national economic situation. However, one may also argue that child care facilities are not a priority because of the general undervaluation of the reproductive role played by women in male-dominated societies like Tanzania.

In this regard, women stay home more frequently than men. Women's absenteeism is also noticed because they are entitled to three-month maternity leaves. Paternity leave is uncommon in Tanzania, although according to the law either a mother or a father can take up to six months off work after birth of a child (Haji, 1990:7). This is because traditionally it is the wife who has to look after a child if care is needed at home. Although the media managers did not complain in interviews about absenteeism among women, they did raise concern over the disruption of work schedules. Sometimes, they said, two or three women in a department do not report for duty on the same day due to family needs.

Abdulhamid H. Dau, Production Manager of Zanzibar Television, noted that it was always women who asked for time off work because their children or husbands were sick. He further claimed that the frequency of such requests is higher among women because the latter also ask to be excused from duty to attend funerals and wedding ceremonies which can go on for two to three days. Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar Chief News Editor, Mussa Haji Fourn, said the absence of women from work sometimes affected production. Clearly, it is more difficult for women than men to cope with the hours or the travelling demanded by media jobs.

In his 12 years of experience as Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam (RTD) Director,

David Wakati said women often were viewed as a burden. He said: "Some senior officers here...actually anticipate problems from women. There is an obvious feeling of resentment, mostly among male senior officers." These feelings are not unique to media managers, for studies discussed in chapter two have shown that some male employers refused to employ women because of their maternal roles.

One must also not rule out the deep-rooted belief that the introduction of women into male-dominated job areas will disrupt working relationships. In one of her studies, Gallagher said: "The fear that women will simply act as a sexual distraction to the serious work done by men underlies a good deal of management unease about female recruitment" (Gallagher, 1979:14).

2. Earnings:

In principle, all the institutions covered by this study respect the policy of equal pay for equal work. Although information on monthly salaries of personnel is regarded as confidential and was, therefore, difficult to obtain, the survey showed that 89.1 per cent of women compared to 63.5 per cent of men received between 1,500 (10 Cdn) and 4,500 shillings (29 Cdn) a month (see Table 7). The survey also showed that only 10.8 per cent of women compared to 36.5 per cent of men earn above 4,500 shillings monthly. The disparity can partly be accounted for by the fact that more women than men work for relatively short time periods because they also have to take care of children. On average, women in Tanzania's media are also less likely to receive salary increments because they cannot devote as much time to work as men.

Journalists in general do not receive high salaries, as noted in preceding chapters. But it is evident that women journalists are relatively more disadvantaged than men. And the convention in the society that it is more important for a man to be able to earn a living than a woman (because she is expected to have a man to support her) further minimizes the chances for women to earn higher salaries.

TABLE 7**MONTHLY SALARY BY GENDER****GENDER**

Locate your

monthly income

<u>bracket (shillings)</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
5,500 sh. plus	25.0 %	8.1 %
4,500 to 5,500	11.5 %	2.7 %
3,500 to 4,500	17.3 %	21.6 %
2,500 to 3,500	23.1 %	37.8 %
<u>1,500 to 2,500</u>	<u>23.1 %</u>	<u>29.7 %</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>99.9 %</u>

One US \$ = 190 shillings.

N= 89

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding

C. BARRIERS IN THE WORKPLACE: Visible and Invisible

Gallagher argues that although most media institutions studied in developing (and developed) countries subscribe to equal pay and equal treatment of women and men, studies have shown that equality is problematic. For instance, women are not given any social support for the care of children in efforts to alleviate the double burden (Gallagher, 1987:14). Lack of policies that take into account women's dual roles and commitment in the media to implement equality policies form part of the visible barriers women face. In addition, sexist attitudes and beliefs that define women's main role as caring for the home compound discrimination against women in the media. These attitudes and biases make the invisible barriers (Gallagher, 1987:15).

1. Visible Barriers: Employment Policies and Practices.

As argued earlier, the situation of women working in the media reflects a male-dominated world of work. We have also seen that in terms of earnings and working conditions, women are at a distinct disadvantage compared with their male counterparts. There have not been studies on how many women apply to work as journalists in the media but media managers said that there are fewer women than men who seek employment.

Employment of women in the mass media is regulated in the same manner as in other institutions in Tanzania, by the Employment Ordinance Cap 366 (1975). In general, the same rules apply to both male and female staff. For example, compulsory and voluntary retirement ages (55 years) are the same for men and women. Equal pay for equal work is in place in the mass media.

The heads of the mass media institutions maintained that female and male employees were treated equally and that they have equal access to work benefits such as biannual leave allowances, medical services and housing.

Although employment regulations cite that all employees, irrespective of their gender or marital status, are entitled to a biannual leave allowance, the media institutions do discriminate against married women. Biannual leave allowances normally include expenses for employees and their families to travel to and from their home regions. While male employees get sufficient allowance to cover their wives' and children's expenses, married women are covered only for themselves and their children.

This disparity may be attributed to the fact that in most traditional societies, women's participation in the labour market and their incomes are regarded as secondary to that of men. Men are the principal earners and are, therefore, responsible for fending for the family.

Medical services are free in Tanzania. However, some media organizations like the Daily News and Shihata pay for their employees to be treated in private hospitals. This study found that men and women are not given equal health benefits in this area. For example, Shihata will pay for the treatment of women employees and their children but not their husbands. Shihata's principal editor, Michael Mshuza, who is also responsible for personnel, could not explain the differentiation between men and women employees. He simply said: "This is how the system works." A similar practice at the Daily News was revised in early 1989 in order to give women employees the same treatment as men.

Another area where women, particularly married women, experience discrimination is in the allocation of houses owned by the institutions. Lack of available housing, as discussed in the third chapter, is a critical problem faced by most workers in the media in the cities and towns in Tanzania. Normally employees make their own arrangements instead of depending on their employers to provide housing. In most cases, media-owned houses are occupied or allocated to senior staff with families. These include managing editors/directors, deputy editors, chief sub-editors and other heads of department. The eight houses/apartments owned by the Daily News are all occupied by males with families. One of the apartments is occupied by a single male journalist. This may, however, be partly because there are no women in these senior positions.

Senior married men have top priority over all others while married women have lowest priority because they are expected to have housing provided by their husbands. Women said it was common for personnel departments in their respective institutions to argue "why should we give you a house when you have a husband to take care of you?". At the Daily News a two-bedroom house was allocated to two single male journalists instead of a married woman with children.

2. Training:

According to the survey, the majority of women journalists have some training in the necessary journalistic skills (see Table 8). For example, over half (54 per cent) of the women, compared to 60 per cent of men, have either a degree, diploma or certificate in journalism. A mere 2.7 per cent of women compared to 3.8 per cent of men have been trained on the job, while less than 10 per cent of women and men have no journalism training at all. However, 35.1 per cent of women and 26.4 per cent of men have certificates, degrees or diplomas in other fields. Five of the 40 women interviewed for this study had no professional training in journalism. But, each of them had either a degree or a diploma in another field, such as education. The remaining 35 per cent had a minimum of three to six months basic training in journalism.

It was, however, difficult during the study to establish how many women compared to men are selected for further training. As noted earlier in this study, further training in journalism is pursued abroad through scholarships offered by donor agencies like the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), the United States International Development Agency (USAID), and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Because of their dependence on these agencies, the mass media institutions cannot plan training in advance due to uncertainties over the number and values of scholarships available. Apart from that, the mass media organs do not have sufficient foreign exchange to finance the training of their employees abroad. But, again, it is the well-established journalists in

TABLE 8**LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY GENDER**

<u>Educational Level</u>	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
No professional training	9.4 %	8.1 %
On the job training	3.8 %	2.7 %
Certificate in other field	11.3 %	18.9 %
Degree in other field	11.3 %	10.8 %
Diploma in other field	3.8 %	5.4 %
Certificate in Journalism	13.2 %	2.7 %
Degree in Journalism	1.9 %	5.4 %
<u>Diploma in Journalism</u>	<u>45.3 %</u>	<u>45.9 %</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>99.9%</u>

N= 90

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

the media who are picked for training abroad. And if one looks at Table 9, men have more seniority than women. Twice as many males (31 per cent compared to 15 per cent) have over 15 years of service in the profession.

