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Negotiating the Local and the Global: Television in Tanzania
(Televesheni ya jamia ya watu)

by

Sandra C. Smeltzer, B.A. (Hons.)

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

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
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and Research acceptance of the thesis

**Negotiating the Local and the Global: Television in
Tanzania (Televesheni ya jamia ya watu)**

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
November 13, 1998

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of television in Tanzania. It discusses the local and global pressures that have been placed on the introduction and maintenance of both private and public television in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. Field research, conducted in Tanzania over a period of five months (January - May, 1997), revealed that the Tanzanian context is very complex, with the government attempting to play a pivotal role in balancing conflicting internal and external pressures. Many scholars have expressed concern that television has increasingly become a vehicle for the cultural invasion of foreign images, ideas and commodities into the developing world. This invasion is often assumed to detrimentally and irreversibly affect receiving audiences. However, it is important to recognize the human agency and resistance that exists within developing countries. The thesis illustrates that, despite internal power negotiations and the presence of foreign programming, the local in Tanzania has maintained considerable control over this new medium.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"The intertwinings of local, regional, national and global cultures are now complex beyond reckoning. Cultures flow in, out, around, and through state borders; within states, centres radiate to peripheries but peripheries influence centres, too..." (Schudson 1994: 77).

This thesis will examine the role of television in the East African country of Tanzania. It will discuss the local and global pressures that have been placed on the introduction and maintenance of both private and public television in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. In order to obtain sufficient information to conduct this case study, field research was conducted in Tanzania over a period of five months (January - May, 1997). The research revealed that the Tanzanian context is very complex, with the government attempting to play a pivotal role in balancing conflicting internal and external pressures. Internally, the government is being pressured by local Tanzanian groups, including the media industry, academics and non-governmental organizations, to relinquish more control to private Tanzanian media interests. In addition to these internal pressures, the Tanzanian government is also struggling to 'protect' local content on television in an era of deregulation, liberalization and technological advances that allow media to transcend traditional borders (e.g., satellite television). Many scholars have expressed concern that these trends have made television a vehicle for the cultural invasion of foreign images, foreign ideas and commodities into the developing world. This invasion is often

assumed to detrimentally and irreversibly affect receiving audiences. However, it is important to recognize the human agency and resistance that exists within developing countries. This thesis illustrates that, despite internal power negotiations and the presence of foreign programming, the local in Tanzania has maintained considerable control over this new medium.

Background to The Study

Similar to many post-colonial countries, Tanzania is in the process of (re)inventing itself. After gaining independence in 1964, Julius Nyerere, the first president of The United Republic of Tanzania, initiated a type of "African socialism". This socialist strategy was named *Ujamaa*, or brotherhood in Kiswahili, the national language of Tanzania. In the aftermath of colonial rule, President Nyerere had hoped that *Ujamaa* would bring together the tribally diverse groups living within the borders of Tanzania.¹ Although *Ujamaa* was successful in driving Tanzanian nationalism, it required extensive state intervention in social and economic spheres. In the 1980's *Ujamaa* began to crumble under these costly interventions, as well as international pressure for economic reform. Poor domestic

¹ The national borders of many African countries are often considered artificial in nature. During the colonial era, European countries partitioned the African continent and created borders irrespective of previous tribal land delineations. In his discussion of the history of the 'Third World', development specialist Arturo Escobar states that "...non-European areas have been systematically organized into, and transformed according to, European constructs" (1995: 7).

economic policies created an inefficient state-owned sector which, when coupled with “the impact of drought, the war with Uganda, the oil price rises in 1973 and 1979, and the collapse of the East African Community”, severely damaged Tanzania’s economic performance (Kahama 1995: 7). As a result of the worsening economic situation, Nyerere’s successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, decided to pursue sweeping economic reforms. In collaboration with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Mwinyi initiated a number of economic reforms which focused on ‘privatization’, ‘liberalization’, and ‘deregulation’. Since the launch of these reforms in 1986, there have been fundamental economic and political changes in Tanzania, including the conversion of the country’s political system from a single-party structure to a multiparty ‘democracy’. In 1995, Benjamin W. Mkapa was elected president and succeeded Mwinyi in the country’s first multiparty political elections. Although *Ujamaa* still remains an important part of the Tanzanian ethos because of its unifying symbolism, President Mkapa has pledged to continue the economic reforms of privatization and liberalization that were launched in the 1980’s. It is within the context of these socioeconomic and political transformations, that private media was introduced to Mainland Tanzania. Since 1993, when commercial television first appeared, eight private television stations have been established and the public television station on the island of Zanzibar, which became operational in the early 1970’s, has expanded significantly.

All of these stations broadcast, in differing amounts, locally produced programming and are owned and operated by Tanzanian nationals. The struggle to maintain local control over television has been spearheaded by a number of local factions. These factions are composed

of ministries within the government (such as the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission), television station owners, journalists and program producers, academics, other watchdogs (including foreign non-government organizations based in Tanzania) and members of the viewing audience. All of these groups share a common vision of the future roles that television can play in their country, including the promotion of health and welfare issues to the citizenry, providing entertainment, and encouraging Tanzanian nationalism. There are, however, two major impediments to the fulfilment of these objectives. The first barrier is government intervention. While the government publicly supports the 'intended goals' of television, it has effectively limited the power of private broadcasters through a number of mechanisms. The second impediment to the fulfilment of the objectives is global pressure. Since globalization has made it increasingly difficult to control the transborder electronic transmission of entertainment and information, the local is concerned that it will be unable to exclude unwanted foreign cultural materials. Recent liberalization trends and technological changes have only exacerbated concerns regarding foreign cultural invasion in developing countries.

A number of theoretical paradigms on culture have addressed the issue of cultural invasion and cultural imperialism. Modernization theory, for example, argues that the natural state of the developing world is primitive and 'backward' and, therefore, requires guidance from the developed world to modernize (Lerner 1963: 330). Dependency theory arose in reaction to the ethnocentricity of modernization theory and has, instead, argued that the underdeveloped condition of the Third World is not a natural state. In fact, according to the theory, the First

World created the dependency of the Third World. However, a flaw in the dependency theory is that it often portrays the Third World as mere ‘victims’ of global processes and capitalist forces, a perspective which denies the agency and resistance that exist within the Third World. Anthropologist Rosemary Combe contributes to the large body of literature which suggests that there is, in fact, significant power within the local to resist the onslaught of cultural imperialism. She explains that in any society the introduction of foreign technology and images are always “influenced by the indigenous conditions with which they must engage - conditions which are cultural as well as social and economic” (Coombe 1995:118). Thus, rather than assuming that the introduction of cultural commodities will detrimentally affect the receiving culture in some sort of preconceived fashion, we must recognize that cultures are capable of creating different meanings for commodities in different contexts (Coombe 1995, Ferguson 1995: 448). As Coombe (1995) and Kottak (1996: 157) argue, recipients in the developing world are not passive and, therefore, cultural imperialism is usually met by resistance.

Purpose and Objectives

The case study of television in Tanzania provides a forum to explore these forms of resistance, as it examines how both global and local pressures have affected the introduction and maintenance of television in a developing country. In order to obtain the necessary information regarding the historical and contemporary state of television in Tanzania, field research was conducted in the country’s main urban centre, Dar es Salaam, over a period of

five months (January - May, 1997). The research focused primarily on the extent to which the local of Tanzania has been able to maintain control of this new media industry. The research revealed that, despite internal power struggles and external pressures, television has become a viable industry and local Tanzanian programming is popular with domestic audiences. Since there has been very little research conducted on the role of television in Tanzania, particularly the role of Mainland private television, this research is quite valuable. The continual changes over the last several years in Tanzania, including the emergence of a new government system, liberalization and deregulation, and the recent introduction of private television into the country, have placed this research at an ideal juncture to evaluate the medium's evolution and provide insight into its future.

Methodology

As discussed in chapter two, the 'media anthropology' perspective provides the tools to understand the complex web of internal local pressures, as well as various global pressures, that act upon the introduction and maintenance of media in a developing country. As a result of an interest in this area, I chose to conduct research on television in Tanzania, East Africa. At the outset, I was interested in finding the answers to some of the questions that Kottak places under the 'media anthropology' umbrella: "What determines the kinds of programs and messages that are produced, received, accepted, reworked, and/or rejected in particular countries? What makes foreign messages acceptable and popular in some places, while local productions dominate in others? How do cultural, social, economic, and political factors

interplay in determining such preferences?” (1996: 158). This media anthropology perspective provides a holistic perspective in research which allows for a rich understanding of the heterogeneity of local and global pressures on the media, and the complex issues pertaining to media in developing countries (Finan 1996: 306).

In order to gain the necessary information regarding television in Tanzania, fieldwork was conducted in the main urban center of the country, Dar es Salaam, as a graduate research student under the aegis of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM).² Prior to departure, a literature review of communication theories was completed, as well as sufficient background research on the context of Tanzania and the rise of media within the country. In addition, I obtained a rudimentary understanding of Kiswahili, the official language of the country.

The research consisted of two primary methodological tools - participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Participant observation was conducted by watching television and discussing the media with Tanzanians in their homes and social establishments, as well as spending time at television stations in a non-interview situation. On average, approximately ten hours a week was spent watching television with various members of the

² All fieldwork in Tanzania was conducted between 6 January and 6 May, 1997. The research was conducted through financial and logistical support from *Carleton International* and the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Carleton University. Research clearance was provided by the University of Dar es Salaam and the Government of Tanzania.

community in three separate locations, including an outdoor restaurant on campus, frequented mostly by staff, faculty and some students of the university, a family household in a community adjacent to the university campus, and a local restaurant located on the outskirts of the campus. Subsequent to each interview held at a television station, the interviewees permitted participant observation at their stations. An additional amount of time was spent in two of the television stations, Independent Television (ITV) and Dar es Salaam Television (DTV), in non-interview situations.

The informal, or semi-structured interviews, were conducted with willing government officials and members of the media and academic institutions. These interviews were primarily conducted in English and were undertaken in order to elicit the opinions, attitudes and impressions of key individuals and informed observers of the Tanzanian media.³ The interviewees also provided a wealth of background information about the general state of Tanzanian affairs, as well as invaluable access to a diverse and voluminous collection of unpublished reports and other poorly distributed material of prime relevance to the media in Tanzania.

Interviews were conducted dependent upon each individual's full consent to participate in the research. A clear introduction of the aim of the research and the researcher's affiliation with

³ Refer to Appendix I for a list of interviewees.

the University of Dar es Salaam preceded each potential interview and confidentiality was explained. The interviewees were identified through a 'snowball method' whereby one interviewee provided advice on other potential key informants who were knowledgeable on the media industry in Tanzania. At the time of research, there was neither a telephone directory for Dar es Salaam, nor a listing of television stations. Therefore, the initial process of locating appropriate individuals for interviews was difficult. However, after a relatively short period of time and a greater amount of knowledge on the structure of the Tanzanian media industry, key informants became easier to locate. Once these individuals were identified, one or more preliminary meetings were often necessary prior to an actual interview. The information provided by the interviewees was supplemented with a thorough search for relevant published material on the media and sociopolitical and economic history of the country. Literature and publications were obtained from Tanzania's limited range of book shops, publishers, library facilities and non-governmental organizations.

Research Limitations

In addition to the difficulty of arranging interviews with appropriate individuals, one of the primary factors which limited the research was the sensitive nature of media issues in Tanzania. During the research process, a number of journalists in Dar es Salaam had been charged with unprofessional behaviour, while television stations had been fined for not

adhering to the regulations of the Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act⁴. As a result, many of the interviewees (within the government and the media industry) agreed to discuss the role of television in Tanzania and the influence of the government on the media under the condition of anonymity.⁵ Other individuals, however, clearly provided the interviewer with information intended to please Tanzanian government officials. A considerable portion of the research was conducted after a well-known politician died suspiciously during questioning by the government. In early 1997, the Honorable Horace Kolimba (M.P.) openly criticized a number of the government's actions, including the restrictions that it had placed on media freedom in the country. Since Kolimba was a member of the ruling party (CCM), his comments regarding the government's motives and actions were not well received and he was summoned to the official capital of Tanzania, Dodoma, for questioning. During questioning, Kolimba suffered a fatal cardiac arrest. Although there was no evidence of 'foul play' involved, individuals who would have been considered critics of the government appeared to be slightly more cautious in their comments after his death.

In addition to the sensitive nature of media issues in Tanzania, there were a number of other factors which affected the research. Since all of the Mainland interviewees lived and worked in the Dar es Salaam area, the scope of the research was essentially limited to the country's primary urban center. However, during the time that the research was conducted, Mainland television broadcasts only reached a couple of urban centers outside of Dar es Salaam and

⁴ See page 70 for a discussion of breaches of the Act.

⁵ These individuals are referred to in the text as 'anonymous interviewees'.

were virtually nonexistent in rural areas (although plans were underway for expansion of certain stations into selected rural regions). Moreover, all of the interviews were conducted with relatively well-educated people who were proficient in English. The interviewees consisted primarily of government officials, media personnel, and members of the academic community, many of whom had travelled, and had received education, abroad. Thus, the people interviewed for this research represent a very privileged group of Tanzanians. Furthermore, these individuals usually had a stake in ensuring the success of television in Tanzania because they were closely associated with a television station and, therefore, may not have been able to provide an 'average Tanzanian' perspective of the role that television should be, and is, playing in their country. However, these individuals were in the position to provide the most detailed and knowledgeable information regarding the state of television in Tanzania.

Prior to this research, there had been no extensive work conducted on the role or effects of television in Tanzania (although literature does exist on radio and the print media). As a result, there was a general lack of background information on the history of this visual medium. A number of interviewees suggested that this research should be conducted at a later date, once television was established as a full-fledged industry in Tanzania. Moreover, since television was quite new, broadcasting policies were evaluated and revised during the course of research. In fact, the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission has recently implemented a number of changes to the management of broadcasting which should change the operation of television in the future.

An important part of assessing the feasibility of one's research is recognizing that "who we are, how we behave in the field, the resources (both personal and material) which we bring to bear, our research design, interests, skills and prejudices, are all elements in our fieldwork" (Bell 1995: 26). As a white, North American, single, young female, my access to information was, at times, limited. A number of the interviewees were initially suspicious of my interest in the media and appeared hesitant to discuss the subject during the first couple of informal meetings. Often I was able to gain some credibility based on the individual who had referred me to the interviewee. Many of the interviewees indicated an initial hesitation to participating in the research as they could not understand the benefit of examining a medium that was so new to their country. However, my ability to garner more in-depth information grew relative to the amount of time spent in Tanzania. This is most likely a result of my expanded comprehension of the Kiswahili language, as well as the fact that I became more well known in media circles and had a greater understanding of how to interact in an appropriate manner in different social and professional situations.

In order to have a more complete understanding of television in Tanzania, a greater amount of field research would be required. In his discussion on anthropological research methods in a changing world, Timothy J. Finan suggests that "at the very minimum three months of residence are needed to even begin effective participant observation" (1996: 301). He explains that time limitations make it difficult to develop the bonds of trust among local community representatives upon which successful communication is built. Similarly, the researcher has less time to assess the representativeness of those who participate in the

interviews and, consequently, to evaluate the structural variation in the community (Finan 1996: 306, Geertz 1973). Since a greater understanding of the issues surrounding television in Tanzania emerged in the last six weeks of the research process, either a greater amount of concentrated time or a 'stepwise' research design⁶ would have proved advantageous.

Naturally, the research was frustrating at times, often because of poor transportation, inadequate telecommunications infrastructure, and bureaucratic delays. The issues were more complex than originally expected, and the cultural boundaries thicker than they originally appeared. However, the research process was a richly rewarding personal and professional experience.

Thesis Outline

This first chapter outlines the objective of the thesis and the methodology utilized for the research. Chapter two, *Cultural Paradigms: How they Relate to the Media*, provides an anthropological overview and examination of theories on culture and their relation to mass communication. The discussion focuses on the modernization paradigm and theoretical perspectives within the dependency paradigm, all of which are examined within the context of 'globalization' and concerns regarding cultural invasion and cultural imperialism. This theoretical discussion is followed by chapter three which describes *The Context of Tanzania*

⁶The stepwise design entails the revisiting the community several times over a specified period, which would provide the greatest amount of insight into the role of the medium (Finan 1996: 312)

because, as Marjorie Ferguson notes, “media, today as yesterday, must operate within a historically defined context” (1995: 443). Thus, this third chapter provides background information on the historical, socioeconomic and political context of Tanzania, including the rise of media in the country. The material presented in chapter two and three is primarily drawn from previously published material. The results of the fieldwork conducted in Tanzania are presented and analysed in chapter four, *The Battle of the Local*. This chapter discusses the intended roles of television in Tanzania, as delineated by various members of the local community, and the impediments to their fulfilment. In addition to an analysis of global pressures on Tanzanian television, the key findings of the research are summarised and reviewed in the final chapter, *Conclusion: Global Pressures and the Response of the Local*.

