MEDIA IN TANZANIA’S TRANSITION TO MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY:
An Assessment of Policy and Ethical Issues

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Abstract

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Media in Tanzania’s transition to multiparty democracy: An assessment of policy and ethical issues (128 pages)
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This study reviews and analyses the factors that have influenced media developments in Tanzania during the transition from one party socialist system to multiparty democracy. With a strong focus on policy as well as ethical issues, the study dwells more on how policy formulation in Tanzania has affected the role the mass media have played – and continue to play – in the new economic, political and social transformation.

Chapter two gives a bird’s eye view of the media sector in Tanzania, especially events and issues that have shaped the sector’s policies before and during the transition period, and how these, in turn, have impacted on the effectiveness of the media industry in playing its democratic roles today.

Chapter three addresses the contradiction that exists in the values that inform political and economic reforms on one hand and the media sector on the other. The premise of this position is that economic and political reforms do not occur in a vacuum because they tend to affect a system of existing values and practices in a society in which they are implemented. Whereas Tanzania has, in the last two decades, embarked on reforms that support pluralistic democracy, there appear to be a conspicuous – though ominous - resistance to reforming the media regulatory framework. Nevertheless, even the existing draconian laws have not helped to promote ethical journalism as one would have thought.

The chapter also gives an assessment of information (and media) policy formulation from post-independence period (1961) to the present time showing yet another contradiction that exists in reforming the media sector. Whereas the new Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 explicitly emphasises the need to promote press freedom and access to information – including the need to repeal and replace the current draconian laws with an appropriate media Act – the government has continued to drag its feet, suggesting that it would still wish to tame the media.

Chapter four focuses on some crucial issues relating to the role of media in a democracy, which have characterized debates in Tanzania. They include: the quest for Freedom of Information Act in Tanzania, the role of media in promoting peace, and the role of media in promoting good governance.

The Fifth chapter, which resulted from a separate empirical study, examines perceptions of Tanzanian journalists on such issues as the role of media in a democracy as well as sources of their ethical convictions. Chapter Six gives a brief review of the role of the Media Council of Tanzania and underscores the importance of self-regulation as an effective way of promoting media responsibility and press freedom in a democracy.
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Preface

The idea to conduct this study was conceived in June 2007 following my registration for PhD studies at the University of Tampere, Finland. Having followed the transformation of the media industry in Tanzania since early 1990s and having participated in the processes of reforms in the sector, I was convinced that there were interesting developments that were worth studying for my Licentiate degree, which is part of my PhD studies.

I have been personally involved in media democratization processes in a number of ways. Some of the papers I have written in these processes form an important part of this study. Currently I am the Chairman of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Tanzania Chapter, a media institution that is dedicated to promoting media freedoms, freedom of expression, and access to information, media pluralism and diversity in the SADC region. Generally in this study I discuss the contradiction that exists between the direction of socio-economic and political reforms on one hand and that of reforms in the media sector on the other. Whereas the former reforms are directed at making Tanzania a more liberal and free society, the latter seek to tame the media sector.

The papers I have included in this study are:
- The Media as an Agent of Change and Promoter of Peace: Tanzanian Case (Presented before a UNESCO conference in Dar Es Salaam in March 2007);
- Professional Roles and Ethical Convictions of Tanzanian Journalists (Presented in Dodoma, Tanzania, October, 2007);
- Self-regulation of Media and Press Freedom in Tanzania (Presented in Bagamoyo, Tanzania in May 3, 2005);
- The Freedom of Information Act We Want (Paper written for an encounter of media stakeholders who met to discuss contentious provisions in the proposed bill on Freedom of Information in Tanzania in June 2007);
- The Role of Media in Promoting Good Governance (Presented at a workshop for editors in Dar es Salaam, November, 2006)

Ayub Rioba                           Dar Es Salaam, October 2008
1. INTRODUCTION

This study reviews and analyses the factors that have influenced media developments during the transition in the early 1990s from single party socialist system to multiparty democracy with a strong focus on policy issues. I intend to dwell more on how policy formulation in Tanzania has affected the role the mass media have played – and continue to play – in the new economic, political and social transformation.