Married women experience subtle discrimination in this area because further training or a study tour abroad means leaving the family with the husband. In this respect, husbands have to sanction the trip. This is not a requirement by law in Tanzania but it is a customary practice in most public institutions. In fact, heads of the mass media consult married women journalists to find out whether they are permitted to pursue further training.

Uhuru Deputy Editor Omar Bawazir said: "I think it is appropriate to ask a woman whether her husband would mind if she goes for further studies or a short trip" within or outside the country. Bawazir adds that it is important to know before any arrangements are made because if there are any problems, somebody else could be selected. Chemi Che Mponda, a Daily News reporter, said she was asked by the editor if it was alright for her to go and cover a seminar in Morogoro region. Such attitudes reflect a sense of "possession" of women by men and therefore, legitimate men deciding women's destinies.

D. INVISIBLE BARRIERS: The difficult hurdles

'Invisible' barriers include attitudes, prejudices and presumptions about the women's roles and abilities, and may be the major hurdle in bringing about sexual equality. As observed in chapters one and two, women's multiple roles as a result of the sexual division of labour in the society, coupled with sexist attitudes, support the view that women lack the abilities that media jobs demand. Therefore, as will be seen in the following discussion, women are under-represented in important areas of mass media such as news, current affairs and politics. They are also not located in those areas which are crucial in audience pull, such as sports. Often, women are concentrated in the less important and less prestigious areas which are regarded as dead-ends as far as career

TABLE 9**LENGTH OF SERVICE BY GENDER**

Number of years of work _____	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Under 5 years	18.8%	28.1%
6 - 10 years	22.9%	28.2%
11 - 15 years	27.0%	28.1%
16 - 20 years	27.1%	15.6%
<u>21 years & above</u>	<u>4.2%</u>	<u>----,---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

N=80

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

development or promotion is concerned. As discussed earlier, occupational segregation, wherein certain jobs are defined as appropriate or inappropriate for women, is perhaps the most visible aspect of discrimination in the labour market in developing countries such as Tanzania.

1. Horizontal Segregation:

All of the women journalists interviewed for this study believe that they are segregated at work. For most of them, covering "soft" news items, such as women, children, health, and various social issues, has become a ritual. Their experience has been that of being confined to areas that link them with the domestic domain on the pretext that they are better equipped for such issues. All of them have repeatedly been assigned to cover women's legal rights in access to education, employment or medical services. This beat also includes other aspects such as child care, nutrition, marital problems and divorce.

For instance, at the RTD and in Zanzibar Radio and Television, women journalists compile programs for women and children. At the RTD there are various program committees, such as current affairs, entertainment, and women and children. One of the veteran women journalists at the radio station, Deborah Mwenda, is in charge of children's programs. She compiles and broadcasts "Mama na Mwana" (literary translated as "Mother and Child"). Journalists like Edda Sanga, Nellie Kidela, Halima Kihemba, Sarah Dumba, Maria Shaba, Sango Kipozi, all at RTD, compile children's and women's programs over and above other assignments they have. They participate in compiling programs such as "Women's Half Hour" and "Women's Quarter Hour," broadcast in English on RTD's external service, or "Baraza la Wanawake" (Women's Forum). The same is true in Zanzibar where a two-woman team in the radio and television stations compiles women's programs such as "Baraza la Akina Mama" (Mother's Forum) and "Maendeleo ya Wanawake" (Women's Development).

As shown in Table 10, 73.0 per cent of men and 78.3 per cent of women perceive the women's beat as an area for women journalists. Also, the survey showed that journalists - both male and female - who have been in the media for different periods of time shared the same perceptions. For instance, Table 11 shows that 94.5 per cent of journalists with under five years of service, 72.2 per cent of those with between 16 and 20 years in the media and 100 per cent of the senior journalists (above 20 years) perceive the beat as one covered mainly or only by women. The implication of these perceptions is that women may continue to be "ghettoised" in this area for a long time because those attitudes and perceptions are held by senior journalists. Because these attitudes are common among the young journalists too, it is unlikely that there could be change in the near future.

Media managers, however, contended that assigning female journalists to cover the beat is not discriminatory. Rather, they argued that women journalists are more capable of handling women, children or other social affairs beats. They claimed that women journalists are generally insightful when covering such beats. The Uhuru Managing Editor, Ali Ameir Mohamed, said: "In this area, I think women journalists are more dependable than men." Besides, Mohamed claimed that sending male reporters to cover women's events or meetings may inhibit women (who are being covered) from speaking out, and hence the reporter will miss the "finer" details. Zanzibar Television news editor Rashid Suluhu said that generally women were more competent and actually more comfortable with the "women's issues" beat. "Personally, I take a lot of things into consideration when assigning women, but I don't think twice when it comes to assigning them to do women stories," Suluhu noted. RTD director David Wakati said: "At the moment there are no men producing women programs. It is a rarity, even if it happens."

Male journalists interviewed in this study felt that covering women's issues was an important learning area for women because it is a "soft" news beat. They said that although one deals with facts even while covering social items, it was not like covering "serious" areas like economic or political issues. The male journalists did not outright-

TABLE 10**COVERING WOMEN BEAT BY GENDER**

Perceptions on who covers	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Women issues</u>		
Only females	1.9 %	5.4 %
Mostly females	71.1 %	72.9 %
Same male & female	13.5 %	18.9 %
Mostly males	9.6 %	2.7
<u>Only males</u>	<u>3.8 %</u>	<u>----</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>99.9 %</u>	<u>99.9 %</u>

N= 88

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE 11**COVERING WOMEN BEAT BY LENGTH OF SERVICE**

Perceptions on
who covers

<u>Women Beat</u>	<u>Years in the Media</u>				
	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>20 Plus</u>
Only females	5.6%	5.3%	4.5%	---	---
Mostly females	88.9%	73.7%	73.6%	72.2%	100.0%
Same female & male	5.6%	21.1%	4.5%	22.2%	---
Mostly males	----	----	14.1%	5.6%	---
<u>Only males</u>	<u>----</u>	<u>----</u>	<u>9.1%</u>	<u>----</u>	<u>---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>99.9%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

N= 79

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

ly object to covering the women's beat themselves, but admitted that it was the last in their list of preferences. For example, there are only two out of about 30 male reporters at the Daily News who occasionally write features about women. Interviewees spoke of how the women's beat was rarely given prominence in the media and the fact that it was classified as a "feminine" area of work. Hence, one is viewed as playing a marginal role if one covers the women's beat.

Pudenciana Temba of the Daily News recalled that she was once assigned to cover the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) seminar after a male colleague who was earlier asked to cover the event refused. She said: "I remember him saying, 'Ah, what will these women discuss anyway.'" Ichikaeli Maro, also of the Daily News, vividly remembers the 1988 International Women's Day which was not covered by the paper because a male journalist assigned to the story refused.

The exclusion of women from areas such as Parliament, sports, foreign news and crime, as shown in this study, further confirms the existence of "masculine" and "feminine" roles in the media. According to the survey, 73.1 per cent of males compared to 62.1 per cent of females perceive Parliament as mainly a male's beat (see Table 12). Table 13 shows that junior journalists (under five years of work) are more likely to see egalitarianism than senior journalists. While 44.4 per cent of the junior journalists perceive the beat as being covered by the same number of male and female journalists, only 16.7 per cent of senior journalists, who have been in the media for between 16 and 20 years, agree. None of the most senior journalists (above 21 years in the media) see egalitarianism in the Parliament beat.

The table also shows that 55.5 per cent of junior journalists compared to 100 per cent of the most senior journalists in the media see Parliament as a beat covered mostly by men. There is also a significant difference in the way the young journalists between 20 and 29 years and the older journalists (above 40 years) view the coverage of Parliament by gender. Forty-eight per cent of the young journalists think that the same number of males and females cover the beat but only 12.5 per cent of the older journalists

TABLE 12**PARLIAMENT BY GENDER**

Perceptions on

Who covers

Gender

ParliamentMaleFemale

Mostly females

1.9%

2.7%

Same male & female

25.0%

35.1%

Mostly males

65.4%

62.1%

Only males7.7%---,---Total100%99.9%

N=88

Numbers may not add up up to 100% due to rounding.