CHAPTER 2: CULTURAL PARADIGMS: HOW THEY RELATE TO THE MEDIA

This chapter provides an anthropological overview and examination of theories on culture, particularly the modernization and dependency paradigms. Literature from the field of international communication is incorporated into the discussion as it analyses the creation, maintenance and control of television in an international context.⁷ The modernization and dependency paradigms, and the various theoretical perspectives subsumed within, will be examined against a backdrop of the current 'global' era. The effect that 'globalization' changes have on the local, in terms of cultural invasion and cultural imperialism, is a contentious issue that is addressed by each of the theoretical paradigms.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theorists contend that some societies are naturally underdeveloped; underdevelopment is considered to be the natural state of a society prior to its

⁷"International communication is a complex and fast-growing sub-field within the major field of communication and media studies. It encompasses the issues of culture and cultural commodification..., the diffusion of information and news broadcasting by media empires around the world, and the challenges faced by the developing world in the light of these processes" (Mohammadi 1997a: 1).

industrialization. In order to become developed, societies throughout history have had to go through a battery of stages to expand their modern sector and abolish their traditional one. Since the First World countries have already proceeded through these stages, modernization theory argues that they are now in the position to assist Third World countries in going through the same process (Lewellen 1992: 153). According to modernization theory, in order to pass through these stages, the Third World would need to invent the machinery, amass the capital and create an entrepreneurial system. Therefore, "if the First World could transfer those things to the Third World, the process of development would be enormously accelerated" (Lewellen 1992: 153). This perspective is illustrated by the following quotation from Harry Truman's inaugural address as President of the United States in 1949: "more than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life" (Escobar 1995: 3). Although modernization theory was, and still is, partially altruistic, it has had self-serving interests as well. Lewellen states, "like the Marshall Plan that helped rebuild Europe, it [modernization theory] was also a matter of practicality; development would undercut the appeal of communism among the poor nations as well as provide resources and markets for the United States" (1992: 152).

According to modernization theorists within the field of international communication, the transfer of ideas and innovations from the First World countries, through the vehicle of mass communication, can assist in modernizing the Third World. Emerging from the United

States in the 1950's and 60's, this paradigm has been supported by a number of communication theorists including Lerner, Pool and Schramm (Sinclair 1990: 6). According to this core group, the Western way of life, often the American way of life, is understood to be good, modern and advanced, whereas the rest of the world is considered to be backwards, traditional, underdeveloped and, most importantly, in need of guidance from an external force (Lerner 1963: 330-331, Schramm 1967: 18-19, Sinclair 1990: 286). This paradigm inherently assumes that They (the Other of the Third World) want the technology and the Western way of life. Lerner explains that with the introduction of technology to developing locales, "the people throughout the backward and impoverished areas of the world suddenly acquired the sense that a better life was possible for them" (1963: 330). Through mass communication, 'developing' people will be introduced to 'modern' commodities and new ideas which will stimulate them "to want to behave in new ways" and lead them toward a modern and advanced society (Lerner 1963: 348-350). As Sussman and Lent describe it, all of this exposure to mass media was supposed to have led to a great 'take-off' away from the dismal economic situation of these developing and transitional countries (1991: 8).

This 'take-off' theory has undergone various modifications since its original introduction. In the 1970's, a number of scholars recognized that different cultures moved through the stages toward modernity at different speeds, in different ways, or not at all. Therefore, in order for the modernization plan to succeed, the things that are transferred from the First to the Third world would have to be introduced according to local customs and 'traditional' activities. Although still essentially ethnocentric, the method of finding 'appropriate technology' was

considered to be more effective than assuming the universal applicability of Western technology and models of development (Oshima 1976: 232, Sussmen and Lent 1991: 8-9). Although all variations of modernization theory have been heavily criticized, the paradigm is still drawn upon today. In fact, Lewellen argues that American policy still very much adheres to a modernization manifesto, "with conservatives arguing for transfers of capital, technology, and so on via multinational investment and liberals emphasizing such transfers via foreign aid" (1992:154).

Dependency Theory

Dependency theory arose as a reaction to the ethnocentricity of modernization theory. It argues against the notion that developing countries are naturally underdeveloped because, as Lewellen explains, it seems absurd that "people who are culturally intact, economically self-sufficient, and well-adapted in their native environments" could be considered as such (1992: 156). Instead, dependency theory argues that it was the capitalist development of the First World which caused the underdevelopment of the Third World. (Lewellen 1992: 156, Reeves 1993: 28, Sinclair 1990: 287). As Geoffrey Reeves explains, "the underdevelopment or dependence of much of the world is a necessary corollary of the development of the advanced capitalist world" (1993: 29). As a result, Escobar argues that the First World created "massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression. The debt crisis, the Sahelian famine, increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development" (1995:

4). Thus, dependency theorists have chastised modernization theorists for “ignoring the entire history of imperialism / colonialism” and trying “to account for Third World ‘underdevelopment’ via various intrinsic deficit models” (Tomlinson 1997: 177).

Dependency theory has also bemoaned the fact that the "asymmetrical flow of communications materials and cultural commodities between the advanced capitalist countries and those of the 'Third World' is not simply a commercial exchange, but rather a part of the process whereby the latter are dominated by the communications ideologies of the major capitalist countries" and their transnational companies (Reeves 1993: 31). In other words, dependency theorists are concerned that local cultural identity is destroyed as the values of the dominant are adopted or even imposed. As Reeves succinctly explains, the dependency model maintains that:

The countries of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are in a basic sense the product of European colonialism and relatively recent decolonization. For many the further penetration of international capital in the form of the transnational corporation, coupled with the growth of information and cultural industries dominated by them, simply deepens the subordination established under colonialism. Continuing subordination, even if it has come in a new guise, or has assumed different forms, serves further to undermine national forms of cultural expression and to weaken the possibility of some sustained, non-dependent form of economic development... they seem virtually powerless to resist and establish a real measure of control over their own cultural production processes including development of mass communication (Reeves 1993: 2).

Although world capitalism and colonialism distorted the economies of the developing world and created their dependency or underdevelopment, there are cracks or flaws within the paradigm. For example, many theorists have argued that the theory's discourse has helped to perpetuate the idea of the West's superiority. Escobar asserts that terms such as 'First World' and 'Third World' or 'center' and 'periphery', that are prevalent in the dependency and development discourse, have created an "extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World" (1995: 9). He goes on to state that:

Even today most people in the West (and many parts of the Third World) have great difficulty thinking about Third World situations and people in terms other than those provided by the development discourse. These terms - such as overpopulation, the permanent threat of famine, poverty, illiteracy, and the like - operate as the most common signifiers, already stereotyped and burdened with development signifieds. Media images of the Third World are the clearest example of developmentalist representations (1995: 12).

Beverly Hawk echoes these sentiments in her criticism of coverage of Africa on television newscasts which "emphasizes poverty, disease, and famine [and] corresponds to the existing view of Africans as have-nots" (1992: 9). This criticism also comes from scholars within the developing world who write of their resentment toward media stereotypes that portray their countries in a derogatory manner (Sussman and Lent 1991: 7). In her discussion on the tourist activity of watching a contemporary Canadian native powwow, Valda Blundell illustrates how certain beliefs, stereotypes, and meanings of people within our own country can be perpetuated through a range of textual forms, including the media. She argues that through media discourse, Canadian natives are viewed as "'surviving primitives' whose

cultural forms must inevitably fall before those of the progressive ‘civilized’ world” or ‘noble savages’ who must salvage “their former way of life by ‘bringing back’ their ancient cultural forms” (1989: 49). Through this type of discourse, she contends that the superiority of the viewer, audience, or writer is naturalized.

A large body of literature argues that this discourse is problematic not only because it perpetuates the notion of Western superiority, but also because the dependency of the developing world, the local, the Other, should not be considered absolute (Escobar 1995). This literature has argued that significant power exists within the local of the developing world to counteract dependency and, therefore, the local should not be seen as mere recipients of ideological processes who are incapable of evincing some response (Ferguson 1995: 448). Rather than assuming that the introduction of something ‘new’, such as television, would automatically assume a specific place in a culture, many critics have argued that external commodities are capable of acquiring different meanings in different contexts (Coombe 1995, Ferguson 1995: 448, Roach 1997: 54). Moreover, there exists a continued indigenous quantity of local forms of mass communication in the developing world that have replaced or coexist with ‘Western’ media. These arguments resist and challenge the classic dependency and cultural imperialist paradigms. Sinclair suggests that because of the relatively recent changes in technology, as well as trends toward privatization, deregulation and liberalization, these arguments should be examined within the context of ‘globalization’ (1996: 38).

Globalization

For a large portion of our history we have communicated and traded with international partners. ‘Globalization’ is not a new phenomenon. In the first century BC, Polbius noticed in his *Universal History* how “formerly the things that happened in the world had no connection among themselves... since then all events are united in a common bundle” (Simai 1995: 1). However, ‘globalization’ has taken on a number of new meanings in the last decade. Although the term ‘globalization’ is often discussed in a political-economic context, in which national economies are integrated into the global production system, it is more appropriate to understand it as an all-encompassing concept that has political, economic, social and institutional dimensions (Edoho 1997a: 1,3). John Tomlinson suggests that if we view the new global era from this cultural perspective, then it can best be defined as the “rapidly developing process of complex interconnections between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals world-wide” (1997: 170). Tomlinson’s cultural approach to globalization, and the role that the mass media play in it, is the focus for this discussion (Edoho 1997a: 3, Simai 1995: vi).

Since the electronic mass media can “instantaneously transmit information and images within and across national boundaries”, the dependency of the Third World on the First World must now be viewed in the global context (Kottak 1996: 152). In particular, international satellite delivery systems have made possible the instant delivery of global television services (Sinclair 1996: 52). As ‘liberalization’ and free trade agreements diminish national

boundaries, the ability of governments to regulate many telecommunication and broadcasting services has, to a certain extent, become questionable (Edoho 1997a: 7, Goldfarb 1998: 8).

Marjorie Ferguson argues that technological changes and liberalization trends have exacerbated the invasion of “low-cost, popular American entertainment on television screens worldwide” (1995: 448). As a result, globalization has resurrected “familiar questions about Westernization or Americanization, and about media and cultural imperialism” (Ferguson 1995: 448).⁸ Simai suggests that globalization has brought this cultural imperialism debate to the forefront because of five principal factors: i) the spread of mass literacy throughout the world; ii) the transnational media; iii) the expansion of transnational organizations; iv) the revolution in long-distance transportation; and v) the new technology in communications (1995: 10-11). Simai suggests that in most popular opinion these factors have assisted in “spreading an homogenous culture - a culture in content, not just in space” (1995: 10-11). However, as many dependency theorists and sceptics of the globalization hype argue, there is social, cultural, and political resistance to the notion of a global homogenous culture (Ferguson 1995, Lewellen 1992: 159). As Mike Featherstone explains, “although the intensity and rapidity of today’s global cultural flows have contributed to the sense that the

⁸ Although many mainstream arguments focus on the close connections between the current globalization of culture, capitalism, and the American way of life, a plethora of scholars have argued against equating Americanization with global cultural homogenization (Simai 1995: 12). As Lesley Sklair, quoted by Tomlinson, claims, “to identify cultural and media imperialism with the United States or even with US capitalism is a profound and profoundly mystifying error. It implies that if American influence could be excluded, then cultural and media imperialism would end...” (1997: 179).

world is a singular place which entails the proliferation of new cultural forms for encounters... there is little prospect of a unified global culture” (1990: 10).

One of the inherent flaws of ‘global cultural homogenization’ theory is the extent to which external commodities are capable of acquiring different meanings in different contexts (Coombe 1995, Ferguson 1995: 448, Roach 1997: 54). As early as 1979, Armand Mattelart argued not only against a ‘monolithic’, ‘levelling’ view of mass culture’s international influence, but he also disputed the notion of a ‘passive’ receiver of media messages (Roach 1997: 49). In the 1990's, anthropologist Rosemary Coombe has taken the same position-- “from a superficial perspective, the proliferation of Coca-Cola, Exxon, Barbie dolls, and Big Macs around the globe appears as a universalization and homogenization of culture. It is not inevitably the case, however, that these phenomena assume the same meanings in other cultures that they do in our own” (1995:118). Tomlinson, Mattelart and Coombe contend that global cultural homogenization theory misrepresents the viewer, the audience and the local, as a “cultural dupe - as passive, unreflexive recipients of alien cultural goods” (Tomlinson 1997: 181).

In his research on television and film in India, Manjunath Pendakur complains that Western scholars often misrepresent world cultures and fail to recognize that a Western product such as television is integrated into indigenous culture rather than subsuming it (1993, 1996).

Similar to Tomlinson, Mattelart and Coombe, he argues that instead of viewing the local as a passive recipient to the introduction of new technologies, the technology should be seen as

being influenced by local conditions. In a university newspaper, *Voices! The Mount Holyoke News*, Supriya Menon eloquently writes about how foreign cultural commodities are appropriated in India:

The new and the unfamiliar is converted into familiar symbols and kitsch. In Madras, vegetable sellers still feature the “disco” cauliflower. Every small town has at least one boutique called the “Bold and the Beautiful”. In Bombay, teenagers hum Madonna tunes interspersed with lyrics from popular Hindi movie songs. “Hinglish”, a unique combination of Hindi and English, is the urban lingo of choice (1998).

Specifically in terms of media texts, many cultural studies’ scholars have charged that the local can transform the global into unique systems of cultural meanings because texts are fundamentally *dialogic* (that is, they are fundamentally involved in a dialogue). Thus, the audience has the power to construct a response and is not a passive recipient of ‘cultural commodities’ (Tester 1994: 58). Rather, the audience can, and will, construct unique meanings of what they view. As Appadurai (1990) and Kottak (1996: 153) argue, people assign their own meanings and value to the texts, messages and products they receive - “people aren’t passive victims of cultural imperialism. Contemporary people - often with considerable creativity - constantly revise, rework, resist, and reject the messages they get from external systems”.⁹

⁹In order to better understand the relationship between the text and the audience, Fiske calls for research that will enable a description of the processes through which media texts are made into meaningful parts of the audiences’ every day lives. This type of intensive research would assist in understanding the affect that television has had in Tanzania (1987).

International Indigenous Media

Prior to an analysis of the Tanzanian situation, if we turn our attention to other countries we find well-documented evidence that globalization trends have not created cultural homogenization. In China, Indonesia, Taiwan, and Malaysia, for example, the most popular television programs are locally produced soap operas, sitcoms, and period dramas despite the launch of Hong Kong-based STAR TV in 1991 (Cowl 1996: 13, Ferguson 1995). If we turn to Latin America, we find that a substantial amount of research has been conducted on the ‘globalization’ of television in Brazil and Mexico. In Brazil, the most popular network (*TV Globo*) is composed primarily of indigenous programming. Similarly, *Televisa* is the number one network in Mexico and broadcasts an impressive amount of domestic fare (Kottak 1996: 136 & 180, Mattelart et al 1988: 23-24, Roach 1997: 54, Sinclair 1996: 46-48, Tester 1994: 58). As Schneider and Wallis (1988: 8-9) explain, traffic flows in television distribution are never unidirectional which helps to explain the impressive export record of both *TV Globo* and *Televisa*. In fact, *Televisa* is the world’s largest exporter of Spanish-language programs, and *TV Globo* captures the largest amount of the Portuguese market in the world (Sinclair 1996: 46). Kottak (1996: 136) provides examples of research conducted in a number of other locales, including Mexico, India, Egypt, and Nigeria, where quality local programming outperforms foreign fare. As early as 1977, it became obvious that although these countries were among some of the heaviest importers of American television programs, they were also emerging as ‘strong regional exporters’ (Sinclair 1996: 48). The Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development from UNESCO, states that “in developing

countries, audiences appear to prefer home-made fare if given the choice” (1997, ch.4: 7).

Hoskins, Finn and McFadyen agree -- “in most countries television viewers prefer to watch domestic programs when given the choice... a particular program rooted in one culture, and thus attractive in that environment, will have diminished appeal elsewhere, as viewers find it difficult to identify with the styles, values, beliefs, institutions, and behavioural patterns of the material in question” (1996: 68).

Summary

This research conducted in Tanzania reveals that, similar to the examples discussed above, indigenous fare can still prove to be popular to domestic audiences, despite the existence of foreign programming. Although foreign fare has, and will continue to influence the audience, we cannot presume that the viewer is a passive recipient of these phenomena.