The study gives a bird’s eye view of the media sector in Tanzania, especially events and issues that have shaped the sector’s policies during the transition period, and how these, in turn, have impacted on the effectiveness of the media industry in playing its democratic roles. The study also addresses the contradiction that exists in the values that inform political and economic reforms on one hand and the media sector on the other. The premise of this position is that economic and political reforms do not occur in a vacuum. They affect a system of existing values and practices in a society in which they are implemented.

Tanzania, like many other African countries, embarked on major political, economic and social transformation in the early 1990s following, among other factors, the wind of change that shook communism throughout the world. A paradigm shift in macro-economic management became manifest from 1985 when the second phase government under President Ali Hassan Mwinyi came to power replacing the first Independence leader, Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

The radical changes ushered in economic liberalism and, indeed, became a precursor to political reforms that were marked by a significant change in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) to provide for a multiparty political system. Prior to that a Presidential commission that had been set up to find out which political system Tanzanians preferred had come up with results which indicated that over 77% of respondents had favoured a one-party system. However, the then President Julius Nyerere intervened and advised Tanzanians to read “signs of the time” and accept a bitter change. Communism and all forms of one party-political systems were crumbling down throughout the world. Nyerere warned that “Tanzania could not remain as an Island when the wind of political change was blowing throughout the entire world” (Maliyamkono & Mason 2006: 30)
On July 1992 the amendment to the Constitution ushered in political pluralism and soon over six political parties were established. Tanzania had embraced free market economy and pluralistic democracy after 27 years of centralized planning and control of the media sector. The media sector suddenly found a breathing space and soon there was a proliferation of private and independent media outlets that were inexistent during the one party era. During one-party era, as Kilimwiko and Mapunda (1998: iv) have pointed out, there was an authoritarian legal framework, deliberate marginalization of the information sector in terms of budgetary allocations and poor training of journalists, which left journalism as a mere tool of the establishment.

But with the new wave of change the media became an integral part of economic as well as political reforms. Kilimwiko and Mapunda (ibid: v) further write on the newly acquired roles of the media in transition:

> With competing views on how to run the country and ongoing debates on the best policies, the media’s role has become increasingly pronounced. To ensure public participation in the context of multiparty politics the media has to provide adequate information and background analysis; they have to contextualize issues and in turn present different opinions and perspectives for frank and public discussion.

In this study I try to show that whereas the country has embraced both political and economic reforms as dictated by global financiers like International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and as well as conditioned by other development partners, policy wise it has not been the case in the media sector. The major reforms during Tanzania’s transition to pluralistic democracy have included:

i. Public sector reforms which include the following: Public Service Reforms, Legal Sector Reforms, Local Government Reforms, Public Financial Management Reforms; Business Strengthening (BEST) Programme for Tanzania, National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Action Plan (NACSAP);

ii. Other sectors with development programmes include: Agricultural Sector Development Programme; Health Sector Development Programme and Education Sector Development Programme

iii. There are also independent reforms like: MKURABITA etc
Still, there have been efforts by the government to try and tame the liberalized media sector under the pretext that journalists are unethical and irresponsible. The media fraternity, on its part, has put up a relentless fight to ensure sustenance of freedom of the press that has been gaining ground in the country during the transition.

In a nutshell, it appears as if Tanzania has two sets of values that are supposed to guide reforms, one set dealing with political and economic transformation while another dealing with the control of the media sector. In other words, whereas the country has been undergoing reforms to adopt democratic principles in almost all sectors there are indications that some government officials would still wish to see the media industry operate under the armpits of the government as was the case during one-party era. This creates a fundamental conflict of values and affects the general performance of the entire reform process in Tanzania.

To unravel this conflict this study briefly discusses democratic reforms but focuses more on the issue of information and media policy formulation in Tanzania, particularly in the transition to pluralistic democracy.

The study makes an overview of historical developments of the media from pre-colonial times to the present, focusing more on policy issues and how these have determined the role the mass media have played in the development of the country. By and large, the study discusses issues that have characterized the workings of the media sector during transition from single party system in the late 1980s to the present time, focusing on factors that have influenced media policy formulation and legislation. The study further reflects on some recent debates that have touched on the role of the media in the process of democratisation in Tanzania.