2

of/de

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

TABLE 13**COVERING PARLIAMENT BEAT BY LENGTH OF SERVICE**

Perceptions on who covers <u>Parliament</u>	<u>Years in the Media</u>				
	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>21 Plus</u>
Mostly females	---	---	9.1 %	---	---
Same female & male	44.4 %	31.6%	13.6 %	16.7 %	---
Mostly Males	55.5 %	63.1%	72.7 %	72.2 %	100 %
<u>Only Males</u>	---	5.3%	4.5%	11.1 %	---
<hr/>					
Total	99.9 %	100 %	99.9%	100 %	100%

N= 79

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

agree (see Table 14). It is evident that the older and senior journalists who are likely to hold leading positions in the media feel more strongly about distinct sex roles. The findings also imply that the longer one works in the media the less likely he or she will see egalitarianism in beat allocation.

During Parliamentary sessions, the media institutions each pick a group of between four and six journalists to cover the House. At the Daily News and Uhuru normally there will be one woman (or in some cases none) in a four-member parliamentary team. At Shihata and RTD, where reporters work in shifts, there will be one woman in a team of six journalists, including broadcasters. Journalists who cover the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council - the highest decision-making organ in the Isles - are all men. Despite women's "good work," said one of Zanzibar Television's editors, women "are not able to cover the council proceedings that go on for long hours because they lack the experience and they normally want to be home early." News editors of all the six media institutions noted that Parliamentary sessions or even high level party meetings like the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) sessions usually stretch into the night and it is assumed that women cannot stay late for domestic reasons.

The segregation that women journalists experience is even more pronounced in assignments such as covering the President, Prime Minister, Vice President or other national political leaders while on tour within or outside the country. As discussed in chapter three, the mass media place great emphasis on, and give prominence to, political leaders. This is viewed as an important step in the process of political mobilization of the masses towards building socialism and self-reliance. But in these areas women journalists are noticeably absent.

All women interviewed complained that they were not assigned to accompany the President on tours within the country, let alone abroad. Only three of the women interviewed said they had covered the national leaders on official tours. A female reporter at the Daily News who never had the opportunity to cover national leaders lamented: "When I ask why am I not assigned the 'big' stories, the reaction I get is 'you have not

TABLE 14COVERING PARLIAMENT BEAT BY AGE

Perceptions on who covers <u>Parliament</u>	<u>Journalists' Age Range</u>		
	<u>20 - 29</u>	<u>30 - 39</u>	<u>40 - 49</u>
Only females	---	---	---
Mostly females	---	1.9%	12.5%
Same female & male	48.3 %	21.2%	12.5%
Mostly males	48.3 %	71.2%	75.0%
<u>Only males</u>	<u>3.4 %</u>	<u>5.8%</u>	<u>---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 89

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

reached the top level.' Then I wonder why do my male counterparts with the same professional experience like mine get the opportunity that I'm repeatedly denied." Fatma Mzee Ali of Zanzibar Television said she appealed to her immediate boss on several occasions to be included in presidential teams so as to gain experience, but "my name is scrapped off the list of reporters." Uhuru's Agnes Kyaruzi said: "I joined this paper a decade ago and I have never been assigned to cover the President." Halima Kihemba of RTD added: "Despite our repeated complaints about fair treatment in this area, we are still seen as incapable and incompetent." Maria Shaba, one of RTD's veteran journalists, wondered, "When are we going to be assigned to cover presidential tours or Organization of African Unity (OAU) summits?"

It is important to note that these assignments enrich journalists' experiences and help them to widen their scope in analysing issues and sharpening their journalistic skills. These assignments involve travelling, for instance, to remote rural areas where transportation and telecommunications to facilitate the transmission of stories are big problems. Covering such beats, therefore, becomes a great challenge. Often journalists undertaking these assignments are in the limelight because, as discussed in the preceding chapter, the media gives attention to leading personalities.

Tables 15 and 16 show that compared to the women's beat, Parliamentary issues are judged as receiving between adequate and excessive coverage. For instance, 86.7 per cent of males and 88.9 per cent of female journalists say that Parliament receives between adequate and excessive coverage (see Table 15). Although half of both male and female journalists see women's issues being given adequate coverage, a significant number of males (37.8 per cent) and females (45.7 per cent) think women's issues are given little coverage (see Table 16).

In addition, women journalists also said that they are rarely given "outside broadcasting" to do. They said they are also not assigned to do "investigative" pieces. The other area where women feel discriminated against is in reading news bulletins. News reading, done on a roster basis, is regarded as a prestigious task. There are four women

TABLE 15

WHAT IS THE COVERAGE OF PARLIAMENT LIKE
LIKE BY GENDER

Perceptions on coverage of Parliament	GENDER	
	Male	Female
Far too little	---	--
Little	13.2%	11.1%
Adequate	52.8%	61.1%
Much	22.6%	22.2%
Far too much	11.3%	5.6%
Total	99.9%	100%

N=89

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

TABLE 16

WHAT IS THE COVERAGE OF WOMEN'S ISSUES
LIKE BY GENDER

Perceptions on coverage of <u>women issues</u>	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Far too little	3.8%	5.7%
Little	34.0%	40.0%
Adequate	54.7%	48.6%
Much	3.8%	5.7%
<u>Far too much</u>	<u>3.8%</u>	<u>----</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

N=88

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

out of 12 newsreaders at RTD. Newsreaders also compile and broadcast other programs they are assigned to do. News reading by women began in 1978 after a long debate within and outside the media that women's voices were not authoritative and were suitable only for broadcasting musical programs.

Despite repeated denials by heads of the mass media institutions that gender was considered when dealing with the employees, the survey shows that gender is viewed by journalists as a determining factor in the allocation of beats. (see Table 17). At least 62 per cent of male and 70.7 per cent of female journalists perceive gender as crucial when assigning beats in the media. Table 18 shows, however, that older journalists are more likely to disregard gender as significant. For example, 75 per cent of those between 40 and 49 compared to only 32 per cent of those 20 to 29 years, said that gender is not an important factor. The older group is likely to be comprised of people who play the major role in decision making in the media. During the interviews, those in this group (media managers) denied the existence of discriminatory practices in the allocation of beats. They claimed that female and male journalists were treated equally, but hastened to add that caution is necessary while assigning women, particularly to beats that involve travel.

"It is quite problematic when it comes to dealing with female journalists. One has to be sure whether a woman journalist is capable to undertake a rigorous trip in remote villages," said Daily News Managing Editor Joseph Mapunda. RTD's David Wakati believes that assigning women to cover presidential tours is simply inconveniencing them. Another senior editor expressed concern about women's security while on such trips. Since presidential entourages are comprised mainly of men, the editor thinks dispatching women means subjecting them to compromising situations. "Women are vulnerable...and sending them on these trips may not be well perceived by their husbands," he remarked. RTD news editor Nassim Mpenda said that he is selective in picking reporters for certain beats following experiences he has had with some husbands. Mpenda said there were cases where husbands objected to having their wives do late assign-

TABLE 17**ASSIGNMENT GIVEN BY GENDER**

Is Gender important in beat allocation	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Not important at all	16.0%	15.2%
Less important	22.0%	12.1%
Relatively important	18.0%	24.2%
Important	32.0%	27.3%
Very important	12.0%	18.2%
No comment	---,---	3.0%
Total	100%	100%

N= 83

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

TABLE 18**PERCEPTIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF GENDER**

Perceptions on whether Gender is important in <u>beat allocation</u>	JOURNALISTS' AGE RANGE		
	<u>20 - 29</u>	<u>30 - 39</u>	<u>40 - 49</u>
Not important at all	21.4%	8.5%	37.5%
Less important	10.7%	23.4%	37.5%
Relatively important	17.9%	25.5%	---.---
Important	28.6%	29.8%	12.5%
Very important	17.9%	12.8%	12.5%
<u>No comment</u>	<u>3.6%</u>	<u>---.---</u>	<u>---.---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 83

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

ments or even being away from home for several days. "It is easier and less complicated to send a male journalist on presidential tours because he does not need to make any prior arrangements or ask for permission from anyone at home. Lets face it: male journalists are readily available. We do not have much choice," Mpenda noted. Normally, presidential tours are impromptu, complicating the assignment of a woman to the tour because of the need for the prior arrangements described.