Instead, we must recognize that foreign cultural commodities take on different and unique meanings according to the local context. Moreover, even though Tanzania is ‘buying into’ globalization by liberalizing, privatizing, and encouraging trade, the local has struggled to maintain control of this new medium. Therefore, in an attempt to understand the role of television in Tanzania, we must take Tomlinson’s advice and “approach cultural process as a dialectic.” As a result, it will become “clear that the idea of the emergence of a monolithic global culture, universally reproducing one hegemonic national culture, is rather implausible” (Tomlinson 1997: 182).

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEXT OF TANZANIA

"Media, today as yesterday, must operate within a historically defined context; and that context is one in which national identity and ethnic community, far from withering away, is the dominant mode of human association and action" (Ferguson 1995: 443).

Background Information

The East African country of Tanzania is home to roughly 30 million people. Tanzania borders Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Mozambique and Malawi and is located just south of the equator between the great lakes of Victoria, Tanganyika and Malawi on one side, and the Indian Ocean on the other. Officially, the capital is now the inland city of Dodoma, but apart from the parliament, almost all of the capital functions and the 'heart of the nation' have remained in the main port city of Dar es Salaam. Although Kiswahili is the official language of the country, hundreds of local languages are spoken and English is widely used, mostly in urban centers and as the principal language of business. According to the United Nations Human Development Index of 1998, the average life expectancy in Tanzania is 50.6 years (1995), the adult literacy rate is 67.8 percent (1995), and the real GDP per capita (PPP\$)¹⁰ stands at 636 (1995) (UNDP 1998: 130).

¹⁰ PPP\$ is the GDP per capita of a country converted in U.S. dollars on the basis of the purchasing power parity of the country's currency (UNDP 1998: 220).

Covering an area of approximately 945,000 square kilometres, Tanzania has a varied topography. Its climate changes from tropical along the coast, to relatively temperate in the highlands. Mount Kilimanjaro in the north is the highest mountain in Africa and Lake Tanganyika is the second lowest point in the world. The climate varies considerably between regions, but the main feature is a long dry season followed and preceded by spells of heavy rain. Woodlands, bush lands and wooded grasslands are the main types of vegetation. The main environmental issues for the country include soil degradation, deforestation, desertification, destruction of coral reefs, and recent droughts which have affected marginal agriculture. The country boasts numerous rivers and large freshwater lakes in addition to a relatively wide range of exploitable minerals. However, much of Tanzania's rich base of natural resources is still considered to be under utilised (Mtei 1990: 44-50).

The European penetration in Tanzania began in the middle of the 19th century. After World War I, colonial territories were divided among the victors and Tanganyika became British-administered land. Great Britain, the new colonial power, introduced so-called 'indirect rule' of Tanzania in 1926 which was intended to allow 'tribes' to be administered by their own chiefs and elders under British supervision. Great Britain also controlled the other East African colonies of Uganda and Kenya, and the three economies were gradually integrated, organised and developed to meet British needs (Kahama et al 1986: 183, O'Neill 1990: 3-8). Local participation in decision-making processes of any significance to the country were virtually non-existent. This approach was only exacerbated by the British after World War II, when their lack of sensitivity to local values and popular discontent gradually gave rise to

a cohesive national movement, known as the 'Uhuru' (or freedom) struggle against colonialism. This movement finally, and earlier than most people had expected, resulted in a successful cry for independence (Kahama et al. 1986:18, O'Neill 1990: 8-10). The Republic of Tanganyika (now normally referred to as the Mainland) won its independence from colonial rule in 1961 (Campbell and Stein 1992: 3, O'Neill 1990: 12).

Zanzibar, the island off the coast of Mainland Tanzania, has a long history of a multitude of settlers, including the Sumerians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Indians, Chinese, Persians, Portuguese, Omani Arabs, Dutch and English. The Shirazi Persians and the Omani Persians, in particular, spent considerable time living in, and ruling, the island (Bennett 1978: 1-13). By the middle of the 19th century, Zanzibar became a wealthy island under the rule of the Omani Arabs, due to the introduction of the clove tree and the slave trading business. The Omanis continued to rule Zanzibar well into the 20th century under a British protectorate. By the early 1960's, the island, watching the growing movement for independence from colonialism throughout East Africa, began its move towards independence. In 1963, it successfully achieved autonomy from the British (Campbell and Stein 1992: 3, O'Neill 1990: 12). In the post-independence elections the broad-based and predominantly African 'Afro-Shirazi'¹¹ Party' (ASP) had the majority of popular vote. However, the new government was comprised of a coalition of two parties, the Zanzibar & Pemba People's Party and the Arab Sultanate-oriented Nationalist Party, which were

¹¹'Shirazis' are long-term African residents who have adopted Islam (O'Neill 1990: 11).

supported by the British. Angered by continued victimisation, the ASP initiated a revolution and overthrew the government (Bennett 1978: 267). During the violence that emerged, the titular head of the government, the Sultan Sayyid Khalifa, rapidly left the country and power was seized by members of the pro-African ASP, who quickly outlawed opposition parties (Campbell and Stein 1992: 3). The bloody 'Zanzibar Revolution' occurred less than a month after the island had gained its independence.

Nyerere had known and supported the new leader of the ASP, Abeid Karume, since the mid-1950s but the Zanzibar Revolution created problems in Tanganyika, inspiring an attempted coup in Dar es Salaam only a few days later. Once Nyerere had regained control, he approached Karume to discuss a political union. Karume agreed, and on 24 April 1964 the two countries joined to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Karume became the vice president of the new Republic, and Julius 'Mwalimu'¹² Nyerere assumed the role as president. The new government decided to pursue a strategy of socialism and self-reliance. After the union, president Julius Nyerere helped to create a new Mainland political organisation called the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). In 1977, the Zanzibarian ASP political party merged with TANU to create the party that is still in power today; Chama Cha Mapinduzi party (CCM - The Party of the Revolution).

¹²In Kiswahili, 'Mwalimu' means 'teacher'. Julius Nyerere was, and still is often referred to by this respectful title.

Ujamaa

Within the original TANU, and subsequent CCM party, Nyerere moulded Tanzania into a type of socialist state. For close to two decades, Tanzanians lived by the code of *Ujamaa*: 'brotherhood' in Kiswahili. The official ideology of this non-Marxist socialism was to disengage Tanzania from the international capitalist system which it deemed as exploitative (Shariff 1990: 25). Based on the infamous 'Arusha Declaration' of 1967, all major means of production were nationalised, and heavy state involvement in key sectors became the norm until the mid-1980's (Campbell and Stein 1992: 1-21, O'Neill 1990: 13). In this new strategy, most of the financial sector, large-scale manufacturing, large commercial buildings and plantations were taken into public ownership, many new state-owned (parastatal) enterprises were established, and agriculture was reconfigured by amalgamating small household farms into villages and encouraging collective production. In fact, by 1977, there were more than 13 million Tanzanians living in approximately 8,000 villages because party organizers had forcefully transported much of the rural population of the country into these new settlements (Campbell and Stein 1992: 4). Nyerere's proposals for education were also seen as an essential part of the *Ujamaa* plan. These proposals were designed to foster constructive attitudes to cooperative endeavours and promote the concept of social equality and responsibility. During *Ujamaa*, foreign investment virtually disappeared, tourism was not encouraged and public expenditure rose dramatically as a result of emphasis on a highly administered economy (Kahama 1995:8, Ruben et al 1996: 213-217).

The notion of *Ujamaa* appeared to promise an African lifestyle that would have avoided the harsh measures characteristic of either capitalism or Soviet ‘communism’ (O’Neill and Mustafa 1990: ix). According to the Special Assistant to the Vice President of Tanzania, with the advent of *Ujamaa* “all kinds of discrimination were eliminated and deliberate efforts were made to separate religion from politics. Kiswahili was promoted as a unifying language. All this resulted in a unified nation where peace, tranquillity and political stability prevailed” (*The Guardian* February 21, 1997). The fact that 120 tribes and ethnic groups in Tanzania lived in relative peace with one another, and that no individual group constituted more than approximately 10 percent of the total population, possibly contributed to the political stability that emerged after independence (Hodd 1996: 24).

In the changing global reality of the 1980's and 90's, however, *Ujamaa* was unable to provide for the Tanzanians. By the first half of the 1980s, average living standards were falling, inflation was high and the balance of trade was in deficit (Hodd 1996: 24). C. George Kahama, Director General of the Investment Promotion Centre in Tanzania, notes that there has been much written concerning the impact of external conditions versus the impact of domestic policy measures on the economy during Tanzania’s post-colonial era. He writes that externally, “the impact of drought, the war with Uganda, the oil price rises in 1973 and 1979, and the collapse of the East African Community clearly impaired Tanzania’s economic performance” (1995: 7). However, he also states that poor domestic economic policies were largely to blame, particularly the “government intervention in the economy which led to an inefficient state-owned sector” (Kahama 1995: 10). Internally, extensive state social and

economic intervention, including the nationalisation of many foreign-owned enterprises, the creation of state import and wholesale trading monopolies, attempts to accelerate industrialisation through the creation of new state productive enterprises, and supervised agricultural production through the state, was not entirely successful (Gordon 1994: 253). The production of cash crops began to fall, producer returns to labour were dismal, and the factories which were created “operated at very low capacity and therefore productivity levels, as agriculture failed to generate sufficient foreign exchange for imports of raw materials or spare parts, or to supply domestic raw materials for processing” (Gibbon 1995: 10, Kiondo 1995: 110). Therefore, by 1985 major donors to Tanzania, including The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the United States were seriously pressing for economic reform (Kahama 1995: 9, Gibbon 1995: 12, Msambichaka 1984).

Economic and Political Reform: 1986-present

With the inauguration of Ali Hassan Mwinyi as Nyerere's successor in 1985, the donors were pleased to witness a movement toward privatisation and a gradual ‘opening’ of markets and borders to the rest of the world. In fact, 1986 was a turning point in the history of the country. Tanzania launched a three-year Economic Recovery Plan (ERP), from 1986-1989, which aimed to increase agricultural and industrial growth. At the same time, internal and foreign trade was considerably deregulated and the transport system and the supply of inputs to agriculture improved. In addition, a number of steps were taken to tighten the control of public expenditure (Gibbon 1995: 12-13, Kahama 1995: 13). The second recovery plan, the

Economic and Social Action Plan (ESAP), was launched in 1990 and emphasized social policies as a necessary part of adjustment -- “its aim was to increase export and food production and rehabilitate physical infrastructure, particularly transport and communication, and complete state withdrawal from the economy, leaving the government responsible for security, education, health and infrastructure” (Kahama 1995: 14). These plans for reform, the ERP and ESAP, initiated Tanzania’s transition to a market-based, private sector-driven economy in which private enterprises operated for profit. This marked a substantial shift from the state-managed *Ujamaa* strategy of the 1960's and 70's.

In 1990, the government, under President Mwinyi, appointed a committee to gauge public opinion on whether Tanzania should initiate multipartyism. The commission gathered information for more than a year and reported that “although only a minority of respondents favoured a multiparty system, a majority wished to see changes which - theoretically at least - could be facilitated easiest through the introduction of multipartyism” (Gibbon 1995: 13). As a result, on the first of July 1992, the Tanzanian political system was converted from a single-party structure, which had been in existence since the 1960's, to a new multiparty political system (Msekwa 1995:2). This move came at a time when external pressures were being exerted on many countries in the African continent, notably by multilateral and bilateral aid agencies who were making political ‘democratisation’ an important element of the aid conditions for recipient countries (Msekwa 1995: 2). However, according to Pius Msekwa, author of the book *The Transition to Multiparty Democracy*, there were additional internal factors which contributed to the final decision to change to multipartyism in Tanzania (1995:

2). He states that “by 1991, there was already a substantially large minority in the country, which was actively demanding a change to political pluralism. Their voices could not continue to be ignored. In addition, there was another very substantial minority within Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) itself, who were not at all happy with the way their own party was operating. Hence, in such circumstances, change was inevitable” (1995: 2). In the aftermath of the move toward multipartyism, another phase of economic reform was introduced. The Rolling Plan and Forward Budget (RPFB) came into existence in 1993 and was designed to reform the parastatal and civil service by reducing the number of public servants and terminating or selling off parastatals to private companies (Gibbon 1995: 14).

Subsequent to the introduction of these new political and economic reforms, Tanzanians voted in their first multiparty election. In October 1995, the new and poorly united opposition¹³ obtained a combined forty percent share of the total vote. However, the incumbent CCM party was able to remain in power (Mtei 1996: 109). Within this new political structure, executive power rests with the ruling party (CCM) and the president, who is popularly elected to a five-year term. The president appoints a vice president who must represent Zanzibar if the president comes from the Mainland, and vice versa. In the rather complex federal structure, Zanzibar has considerable political and economic autonomy, with its own president and a separate House of Representatives in addition to its regional

¹³ The opposition was primarily composed of the parties NCCR-Mageuzi, CUF and UDP (Mtei 1996: 109).

representation in the Union parliament. However, during the move to a multiparty state, there were serious political moves in Zanzibar to dissolve the union and to once again make the island independent. There were a multitude of criticisms, both inside Tanzania and from external sources, regarding the legitimacy of the Mainland and Zanzibar elections. In fact, the two main political parties of Zanzibar, CCM (in power) and CUF (in opposition), accused each other of rigging the elections (Maliyamkono 1997: 35). Amidst all of this turmoil, Benjamin W. Mkapa, from the incumbent CCM party, was voted in as the new president. Upon his inauguration, he promised to continue his predecessor's goal of 'genuine economic reforms', and has supported the Rolling Plan and Forward Budget. He has also pledged to dispose of the corruption that has plagued the Tanzanian government in the past.¹⁴ However, there still remains a severe tension between Zanzibar and the Mainland, primarily on the grounds of political autonomy, race and religion (Kiondo 1995: 113). These struggles erupted as early as 1964, the year of unity between the two groups. However, these tensions notably diminished when TANU and ASP merged to create the CCM party (Mtei 1996: 109).

Some of the most important reform measures that the government, under President Mkapa, has either initiated or continued include: 'liberalization' of trade, 'deregulation' of foreign

¹⁴Shortly after coming into power, President Mkapa introduced The Presidential Commission on Corruption which produced the Warioba Report, so-named for the chairman of the Commission. This document outlines specific measures that the government should initiate to combat corruption and marked a prominent move towards tackling the problem (Warioba 1996). Scepticism of the government's dedication to alleviating the problem, however, is still widespread.

exchange transactions, ‘liberalization’ of the banking system, ‘liberalization’ of the insurance industry, ‘reform’ of the tax administration system, and ‘privatization’ of the parastatal sector (*The Express* July 7, 1997). According to the United Nations human development index (HDI) of 1998, widely accepted as providing a better measure of overall sustainable development than does GNP, Tanzania ranked 150 out of the 174 countries measured (UNDP 1998: 185). This index measures the “average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development -- longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living. A composite index, the HDI thus contains three variables: life expectancy, educational attainment (adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment) and real GDP per capita (in PPP\$)” (UNDP 1998: 14). Although the UN’s HDI placing of Tanzania in their ‘Low Human Development’ section is not entirely favourable, according to the 1997 Africa Competitiveness Report from the World Economic Forum, Tanzania is improving its economic viability. Based on indices of “optimism” and “improvement” Tanzania finished second and third respectively out of 23 African countries. These indices gauged the business communities’ attitudes toward the much talked-about reforms and growth on the continent, and indicate that Tanzania’s economic reforms appear to be successful thus far (Sachs and Stone, 1998). Also, Tanzania has seen a modest economic recovery since the initiation of the extensive economic reforms in 1986, with a growth rate averaging approximately four percent annually (Ministry of Communications and Transport 1997: 2).

Since the early 1960's, Tanzania’s post-colonial existence has been marked by a number of socioeconomic and political reforms. However, as much of the current political rhetoric

suggests, socialist dogma is still quite prevalent. As O'Neill and Mustafa state, Tanzania's policy crisis, now and in the near future, rests on the negotiation between socialist theory and capitalist practice (1990: ix). This negotiation process is hampered by the general trend in sub-Saharan Africa of what David F. Gordon describes as, "marginalization, both economic and political, in the broader global system, and the increased dependence of African states upon external resources, especially quick-disbursing 'nonproject' foreign assistance that eases balance-of-payments pressures and provides budgetary revenues... Africa is of decreasing importance to the major actors in the international system" (1994: 237). Thus, although the international community, primarily the West, has shown its support to Tanzania during the latter stages of its transition to a market economy, even with difficulties arising from parastatal liquidations, reforms, and civil retrenchments, the near future will be a challenging period for the Tanzanian government.