By and large, the mass media play an important role as vehicles of development, guardians of democracy and shapers of values and opinions. They (mass media) are powerful instruments which shape the lives of millions of people; creating awareness and reinforcing opinions and attitudes of readers, listeners and viewers; they present alternative views and approaches to the problems and issues of the time; they initiate and provide for public discussions events, policies and issues that have indirect or direct bearing to society (Kisasa 2002: 1).
For these reforms to be successful they have to encompass a media sector regime that supports democratic norms and they have to be communicated effectively as Kisasa (2002: 27) quotes from Chachage (1996).

In a democratic society and in democratization processes, mass media have a crucial role to play. ...The role of the media is to institute greater transparency and develop a sense in which those in power should be responsive to the needs and problems of the people. It’s (media) role then should mainly be to investigate, expose and stigmatise people and institutions involved in corrupt practices.

Kilimwiko and Mapunda (1998: v) also make similar observation:

As cited earlier, Tanzania undertakes efforts to transform itself in the political and economic fronts. Resources are being allocated and development strategies adjusted to cope with ‘pluralism’ and ‘liberalism’. The media sector has an important role to play in this process. The media are mediators between various state organs when their opinions are brought together and are translated into decisions affecting development of the country.

Many communication scholars tend to agree particularly on the watchdog and surveillance roles of the media in a democracy. Gurevitch et al (1990: 270) present seven specific roles of mass media in a democratic society:

1. Performing a surveillance role of the socio-political environment and in the process reporting developments which are likely to hamper the welfare of citizens;
2. Setting meaningful agenda. This includes the task of identifying the key issues of the day and also contending forces within the society;
3. Initiating dialogue in society across a diverse range of views from the public which also includes those in power;
4. Producing mechanisms for those in power to respond and account for on how they exercise their power;
5. Assuming the role of platforms for politics and civil society to air their views for the betterment of society;

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1 Christians et al (forthcoming) formulate four roles of media in a democracy which are: Monitorial, Facilitative, Radical and Collaborative roles. See Chapter four for more on these roles.
vi. Providing incentives for citizens to learn, choose and become involved in the political process rather than merely following without knowledge of what is going on;
vii. Resisting efforts of the forces outside the media to subject their independence, integrity and ability to serve the audience.

Economic and political reforms in Tanzania were preceded by policies which served as a precursor to the enactment of necessary legislations that have guided the implementation process. As this study will show, it has been clear that the spirit that guided the reforms in politics and economy has not been reflected in the media sector reforms. Whereas the government seems to have forcefully implemented other reforms by democratizing institutions, processes and practices, its behaviour towards reforms in the media sector has been completely different. The government has, from time to time, acted or even shown behaviour that indicates it is not ready to implement policy reforms in the media sector. Although the country is credited for having varieties of media outlets, diverse media ownership and often critical content, there are still snags that limit their capacities to play an effective role in the economic and political reforms the country has embarked upon.2

By and large, the government has continued to hold its grip on state radio, television and state newspaper despite calls from experts, politicians and civil society to turn these media outlets into public service utilities. In 1992, for instance, the government made a failed move to come up with a Media Regulations Act which aimed at taming the media – a move that was blocked by media stakeholders’ efforts. The stakeholders set up an independent, voluntary and non-statutory media council which has been operational for ten years now3. In a mysterious twist of events early 2007, the government attempted again to come up with a bill on Freedom of Information which also sought to control the media sector through a statutory Media Standards Board. Interestingly, in this move the government disregarded views in the new Broadcasting and Information Policy (2003)4 which had resulted from lengthy consultations with media stakeholders.

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2 The snags mentioned here are presented and discussed under Chapter 5 which deals with professional roles and ethical convictions of Tanzanian journalists.
3 Chapter 6.1 discusses operations of the Media Council of Tanzania which marked its ten years of existence in 2007.
4 The new Media and Information Policy of 2003 resulted from consultations between the government, media experts, media associations and other stakeholders and it had set out principles that should have guided the workings of media and the enactment of a new media legal regime.
1.1 Research Problem