Similar patterns are repeated in the sports beat. The survey shows 86.6 per cent of men and 83.7 per cent of women perceive sports as a beat covered mostly by male reporters (see Table C1 in Appendix C). One hundred per cent of the most senior journalists (over 20 years experience) say sports is covered mostly by men (see Table C2 in Appendix C). The study found that there is only one woman sports writer, Khadija Riyami, in all of the six institutions studied; she works with the Daily News sports desk.

Crime reporting is another beat that is allocated mostly to men. Table C3 Appendix C shows that 78 per cent of men and 68.6 per cent of women agree that crime is a beat mostly covered by men. However, as seen in Table C4, 40.7 per cent of the younger journalists (between 20 and 29 years) see crime as a beat being covered by the same number of male and female journalists. None of the older journalists agree. The young journalists, most of who are also junior with respect to the years they have served in the media, tend to see equality in the allocation of the crime beat. Each of the media institutions has two journalists covering crime. These reporters may alternate but the news editors in these institutions said they are normally male journalists who cover the beat.

Tables C5, C6, and C7 in Appendix C regarding perceptions of the foreign news beat reflect a similar trend that generally, the beat is covered mostly by men. However, there is a tendency among young and junior journalists to view the beat as being covered by the same number of male and female journalists while the older and senior journalists disagree. It is mainly male journalists who travel to cover events outside the country. Also, in all the institutions studied, males head foreign news desks.

2. Vertical Segregation

The mass media hierarchy, as seen in Chapter three, is divided into two main categories of decision-making positions: Political and Senior Executive posts. Political posts are filled by members of boards or directors who are usually high level Party and/or government leaders, such as Members of Parliament. Boards of directors normally discuss and endorse media development plans. Three of the six mass media institutions covered by this study - Daily News, Shihata and Uhuru - have boards of directors. There is only one woman director, and she sits on Shihata's board.

The other three - RTD, Zanzibar Television and Radio are directly under the Ministries of Information and Broadcasting, hence decisions are taken in the Ministry. There is no woman holding a post as minister or principal secretary, or director of information and broadcasting. There is only one woman, Mariam Hamdani, deputy director of Radio Zanzibar, who participates in media decision making.

Within the media institutions, managerial posts not covered by this study, such as managers of circulation, advertising, business departments and engineering sections, are also occupied by men. The senior executive posts are those positions occupied by these managers as well as managing editors, deputy editors, news editors, chief sub editors or program/production managers. There are presently no women in any of these positions in the mass media, therefore it is men who make decisions regarding employment, training and promotion in each institution. These managers make recommendations to the boards of directors or the ministries.

Presently, women are found in the middle and lower echelons and not in management where decisions on development plans and policies are made. The implication for women is that issues pertinent to them, such as providing child care facilities at work, are pushed further away from the agenda.

The survey also showed that women are perceived as noticeably absent from managerial positions (see Table 19). According to the survey, 86.8 per cent of men and 75.6 per cent of women say that managerial positions are held solely or mostly by men. Yet, heads of the media institutions consistently maintained during the interviews that promotion is based on merit and competence. Daily News Managing Editor Mapunda said, "Commitment and diligence is what counts... gender is not an issue here." Indeed, there were no obvious cases uncovered during the study where women journalists were denied promotion because of their gender. But, as seen earlier in the discussion, the deeply rooted attitudes and opinions that the media managers held regarding women journalists and their "appropriate" roles are likely to affect decisions on promotion. It has been argued that the assignment of women to "soft" news beats has contributed to their subordinate and secondary roles in the mass media. Therefore, one would expect that promotion for women in the six media institutions examined here is likely to be slower for women than for men.

In addition, experience shows that promotion of a married woman often involves prior consultation with her husband. For example, the RTD sought the consent of the husband of one of its senior journalists before it was decided that she be transferred to the Morogoro region to head the East and Coastal Zone office. "I was surprised with the action," she remarked. "I found it quite unnecessary. This action makes one thing clear: that we (women) do not have autonomy over our professional lives. A woman's life is her husband's business both at home and at work." But a high-ranking official of the RTD defends the process, arguing that it is improper to make decisions that may negatively affect a marriage. It is evident that the general concern here is women's success in the home. In other words, this female journalist's transfer (and therefore promotion) might not have materialised if her husband had objected to the transfer. Yet, transfers that involve men in the media or in any other public institution, do not require a wife's consent; it is assumed that she will follow her husband wherever he goes.

TABLE 19**DESCRIPTION OF THE MANAGERIAL DISTRIBUTION BY GENDER**

Describe the managerial distribution	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Only females	---.---	---.---
Mostly females	3.8%	5.4%
Same females and males	9.4%	18.9%
Mostly males	60.4%	51.3%
<u>Only males</u>	<u>26.4%</u>	<u>24.3%</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>99.9%</u>

N= 90

Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

3. Perceptions of Women Journalists

Generally, women journalists see themselves as highly committed and involved in their work. During the interviews comments like "Journalism is my life," "My work comes first," and "I will never quit," were made repeatedly. Apart from being a means of economic independence, most women noted that media work is "exciting", "enlightening" and "challenging". However, they expressed frustration in attempting to reconcile professional and domestic lives. They see the multiple roles they fulfill and the traditional attitudes they face as reinforcing their marginalization at work. Thirty of the women interviewed have children and 23 of these are married. The conflicts encountered in trying to maintain a delicate balance between their public and private lives are real and evident in their remarks: "I become impatient after 4p.m.," "I hate late night shifts," "The boss does not understand my situation."

Despite their awareness of the impact of patriarchy and societal biases on women, women journalists also feel they lack confidence and aggressiveness. Some of them observed: "Women are ill-educated, lack initiative and are too passive;" "Most of us are inward-looking;" "Women give up easily;" "Women think that men are the rightful leaders." These self-demeaning attitudes are a result of their upbringing; women are socialised to believe that they are inadequate, responsible only for the home, and dependent on men. Normally, women internalize these roles and notions. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that all the women interviewed for this thesis preferred beats such as "women" and "children" (see Table 20). Some 36.1 per cent of women compared to 6.3 per cent of men preferred to cover the women's beat. They feel close to the beat because these are the main issues they can comfortably relate to. The journalists argued that if they did not cover these issues, nobody else in the media would.

Women journalists expressed disappointment over the lack of cooperation among themselves. Women in the middle cadres 70 per cent of whom head research or training sec-

TABLE 20**BEAT PREFERENCE BY GENDER**

	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Which beat do <u>you prefer?</u>		
Parliament	14.6 %	19.4 %
Courts	---.--	2.8 %
Women	6.3 %	36.1 %
Crime	10.4 %	---.--
Foreign	14.6 %	11.1 %
Arts	2.1 %	5.6 %
Sports	6.3 %	---.--
Accidents	2.1 %	---.--
<u>Social Issues</u>	<u>43.8 %</u>	<u>25.0 %</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>99.9 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 84

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

tions, and those at the lower ranks do not get along well. The women who are in the middle posts said that male subordinates were more cooperative and easier to work with than other women. They could not explain why but said perhaps female subordinates resented having women taking a leadership role. The women also complained that women subordinates tended to ask for permission to leave early because they expect a woman "boss" will understand.

E. TANZANIA MEDIA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (TAMWA)

With the recognition of their marginal role in the media, women journalists in Tanzania have attempted to improve their lot. The Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) was formed in 1987 to work towards the advancement of women journalists. In January 1988, rallying behind the association, women journalists for the first time, protested unequal treatment at work. During a seminar, "The Portrayal of Women in the Media and in Language in Tanzania" organised by TAMWA, they noted: "Women suffer more than male journalists when it comes to assignments. We are not given 'big stories' (to cover) that are regarded as quite challenging in order to widen our scope."