The recent changes that have taken place in the country's economic, social and political fabric have affected a number of core industries, including the media. The movements toward 'liberalization' and 'privatization' have played a significant role in determining how different forms of mass communication have been introduced and maintained in Tanzania. For example, as discussed in greater detail in chapter five, Tanzania signed the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreement, effective January 1 1998, to liberalize and deregulate its telecommunication and broadcasting sectors. This effectively provides space for privatisation, external influence and multinational business affiliations in key areas

previously controlled by the state.¹⁵ As chapters four and five illustrate, these trends have been highly influential in the creation and maintenance of television in Tanzania. However, since Zanzibar is distinctive from the Mainland, as we move into an analysis of the role of television in the country we must recognize that the Zanzibarian experience will be slightly different from that of the rest of Tanzania.

¹⁵The WTO is “the only international body dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, the legal ground-rules for international commerce and for trade policy. The agreements have three main objectives: to help trade flow as freely as possible, to achieve further liberalization gradually through negotiation, and to set up an impartial means of settling disputes” (World Trade Organization 1997).

CHAPTER 4

THE BATTLE OF THE LOCAL

“Should a country “have television at all? Can it afford colour television? Should it be noncommercial, primarily educational in its purpose? Who should run it? Who should produce the programs for it? Should it consist of imported programs? What should be its institutional structure and its relationship to the government? These are important questions that are at the heart of communications policy-making in most Asian and African societies” (Pendakur 1993: 234).

The introduction of private television into Tanzania must be viewed within the context of the country’s recent socioeconomic and political transformations. After allowing the introduction of private television into the country, the government has found itself faced with a serious dilemma: it recognizes that television plays a number of significant roles in the country, one of which is building nationalism, but it is also cognizant of the fact that efforts towards liberalization, deregulation and privatization essentially limit the involvement of the state in the media. As a result, although the Tanzanian government has publicly loosened its hold on the media and has allowed its direct involvement in matters concerning private television to dissipate, the government still exerts subtle forms of media control (e.g., government officials have been reported to bribe members of the press, suspicious fines have been given to television news reporters by the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission) which

are heavily criticized by other members of the local, such as academics and newspaper reporters.

Although all members of the local essentially share the same fundamental vision for the future of television, and have similar beliefs concerning the roles that television can play in Tanzanian society, there are internal struggles for control of the medium. Although the government fundamentally agrees with all the goals outlined by other members of the local, it is not willing to entirely divest its power over the medium. As a result, it has constructed a variety of obstacles that impede the fulfilment of some of the shared objectives. This chapter examines the intended roles of television in Tanzania, the local pressures that have impeded the attainment of these goals, and the steps that have been taken to alleviate these barriers. This discussion will begin with an overview of the rise and current status of the media industry in Tanzania. The majority of the information used in this chapter was gathered through semi-structured interviews, Tanzanian publications and input from the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA).¹⁶

¹⁶The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) is a non-governmental organisation with members in 11 of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) countries. Officially launched in September 1992, MISA focuses primarily on the need to promote free and independent media in order to advance democracy and human rights in Africa.

Historical and Current State of the Media in Tanzania

The role of Tanzania's print and radio media, for thirty years following independence, has essentially been to support the implementation of government policies and serve the ruling political party (Maganga 1996: 364). The move to a multiparty political system in April 1992 (although multiparty elections first took place in October 1995), resulted in a break of the government's monopoly over the media, and this has ultimately led to a proliferation of privately-owned newspapers and broadcasting stations throughout Tanzania. Since the beginning of the economic and social reforms in 1986, other types of private media have also flourished. For example, the number of private newspapers in Tanzania has jumped substantially. At the time of research (from January to May, 1997), there were 11 dailies, 11 bi-weeklies, 55 weeklies, and 15 bi-monthlies. Of these, 24 were in English and 68 in Kiswahili (Maliyamkono 1997: 22).

With a population of about 30 million, Tanzania has an average of 16 television sets per 1,000 people and 276 radios per 1,000 people (UNDP 1998: 167). In comparison to most other African countries, the Tanzanian infrastructure for telecommunications in general is very poor. Although the introduction of satellite television should make it easier to 'wire' Tanzania in the near future, cost would still remain a formidable access barrier. The price of buying an information communication technology, such as a television or telephone, is high relative to the average annual Tanzanian wage (\$US 120) (Koch 1997, UNDP 1998: 167).

Despite these relative high purchase costs, the country's airwaves on the Mainland were opened up to private broadcasting under the 1993 Broadcasting Services Act.¹⁷ Television can now be viewed in most eating or drinking establishments, some stores and in people's homes, primarily in the city of Dar es Salaam. As people at large in Tanzania are intensely interested in politics, it is not uncommon to see a newspaper being shared by many people. Similarly, the introduction of television into the country has brought groups of people to the establishments and living rooms of television-owners.

Although television on the Mainland was not introduced until 1993, a public television station was established in Zanzibar in 1974 (Ng'wanakilala 1981: 63). A lack of financial resources had been the primary impediment to an earlier introduction of public television on the Mainland. However, Zanzibar has had a relatively wealthy history, beginning with the trade in cloves and other spices, the wealth of successive Sultans, affluent British administrators under the British protectorate and prosperous South Asian businessmen. The government which came into power after Independence in 1963, maintained the financial

¹⁷ The Act was formally created June 11, 1993, "to make provision for the management and regulation of broadcasting and for other matters related to it." Although television is relatively new to Tanzania, many of the country's elite have had access to VCRs and satellite dishes and, therefore, could receive direct-to-home services prior to the introduction of free-to-air television (Gunze, personal interview). Although there are also cable television networks in the country, because of the cost of digging cables across an expansive country, free-to-air television is the preferable option and applications for pay TV are being reviewed by the Commission (Gunze, personal interview, Tanzania Broadcasting Commission 1994: 11).

resources necessary to create a viable public television station. In the late 1960's, the government began discussing the possibility of a Zanzibar television station and decided that if one were to be introduced, it would have to be accessible to the majority of Zanzibaris (Mitawi, personal interview). Since the geographical area that the station must cover is extremely small compared to the entire Mainland area of Tanzania, Television Zanzibar was able to fulfil this mandate and today it reaches a minimum of 75 percent of the island's population (Mitawi, personal interview). Since its inception, the station has been able to secure and maintain quality equipment and personnel due to financial aid from a number of foreign donors. The unfinished public television station on the Mainland, however, has not received similar external financial assistance because many foreign donors would prefer to provide support for the private stations (Mponguliana, personal interview, Mitawi, personal interview). Since there are no private stations in Zanzibar¹⁸, foreign donors have not had the choice of which type of broadcaster they wish to financially support.

Zanzibar has always retained considerable political and economic autonomy, and a history unique unto itself. Thus, not only has the media been an essential tool in maintaining the distinct and unique culture of the island, it has also not been subjected to the rules and regulations of the Mainland (Mitawi, personal interview). Of particular interest to this research, Television Zanzibar is not governed by the regulations of the Tanzanian

¹⁸Although private television is allowed in Zanzibar, the public station is currently the only station on the island.

Broadcasting Commission or the Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act (Bomani, personal interview).

The Structure of Television in Tanzania

Since 1993, eight private television stations and eleven private radio stations have been licenced by the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission (TBC) (MISA 1997). Judge Mark Bomani, appointed by the Tanzanian President, is chairman of the Tanzanian Communications Commission under which the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission exists. The Broadcasting Commission, which is also chaired by Judge Bomani, is supposedly an independent government agency responsible for regulating and licensing television and radio broadcasting in Mainland Tanzania.¹⁹ In addition to the chairman, the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's office²⁰, who has been given powers to oversee the country's information sector and the media at large, appoints another eight members to the Broadcasting Commission. These individuals come from a number of areas within the government, as well as the academic community and media industries. The Commission meets approximately every three months, or as the need arises (e.g., issuance of a fine), and members are rotated every couple of years (Gunze, personal interview, Mgombelo, personal interview, Tanzanian

¹⁹ However, there appears to be unusually close ties between the Commission and the President's Office.

²⁰ After taking office in 1995, President Mkapa moved to abolish the Ministry of Information in January 1996. The Minister of State in the Prime Minister's office is now responsible for the media (MISA 1997).

Broadcasting Commission 1994: 13). The Commission is supported by a Secretariat of ten full time and one part time staff, headed by the Office of the Registrar. The Registrar is also appointed by the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's office, in consultation with the members of the Commission. Two committees fall under the aegis of the Commission; The Broadcasting Monitoring and Complaints Committee (BMCC), "which deals with complaints from the public regarding programme content of the licenced services", and The Broadcasting Technical Committee (BTC), "which oversees the technical strands in the licenced service" (Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission 1994: 14). However, at the time of research, neither of these two committees had met in the previous six months (Gunze, personal interview, Mgombelo, personal interview).²¹

Not all of the television stations that have been licensed under the TBC are fully operational. The main functional private television stations include: Independent Television (ITV), Dar es Salaam Television (DTV), Coastal Television Network (CTN), and Cable Entertainment Network (CEN). There is also the public television station on the island, Television Zanzibar, as well as plans for a public station, TV Tanzania, on the Mainland. For the most part, the stations air a combination of foreign and local programming.²²

²¹ See Appendix II for an overview of the Commission's functions.

²² Refer to Appendix III for an 'average' Thursday evening list of programming for each of the stations (except TV Zanzibar, as it does not publish a program listing).

Name	Owner	Program Structure	Audience	Year of Estab.	Private /Public
Independent Television (ITV) ²³	IPP Media Group Chairman - Reginald Mengi	15% local programs. Broadcasts popular music videos, news, educational programming. ²⁴	Kiswahili +English. Targets the 'average' Tanzanian (i.e., citizens who are not of Indo-Pakistani descent).	1993	Private
Dar es Salaam Television (DTV)	TASIA group of companies	Mostly imported fare. News - 9%, Sport - 15%, Factual - 20%, Drama - 44%, Asian - 9% and Light Entertainment - 3%.	Mostly English + S.Asian languages + Kiswahili. Targets S.Asians + expatriates	1994	Private
Coastal Television Network (CTN)	Shabbir Abji, Jayesh Shah, Ramesh Patel, Girish Chande, Bud Kassam, Mehmood Mawji (Individuals)	Small network. Mostly imported programs, esp. foreign movies, foreign + local news + music videos.	Mostly English + some Kiswahili. Targets S. Asians + expatriates	1994 ²⁵	Private
Cable Entertainment Network (CEN)	Jitu P. Ganatra (Individual)	Small network, Mostly foreign movies (esp. S.Asian). Future goal: produce Kiswahili movies.	Kiswahili + S. Asian Languages + English. Primarily targets S. Asians.	1996	Private
Name	Owner	Program Structure	Audience	Year of Estab.	Private /Public

²³ Subsequent to the research, the IPP Media Group launched ITV2, a station that only broadcasts music videos. These videos are almost exclusively foreign material.

²⁴ The amount of local programming listed for each of the stations depends on a couple of factors, including how often local programs are recycled throughout a given day or week and the amount of hours the station is on the air.

²⁵ Although it was not until 1996 that the station began airing regular programming.

Television Zanzibar	Government of Zanzibar	35% local programs. ²⁶ Information - 10%, Entertainment - 40%, Educational - 50%.	Mostly Kiswahili + English. Targets all Zanzibaris.	1974	Public
TV Tanzania	Government of Tanzania ²⁷	Primarily educational	Mandated to target 'all Tanzanians', including urban and rural areas.	Not operating	Public

In addition to this reference table, the following section provides a more thorough examination of the unique characteristics of each of the stations.

Television Stations in Tanzania: A Brief Overview

Independent Television (ITV): ITV is considered the most popular of the television stations in Tanzania. The Chairman of IPP, Reginald Mengi, is probably the most well-known figure in Tanzanian society, barring President Mkapa. The conglomerate owns the most popular television and radio stations in Tanzania, ITV and Radio One. It also owns a plethora of English and Kiswahili daily, weekly and monthly newspapers, as well as a number of non-media companies (Chachage, personal interview). ITV is also the only private station that is allowed, by the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, to broadcast outside of Dar es Salaam

²⁶This domestic fare percentage quoted by the Television Business International publication for 1996, is debatable because the director of the station, Mr. Mitawi, indicated that Television Zanzibar broadcasts 60 percent local fare. Since the station does not publish its programming schedule (each day's programs are broadcast on the station the day before), it is difficult to determine the actual amount.

²⁷The Registrar for the Tanzanian Communications Commission is expected to oversee the operation (Gunze, personal interview).

and is the only one with the legal right to build transmitters in other parts of the country, although the extent of their transmission is limited by the TBC.

Dar es Salaam Television (DTV): At the time of research, DTV was only allowed to broadcast in the Dar es Salaam area, although it had once been allowed to reach other main urban centres in Tanzania. The station has been embroiled in a lengthy legal battle with TTLC (Tanzania Telecommunications Company Limited), the nation's sole telecommunication provider²⁸, over its decision to disconnect DTV's connection to other Tanzanian cities because of overdue bills (Gunze, personal interview, Desjardins, personal interview).

Coastal Television Network (CTN): At the time of research, CTN was searching for partnerships with television stations in Kenya and Uganda to form an East African television network (Nevros, personal interview). Although the station broadcasts some locally-produced programming, it was in the midst of securing the rights from a number of British, Indian and American companies to showcase a wider range of foreign programming.

The Cable Entertainment Network (CEN): Although the Director of the station claims that 60 percent of the programming is local, this amount is questionable even though the station is

²⁸ TTLC is currently in the process of being privatized to improve the company's performance (Ministry of Communications and Transport 1997).

only on the air eight hours a day during the week (Ganatra, personal interview). One of the primary aims of the station is to produce Tanzanian Kiswahili movies for television and, at the time of research, it had completed two such films (Ganatra, personal interview).

Television Zanzibar: Television Zanzibar is a public station that only broadcasts on the island and neighbouring Pemba island (although it can be picked up in the Mainland coastal areas). It is the only station in Tanzania that does not fall under the aegis of either the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission or the Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act. However, there have been rumours that the station will privatize in the future to create some sort of hybrid private / public station, partnering with a company in South Africa (Mitawi, personal interview). The station has been fortunate enough to have recently received substantial financial assistance from the Japanese government. As a result, the station is expecting to expand and update their equipment, repair transmitters and construct a new studio (Mitawi, personal interview).

TV Tanzania: The station's infrastructure, housed at the Audio-Visual Institute in Dar es Salaam, is approximately 70 percent complete (Mponguliana, personal interview). Although the station was supposed to be fully operational in 1995, the government has lacked the financial resources necessary to complete the project. The Danish government and UNESCO have already provided a large amount of the funding for the station, but a number of interviewees indicated that it will be difficult for the government to obtain additional external financial resources for a public television considering that the country already has several

private stations in operation. Controversy has surrounded the national television station because, once operational, it will have the right to broadcast to any urban centre in the country, even though it is supposed to adhere to the same regulations as the private stations. If all of the intended development phases for the station are realized, TV Tanzania will broadcast to 18 cities in Tanzania and have studio centres in seven cities for the creation of original local programming (Gunze, personal interview). Out of the private Mainland stations, only ITV is allowed to broadcast outside of Dar es Salaam. Even with further expansion of the station, however, it will only be allowed to broadcast to a maximum of 25 percent of the country.

Subsequent to the field research, a purely educational television station was established by a church organization, the World Agape Ministries. The Tanzanian Sokoine University of Agriculture has also recently created an education television station, but it has not yet produced any local programming (Gunze, personal interview, Matiku, personal interview).

Intended Roles of Television

In order to understand the intended role of television in Tanzania, research was conducted to gauge the opinions of academics, government officials and members of the media industry on the subject. The following section combines information obtained from semi-structured interviews with material gathered from printed sources, including national and East African newspapers, research by non-government organizations, and promotional materials from the

television stations. In addition, some of the opinions expressed in this section were formed through participant observation; by spending time in the community it became easier to discern the more subtle aspects of the power struggles over the control of the medium.

Nationalism

In her discussion on the role and status of women in the media of Tanzania, Halima Shariff states that “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” (1990: 45). Benedict Anderson argues that there is a continual ideological labour that governments have to expend in assuring populations of the validity of the countries they govern. Therefore, he suggests, many countries have used “mass media, especially television, to construct an imagined community” and a shared sense of belonging (1991: 135). This medium, as Kottak argues, “can diffuse the cultures of different countries within their own boundaries, thus enhancing national cultural identity” (1996: 135). In the African post-colonial context, this creation of a cultural identity is crucial because African statesmen operate in an age in which nationalism has become a major ideology.²⁹ However, the construction of a ‘Tanzanian nation’ and

²⁹ For a thorough and multi perspective discussion of difference between nationalism, nation-building and democratic development, refer to *Nationalism* by Hutchinson and Smith (1994).