There appears to be a disconnect - indeed a contradiction - between economic and political reforms the country has embarked on since the mid 1980s on one hand and reforms in the media sector on the other. Whereas deliberate moves were taken forcefully by the government to liberalise the economy, privatise public parastatals and introduce multiparty politics through policies and legislation, the media (and information) sector has remained highly volatile under, arguably, unclear policy and draconian legal regime. It does appear then that there are two separate sets of values, one that deals with economic and political reforms as well as another one that handles the media. There has been lack of coherent policy to guide the sector and inform any new legislation needed to replace the old laws, such as the Newspaper Act of 1976, which even the Nyalali Commission recommended for repeal. For instance, when the government realized that economic reforms were not being popular to the majority of the populations it initiated steps in 2003 to set up communication departments in its ministries, departments and agencies to help enhance communication with the public. As such the ad hoc communication policy the government came up with to facilitate its communication with the public did not necessarily reflect the general media and information policy framework it had involved stakeholders to formulate. This then suggests that there is either lack of understanding on issues of media policy formulation on the part of government bureaucrats or that the government has all along been unwilling to come up with a media (and information) policy that reflects the true spirit of democratic transformation.

For the purpose of context, I would like to state that the terms media, information and broadcasting policy will tend to appear in the discussions of this study often together or in other instances separately. A broader concept that has been widely used so far is communication policy. UNESCO (1972: 8) defined communication policy simply as: “sets of principles and norms established to guide the behaviour of communication systems”. Alhassan (2004: 22) defines communication policy as:

…systematic institutionalized principles, norms and behaviour that are designed through legal and regulatory procedures and/or perceived through historical understanding to guide formation, distribution and control of communication in both its human and technological dimensions.
This definition would suit the purposes of this study in that it addresses three key catchwords in the history of Tanzania’s information policy formulation. These are Communication, Principles and Control. I will try to show that since 1967, the government started to underscore the importance of communication for socialistic development and was later to come up with a kind of policy framework to inform the regulation and control of media sector in Tanzania.

As Hutchison (1999: 4) has pointed out media policy making is an ongoing process and one that responds to changes in the social structures within which it is embedded. There are various phases that Tanzania has gone through socially, economically and politically since 1961 when the country – then called Tanganyika – gained independence. All these have had a bearing on, not only information policy formulation but also non-formulation of a clear and coherent policy. However, I take a critical look into the transition phase from one-party to multiparty democracy because enormous changes have taken place in the this particular period and in ways that necessitate a fundamental change in media and information policy. Indeed, the fundamental change in this regard would dictate that Tanzania’s media and information policy responds to economic as well as political reforms the country has embarked upon since 1980s. In examining how Tanzania’s media policy has responded to these economic and political reforms I pose some questions to guide the discussions:

i. In which ways has the historical background of the media in Tanzania shaped contemporary workings of the sector?

ii. What factors and events have influenced the changes that have taken place in the media sector, particularly during the transition to multiparty democracy?

iii. What has been the basis for policy formulation in the media and information sector?

iv. Why has the government shown consistent lack of interest in enacting a Freedom of Information legislation to replace draconian laws currently governing the media?

v. To what extent has the media been ethical as well as effective in playing its role in the new political dispensation?

1.2 Rationale

It is the thesis of this study that Tanzania’s democratic reforms may not be successful if the media sector is left under a legal regime that controlled the sector during one-party era. It is also the thesis of this study that strict control of media sector by the state does not necessarily promote ethical journalism. Lastly, it is the thesis of this study that a free, self-regulating media
sector contributes positively to socio-economic and political development of a democratic country.

As stated above, there is a critical need to study the developments of the media sector, particularly during the transition to pluralistic democracy, for the purpose of establishing a coherent understanding of events and issues that have shaped media and information policies in Tanzania today. With this understanding it is then possible to both explain why the media sector operates the way it does as well as develop appropriate and consistent mind framework for formulation of relevant policies and legislation that are relevant to the current needs.

1.3 Methods
This study is mainly so-called desk research relying on available literature and documentation. In addition to normal books, mostly from the library of the University of Tampere, I obtained various documents, papers and publications from the Government Information Department (MAELEZO), Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication (IJMC), University of Dar es Salaam, (UDSM), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Research and Education for Democracy (REPOA) and President’s Office, Civil Service Management, which has been the coordinator of key reforms mentioned above.