According to founding members, TAMWA was formed and registered amidst considerable resistance by male journalists in media institutions and other authorities within the information and communications field. They questioned the relevance and need for TAMWA given the existence of a national journalist association, the Tanzania Journalists Association (TAJA). Others argued that if TAMWA was for the promotion of women's rights, there already existed a national women's organisation, - Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT).

TAMWA was thus viewed as another organisation for "women's liberation." Although this is implicit in the association's objectives, TAMWA's main concern and desire is to promote professional excellence among media women through training; to encourage women to join journalism; and to establish and enhance awareness among

women in general.

In the past two years, TAMWA's efforts have been directed towards publishing a woman's quarterly magazine, the first of its kind in the country. Produced on a voluntary basis, the magazine Sauti ya Siti focuses on improving the general status of Tanzanian women. Through Sauti ya Siti, the association is taking a more educational approach to issues related to gender roles and gender relations. The magazine's editor, Leila Sheikh-Hashim, said they were still far from tackling issues which, for instance, are relevant to rural women. She said: "We are writing issues that interest us (women journalists) and not so much about what the majority of women would want to read."

Sauti ya Siti, which also uses articles written by male journalists, is published in English as well as in the national language of Swahili. Most of TAMWA's 55 registered members are employed by the major mass media institutions and write articles for the magazine in their spare time.

Like most non-governmental organisations in the country, TAMWA faces financial problems. All members of the editorial board are unpaid. Normally, some members help out in distributing the magazine to vendors, mailing to subscribers and soliciting advertisements. At the time of this survey, TAMWA was looking for an office. It was housed temporarily in a small room at the headquarters of the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) in Dar es salaam. In fact, CUSO and the Canadian Organization for Development through Education (CODE) have been the main contributors to TAMWA's efforts. The two organisations give material and financial support to cover some of the administrative and printing costs.

Despite financial problems, most TAMWA members say that the association is already making an impact through its magazine. They made reference to articles in Sauti ya Siti, saying that the feedback they receive from readers is overwhelming. Anna Gabba, a veteran journalist assigned to the magazine's circulation desk, said: "It is inspiring to get this reaction from our readers despite the low circulation of 5,000 copies."

TAMWA has, however, not yet addressed the specific concerns of women journalists, such as employment, training, work trips and promotion and the issues of benefits at work. Although its commitment to issues concerning women in general is important, the diversified attention may stall the process of improving the conditions under which women journalists work. But again, TAMWA, like other associations, does not have legal powers to enforce changes within media institutions. The association can only make suggestions aimed at changing some of the "visible" and "invisible" barriers faced by its members at work. One thing is certain: TAMWA has the potential for initiating change in societal attitudes towards women. The magazine and the various educational campaigns that TAMWA has been organising such as "maternal mortality," "women and environment," "portrayal of women in the media," can go a long way in eliminating some prejudices against women.

F. CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to show that women are underrepresented in the media in general and that their absence is most noticeable in powerful positions in the institutions. This means women are unlikely to influence policy and practices in relation to women's roles and status, or even in media content.

There is little overt discrimination in the mass media, but unlike men, women do not enjoy full employee benefits because their participation is regarded as secondary. The dual roles of home and work make working conditions difficult for women particularly because there are no facilities such as day care to alleviate the workload. In addition, patriarchal attitudes about the role of women in the private and public sphere have indirectly imposed restrictions on women's professional roles. Women are, therefore, "ghettoised" in the so-called "feminine" beats where they have little room for advancement. These beats include women's issues, children and social issues that do not get prominence in either the print or electronic media.

Sexist attitudes, biases and presumptions which constitute the "invisible barriers" and compound women's discrimination in the media are the ones most difficult to scale. Unless there occurs change in attitudes towards women's role and position in the Tanzanian society, these barriers will continue to militate against women's advancement in the media. In addition, women's low status and marginal role is likely to persist because women themselves do not view some of the male-dominated attitudes and practices as discriminatory.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion has sought to establish the context for understanding the role and status of women in Tanzania's mass media institutions, institutions which are charged with, among other tasks, building an equitable society. The chapters can be looked at in two broad areas: the situation of women in Tanzania as a developing society, and the role of the media in promoting or preventing the realization of gender equality.

The analysis in this study supports the contention that apart from the overall poverty present in developing countries, patriarchy, which finds its expression in a traditional sexual division of labour and in sexist attitudes, is the major factor in the subordination of women. The socialization process assigns men and women to specific gender roles and thereby affects women's status in the public and private sectors.

The analysis suggests also that Tanzania's socialist strategy, an approach which stresses human equality and elimination of human exploitation, has not provided a viable solution to women's oppression. The inadequacies in state policies, most of which are permeated by sexist attitudes in the forms of "customary laws", have in fact contributed to women's subordination. A new approach is required, one that will address women's double burden at home and work as well as the cultural attitudes that undermine the status of women.

But while we take note of the deficiencies, it is imperative to note that Tanzania's official ideology has been instrumental in the modest advance women have realised in education, employment and political participation. Policies and programs such as the 1977 Universal Primary Education (UPE) directive, requiring parents to send all their children to school, was intended, among other things, to reduce illiteracy among girls who until then were kept at home for housework or early marriage. In addition, the direct entry of girls to higher learning institutes was a measure to increase the number of well-educated and qualified women, and the allocation of preferential seats for women in the

Parliament was a means to increase their participation in the country's political decision-making process.

In the body of this thesis it has been argued that when measured by any standard of development, the status of women is lower than that of men. In this context, professional women, such as women journalists, confront socio-cultural attitudes and conditions which shape their domestic and their public roles. For instance, the fact that women journalists predominate in the less prestigious beats of "women" and "children" and male reporters dominate beats like the State House, Parliament, economics and sports suggests that the state-owned, bureaucratic and hierarchical media institutions are not devoid of die-hard attitudes and prejudices against women.

The study has also identified another problem that limits women's upward mobility in developing countries: the male-dominated political and economic structures which are insensitive to difficulties faced by women. For example, because most of the mass media institutions are state-owned, they cannot function as independent agents of change. The interrelationship between these institutions and political economic systems reflect the limitations of media organizations in bringing about changes such as improving gender relations at work and in the home. Notwithstanding this, the study recognises the potential the media have in promoting human equality and development, and therefore, assumed that these institutions were better placed in terms of identifying policies or practices that contradict the national ideology of socialism and self-reliance.

On the basis of this study and from personal observation and experience, it is clear that there is no policy of discrimination against women in the public sphere in general, and the media in particular. However, there is often subtle or hidden discrimination which becomes visible in the opinions held by men about women's role in society. Women's own perceptions about their roles and capabilities should also be viewed as a contributing factor to this discrimination. For example, the tendency among women journalists to prefer the women's beat and their complaints about a lack of confidence among themselves further complicate the existing subtle discrimination and alludes to

the fact that their low status is also a result of the socialization process in the society as a whole.

The data from this study confirm that the potential of women to influence policy or promote change in the mass media in Tanzania, is currently negligible. The data also suggest that the situation is likely to remain, given the structure of media institutions, patterns of employment and pervasive traditional attitudes, particularly among the heads of the institutions.

A number of factors have emerged from the study which suggest that the media play a conservative role in reinforcing traditional attitudes and beliefs. These factors include the gender composition of the media workforce; women are underrepresented in general and are virtually absent from positions of power.

As in the study, senior journalists who are more likely to take up leadership roles tend to view women mainly as homemakers and better suited for "soft" news such as women and children issues. Senior journalists, who are predominantly male, deny that gender is an important factor in the allocation of beats. The implication of this is that strong sexist views regarding women's proper roles exist in the top echelons of the media institutions, reflecting the existence of a sexual division of labour that subjects women to peripheral duties and dual roles.

Although junior journalists are more likely to see egalitarianism in, for instance, beat allocation, the study shows that the longer one works in the media the more likely he/she would assimilate conservative, traditional attitudes and practices. For example, in terms of news judgement, both male and female, junior and senior journalists argued that the women's beat receives less coverage than the Parliament beat. This consensual agreement is, argues Epstein, "derived from the common occupational experiences, standardized criteria and practices transmitted from the more to the less experienced, from the higher to the lower ranking" (Epstein, 1978:90).