‘Tanzanian nationalism’ must be intimately linked to the colonialist construction of the African nation; an entity that is composed of distinct peoples living in artificially drawn borders. Zambia's former President, Kenneth Kaunda, has stated that "our aim has been to create genuine nations from the sprawling artifacts the colonialists carved out" (Neuberger 1994: 235). Similar to other African nations which achieved independence within the past several decades, Tanzania has had to struggle "against great odds of history, geography and evil effects of imperialism to build a nation in less than a fiftieth of the time it took European states to build theirs" (Neuberger 1994:235).

Tanzania's current president, Benjamin Mkapa, would like to use mass media to help create this unity and nationalism. According to the Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act, one of the primary roles of television is "to contribute through programming to shared national consciousness, identity and continuity" (Part IV 13.-(3) (h)). The nationalistic fervour of Tanzania began after independence with the creation of *Ujamaa*'s self-reliant and anti-colonialist doctrine. The concept of a Tanzanian 'brotherhood' has been used as a means to maintain the relative peace that has prevailed in Tanzania throughout its history. In the aftermath of abdicating its socialist *Ujamaa* plan, which effectively addressed both the ethnic and civic components but failed economically, for both external and internal reasons, the statesmen of Tanzania have been searching for ways to promote nationalism and maintain the stability that is characteristic of the country (Hodd 1995: 24, Luhanga, personal interview). In fact, President Mkapa stated that his government must do all that it can to ensure that "internal disputes do not 'break apart' Tanzania as it has done to neighbouring Kenya" (*The*

Express January 12, 1997). T.L. Maliyamkono, Director of the Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Program (ESAURP), called Tanzania a “country anxious to build a culture of unity and peace and to have a national ethos” (1997: 23). Hutchinson and Smith suggest that in order to promote nationalism in many developing countries “the people must be united; they must dissolve all internal divisions” (1994: 4). If this is accomplished, civil unrest, and its accompanying economic downfall, can be avoided (Hutchinson and Smith 1994).

In a personal interview, Chairman Bomani of the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, suggested that through television programming that instills good morals and values, as well as providing information and education for the people and encouraging pride in the country, television is one means by which nationalism can be encouraged. However, much of the information and opinions garnered from the interviews regarding the positive role that television can play in promoting ‘development’ and ‘nationalism’ should be carefully evaluated. Undoubtably, many of the interviewee perspectives were unique to the Tanzanian elite; individuals who represent the upper echelon of the Tanzanian society. Pendakur explains that in many developing countries, rhetoric regarding the use of television for nationalism and development purposes can be problematic because it assumes,

...that the elites know what is best for the poor and illiterate masses. The government would use the new medium benevolently, for the good of all the nation. This model adds to the arsenal of domination of the political and bureaucratic elements in control of the state, thereby enhancing their power (1993: 239).

Thus, as Pendakur notes, television often “targets audiences for behavioral change rather than as participants determining the kind and pace of change they want” (1993: 239).

Despite these concerns, the government highlighted the importance of ‘development’ and ‘nationalism’ media to Tanzania’s future as early as 1980. The Minister of Information and Culture at the time (and now President), Benjamin Mkapa, stated that “the people have a right to Information. For it concerns their activities and aspirations. Information clarifies and develops national direction and consciousness. It is a mirror of the development of the people, as well as an essential development resource in its own right” (Ng’wanakilala 1981: back page). However, the urban bias of television in Tanzania has seriously limited the medium’s ability to promote nationalism to all Tanzanians (Maliyamkono 1997: 23). Once the new Mainland public station is operational, the Broadcasting Commission will allow it to broadcast to the entire country; if financial resources permit, transmitters can be erected in any urban or rural region of Tanzania (Gunze, personal interview). However, the Commission limits private broadcasters transmissions to a maximum of 25 percent of the country’s population - a decision made in February 1995 by Philip Marmo, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting (Television Business International 1996: 299). Currently, each of the private stations can apply to the Commission for the right to erect transmitters only in a number of *urban* centers (Gunze, personal interview). Most of the private stations have applied to broadcast outside of Dar es Salaam because, although it is the largest city in the country, it is home to only about 5.7 percent of the population (UNDP 1998: 175). CTN, for example, has applied to construct transmitters in Dodoma, Arusha, Moshi, Mwanza, Mbeya,

Iringa and Tanga, with the hopes that some of these locales will be sanctioned by the Broadcasting Commission (Nevros, personal interview). Currently, however, ITV is the only private station that has the legal right to transmit outside of Dar es Salaam and owns transmitters in the cities of Dodoma, Mwanza, Arusha, and Kilimanjaro (Kiwango, personal interview).³⁰ Even with this extended range, ITV still only has the capability of reaching approximately nine percent of the population, assuming that all those within broadcasting distance have access to television. Maliyamkono (1997: 23) and Manganga (1996: 369) argue that if the government of Tanzania truly wants to help educate its people and bring them together under the umbrella of nationalism, as Mkapa has suggested, then the 25 percent restriction should be abolished and rural television be introduced. In reference to print and radio media, the former Director of Information in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Abdallah Ngororo, stated that the “national mass media served the interests of the already privileged elites living in towns. The concerns of elites, he adds, are not relevant to the needs of the villagers who form the majority of the population” (Shariff 1990: 53). As a result, the current Tanzanian government may have to rethink its concept of ‘universal access’ for the media in Tanzania and the amount of financial support they are willing to expend to ensure that the urban versus rural bias does not continue.³¹ Judge Bomani has

³⁰ITV has applied to broadcast in 5 more regions in the southern part of Tanzania (Kiwango, personal interview).

³¹One of the recommendations in the National Telecommunications Policy from the Ministry of Communications and Transport is to “...develop a nation-wide telecommunications infrastructure, and ensure that all sectors of society benefit from the telecommunications sector” (Ministry of Communications and Transport 1997: 13).

agreed that there is a serious need to discuss this issue. He explained that the first priority of the Broadcasting Commission, however, is to ensure that radio broadcasting is expanded to cover the whole of the country and then television will eventually follow suit (personal interview).³²

However, since all of the operating television stations on the Mainland are private, it would be difficult to convince them to broadcast to rural areas without financial support from the government. Since the stations are commercial enterprises and rely on advertisers for a large portion of their financial remuneration, they naturally focus their efforts on profit-making urban areas. For example, only one of the private stations has applied to the Broadcasting Commission for the right to broadcast in Mbeya, a city of approximately 200,000 people in the southwest corner of Tanzania, near the border of Zambia. The Registrar for the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, Mr. Habbi Gunze, suggests that it is not financially feasible for a private television station to operate in such an area because advertising revenues would not be strong enough to support the expense of broadcasting (personal interview). Advertisers from Tanzania and Kenya are more interested in urban, affluent and tourist-oriented centres such as Dar es Salaam or the Kilimanjaro area, rather than Mbeya. In order to combat this predicament and encourage a more equitable distribution of television

³²According to Bomani, in 1997 the combined radio broadcasting only reached approximately 60 percent of the population of Tanzania which equals approximately 18 million out of a possible 30 million people.

access, the government may introduce preferential tariffs in the near future for stations which agree to broadcast to smaller locales such as Mbeya (Gunze, personal interview). As one local newspaper reporter noted, the government would be making a sensible move by introducing such tariffs because at the moment “*all the roads lead to Dar es Salaam, and all the development should come to Dar es Salaam. Such type of development would not get us far*” (*Daily News*, January 18, 1997).

This 25 percent broadcasting stipulation for private stations is, however, only one of many regulations included in the 1993 Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act. Under this act the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission (TBC) was established and given the powers to licence and regulate broadcasting in the country. For this discussion, one of the most relevant sections of the Broadcasting Act is Part III - Broadcasting Licensing:

Part III

10.-(1) An application for a licence under this Act may be made only by-

(a) *a citizen of the United Republic;*
 (b) *a company at least 51% of whose share-holding is beneficially owned by a citizen or citizens of the United Republic* which is not, directly or indirectly, controlled by persons who are not citizens of the United Republic and whose principal place of business or registered office is in the United Republic.

(3) When considering an application for the grant of a broadcasting license, the Commission shall have regard to-

(a) the expertise, experience and financial resources available to the applicant;

(b) the desirability or otherwise of allowing any person or association of person, to have control of a substantial interest in:

- i) more than one broadcasting service;
- ii) more than one radio stations and one television station and one registered newspaper which a common coverage and distribution area or significantly overlapping coverage and distribution areas;

(c) compliance with the prescribed technical broadcasting standards;

(d) whether the conditions of a broadcasting licence shall unjustly benefit one holder of a broadcasting licence above another;

(e) *the allocation of spectrum resources in such a manner as to ensure the widest possible diversity of programming and the optimal utilisation of such resources, provided that priority may be given to broadcasters transmitting the maximum number of hours per day;*

(f) the reservation of spectrum resources for future use;

(g) *the desirability of giving priority to community-based or national development broadcasts;*

(h) the extent to which the applicant is determined and has planned to *train local staff* in matters concerning radio or television broadcasting

(Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act, 1993: 15, emphasis added).

Therefore, the commission is mandated to ensure that television in Tanzania is as 'home-grown' as possible and effectively limits interference from external sources. Although not stipulated in the Act, if a television station wishes to broadcast a program in a foreign language, it must subtitle the show into English or Kiswahili (Desjardins, personal interview, Gunze, personal interview). Moreover, Professor Mgombelo, a member of the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, noted that a broadcaster would have to apply to the TBC if it wanted to broadcast in a tribal language (personal interview). Thus, if a television

station were to open in the Moshi area in Northeast Tanzania, the Chagga people living in the region would have to apply to the TBC to be able to broadcast their dialect rather than the national language of Kiswahili or English. Since there are more than 120 languages in Tanzania, using more than just Kiswahili or English would, as Mgombelo suggests, counteract the struggle to create and maintain nationalism in the country (personal interview).

Within the urban areas, the government and the media industry have tried to ensure that television is appropriate for most of the community. Since Tanzania is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country, television has had to fill a variety of cultural niches. There are more than 100 tribal groups, primarily of Bantu origin, and as many accompanying languages scattered throughout the country. In Zanzibar, the population is a mix of Shirazis (from Persia), Arabs, Comorians (from the Comoros Islands) and Bantu from the Mainland. In both the Mainland and Zanzibar, there are also small expatriate communities, primarily located in main urban centres. In addition to the two main religions in Tanzania, Christianity and Islam, citizens also practice a plethora of 'traditional' religions. This diversity in the population means that a wide range of programming would be necessary in order to reach a broad range of viewers. Television Zanzibar provides an excellent example of culture-specific programming. Although the station provides some air time to Christian programming, because the Zanzibarian population is almost exclusively Muslim (97 percent), emphasis is placed on various aspects of the Islamic religion. Also, the programming of Television Zanzibar is primarily in Kiswahili because it is usually the

language of preference of the island. In comparison, since English is prevalent in Mainland urban areas, English programming tends to be much more popular. Television Zanzibar is also unique in that local fare constitutes an astounding 35 percent of the total programming³³ and is very much geared toward the Zanzibarian society and culture rather than a 'Tanzanian' one. Independent Television (ITV) is another example of a station that caters to a specific niche in the Tanzanian market. ITV is commonly considered to be the most popular station in Tanzania and has moulded itself to be 'the station of the people'. It only employs Tanzanians who are black, while all locally-produced programming has black actors and emphasizes the life of the black Tanzanian (i.e., not Tanzanians of Indo-Pakistani heritage). In contrast, both CEN and CTN were introduced to cater to the Indo-Pakistani community with their combination of local and foreign programming that is regularly imported from India. In addition to these cultural niche markets, the stations also cater to other audience preferences. For example, some of the stations can be considered more 'liberal' than others. The music videos, and accompanying banter of the hosts, shown on ITV would probably not be shown on the more conservative DTV station.

The Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission (TBC), has helped to accommodate these audience niches by favouring certain television stations applying for licenses. In order to target the widest range of viewers, the commission allocates "spectrum resources in such a

³³ As noted earlier, this figure quoted by the Television Business International publication for 1996 is contradictory to the 60 percent figure that was stated by the director of the station, Mr. Mitawi.

manner as to ensure the widest possible diversity of programming and the optimal utilisation of such resources, provided that priority may be given to broadcasters transmitting the maximum number of hours per day” (Part III - Broadcasting Licensing, 10.- (1), (e), Gunze, personal interview). Additionally, in order to ensure that more members of the community can watch television, the Broadcasting Services Act mandates that there are a “minimum number of hours in a week of programmes with subtitling for the deaf (whether provided by means of a teletext service or otherwise)” (1993: 11). However, at the time of research, not all of the stations were equipped to fulfil this edict.

Although the government encourages a wide range of broadcasters, the markets served by television are somewhat limited because most of the stations are private enterprises. Other than ITV, they target the South Asian, and/or expatriate, and/or the upper echelon of the Swahili community (e.g., high-level civil servants). Since the stations are commercial companies, they receive the bulk of their financial resources from advertisers. Thus, it is financially prudent for them to appeal to the communities that are not only able to afford a television, but who are also capable of purchasing the advertisers’ products. These communities are comprised of the country’s South Asian, expatriate and wealthy Swahili citizenry. Moreover, the owners of these stations are all members of this wealthy community because they are in the financial position to create and maintain a television station.

Quality Programming

Another fundamental objective of Tanzanian television is to provide viewers with quality programming and journalism. The chairman of the IPP media group, Reginald Mengi, has stated a number of times that the primary impediments to successful media in Tanzania are sensationalist reporting and programming, as well as the lack of investigative work on important issues (*The Express* Feb. 27 1997). In order to train Tanzanian journalists to provide quality reporting and programming, the government helps to maintain the Tanzanian School of Journalism (TSJ). Established in 1975, the school has also received a large portion of its funding from the Danish government (Balyagati, personal interview). TSJ provides courses in a wide range of media-related topics with a focus on the creation of quality programming and ethical and accurate news reporting. The school is extremely beneficial to the local media industry because it provides the opportunity for personnel to receive training without having to incur the costs of travelling abroad (Balyagati, personal interview). In addition to the TSJ, the Journalism Department of the Nyegezi Social Training Institute (NSTI) based in Mwanza also offers diplomas in the field (Balyagati, personal interview). However, the various journalism degrees and diplomas obtainable from TSJ and NSTI provide very little hands-on training in program production. Therefore, more practical, hands-on training is learned either 'on-the-job' at one of the television stations, or at an overseas institute. For example, every year ITV sends a select few of their employees to train in either the United Kingdom or the United States (Kiwango, personal interview). Although the stations often provide some financial assistance, much of the support for

training opportunities overseas comes from international donor agencies. Also, there is an Association of Journalists and Media Workers (AJM), based in Dar es Salaam, which provides basic training on ethical reporting and responsible journalism.

The following section of the Tanzania Broadcasting Services Act not only outlines the intended role of television in the country, but it also emphasizes the importance of quality journalism and programming. Other parts of this excerpt from the Act will be drawn upon later in this chapter.

Part IV - Coordination and Supervision of Broadcasting

13.-(3)

- (a) to present all news in a factually accurate, impartial and non-partisan manner;*
- (b) to present current affairs in a balanced, clear, factual, accurate and impartial manner;*
- (c) to encourage the development of Tanzanian and African expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Tanzanian and African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity by displaying Tanzanian and African cultures and entertainment programmes;*
- (d) to serve the needs and interests and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Tanzanian men, women and children in a democratic Tanzania society;*
- (e) to produce and maintain programmes of high standards;*
- (f) to make maximum use of Tanzanian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming;*
- (g) to limit advertisements to a maximum of 30 percent of the total daily broadcasting time;*
- (h) to contribute through programming to shared national consciousness, identity and continuity;*
- (i) to provide programming that caters for culture, arts, sports and education pertaining to Tanzania and Africa;*

(j) to comply with generally accepted standards of journalistic ethics in the editing of any programme to be broadcast as formulated in the Code of Conduct for the Media Professions;

(Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act, 1993: 14, emphasis added).

Two well-publicized breaches of this section illustrate the emphasis that the TBC has placed on quality programming and reporting. Dar es Salaam (DTV) station was fined by the TBC for airing a programme that announced the winner of the 1995 Zanzibarian election prior to the release of 'official' results. However, the winner of the election had changed between the 'unofficial' and the 'official' results³⁴. Although this change occurred under somewhat suspicious electoral procedures, which were later criticized in most of the Mainland and Zanzibar newspapers, the station was fined for broadcasting false information (Desjardins, personal interview, Mtei 1996: 110). In the other instance, DTV aired a news report falsely suggesting that a well-known politician, Hon. Cleopa Msuya, had passed away. As a result of these two infractions, the station was fined one million Tanzanian Shillings (approximately \$CDN 2,300) by the commission (Gunze, personal interview).