In addition, I conducted interviews with individuals whose knowledge on the subject we found valuable. The interviewed respondents included Mr. Kassim Mpenda, the Director of Government Information Services Department (MAELEZO), Mr. Gervas Moshiro, Principal Information Officer at MAELEZO (also former Principal of Tanzania School of Journalism), Dr. Henry Mambo, Communications Specialist, Anthony Ngaiza, Executive Secretary of the MCT, and Ananilea Nkya, Director, TAMWA.

Chapter Five presents results of an empirical study I conducted earlier in 2007 as part of my Post Graduate studies at the University of Tampere and presented as a paper at a national conference of Tanzanian journalism educators in Dodoma, August 2007. In the survey, I chose to specifically approach individual journalists (including editors) to establish what they understood to be their professional roles in society as well as factors that influenced their ethical convictions. The survey was based on 50 respondents.
2. MEDIA IN TANZANIA: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter gives a brief panorama of the history of media in Tanzania with a particular focus on policies that have shaped the roles of the Fourth Estate in different phases, from pre-colonial times to present.

2.1 Pre-colonial Period (-1880)

Before Tanganyika had any contacts with aliens who were later to come as explorers and missionaries, the country had traditional media which served the communication needs of society. Although communication used rudimentary technologies and channels it still served the purpose for which it was intended and was contextually relevant and effective.

Traditional Tanganyikans, as Africans elsewhere, had sentinels who climbed up the tallest tree or rock to watch over the immediate territory and give feedback to the community about any impending danger. These earlier ‘journalists’ would report back to the community of any happenings beyond the horizons of other members of the community. There were members of the community whose task was to use horn-hooting to inform the community populace that tomorrow there would be a ceremony for annual harvest. Horn-blowing was used to inform the small community that at the traditional king’s home, a princess was born.

There was drum-beating, to inform the community that the season had come for the young boys and girls to undergo initiations. There was also the drum beating to inform the community soldiers and other members that their empire had been invaded by aggressors.

There was a way of yelling to inform people that cattle rustlers had swept away a community member’s heads of cattle. There was word of mouth from one person to another and to the entire community that the king was about to marry a beautiful girl from across the river. There was story-telling about community heroes and legendaries.

They understood these communications and life went on. The traditional media therefore played informational roles based on the values of a particular community. The media (such as theatre, drama, music and story telling) also played a vital unifying role, keeping the whole community aware of events while, at the same time, passing on legendaries from one generation to the other. Basically the traditional media identified itself with its audience probably more than the modern
media does today. It was direct, contextual, and appealed to a homogenous community with common needs. With hindsight, we can then articulate that media or information and communication policy of the time was meant to serve the following functions; namely, surveillance (survival), conformity (harmony), continuity (values) and escape (entertainment).

2.2 Colonial Period (1885-1961)

It is important to draw a distinction between the post traditional society – the period when missionaries first settled in East Africa – and the period when actual occupation of Africa took place during the Germany and British rule. By 1880s already Germans missionaries had started publishing newssheets that served political as well as spiritual communication interests prior to colonial establishment. According to records, the first newssheet called Msimulizi (News-bearer) was established in Zanzibar Island in 1888. Habari za Mwezi (Monthly News) followed in 1894.

The main objective of these newssheets was to publicize the missionaries’ as well as (later) the colonial government’s ‘good’ work of civilizing the natives. Since the missionaries had paved the way for colonial establishment, their media could not have played the watchdog role as we know it today. In his book, Mass Communication and Development of Socialism in Tanzania, Nkwabi Ng’wanakilala (1984:26) observes.

...therefore the main coverage was on missionary work and the colonial administration. At this period there was a very convenient balance of power between the missionary and the administrator, each keeping his position of the loot.

The newssheets were adequately funded and were sold at 5 to 10 cents. (Today a newspaper in Tanzania costs between 200/- shillings to 500/- shillings. (One shilling is 100 cents). Content of the news included items like, German Kaiser’s birthday, construction of a modern hospital, road or bridge, a note on chief Mirambo of the Nyamwezi tribe, etc.

The Zeitung, a settlers’ paper was established in 1899 and became bi-weekly in 1908. The major policy of the paper was to propagate the rights of the strongest race, particularly the German settlers in the then Tanganyika.