The subordination of women journalists should also be viewed as a consequence of

the general orientation of the mass media in Tanzania. The mass media are directed by the state's political and economic imperatives, mainly to encourage the people to increase production for economic development. In the wake of the economic crisis the country is facing, the government's priority has been to increase cash crop production for export in order to earn foreign exchange needed to service the economy. In view of this, gender issues do not take precedence in the media. Although prioritising economic development is urgent and necessary, Molyneaux argues that it "does make the achievement of other socialist goals, among them complete sexual equality, dependent on the success of the development strategy" (Molyneaux, 1984:180).

It is, therefore, not surprising that most public institutions, including the mass media, do not have child care facilities necessary to alleviate women's multiple roles. In fact, researchers like Molyneux have argued that apart from state's concern for economic growth, the provision of nurseries is less likely to be a state's priority when there is an overall pressure on resources.

At the societal level, media have a two-way relationship with social reality: to reflect what exists and to affect social reality. "By gradually shaping public opinion, personal beliefs and even people's self perceptions, media influences the process of socialization and shapes ideology and thinking" (Bhasin, 1984:9). Therefore traditional attitudes and practices within the mass media in Tanzania and stereotypes conveyed by these institutions are likely to persist, particularly because development communication media are not only silent about the role of women as workers and professionals but also show them as "mothers and housewives" (Bhasin, 1984:10).

Given the centrality of Tanzania's media to its developmental plans, the attitudes, assumptions and definitions of women's roles relayed by the media are normally taken seriously, hence reinforcing women's marginal position in society. As Bhasin observes: "Because such media sounds serious, authoritative and concerned about development, the stereotypes it perpetuates are likely to be more effective. Further, because it is the brainchild of development and communication experts, its inaccuracies are more harm-

ful and alarming" (Bhasin, 1987:136).

Against this background, therefore, there is an urgent need for affirmative action in the mass media (and in other male-dominated professions) that would challenge employers to examine their hiring and promotion practices with a view to correcting previous patterns of treating women as a peripheral workforce. Very recent research argues that affirmative action programs have had a positive impact in some countries on traditional recruitment, training and promotion. Furthermore, research is showing that labour market sex segregation patterns that are cultural in origin break down easily in the face of changes in labour demand (Dixon-Muellor & Anker, 1988:21).

Affirmative action will encourage women to assume roles of power where they can influence policy. It has been argued that once at the top, women can have significant professional impact on the attitudes of their male colleagues (Schultz-Brooks, 1985:417). Gallagher agrees that occupants in decision-making positions have an opportunity to influence policy and practice in the media (Gallagher, 1987:14). If affirmative action is encouraged by the media, it is likely to be adopted by other public institutions because, as researchers like Hornick have argued, substantial short term positive effects have been recorded from educational and other campaigns by the media in developing countries (Hornick, 1988:133).

There is, therefore, a need to increase the number of women journalists and to improve women's access to beats that are normally covered by men, beats that involve travel so as to enable women to gain relevant experience for upward mobility in the profession. Certainly, as Gallagher has repeatedly argued in her studies, increasing women's employment will not by itself eliminate gender hierarchies and sex stereotypes in the mass media (or other public organizations). Since the struggle to overcome problems faced by women in the media and elsewhere concern the society as a whole, there is a need for structural change in both the mass media institutions themselves and the society in general.

Because women's subordination is also a result of socialization processes within

the patriarchal system of Tanzania, there is a need to work towards changing women's self-perceptions. One of the ways this could be achieved is by encouraging younger female journalists to branch out of the stereotypical beats in the media in order to attain greater visibility and relevant experience, as well as to gain confidence. The other way is through professional women journalists themselves: they should introduce an awareness of the women's dimension in the articles they write and programs they compile. Through their association (Tanzania Media Women's Association-TAMWA), and through their quarterly magazine, *Sauti ya Siti*, women journalists should continue to discuss women's concerns in a bid to raise women's consciousness because it is not just male consciousness that needs to be tackled. And since most TAMWA members are employees of publicly-owned mass media, they could instil in their articles carried in the mainstream media a sense of urgency in addressing and rectifying injustices that women face.

It has been argued that in singling women out for special attention, media have had the effect of highlighting some of the specific problems that exist and that need to be solved. Viewed in this light, TAMWA has a great potential to initiate discussion on issues around women's multiple roles, women's unpaid reproductive role, women's legal rights, violence against women etc, and also to challenge attitudes and practices that militate against their advancement. But TAMWA should be observant of the fact that its work does not merely underline women's marginality as experience has shown in similar ventures in other countries.

To a large extent, the study confirms that although women play a crucial role in Tanzania's socio-economic development, their roles in the spheres of production and reproduction are undervalued. The undervaluation of women's public and domestic contribution to society and the structural and cultural barriers women face impede their full participation in the country's development process. Consequently, women's access to and representation in the labour-market in general and male-dominated professions like journalism in particular is limited.

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D. INTERVIEWS

CONDUCTED IN TANZANIA

Heads and senior officials in the Mass Media Institutions.

Bawazir, Omar ---- Deputy Editor, Uhuru/Mzalendo

Binamungu, Deogratius ---- Head of Journalism Department,
Nyegezi Social Training Institute (NSTI)

Dau, Abdulhamid ---- Program Director Television Zanzibar

Foum, Mussa Jahi ---- Chief News Editor, Radio Zanzibar

Hamdani, Mariam ----Deputy Director, Radio Zanzibar

Kasingo, Jaffar --- Deputy Director, Television Zanzibar

Mapunda, Joseph --- Managing Editor, Daily/Sunday News

Mhango, Reginald --- News Editor, Daily/Sunday News

Mohamed, Ali Ameir --- Managing Editor, Uhuru/Mzalendo

Mpenda, Kassim --- News Editor, Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam (RTD)

Mshuza, Michael --- Principal Editor, Tanzania News Agency (Shihata)

Mushi, Wencelaus --- Deputy Editor, Daily/Sunday News

Mwafisi, Samwilu --- Principal, Tanzania School of Journalism

**Ngororo, Abdallah --- Director of Information, Ministry of Information
and Broadcasting**

Salim, Ali --- Chief Program Director, Radio Zanzibar

Seleke, Juma --- Acting Engineer, RTD

Sengo, Juma --- Circulation Manager, Daily/Sunday News

Suluhu, Rashid --- News Editor, Television Zanzibar

Other Journalists Interviewed.

Abdallah, Raya ---- Radio Zanzibar

Ali, Mkumbwa --- Daily/Sunday News

Ally, Zainab --- Television Zanzibar

Ameir, Asha Jecha --- Television Zanzibar

Che Mponda, Chemi --- Daily/Sunday News

Dumba, Sarah --- RTD

Gabba, Anna --- TAMWA Sauti ya Siti

Gogo, Hannah --- RTD

Haji, Rose --- RTD

Hamdani, Mariam --- Radio Zanzibar

Hamisi, Flora --- Shihata

Hassan, Shariffa --- Radio Zanzibar

Isabula, Elisia --- RTD

Juma, Nassor --- Television Zanzibar

Kaaya, Martha --- RTD

Kalemera, Rose --- Daily/Sunday News

Karashani, Robert --- Daily/Sunday News

Kassanda, Fauziat --- RTD

Kibona, Giveness --- RTD

Kidela, Nellie --- RTD

Kihemba, Halima --- RTD

Kijumbe, Esther --- RTD

Kilungu, Rose --- RTD

Kipozi, Sango --- RTD

Kitururu, Moses --- Daily/Sunday News

Kuhanga, Veneranda --- Information Services

Kulekana, John --- Daily/Sunday News

Kyaruzi, Agnes --- Uhuru/Mzalendo

Liganga, Lucas --- Daily/Sunday News

Lyimo, Stephen --- RTD

Maneno, Aloysia --- RTD

Maro, Ichikaeli --- Daily/Sunday News

Mauggo, Wallace --- Information Services

Meena, Heavenlight --- RTD

Mfamao, Salama --- RTD

Mkangala, Rose --- RTD

Mussa, Neema --- RTD

Mwakosya, Tumaini --- RTD

Mwenda, Deborah --- RTD

Mwiromba, Halima --- Shihata

Mzuanda, Betty --- Shihata

Nkya, Ananilea --- RTD

Riyami, Khadija --- Daily/ Sunday News

Sanga, Edda --- RTD

Shaba, Maria --- RTD

Sheikh-Hashim, Leila --- TAMWA Sauti ya Siti

Temba, Pudenciana --- Daily/ Sunday News

Tesha, Jacob --- RTD

APPENDIX A

CHART I: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

CHART II: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

CHART III: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE: UHURU/MZALENDO

SOURCE: Omar Bawazir (Deputy Editor Uhuru/Mzalendo) M.A. in Journalism Thesis, pp. 39, (1988) Cardiff University, London.