³⁴Currently, CUF is still disputing the 1995 presidential election results in Zanzibar, in which the current Isles President, Dr. Salmin Amour, emerged the winner after defeating the CUF candidate, Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad.

'Development' Programming

Television in Tanzania also plays a number of 'developmental' roles. The industry is mandated to educate the country's citizens in a number of key areas including, health issues, how to be a 'good citizen', and the welfare of children. The importance of this 'developmental' role for television was expressed by every individual interviewed. At the Tanzanian School of Journalism (TSJ), emphasis is placed on development communications which use the media to "fight illiteracy, poverty, and disease, and to build a political consciousness to support national development processes" (Balyagati, personal interview, Shariff 1990: 58). The director of CEN explained that the main goal of television in Tanzania is to educate and entertain which is why, he argues, television should be introduced into the rural areas that can benefit the most from educational programming (personal interview). As an example of development programming, information can be imparted to rural and urban audiences through Kiswahili plays broadcast on television. Since many groups of people in Tanzania have a long history of using plays to tell a moral story, television can be used as another medium for a similar activity (Ganatra, personal interview).

In order to fulfil the 'development' roles of television, an amendment to the Tanzania Broadcasting Services Act stipulates that broadcast licensees must provide a certain amount of educational programmes per week. In addition, each broadcaster must air news and factual programs (which should include current affairs, documentaries, etc.), as well as

programmes for children and women and religious affiliations (which must be unbiased). They are also mandated to provide entertainment programmes, programmes of African origin, and local production (1993: 36-38). Presently, these requirements are not closely monitored, but the Commission intends to do so in the near future (Gunze, personal interview). Some examples of local programming that fulfil these development roles include: DTV's educational programming on AIDS, created in conjunction with UNICEF; DTV's civic education series, "Mada moto uchaguzi"; ITV's 'how to care for your children' (Watoto Wetu) hour every Tuesday afternoon; CTN's "Kiswahili Play" on health issues; CEN's Thursday evening "Educational Programme for Children"; ITV's "Vijana", an educational program for youth on the problems of growing up; and ITV's 'women's issues hour', "Jarida la wanawake".

Members of the Tanzanian academic and media community have argued that television can fulfil another development function -- helping Tanzania to become a truly democratic society. Media activist M.A. Maganga states that, "with the irreversible ushering in of a new political era of democracy through multi-partyism, the media has found itself faced with a new challenge: to march forward with time and hence, as a pressure group, to embark on educating the masses on their civic and human rights. This would enable the Tanzania masses to ably and effectively participate in their country's democratic process" (1996: 365-66). Since the state of Tanzania's democratic environment is very much linked to the level of civic education that the populace will achieve through the media, educational and informative programming is essential. Maliyamkono and Maganga contend that television

can help raise the level of awareness regarding human rights, and the viewer's ability to use these rights meaningfully in political, social, economic and cultural life (Maganga 1996, Maliyamkono, 1997: 141-142). As a corollary, the Chairman of the Presidential Commission on Corruption, J.S. Warioba, has stated that television can also play a pivotal role in the fight against corruption in Tanzania.³⁵ In the commission's report, Warioba states that "the press is not doing enough" to counteract corruption, and has "fallen in the trap of passing the buck" (1996: 128). Warioba suggests that the media can assist in this fight through the public exposure of prominent individuals who are commonly known to engage in corrupt practices. Moreover, since the media are powerful institutions of public education, Warioba states that the media can educate people "so that they can resist and expose those who threaten them" (1996: 129).

Although all of the individuals interviewed agreed that development programming is essential, Mainland television stations are all commercial enterprises. Even though interviewees from a number of the local stations indicated that they would like to increase domestic programming, foreign programming from the United States, South Africa, the United Kingdom, etc., is less expensive and, for the time being, easier to import than producing local programming. As a result, the government has helped smaller stations, that may not have the same financial resources as a conglomerate like the IPP Group, to produce

³⁵ In January 1996, President Mkapa appointed former premier Joseph Sinde Warioba to head the commission on corruption. The commission produced the report popularly known as the Warioba Report (Maliyamkono 1997: 135).

local programming. The TBC has provided loans and waived certain fees for those stations which intend to concentrate on community-based or national development broadcasts (Gunze, personal interview, Luhanga, personal interview). The intent of the government is to provide an initial push to a number of stations so that they can get their 'feet on the ground' and create a stock of talented screen writers, camera people and other media personnel, as well as a dedicated audience. Once this has taken place, it is the intention of the Commission to let market competition take over and allow only the strong stations to survive (Luhanga, personal interview).

As discussed, the economic reforms that have taken place in Tanzania since the mid-1980s have encouraged liberalization, privatization and foreign investment. In fact, one of the foremost policy objectives for the Tanzanian Ministry of Communications and Transport is to attract private and public, domestic and international sources to finance the development of the telecommunications and broadcasting sector (Semboja, personal interview). Thus, the government must find a middle ground between opening the doors to investment in, and privatization of, the media industry, and their desire to maintain some control over its content. Also, if the government wants the media to perform 'development' duties, it must recognize and understand that much of the media is commercial. Therefore, it will have to decide how closely it will regulate and monitor the content requirements. As a journalist for *The Guardian* newspaper, Makwaia wa Kuhenga writes, "if the motivation of the privately owned media is to make ends meet and make a little profit, are we to expect them to publish material which is developmental in character?" (March 14, 1997: 7).

Media Freedom & Censorship

The lack of media freedom is, perhaps, the most contentious and debated impediment to the growth of television in Tanzania. The rhetoric of government officials and wary employees of the media industry would have an outsider believe that a free press was ushered in with multipartyism. Numerous interviewees stated that television reporters are now free to openly criticize the government. Despite this media freedom rhetoric, it appears that censorship is still rampant. As Kottak suggests, the primary obstacle to commercial television in developing countries is censorship by the government, public opinion, sponsors, and network executives, as well as self-censorship by creators (1996: 137-8). An anonymous interviewee explained that with the advent of democracy in Tanzania, there has been no problem with criticizing the government; however, it would be best if the media did not indulge in it. Another interviewee explained that if a journalist were to criticize the actions of a high-ranking government official, s/he must also be quick to compliment this official for a praiseworthy action. In her research on women in Tanzanian media, Shariff quotes an assistant lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam and former journalist, Harrison Mwakyembe, as saying that newspaper men and women practise this type of self-censorship because of fear of offending the government (1990: 51). Although television in Tanzania is mainly private, in response to the threat of government interference, Kottak argues that in many developing countries “reporters, writers, directors, and commentators censor themselves, both consciously and unconsciously” (1996: 138). In his discussion of

the Brazilian broadcast licences, Kottak states “this ‘internal censor’ can be particularly stifling as a brake on creativity” (1996: 138). Additionally, the TBC grants television broadcast licenses for five years at a time. Thus, broadcasters may tend to be cautious in order to ensure that their licenses will be renewed.

In February 1997, Judge Bomani, Chairman of the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, affirmed the fragility of media freedom in his statement, “broadcasting can cause moral damage to the nation and we have the duty to safeguard those moral values and consciences of the people” (*The Express*: Feb. 27: V). He also stated that “the commission decided to restrict private broadcasting to 25 percent for ‘historical’ reasons and that it was a ‘sensitive sector’ ... and... can be a security risk if not controlled” (MISA 1997). As illustrated by the following quotation from Judge Bomani, the TBC uses security and moral safeguard explanations to justify censorship of the media:

As I have said before, radio and television are very powerful tools. They are tools that play a very persuasive role on the mind of the people. What is heard and seen is believed by people generally as being the truth. So, used properly, these tools can effectively inform, educate and entertain the people. They can build a nation... But equally, used improperly or maliciously the harm caused can be colossal. Broadcasts on these media can corrupt morals, sow seeds of discord and even cause violence and bloodshed. It is necessary to take steps to stop the misuse of these media. This, however, should not be overdone to the extent that the people are denied the opportunity to think for themselves. There has to be a balance and the people, especially adults, must be trusted to be able to judge for themselves what is bad or good for them

(Judge Mark Bomani, *The Express*, February 27 1997: V).

The government is able to restrict media freedom through the Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act. Although many of the broadcasting stipulations found in the Act are noble, they are rather nebulous in nature and their enforcement arbitrary. In fact, the Act states that:

If the Minister is of the opinion that the broadcasting of any matter or matter of any class or character, would be contrary to the national security or public interest he may, by notice in writing delivered at the principal office of the licence holder, prohibit the licence holder from broadcasting such matter or matter of such class or character and the licence holder shall comply with any such notice so delivered
(Part IV - Miscellaneous Provisions, 25.2.).

This rather vague excerpt provides the Commission with room to make arbitrary decisions regarding broadcasting content. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) maintains an up-to-date list of media freedom violations in eleven different African countries, including Tanzania. This index examines a number of freedom violations, ranging from official fines, primarily against newspaper owners to more suspicious activities levied against individual journalists who do not practice 'appropriate' self-censorship. Appendix IV provides a chronological list of violations against print, radio and television journalists that occurred in Tanzania during June 1998.

Although there have been violations, there was a consensus among the media personnel interviewed regarding what constitutes 'appropriate' programming (no pornography, no nudity, limited foul language, etc.). As one interviewee explained, television should not

broadcast two people kissing because it encourages young people to experiment and parents are embarrassed if they are watching television with their children and a 'love' scene is shown. However, the interviewees were in agreement that programmes with violence are not problematic since most of the violence shown on television is obviously not real. Although there are no legislative guidelines for programme content as of yet, there have been drafts prepared by a number of sources to create such a code (Gunze, personal interview). In addition, the TBC performs regular 'inspection tours' of stations' programs and staff to ensure that only programming which conforms to the 'morals of society' are broadcast (Gunze, personal interview). Therefore, through the TBC, the government wields considerable power over what is shown on television and can encourage, and discourage, certain types of programming.

The Tanzanian media also face a number of laws in addition to the Broadcasting Act, including The National Security Act, The Newspapers Act, and The National Secrecy Act, which all give the government the power to suspend licenses or, if deemed necessary, prohibit certain media if they are not considered to be in the best interest of the country.³⁶ In reaction to encroaching censorship, Tanzanian journalists have set up a media council that is a voluntary, independent and non-statutory body to help journalists adhere to professional media ethics. This self-imposed media watchdog was created with

³⁶ However, before a license can be revoked, a number of steps first take place including fines and verbal and written warnings (Luhanga, personal interview).

the intent of beating the government to a, potentially, harsher form of media censorship (*The East Africa* July 21, 1995). It is, however, questionable as to whether or not the new 'media ethics' code introduced by the media council is able to "protect the media's right and duty to inform the public without fear of retribution from the political and financial nabobs who don't like their private affairs exposed" (*The Express* February 26, 1997).

As a corollary to concerns about censorship and journalistic freedom, members of the media in Tanzania are also worried by the amount of corruption in the industry. For example, even though the Broadcasting Act is meant to ensure that control of television is in the hands of nationals, a number of individuals interviewed implied that this is not always the case. A fair amount of circumstantial evidence suggests that some Tanzanian media owners receive financial support from external sources, which is made possible by finding 'loopholes' in the system.

Also, because of concerns over the effect that unlimited ownership of mass media (media conglomerates) will have on media freedom, the Act limits the amount of media services owned by one company (Part III (b)). The Director of Television Zanzibar, the Acting Director of the Department of Information in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr. Mpenda, and Judge Bomani, have all voiced their objection to allowing media barons in a country that is on the edge of democracy and media freedom (*The Guardian* March 12, 1997:7, *The Express* February 27, 1997:V, Bomani, personal interview, Mpenda, personal interview). However, the IPP Group owns ITV, Radio One, a news agency (Press

Service Trust (PST)), and the newspapers Financial Times, The Guardian/Sunday Observer, Sunset, Nipashe, Alasiri and Lete Raha.³⁷ The Chairman of IPP, Reginald Mengi, also owns large portions of non-media industries in conjunction with numerous foreign financial supporters. In addition, he is the Chairman for the National Environment Council, close friends with President Mkapa and is rumoured to be running for President of the country in the next elections. The close ties that this conglomerate has with the political arena has helped to call into question the extent to which the state has been separated from the media.

In addition to these examples of 'loop-holes' in the system, other forms of corruption, such as bribes, are still commonplace in Tanzania. Many of the interviewees agreed that the integrity of media reporting has been jeopardized by reporters, writers and managers who skew information for bribes. A journalist for *The Express* writes that "while media censorship by the state diminished with the collapse of the one-party state, censorship by powerful individuals in the financial and political sectors is now on the increase. It is an open secret that news reports and letters in some Tanzanian newspapers are slanted to suit certain people" (Rweyemamu February 26, 1997). The Warioba Report announced that the media was among the institutions in which "corruption was rife", particularly the irregular issuing of licenses (Mluma 1996:11, Warioba Report 1996). The Commission's

³⁷ For additional information regarding the IPP Media Group refer to their website at [Http://www.ippmedia.com](http://www.ippmedia.com)

Report³⁸ recommended potential resolutions to the problem which were, supposedly, welcome news to President Mkapa. Mkapa has stated numerous times that he intends to continue the fight against corruption, especially the corrupt practices of higher officials in the civil service and people in government positions who use their professional influence to gain wealth and personal favours. In fact, part of the civil service retrenchment, in which one third of public sector jobs were eliminated, was performed to decrease corrupt practices (Mlama 1996: 12). As quoted in the *World Press Review*, Scott Staus of the *Globe and Mail* writes, "Mkapa is of a different breed... he is serious about getting the government to work, he says, serious about making the languid economy hop, and, crucially, serious about ending the country's modern bane: corruption" (January 1997: 28). However, this historically rooted problem is still in existence: "corruption is a very serious problem in our society... so far the government has shown a serious and determined interest to arrest the situation, however, much more needs to be done" (Mlama 1996:11).

³⁸ The Report, however, has been criticized by a number of academics including Professor T. Maliyamkono in his statement, "...the report has too shallow coverage, is of no use for police work or court proceedings, and could only serve political purposes" (*The Guardian*, April 30, 1997:1). Maliyamkono also questions the validity of appointing an 'insider' to head the committee, Joseph Sinde Warioba, because "he knows how the system works but perhaps his previous time as Prime Minister left him with pre-conceived ideas about where the loopholes for corruption were" (1997: 140).

Summary

As this chapter has illustrated, all of the different local factions in Tanzania share a common vision for the future of television and have similar beliefs concerning the roles that television can play in their society. These roles range from providing entertainment and educating Tanzanians on health issues, to fighting systematic and historically rooted corruption. However, the government has erected a number of barriers that have impeded the fulfilment of these objectives. These include the subtle forms of media control described above, restrictive broadcast licensing and importation taxes on media technologies. As Kottak suggests, governments in developing countries usually play some role in regulating media freedom because they are not ready, or not willing, to divest their power over mass communication media (1996: 137). Additionally, Manjunath Pendakur argues that television in developing countries is often in the hands of the government and other members of the country's elite (1993: 239). In Tanzania, the government appears to believe that 'the people' require guidance from these elite individuals. Judge Bomani, for example, has campaigned for censorship and restrictions on private media because "radio and television are very powerful tools. They are tools that play a very persuasive role on the mind of the people. What is heard and seen is believed by people generally as being the truth" (*The Express*, February 27 1997: V).

Although television is primarily in the hands of the Tanzanian elites, it should be recognized that the country is undergoing massive changes in their political, economic and social spheres. In his research on the media after socialism in East-Central Europe, communication specialist Slavko Splichal states that there is the persisting tradition of the 'paternalistic state' to find it difficult to fully 'let go' of the media (1994: 102). He explains that the "changing relationship among media, state, economy, and civil society in the period of transition from a socialist state system to a Western type of democracy" is a difficult process (1994: xi). As noted by a journalist for *The East African*, "the sudden emergence of private newspapers, radio and television stations at the time of political transition in Tanzania has put current rulers and the press on unfamiliar ground" (Rwegayura July 21, 1995).