During the British colonial rule, a number of tribal as well as national newspapers sprung up. A few African elites, who had benefited from a doze of colonial education, started these papers to
shout their grievances. Some of these newspapers include Komkya (In Kilimanjaro Region), Lumuli and Mbegete (In Lake Victoria Region) and Arumeru (In Arusha region).

Later in the 1950s Mwafrika (The African) was established to become the first nation-wide newspaper that advocated for more representation of Africans in the Legislative council, then self-government and independence. The colonial regime started Mamboleo newspaper as a counter-critic of Mwafrika. The paper contained a lot of poetry, glorifying the colonial regime and its mission of civilizing the natives. The aim was to lure the people away from the struggle for independence. It should be noted however, that the colonial government kept a closer look at the natives’ papers, quite often serving them with warnings.

The policy that guided the operations of the media then was born out of the missionaries’ mission to save the natives from total darkness in which they lived. The media therefore glorified the missionaries’ work in Tanganyika and the need for external intervention in the affairs of the native. In this phase, the native was to be a voiceless witness and beneficiary to the ‘divine’ intervention in the dark state of affairs in which he lived. The media therefore deplored the native’s ways and extolled the new ‘divine’ ways that superior colonialists had brought with them. In short, the policy that guided the colonial media then was driven by one central motive or value – salvation of the native. On the other hand, the ‘native’ operated on a policy of protest against domination and alien ways.

2.3 Post-colonial One-party State (1961–1992)

Immediately after independence the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), the Tanganyika Standard and other nationalist newspapers continued to operate almost under the same colonial policies but only with a slight change to advance the interest of the new government and nation. But in 1972, following Arusha Declaration of 1967, the government redefined the roles of the media in the country to suit socialist principles which had been outlined in the Declaration. It is crucial that the context of the period be understood if we are to make a sober analysis of media situation in post independence Tanzania. A critical question to ask would be: why did Tanzania opt to follow Ujamaa, which consequently influenced policies that governed media and communication? Ujamaa ideology basically, or justifiably, hinged on the country’s historical roots as Kivikuru (1990: 88) notes:
Communalism and togetherness are part of the political ideology but they do have roots in the traditional culture of the 120 tribes. Communalism was utilized already during the British colonial system in the establishment of cooperatives in the 1930s.

There was another factor that convinced Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and his colleagues that the level of development in the country called for a re-examination on the kind of economic and political path the country had to take. Kivikuru (1990: 88) gives a relevant description of Tanzania that had just emerged from colonial domination:

The Tanzania socio-economic structure is labeled with subsistence agriculture: some 85 percent of the population lives in rural areas. There are some 8,000 registered villages trying to provide the population of 21 million safe water, health care, primary and adult education; for a developing country, the literacy rate is exceptionally high, around 80 percent … though, simultaneously, functional literacy tends to deteriorate due to lack of reading material.

The post independence government therefore became interested in how to use media to promote general literacy and mass civic education. Kivikuru (1994: 410) says in 1970 suggestions on such set up as educational radio programmes combined with study groups were especially popular. Rural papers were introduced through generous grants from abroad to act as replacement of local papers that were abolished earlier because of ideological linkages with former colonialists or as Kivikuru (1994: 410) has put it: “…simply due to great efforts in unifying nation-building based on one language and on one distinct center of power.”

It is intriguing to note that the same politicians who, before independence, had vehemently criticized the colonial regime for muzzling the indigenous press, now set strict parameters within which the press was to operate. Part of the argument was that in a nation determined to pursue socialistic policies it would have been self defeating if the media was to be left in the hands of those who opposed the ideology.

And as Mfumbusa (2002) has noted, the post independence media policy was largely concerned with national integration and promotion of a development agenda defined in terms of socialism and self-reliance. Bourgault (1995: 173) has claimed that the role of the press as government ‘watchdog’ was overshadowed by its role as public ‘cheerleader’ for development efforts. The
mass media were nationalized and co-opted as part of the government development efforts. Although there was no law that explicitly barred registration of private press in the country, ideological constraints, lack of personnel, high priced newsprint, and prohibitive taxes thwarted its growth. The Presidential Charter of 1970, which Mfumbusa (2002) has referred to as the *de facto* information policy in place until early 1990s, imposed upon the press the role of supporting the socialist ideology. Nordenstreng and Ng’wanakilala (1987) observed that the Charter defined the motto of the *Standard* – the then newly privatised English daily as, “the socialist equality and dignity of man”.