CHART IV: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE: DAILY AND SUNDAY NEWS

SOURCE: Tanzania Standard Newspapers (Personnel Dept.), 1989.

CHART V: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE:
EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT — UHURU/MZALENDO NEWSPAPERS

SOURCE: Omar Bawazir (Deputy Editor Uhuru/Mzalendo) M.A. in Journalism Thesis, pp. 43, (1988) Cardiff University, London.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Indicate Male/Female

1. How long have you been working in the media?

Under five years _____

6 - 10 years _____

11 - 15 years _____

16 - 20 years _____

21 years & above _____

2. Do you work:

Full-time _____

Part-time _____

Freelance _____

3. If you are in Radio/Television/Print, what section are you in?

Programs _____

Newsroom _____

Others _____

4. In what category are you in?

Editor _____

Sub-Editor _____

News Editor _____

Researcher _____

Producer _____

Reporter _____

Columnist/Commentator _____

Anchor _____

Other Specify _____

5. How old are you?

Under 20 years	_____
20 - 29 years	_____
30 - 39 years	_____
40 - 49 years	_____
50 - 55 years	_____
56 and above	_____

6. Do you belong to any professional (Journalistic) organization?

Yes	_____
No	_____

7. Would you say your main assignment beat is?

Parliament	_____
Courts	_____
Women issues	_____
Local politics	_____
Crime	_____
Foreign news	_____
Arts/Culture	_____
Sports	_____
Accidents	_____
Social issues	_____

8. How much of your time is spent on 'beat' work?

All	_____
Almost all	_____
More than half	_____
About half	_____
Less than half	_____
No time	_____

9. Who covers each of the following beats?**Parliament**

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

10. Courts

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

11. Women Issues

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

12. Local Politics

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

13. Crime

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

14. Foreign News

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

15. Arts/Culture

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

16. Sports

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

17. Accidents

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

18. Social Issues

Only males	_____
Mostly males	_____
More males than females	_____
About the same	_____
More females than males	_____
Mostly females	_____
Only females	_____

19. Which of the following beats do you prefer covering and rank it.
(1 - preferred most).

Parliament	—
Courts	—
Women issues	—
Crime	—
Foreign news	—
Arts/Culture	—
Sports	—
Accidents	—
Social issues	—

20. What is the beat mainly assigned to you and rank it.
(1 - preferred most).

Parliament	—
Courts	—
Women issues	—
Crime	—
Foreign news	—
Arts/Culture	—
Sports	—
Accidents	—
Social issues	—

21. How important are the following in allocating beats to you?

Gender:

Very important	—
Relatively important	—
Important	—
Less important	—
Not important at all	—

22. Competence:

Very important	—
----------------	---

Relatively important _____
 Important _____
 Less important _____
 Not important at all _____

23. Shortage of staff

Very important _____
 Relatively important _____
 Important _____
 Less important _____
 Not important at all _____

24. Do you experience sex discrimination or sexual harassment at work?

Yes _____
 No _____
 Don't know _____
 No comment _____

25. How satisfied are you with your work?

Very satisfied _____
 Relatively satisfied _____
 Satisfied _____
 Dissatisfied _____
 No comment _____

26. Would you say you are comfortable working under female supervisor (boss)?

Very comfortable _____
 Relatively comfortable _____
 Comfortable _____
 As comfortable as with a male boss _____
 Less comfortable _____
 Not comfortable at all _____

27. How would you describe the managerial distribution in your news organisation?

All males	—
Mostly males	—
More males than females	—
About the same number	—
More females than males	—
Mostly females	—
All females	—

28. How would you rate the coverage of the following issues by your media institution?

Parliament

Far too much	—
Much	—
Adequate	—
Little	—
Far too little	—

29. Courts

Far too much	—
Much	—
Adequate	—
Little	—
Far too little	—

30. Women issues

Far too much	—
Much	—
Adequate	—
Little	—
Far too little	—

31. Local Politics

Far too much	—
Much	—
Adequate	—

Little _____
 Far too little _____

33. Crime

Far too much _____
 Much _____
 Adequate _____
 Little _____
 Far too little _____

34. Foreign news

Far too much _____
 Much _____
 Adequate _____
 Little _____
 Far too little _____

35. Arts/ Culture

Far too much _____
 Much _____
 Adequate _____
 Little _____
 Far too little _____

36. Sports

Far too much _____
 Much _____
 Adequate _____
 Little _____
 Far too little _____

37. Accidents

Far too much _____
 Much _____
 Adequate _____
 Little _____

Far too little _____

38. Social issues

Far too much _____

Much _____

Adequate _____

Little _____

Far too little _____

**39. Since journalist is said to be a male's preserve,
do you think employing women journalists is:**

Very important/ necessary _____

Relatively important _____

Important _____

Not important at all _____

No comment _____

40. How would you rate female journalists with respect to privileges at work?

More privileged than male journalists _____

As privileged as male journalists _____

Less privileged than male journalists _____

Not privileged at all _____

No comment _____

41. What is your marital status?

Married with children _____

Married without children _____

Single with children _____

Single without children _____

Divorced with children _____

Divorced without children	_____
Widow with children	_____
Widow without children	_____
Widower with children	_____
Widower without children	_____

42. To what extent do you think your career has been interrupted by family responsibilities?

Extremely interrupted	_____
Slightly interrupted	_____
Interrupted	_____
Not interrupted at all	_____

43. Do you think your family responsibilities have negatively affected your opportunities for promotion?

Extremely affected	_____
Slightly affected	_____
Affected	_____
Not affected at all	_____

44. Does your work negatively affect your family life?

Very much	_____
Barely	_____
Not at all	_____
Don't know	_____

45. What is your level of education?

Diploma in journalism	_____
Degree in journalism	_____
Certificate in journalism	_____
Diploma in other field	_____
Degree in other field	_____

Certificate in other field	_____
No professional training at all	_____
On the job training	_____

46. What other comments do you have about the situation of female journalists?

47. Where would you be in the following monthly income brackets?

Less than 1,000 shillings	_____
1,000 sh. - 2,500 sh.	_____
2,500 sh. - 3,500 sh.	_____
3,500 sh. - 4,500 sh.	_____
4,500 sh. - 5,500 sh.	_____
5,500 sh. and above	_____

* Indicate Male/Female

APPENDIX C

TABLE C₁

SPORTS BEAT BY GENDER

Who covers	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>sports news</u>		
Only females	1.9 %	2.7 %
More females than males	3.8 %	----
Same females and males	7.8 %	13.5 %
More males than females	69.3 %	70.2 %
<u>Only males</u>	<u>17.3%</u>	<u>13.5%</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.1 %</u>	<u>99.9%</u>

N=89

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE C₂**COVERING SPORTS BEAT BY LENGTH OF SERVICE**

Perceptions on who covers <u>Sports</u>	<u>YEARS IN THE MEDIA</u>				
	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>20 Plus</u>
Only females	---	---	9.1 %	---	---
More females than males	5.6%	---	4.5 %	---	---
Same females & males	27.8%	21.1%	13.6 %	5.6%	---
More males than females	55.5%	57.9%	70.6%	66.7%	---
<u>Only males</u>	<u>1.1%</u>	<u>21.1%</u>	<u>2.1%</u>	<u>27.8%</u>	<u>---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>99.9%</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>100%</u>