Upon closer inspection in the research process, it became apparent that control of television rests in the hands of the urban elite, or more accurately, the elite of Dar es Salaam. Yet, it would appear that through various mechanisms, such as audience feedback and the formal complaints committee of the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, individuals and groups outside of the elite can have at least a limited impact on programming content. During a time of significant transition, the Tanzanian government has made concrete steps to help fulfil the vision of television's future that is shared by most locals. Within the last couple of years, the government has allowed competition among a number of private television stations and, although a bit wary at times, some journalists have criticized the actions of the government. Since television

was only introduced into Mainland Tanzania a couple of years ago, there appears to be a consensus amongst members of the media industry that the introduction of the medium is an experiment; one in which no one knows the outcome. Therefore, the government is proceeding slowly and is maintaining control over various aspects of television until it can see how the medium is evolving. In many other African countries, vehicles for mass communication, including television, continue to be tools for propaganda. As research conducted by the International Development Research Council of Canada shows, television in ten other African countries, including Cameroon, Congo, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, have essentially been “government mouthpieces” (Kottak 1996: 137). Although the Tanzanian government does exert pressure in a number of subtle (and sometimes not-so-subtle) ways on commercial television, this chapter has illustrated that this evolving medium should not be considered as a government mouthpiece. The sheer diversity of the television stations, and their unique and specific programming, suggests that although these stations still have to abide by certain written and unwritten rules, there has been tremendous room for creativity and private enterprise.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: GLOBAL PRESSURES AND THE RESPONSE OF THE LOCAL

“As we move towards the end of this century, the changes which result from communication technology cause tremendous concern among communication scholars. The powerful flow of cultural commodities - information, news and various television programmes - saturate world markets as they become more and more accessible via satellite-broadcast television in the developing world. In this context, developing countries are facing a serious challenge as to whether to hook up with telecommunication systems available on the world market, or to avoid such integration in order to protect their culture from direct influence of such powerful cultural commodity flows... the globalization process erodes the autonomy of nation states” (Mohammadi 1997b: 48-49).

This chapter discusses the various global pressures that are placed on the operation of television in developing countries and examines the response of members of the local community. The discussion will analyze the extent to which the local in Tanzania has been able to maintain control of the production and content of television in the face of external pressures from the West, India, South Africa, multinationals, free trade, liberalization and globalization. As illustrated by the above quotation of Ali Mohammadi, the most serious external pressures placed on developing countries are foreign images, ideas and commodities.

Cultural Invasion?

As discussed in chapter two, many scholars have argued that the flow of cultural commodities from the developed countries to the developing world has an enormous, and detrimental, affect on local cultures. It is often believed that local television images are incapable of competing against powerful foreign images. This issue of Western cultural invasion continues to be debated across academic disciplines and policy-making organizations. Historically, the primary focus of concern has been the influence of American cultural commodities. From news to movies to music to soap operas, from hamburgers to consumer products to Western values and lifestyle, from market economies to political philosophies to value-built-in entertainment, the U.S. seems to overwhelm the world with an unprecedented cultural invasion (Pendakur 1993).

Although Western images have permeated into, and influenced other cultures and lifestyles, we cannot disregard the local's ability to use the medium of television for its own ends and purposes. Since culture is a malleable and adaptable entity, it can never be 'lost' or replaced by another through the introduction of cultural commodities. Instead, a culture can take foreign commodities and adapt them to preexisting forms of knowledge and understanding. Since, as Schneider and Wallace (1988: 8-9) argue, neither "globalism" nor Western cultural imperialism is monolithic and traffic flows in television distribution are never unidirectional, we can, and should, recognize that foreign images do not change culture. Moreover, the value, relevance and popularity of local images should not be underestimated.

In Tanzania, foreign programming currently represents a large portion of what is broadcast on television. The local television station CTN, for example, has affiliations with CNN for international news, the Cartoon Network (Warner Bros) and TNT Classic movies. They have purchased movies from Columbia and Sony and, at the time of research, were about to sign a deal to broadcast MTV videos (Nevros, personal interview). Despite the fact that most of the stations have similar affiliations, there have been attempts by the government and media industries to integrate local and foreign programming. The Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act (exemplified by Part IV 13.-(3), (c), (d), (f), presented below), for example, has encouraged local production and self-sufficiency.³⁹ According to the Act, licensing preference will, supposedly, be given to those broadcasters who are able to fulfil the following objectives:

- (c) to encourage the development of Tanzanian and African expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Tanzanian and African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity by displaying Tanzanian and African cultures and entertainment programmes;
- (d) to serve the needs and interests and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Tanzania men, women and children in a democratic Tanzania society;
- (f) to make maximum use of Tanzanian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming;

(Tanzania Broadcasting Services Act, 1993: 14)

Although local content is encouraged, there is still an abundance of foreign programming on Tanzanian televisions. This foreign fare that supplements local programming has, without a

³⁹However, as noted in the discussion regarding corruption in the media, there may be 'loop-holes' in the licencing procedures which weaken these measures.

doubt, influenced the Tanzanian viewing audience. Since the introduction of television to the Mainland a couple of years ago, Oprah, Michael Jordan, and Madonna have become household names in many areas of Dar es Salaam. As Kottak states, “through television information about products (their existence, appearance, function, availability and current price) directly and regularly reaches people. New consumer patterns show up in hairstyles, diet, and clothing (e.g., sneakers vs. sandals)” (1996: 143). These type of influences are, unquestionably, evident in Dar es Salaam. Much of the American programs that are broadcast on local stations have helped to mould an image of North America as the beautiful and the rich. Similarly, North American programming has constructed an image of Africa that focuses on disease, poverty, and famine. Thus, as Beverly Hawk has argued, television programming rarely provides the opportunity to understand the Other that is portrayed on the screen (1992).

Members of the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission have indicated that they are conscious of the influence that Western cultural commodities can have in their country (Bomani, personal interview, Gunze, personal interview, Luhanga, personal interview). However, each of these individuals also expressed little concern regarding possible detrimental effects of foreign programming. They argue that although foreign programming may alter consumer patterns and introduce new ideas, it cannot destroy the Tanzanian culture. Yet, they also suggested that some foreign programming would be culturally ‘inappropriate’ for the Tanzanian audience, particularly programs which contain nudity and coarse language (Kiwango, personal interview, Gunze, personal interview).

Thus, we have a bit of a contradiction. On one hand, the interviewees have suggested that foreign programming is acceptable because they respect the power of their culture to resist outside influences. Yet, on the other hand, much of the foreign programming is banned or censored because of its content.⁴⁰ As discussed above, stations can be fined if the “Minister is of the opinion that the broadcasting is... contrary to public interest” (Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act Part IV - Miscellaneous Provisions, 25.2). Thus, stations tend to censor liberally in order to avoid any infractions of this ill-defined regulation. According to the Registrar for the Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission, foreign programming would be censored strictly on the basis of its content, not because it is foreign material. In fact, programs are censored based on their content, regardless of whether or not they are foreign or locally- produced (Gunze, personal interview).

Although India has a huge media industry that rivals, or surpasses, that of the United States, foreign programming is prevalent in the market. Thus, in order to circumvent being banned, Pendakur states that “international entrepreneurs including the multinational corporations have to either comply or work around content restrictions” (1998: 9). For example, “when MTV was allowed to operate in India, it agreed to eliminate certain songs and images that Government of India considered objectionable. In other words, MTV agreed to self censor its programming” (Pendakur 1998: 9). Similar to India, suppliers of foreign programming to

⁴⁰Usually, members of each television station watch a foreign program or movie and carve out sections which are deemed inappropriate according to the ‘morals of society’ (Nago, personal interview). At ITV, for example, a ‘content committee’ performs this censorship task.

Tanzania are also beginning to self censor in accordance with local cultural sensitivities (Luhanga, personal interview, Mgombelo, personal interview). Thus, although Tanzanian authorities allow foreign programming into the country primarily because, a) some of the imported shows are extremely popular; b) it is cheaper to import foreign programming than producing local material; c) local stations do not have enough local fare to fill on-air time, they only restrict content that might offend cultural sensitivities. The Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission is able to ensure ‘appropriate’ content by allowing each of the television stations to self-regulate their programming according to general guidelines which are discussed during the issuance of the broadcasting license, as well as through periodic station inspections and program monitoring (Gunze, personal interview). The primary requirement for television stations is to ensure that broadcasts reflect “Tanzanian and African expression by providing a wide range of programming that reflects Tanzanian and African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity by displaying Tanzanian and African cultures and entertainment programmes; and serves the needs and interests and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Tanzanian men, women and children in a democratic Tanzanian society;” (Tanzanian Broadcasting Act, 13.-(3) (c)). At the time of research, a formal document outlining specific content guidelines was being developed (Gunze, personal interview).

Technology Reliance

Media industries in developing countries also face the difficulty of relying upon external sources for technology. Since Tanzania does not produce any of the equipment necessary to

create and transmit television programming, it must purchase components and systems from external companies, often with the help of foreign aid. For example, in 1996 Television Zanzibar received a large infusion of money from the Japanese government to upgrade their twenty year old production facilities (Mitawi, personal interview). Tanzania has found itself in a similar predicament as other developing countries in that not only must it buy equipment from external sources, but it also lacks the equipment maintenance expertise and the necessary knowledge to purchase the appropriate kinds of technology for a local station. Moreover, through high import taxes, the government has made it difficult for television stations to import telecommunications and broadcasting technologies. In addition, televisions are extremely expensive for the average Tanzanian to purchase, a predicament exacerbated by heavy import taxes.

The Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission and local media industries, however, are slowly overcoming these obstacles. Import taxes are gradually being lowered through the Investment Promotion Bill, passed in June 1997, and the customs process associated with the importation of technologies has become more streamlined (Gunze, personal interview, Luhanga, personal interview). Furthermore, the government is planning to decrease import taxes on televisions and will soon create facilities for manufacturing televisions in Dar es Salaam (Bomani, personal interview, Luhanga, personal interview).⁴¹ These interviewees argue that if

⁴¹The Samsung Company has applied for a license to assemble televisions in Tanzania. One of the recommendations in the National Telecommunications Policy from the Ministry of Communications and Transport is to “encourage the effective participation of Tanzania in the manufacture of telecommunication equipment...” (1997).

television is to be considered a tool for development, then the government should not consider it a 'luxury' that is subject to high import taxes.

At the media industry level, a majority of the broadcasters have brought in foreign experts to advise on the purchase of appropriate technologies and to train local employees to maintain their equipment. At ITV, for example, expatriates usually have six month to two year contracts to ensure that local employees of the station are capable of performing maintenance without external assistance (Kiwango, personal interview). The personnel at each of the television stations are almost exclusively Tanzanians. At ITV there are, on average, two to four expatriates in a workforce of 150; all employees at the CEN and CTN stations are Tanzanians; and there are usually two to four non-Tanzanian employees working at DTV. Moreover, all of the television station directors have sent some of their key employees abroad for professional training to ensure they have quality local personnel. There have also been efforts to ensure local ownership of the media industries. According to the Tanzanian Broadcasting Services Act, ownership of a broadcasting license must belong to a national which ensures that television stations cannot be taken over by a multinational.⁴²

⁴² As discussed in chapter four, however, corruption in the government has been accused of allowing loopholes in the licensing process.

Global Pressures

Liberalization trends and changes in technology have challenged policy-makers worldwide. New international trade and investment obligations continue to hamper the ability of governments to preserve domestic industries and may represent the greatest potential threat to Tanzanian local control of television (Goldfarb 1998: 15). *The World Competitiveness Report* of 1998 states that "... many formerly 'national decisions' - on trade policy, investment policy, state aid and the like - are now being set in supra-national or international agreements and institutions" (1998:46). The World Trade Organization (WTO), of which Tanzania is a member, is one such institution. In 1994, the WTO was constructed out of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the international trade organization that was a product of the post-World War II initiative to govern international commerce and create a mechanism for settling trade disputes (Barrows and Cotsomitis, 1998: 150, Goldfarb 1998: 7). On January 1, 1998, basic telecommunications markets were opened to global competition under the WTO pact signed by 69 member countries. The agreement has three main objectives: to help trade flow as freely as possible, to achieve further liberalization gradually through negotiation, and to set up an impartial means of settling disputes (Smeltzer 1997: 39). One of the primary effects of this type of liberalizing trend is that governments worldwide will find it increasingly difficult to manage transborder flows of information.

In addition to WTO commitments, Tanzania is deeply involved in a World Bank structural adjustment programme which strongly pursues liberalization. In 1989, with the support of the

World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), an Economic and Social Action Programme was launched in Tanzania to encourage liberalization, privatization, and deregulation. Since the World Bank and the IMF are proponents of “more openness to trade and foreign investment; and greater reliance on market forces to allocate resources”, they have pressured the developing world into liberalization practices (Hooven 1998: 98). Moreover, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has also encouraged the establishment of private media in developing countries, as well as pushing for the liberalization of the broadcasting technologies market (Barrows and Cotsomitis 1998: 154). The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which is intended to create a comprehensive multilateral framework for international investment, may limit the developing world’s ability to control trade and foreign investment in the media industry (Goldfarb 1998: 10). In addition, Tanzania is a member of a broad range of international and regional organizations, which illustrates the effect that the recent socioeconomic and political transformations have had on Tanzania. These organizations include: United Nations (UN), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Organization of African Unity (OAU), African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), World Bank (IBRD), African

Development Bank (AfDB), International Organization for Standardization (ISO), Intelsat, and East African Development Bank (EADB) (World Factbook 1997).

Despite the power of the global pressures outlined above, Marjorie Ferguson has argued that "it is the national political actors - not multinational organizations... who still must answer questions about, for example, what levels of foreign media ownership or investment in domestic cultural and information production are in the *national* interest" (1995: 454). In Tanzania, the government is battling for control of the media not only with other members of the local, but also with external interests. Although the government has been fairly successful in maintaining a certain level of control over the creation, operation and content of local television, the trends discussed above will undoubtedly make this task more difficult in the future.

Summary

Similar to all other post-colonial countries, Tanzania has endured tremendous transformations in the past couple of decades. According to UNESCO, within the last ten years, African governments are,

... having to deal with the delicate task of opening up protected monopolies to competition. The causes are mostly technical, since satellite and cable cut across all borders. They are also political: not only the passing of totalitarian systems of state control but also increasingly vocal pressures for access and voice in democratic societies, where communication is still predominantly "top-down" in nature (1997: ch.4: 2).

The transition of Tanzania to an market economy is a long and complex process filled with various levels of power negotiations. Although it is easy to disapprove of the somewhat repressive nature of the media in Tanzania, it is important to note that the government has not only allowed, but encouraged, private television stations. The government has also ‘helped out’ smaller stations that may not have sufficient financial resources, and has encouraged diversity within the media industry. Thus, although television is still essentially an urban phenomenon, the government has promoted the extension of the media to various cultural niches within the community. Moreover, and perhaps most important, the introduction of television has inevitably brought change into the country, but it has not been a unilateral Western cultural invasion. Rather, foreign programming has its place beside local programming and both play important roles in the country.

The Tanzanian government is grappling with local and global pressures on the maintenance of television in the country. It is up against formidable obstacles - it must find ways to avoid affronts to cultural sensitivities; maintain ‘protectionism’ of cultural content in an era of deregulation and liberalization; maintain control of content with new technological advances that transcend traditional borders (e.g., satellite television); and balance a desire for foreign investment in the telecommunications industry without losing total control of the media. The complexity of this role illustrates that scholars who bewail an impending global cultural homogenization, cultural invasion and cultural imperialism must broaden their understanding of the “relations between the media and the cultural forces at the local, regional, national, and international levels” (Kottak 1996: 157).

The Tanzanian government has been in a state of transition since the introduction of private television five years ago. In the aftermath of a single-party socialist state, the transition to primarily free, private media cannot be an easy one. Moreover, the country is still facing serious financial difficulties and corruption remains rampant; problems which can hinder quality programming and responsible news reporting. Despite claims of media freedom, the Tanzanian government has not disengaged itself from the media and it still exercises some control over the private television stations. Yet, in just five years, several solid private television stations are in full operation, and are producing local programming and fighting for media freedom.

The primary benefit of this research is that little work has been conducted on the role of television in Tanzania. The continual changes that have occurred over the last several years in the country, with the emergence of a new government system, liberalization and deregulation and the subsequent introduction of television into the country, has placed this research in the perfect time period to provide an insight into the future of this new medium. In her book, *Anthropology and Africa: Changing Perspectives on a Changing Scene*, Sally Falk Moore states that “most topics in Africanist anthropology... tend to describe local micropolitics. Far fewer books and papers have much to say about the national scale, how its existence is experienced locally, let alone how the political level of supranational activity penetrates local life” (1994: 114). Although this has somewhat changed since 1994, there is still a dearth of research done by anthropologists on the effects that new media and trends of technological

deregulation and liberalization have on culture. Thus, the subfield of 'media anthropology' appears to be essential to our understanding of local and global pressures on these issues.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: List of interviewees

Balyagati, Wilhelmina	Teacher, Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ). April 1997.
Bomani, Mark D.	Chairman, Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission. April 1997.
Chachage, Seithy L.	Professor of Sociology, University of Dar es Salaam, January 1997.
Chale, Jane.	Producer, Independent Television (ITV). May 1997.
Desjardins, Lise.	Advertising Manager, Dar es Salaam Television (DTV). February 1997.
Ganatra, Jitu P.	Chairman and CEO, Cable Entertainment Network (CEN). April 1997.
Gunze, Habbi.	Acting Project Coordinator, National Television of Tanzania and Registrar of Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission. April 1997.
Kiwango, Severino	Producer, Independent Television (ITV), February and April 1997.
Luhanga, M.L.	Vice-Chancellor, University of Dar es Salaam. January 1997.
Maliyomkono, T. L.	Director of the Eastern and Southern African University Research Program (ESAURP). March 1997.
Matiku, Carrie.	Commercial Producer, Dar es Salaam Television (DTV). February 1997.
Mitawi, Hassan Abdalla.	Deputy Director, Television Zanzibar. April 1997.

Mgombelo, Henry R.	Professor Engineering, University of Dar es Salaam. Member of Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission. April 1997.
Mkongwe, E.A.H.	Advisor to the Registrar, Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission. April 1997.
Mpenda, MR. J.	Acting Director of the Department of Information (Prime Minister's Office). April 1997.
Mponguliana, Joe.	Director of the Audio-Visual Institute. March 1997.
Nago, Godfrey.	Producer, Sports Programme, Independent Television (ITV). March, 1997.
Nevros, David.	Producer/Manager, Cable Television Network (CTN). April, 1997.
Omari, C.K.	Professor of Sociology, University of Dar es Salaam. January 1997.
Semboja, Dr. Haji	Research Fellow, ESRF (The Economic and Social Research Foundation). March 1997.
Sevury, David.	Independent Producer. May 1997.

In addition to the interviewees listed above, three anonymous individuals from the media community were interviewed.

APPENDIX II: Functions of the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission

1. "To issue broadcasting licences;
2. To regulate and supervise broadcasting activities, including but not limited to the relaying of sound, radio and television programmes from places in Tanzania to places outside Tanzania with the intention that such broadcasts are received regularly in the United Republic of any part of it;
3. To maintain a register of all persons licenced as broadcasters and their conduct of broadcasting as well as that of dealers in broadcasting as well as that of dealers in broadcasting apparatus;
4. To regulate the activities of broadcasters and their conduct of broadcasting as well as that of dealers in broadcasting apparatus;
5. To be responsible for the standardization, planning and management of the frequency spectrum available for broadcasting and to allocate such spectrum resources in such manner as to ensure the widest possible diversity of programming and optimal utilization of the spectrum resources, giving priority where possible to the broadcaster transmitting the maximum number of hours per day and to community based broadcasters;
6. To perform any other function which may be assigned to the Commission by the President in writing under his hand or by or under any written law;
7. To establish and maintain as far as may be practicable a system of consultation, coordination and cooperation with the Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and with any other body or organization established by or under any other written law and having functions to those of the Tanzania Broadcasting or radio communication generally"⁴³

⁴³ Source: *Tanzania Broadcasting Commission*, 1994: 2

APPENDIX III: Television Guide, Thursday, April 19, 1997⁴⁴

ITV:

18:00: Music: Jam a Delic (local)
 18:30: Jiji Letu (Our Town - local)⁴⁵
 18:35: Comedy: Parker Can't Lose
 19:05: Dar Wiki Hii (Dar es Salaam This Week - local)
 19:30: Mambo Hayo (These Things / Events - local)
 20:00: Habari (News - local)
 21:30: Message (local)
 22:00: Habari (News - local)
 23:30: Music Videos

CEN:

18:00: Educational Programme for Children (Local)
 18:30: Philosophy
 19:00: Taarab (Traditional Swahili Music - local)
 20:00: Miami Vice
 21:00: Taarifa ya Habari (News Report - local)
 21:30: English Movie (TBA)
 23:00: Kiswahili Play (local)

DTV:

18:00: Century
 18:30: Computer Chronicles
 19:00: Habari (News - local)
 20:00: Walkers World
 20:30: Second Russian
 Revolution
 22:00: News
 22:30: Sportsline
 23:00: European Soccer
 Show

CTN:

18:00: Music: Jam Slammin'
 (local)
 18:30: Kiswahili play (local)
 19:00: Headline News
 19:10: Comedy
 19:35: Showbiz
 20:00: CNN News
 20:30: Q & A
 21:00: Habari (news - local)
 21:30: Movie-The Hellfire
 Club
 22:30: Music: Jam Slammin'
 23:00: Larry King Live

⁴⁴ Source: *The Express*, April 10-16, 1997. Television Zanzibar does not publish a program listing. The listing of upcoming programs are aired on television in between regular shows (Mitawi, personal interview).

⁴⁵ Author's translation of Kiswahili program titles.

APPENDIX IV: Media Freedom Violations
 (June 1998 - Media Institute of Southern Africa)⁴⁶

**I. GOVERNMENT BANS THREE NEWSPAPERS BECAUSE OF ALLEGED
 PORNOGRAPHIC CARTOONS**

June 9, 1998

On June 6, 1998, the Government of Tanzania announced the ban of three Kiswahili weekly tabloids. The newspapers, "Kasheshe", "Chombeza" and "Arusha Leo" were banned with effect from June 8 for what the Government described as paper's persistent featuring of pornographic cartoons.

In the statement issued on June 6, the Minister of State for information, Mr. Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, said the government had been forced to take the decision as a last resort after the editors of the three tabloids had refused to heed a government warning to cease publication of such pornographic cartoons.

A letter to the editor of "Kasheshe" informing him of the ban penned a list of complaints about the cartoons the government considered unethical, as per the Newspaper Act of 1976.

The minister recalled in the letter that the Registrar of Newspapers had informed the "Kasheshe" editor in writing on October 31, 1997 that he should not publish such materials.

The editor was also directed not to make radio announcements about the contents of the paper "tinged with unethical material", which the letter said had similarly not been observed.

A final warning from the Registrar was, according to the letter, sent to the editor on December 12, 1997, only two months after the first warning, insisting that the paper changes its tone.

"Your newspaper has continued to publish unethical stories and cartoons contrary to its stated objective to observe social life without contradicting our moral standards" the

⁴⁶ Source: <http://www.misanet.org>. Information distributed by: Raashied Galant MISA Researcher Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA).

letter said.

It cited a cartoon on the front page of the May 22, 1998 issue of "Kasheshe", depicting a suspected rape incident at the University of Dar es salaam, saying it depicted the bare genitals of a man, "contrary to newspaper ethics".

The letter to ban "Kasheshe" said, "The government has stopped the issue, publication and distribution of Kasheshe newspaper, in accordance with section 25 (1) of the Newspaper Act, No. 3 of 1976".

According to the Newspaper Act Section 25. (1), "Where the Minister is of the opinion that it is in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order so to do, he may, by order in the Gazette, direct that the newspaper named in the order shall cease publication as from the date (hereinafter referred to as "effective date") specified in the order".

On the ban of "Chombeza" the same statement said the tabloid was also sent a reprimand in a letter on January 7, 1998 asking it to stop forthwith publication of pornographic articles and cartoons. The tabloids did not rectify the anomaly, the statement said.

As for the "Arusha Leo", the statement said the newspaper had contravened its own policy to which it was registered for. It said the tabloid, which is a sister paper of "Chombeza" had all along been publishing pornographic articles.

According to the Newspaper Regulation Act of 1976, section 15(1), the minister responsible for information, can cancel registration of any newspaper if he is convinced that such a paper was contravening the policy it had promised to adhere to.

"Kasheshe" is published by the Guardian Ltd while "Arusha Leo" and "Chombeza" are owned by the Kunta Enterprises International (TZ) Limited.

The statement said, "The government wants to insist the newspapers should respect the social values in their society and therefore do away with pornographic articles or cartoons or risk cancellation of their registration".

II. JOURNALIST BEATEN AND BRIEFLY DETAINED

June 9, 1998

On June 3, 1998 police in Dar es salaam beat and briefly detained the photo-journalist of "Mtanzania" newspaper, Ally Mwankufi. At the time, Mwankufi was on duty taking

pictures of police arresting suspects at Kinondoni Mkwajuni in the Kinondoni district following the murder of a person.

Mwankufi told MISA-Tanzania that four police officers arrested him at 10.40 am and took his press card and camera. He said he was then made to join the group of suspects arrested in connection with the murder. He was then taken, along with the suspects, to the Oysterbay police station where he was briefly interrogated and asked to write down a statement. Mwankufi was released at 2.24 pm without charges and his camera and press card were returned.

Mwankufi told MISA-Tanzania, "these people ignore our job, they take us as their enemy, if I had no press card it was easier for them to justify their action of beating me, they saw it and yet they continued to beat me. I took the photo purposely to show the Tanzanians how police play their role when there is a problem, and build the relation of trust between the police and people."

III. EDITORS OF BANNED NEWSPAPERS HAVE TALKS WITH MINISTER; DEFUNCT NEWSPAPER REVIVED

June 11, 1998

UPDATE - The editors of the three Kiswahili-language newspapers that were banned by the Tanzanian government have met the Minister of Information, Kingunge Ngombare Mwiru, to plead their case. Deo Masakiliya, the editor of "Arusha Leo", and Saidi Msonda, the editor of "Kasheshe", both told MISA that the meeting in Dodoma on June 9 was cordial with the minister expressing some optimism that the ban might be overturned. However, he gave no indication when this would happen.

In the meantime, Kunta Enterprises International (TZ) Limited, which owns "Arusha Leo" and "Chombeza", the third paper that was banned, has revived a defunct newspaper, "Watu", to make up for the ban on the two papers. "Watu", which was legally registered in the early 90s but closed down in 1995, was back on the streets yesterday (June 10) containing articles and features that would have appeared in the banned papers.

BACKGROUND

On June 6, Minister Mwiru, in individual letters to each newspaper, informed them that they had been banned with effect from June 8 because of their "persistent featuring of pornographic cartoons and unethical articles". His action was sanctioned by Section 25(1) of the Newspaper Act, No. 3 of 1976, which states: "Where the Minister is of the opinion that it is in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order so to do,

he may, by order in the Gazette, direct that the newspaper named in the order shall cease publication as from the date...specified in the order". Section 15(1) of this same Act gives the minister the power to cancel registration of any newspaper if he is convinced that such a paper was contravening "the policy it had promised to adhere to".

IV. NEWSPAPER EXECUTIVES APPEAL AGAINST BAN ON THEIR PAPERS, APOLOGISE FOR MISTAKES

June 15, 1998

On June 11, the chief executives of the banned "Kasheshe", "Chombeza" and "Arusha leo" publications requested the government of Tanzania to consider lifting the bans imposed on their newspapers on June 8. It was the second such appeal made to their government.

The Managing Director of The Guardian Limited, Mr. Vumi Urassa, appeared for "Kasheshe" and the Executive Director of Kunta Enterprises International (Tanzania) Limited, Mr. Deo Masakilija, appeared for "Chombeza" and "Arusha Leo".

In a meeting with the Minister of State for Information and Policy, Mr. Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru, in Dodoma, they jointly appealed for the withdrawal of the suspensions of their papers, promising to check all the anomalies which led to the government move.

In an apology directed at Mr. Ngombale-Mwiru, Mr. Urusa promised that the lifting of the suspension would enable "Kasheshe", which is a weekly tabloid, to abide by moral values in the society.

Mr. Masakilija also expressed remorse for all the mistakes which his publications committed and promised to do away with alleged cartoons and instead concentrate on those which educate the public.

Reacting to written apologies by the Executive Directors of the banned papers, Mr. Ngombale-Mwiru promised to look into the request for the ban to be lifted.

"The decision to ban the papers was not made by one person. It was made after consultation between various leaders in the Government", he clarified.

"The Government took a long time to decide to ban the papers because it wants to ensure transparency in such matters and we don't want to be seen to infringe on the freedom of the press".

V. JOURNALISTS COME UNDER PRESSURE TO REVEAL SOURCE OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLE.

June 18, 1998

At least four journalists have come under pressure variously from the police and private individuals to reveal the source of an article which appeared in January in the satirical weekly newspaper, "Sanifu". The article, entitled, "Askofu Msaidizi Ajisetiri na Mke wa Muumini", reported on an unnamed Assistant Bishop that was having an affair with a married woman in his congregation.

On June 12, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent Nechi Lyimo was briefly interrogated by police in the Moshi Kilimanjaro region in connection with the story. Lyimo, who has never worked for "Sanifu" and had nothing to do with the story, was interrogated for about five hours as the police tried to get him to reveal the source of the article. Lyimo told MISA that the police informed him that he would be called as a witness in a court case, but to date he has neither any knowledge of a court case nor has he been called as a witness.

Two weeks before Lyimo's encounter, Daniel Mjema, a journalist for "Majira" newspaper, was approached by a policeman during an informal encounter to reveal the source of the article. Mjema, who has also never worked for "Sanifu", said the policeman then told him that he would be called in to make a statement. However, to date this has not happened. MISA has also learnt that two other journalists, Lilian Kaaya and Aziz Msuya, both of "Majira" newspaper, have been approached by private individuals offering them money to reveal the sources of the article.

The Acting Regional Commander of the police in the Kilimanjaro region, when approached by journalists for an explanation of the conduct of his officers, expressed surprise that Lyimo had been interrogated. He reportedly informed journalists that the action of the officers had not been sanctioned, pointing to a possible irregularity in the interrogation of Lyimo.

VI. POLICE CONFISCATE FILM FROM PHOTO-JOURNALIST.

June 24, 1998

Police in Zanzibar on June 21 confiscated the film of photo-journalist Amour Nassor, who works for the state owned weekly, "Nuru". Nassor was on assignment at the time to cover voting in a parliamentary by-election in Mikunguni parliamentary by-election.

Nassor was taking photos of voters at the Kijangwani polling station when he was surrounded by about five police officers, who refused to see his press card. The police proceeded to remove the film from his camera. They took the film to the nearby Kingombo police station and have not returned it to the journalist to date. The police, however, apparently later allowed the journalist to take pictures of voters using a different film.

Despite this, the Editor of "Nuru" newspaper, Ahmada Haji Ali, told MISA-Tanzania that as a result of the police action against Nassor, he failed to get some photographs which could have been very important in latest edition of the paper.

VII. GOVERNMENT BANS TWO MORE NEWSPAPERS.

June 24, 1998

The government of Tanzania on June 22 has banned two more privately owned Kiswahili tabloids. A statement issued by the Tanzania Information Services in Dodoma said the newspapers, "Tingisha" and "Watu" had been banned for violating the Newspaper Act No. 3 of 1976 and the Newspaper Regulations of 1977.

The statement said: "the government decision also considered some important event that was featured in these newspapers shortly after the prohibition on the publication, production and distribution of "Kasheshe", "Chombeza" and "Arusha Leo" on June 8, 1998".

The statement said the ban on "Tingisha" was prompted by the overwhelming publicity the newspaper received on the privately owned Radio One and ITV. The statement pointed out that on June 11, the two stations aired advertisements for the launching of the paper the following day, saying that the content in the newspaper was exactly what used to be contained in "Kasheshe".

"Tingisha" had published on its front page a cartoon captioned: "My condition is just as you can see it, to continue with good work that I have always been doing." The slogan was apparently aimed at alerting readers to the fact that the contents of "Kasheshe", which had been banned a few days earlier, had now been carried forward to "Tingisha".

In addition to publishing and circulating "Tingisha", the government statement said the publishers had committed two further serious mistakes: they changed the editorial policy without informing the Registrar of Newspapers and failed to publish an imprint.

The statement said by doing so, "Tingisha" which was registered as an ordinary

newspaper of news and features, violated Section 17(1) of the 1977 Newspaper Regulations, and by not publishing the imprint, it violated Section 25(2) of the Newspaper Act No. 3 of 1976.

According to Section 17(1) of the Newspaper Regulations 1977: No registered newspaper shall:- (a) change- (i) its name or location or postal address; (ii) any provision of its rules or constitution; (iii) any of its objects;

Section 15 (1) of this same act says: The Minister may by a notice in the Gazette, cancel the registration of any newspaper registered under these Regulation if he is satisfied that the newspaper:- (iii) has altered its objects or pursues objects other than the declared objects.

Concerning "Watu" newspaper, the government statement said the newspaper, which had ceased appearing a long time ago, was being published again after "Chombeza" and "Arusha Leo" were banned for publishing pornographic cartoons like "Kasheshe".

The statement said "Watu" was banned for changing its editorial policy from an ordinary newspaper to publishing pornographic cartoons without informing the Registrar of Newspapers.

"Tingisha" and "Kasheshe" are owned by The Guardian Limited while "Watu", "Chombeza" and "Arusha Leo" are published Kunta Enterprises International (TZ) Limited.

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