N=79

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE C₃**CRIME BEAT BY GENDER**

Who covers <u>Crime news</u>	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Only females	2.0%	---.---
More females than males	2.0 %	2.9%
Same females and males	18.0 %	28.6 %
More males than females	68.0 %	68.6%
<u>Only males</u>	<u>10.0%</u>	<u>---.---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100.1%</u>

N=85

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE C₄
COVERING CRIME BEAT BY AGE

Perceptions on who covers	<u>Journalists' Age Range</u>		
<u>Crime Beat</u>	<u>20 - 29</u>	<u>30 - 39</u>	<u>40 - 49</u>
Only females	---.---	---.---	---.---
Mostly females	---.---	4.0%	12.5%
Same female and male	40.7%	16.0 %	---.---
Mostly males	59.2%	70.0 %	87.5 %
<u>Only males</u>	<u>---.---</u>	<u>10.0 %</u>	<u>---.---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>99.9 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 85

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE C₅FOREIGN BEAT BY GENDER

Who covers <u>foreign news</u>	GENDER	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Mostly females	2.0%	5.6 %
Same females and males	43.1 %	27.8 %
Mostly males	52.9%	63.9%
<u>Only males</u>	<u>2.0%</u>	<u>2.8 %</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100.1%</u>

N=87

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE C₆COVERING FOREIGN BEAT BY AGE

Perceptions on who covers	<u>Journalists' Age Range.</u>		
<u>Foreign news beat.</u>	<u>20 - 29</u>	<u>30 - 39</u>	<u>40 - 49</u>
Only female	---.---	---.---	---.---
Mostly females	3.6 %	3.9%	---.---
Same female & male	57.1 %	47.1 %	25.0 %
Mostly males	39.3 %	45.1 %	75.0 %
<u>Only males</u>	<u>---.---</u>	<u>3.9 %</u>	<u>---.---</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>	<u>100 %</u>

N= 87

Numbers may not add up to 100 % due to rounding.

TABLE C7**COVERING FOREIGN NEWS BEAT BY LENGTH OF SERVICE**

Perceptions on who covers	Years In The Media				
	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>20 Plus</u>
<u>Foreign beat</u>					
Mostly females	---.--	5.3%	4.4%	5.6%	---.--
Same female & male	55.6%	42.1%	50.0%	50.0%	---.--
Mostly Males	38.9%	52.7%	45.5%	44.5%	100.0%
<u>Only Males</u>	<u>5.6%</u>	<u>---.--</u>	<u>---.--</u>	<u>---.--</u>	<u>---.--</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100.1%</u>	<u>100%</u>

N= 79

Numbers may not add up to 100 per cent due to rounding.

The Monday Memo

Carleton School of Journalism

24 September 1990

Hike sought in promotion requirement

The School wants first-year J-students to have a B+ in J.100 and an average of B overall before being guaranteed a spot in second year. The proposal, which will go before Arts Faculty Board's curriculum committee early next month, would allow the School to maintain better control on the number of students in our four-year program.

Director **Tony Westell** says that if the B+/B regulation had been in place this year, 62 students would have been guaranteed second-year standing.

That would have let the School admit transfer applicants with A grades. They were not considered this year because of a squeeze on those coming from J.100.

The B+/B proposal was decided upon after undergrad supervisor **Joe Scanlon** examined the academic records of last year's first-year class. The number with a B+ both in J.100 and overall was 46, while 94 students had a B in both.

This fall under the current floor for guaranteed promotion — B- in J.100 and B- overall — enrolment mushroomed. A fifth section of J.220, more sessional faculty and additional TV equipment were all required as a result.

The departmental committee unanimously agreed to ask for a raise in the promotion standard as a way of maintaining quality.

First-year students meet big hitters

Journalism 100 is a model course for providing first-year students with social and intellectual adjustment and survival skills, says the report of the Task Force on the First Year in Arts.

And part of that mandate was carried out at J.100's opening class when the students met — in addition to usual suspects **Chris Dornan**, **Dan Pottier** and **Joe Scanlon** — some other university personalities.

Among those briefly speaking to the class were associate dean **Leonard Librande**, student president (and J-student) **Heather Fraser**, ombudsman **Jim Kennelly**, and director **Tony Westell**.

According to Tony, the students were "enormously impressed" with another item on the class agenda, the screen-

ing of last year's J.490 film, *Tracking Max*. It's about the superhour news war between CJOH and CBOT.

Centre debuts seminars Wednesday

The biweekly series of noonhour seminars promised by our new Media and Communication Research Centre begins Wednesday when University of Ottawa prof **Robert Babe** speaks on "Communication: Blindspot of Western Economics."

The 90-minute seminar is scheduled to start at noon in room SP345.

"Our mystery caterer will provide sandwiches and drinks to the first 20 attendees," adds Centre honcho **Vinny Mosco**.

The social whirl begins anew

Circle that social calendar now! Faculty, staff and significant others will soon be issued formal invitations to the kick-off gala party of the academic year, and your hostess wants everyone to keep the date open.

The party will be held at the home of associate director (and party animal) **Eileen Saunders** on Friday, Oct. 12.

Check with **Chris Dornan** on the dress code, she cheekily adds.

Six to attend Ryerson powwow

Carleton will send six representatives to a meeting of Canadian journalism educators Saturday. One of them, **Roger Bird**, will be participating in a panel on innovative teaching methods.

The other delegates are **Tony Westell**, **Chris Dornan**, **Mary McGuire**, **Klaus Pohle** and your humble editor.

Other attendees will hail from King's College, Laval, Concordia, Regina, Western and UQAM.

A key discussion is on possible formation of a journalism educators' association. It's expected debate will tackle the appropriate breadth of membership of such a body, and whether the group should align with either the Canadian Assn. of Journalists or the Canadian Communication Assn.

Tony will also attend a meeting of J-school directors on Friday. On that agenda is discussion of affirmative action policies for J-school admissions.

Revised Ph.D. proposal goes up the line

Stuart Adam and Vinny Mosco, who jointly wrote the recent draft of the School's Ph.D. proposal, want to thank those who commented on it.

"These comments have been incorporated into the next draft," says Vinny. The proposal will now be sent to the graduate studies faculty for university consideration.

Among changes made were a call for increases in staff and physical space to meet program needs, and the consistent use of "Communication" rather than "Communications" throughout.

with the heads of Swedish subsidiaries in Canada. They met for a day-long series of workshops marking the inauguration of the new Swedish embassy by Prince Bertil.

-- PJ

J-faculty elected to Arts committees

Two J-profs were elected to committees of Arts Faculty Board at the board's first meeting of the academic year, held Friday.

Paul Attallah will serve a three-year term on the faculty's planning committee, chaired by Dean Janice Yalden. The committee is in charge of long-range planning in Arts.

Vinny Mosco is now a member of the faculty-wide promotions committee, also for a three-year period. Recently Roger Bird completed a stint on the same body.

Peter Bruck heads Austrian research

Peter Bruck has been named principal investigator for a joint government-industry inquiry into the economics and future of the print media in Austria.

The announcement was made earlier this month at a press conference in Vienna by the minister of science and research, Erhard Busek.

The government is putting up the equivalent of \$1.2 million Cdn., while Austria's independent newspaper publishers are providing an additional \$300,000.

Peter says the two-year study is innovative in three ways. It was developed with the help of a prior study by a Zurich academic, it is jointly funded, and there will be ongoing consultation with academics, the publishing community and the "political and cultural public."

Even shorter takes

Vinny Mosco has accepted an invitation to serve on the board of the journal *Science as Culture*.... Alan Frizzell could well have his hands full when he chairs a debate between poll-basher Claire Hoy and two pollsters — Angus Reid and Dale Harley — tomorrow. The breakfast seminar, sponsored by the International Assn. of Business Communicators, is at the National Arts Centre.... Your humble editor talked on media relations Wednesday

END

1 2 0 4 9 1

FIN