As documented by Nordenstreng and Ng’wanakilala (1987), the then ruling party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), resolved to organize periodic mass media seminars which aimed at turning media personnel into ardent believers and crusaders of the socialist ideology. Seminars were held in Arusha (1973) in Mbeya (1975), in Mwanza (1978) and again in Arusha (1983). Opening the 1973 seminar, the President of the Republic, then the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, underlined the purpose of the mass media in Tanzania as “to defend the Party policies.” At the end of that seminar a recommendation was made to start a permanent program on political education for journalists and news disseminators to help them better understand party politics. The second mass media seminar recommended that measures be taken to reduce the importation and distribution of books, newspapers, films and other literature incompatible with Party (socialist) policies (ibid.: 44-45). The fourth mass media seminar which was held in Arusha in 1983 endorsed Prime Minister Edward Moringe Sokoine’s speech in which he said the mass media in Tanzania had the crusading role of advancing and sustaining the interests of peasants and workers (ibid: 49). Thus the socialist indoctrination of reporters in the 1970s and 1980s ended up preparing a cadre of journalists who believed in the government initiated socialistic policies – which aimed at unifying people, promoting equality and doing away with poverty, diseases and ignorance.

But critics have argued that the government used the excuse of promoting unity, equality and implementing socialistic policies to gag the media and conceal information. Tegambwage (1990: 16) details examples of how the government denied or manipulated information in those years, the classic cases being the manipulation of information about the killings of the workers in Kilombero in 1986, the fire that gutted the Bank of Tanzania in 1984, the killings in the gold mines in Nyarugusu,

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5 The dominant communication typology was the development model holding the press as an active player in nation-building. See Schramm (1964).
Geita and the signing of the International Monetary Fund accord in 1986. Chachage (1997: 8) notes that deeds of the officials were not knowable, and public disclosure was a mere fig leaf. Chachage (1997) argues further that in general, the functioning of the government was concealed from public scrutiny, something which tended to promote corruption, abuse of power and oppression. Indeed it was in this context that the rumour industry flourished and became a formidable media industry of its own in those years. Ndimara Tegambwage was able to collect 87 examples of politically related rumours over a period of 15 years from 1973 (ibid: 29). Chachage (1997) further observes that generally, journalism was characterized by too much self-censorship on the part of editors and journalists, mainly due to the fact that most of them tended to rely on political sanctioning which tended to guarantee some rewards in the form of promotion or other privileges. According U. Lederbogen (1991: 10) former President, Mwalimu Nyerere, often accused journalists of censoring news themselves so as not to endanger their careers. So tricky, it can be argued, was the situation in which those who were too critical were branded as traitors of socialism while those who conformed to mediocrity were deemed as practicing self-censorship.

Once the media policy was made clear, the government enacted legislations which ensured that the media adhered to a practice that was in line with the policy of socialism and self reliance. The instruments which were used by the government to control the press were: The Newspaper Registration Ordinance\(^6\), The Newspaper Act\(^7\), The Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA) Act\(^8\), The National Security Act\(^9\) and Films and Stage Plays Act\(^10\). The Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation inherited from colonial government was also replaced by Radio Tanzania Dar Es Salaam Act\(^11\) which made Radio Tanzania Dar Es Salaam a mouthpiece of the government and the party. These laws were so strict that they empowered the ministries responsible for information to refuse registration or prohibit or ban a publication. For example, the 1976 Newspaper Act, among other issues, specified what were considered to be seditious and libel crimes. The Tanzania News Agency Act gave monopoly to SHIHATA to collect and distribute all the news. The National Security Act replaced the Official Secrets Ordinance\(^12\). It aimed at prevention of publication of any prohibited or classified information. As it was, classified information almost meant most of government communication. The film and Stage Act also prohibited any production of film without the consent

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\(^6\) Cap. 229 of 1952  
\(^7\) Act No. 3 of 1976  
\(^8\) Act No. 14 of 1976  
\(^9\) Act No. 3 of 1970  
\(^10\) Act No. 4 of 1976  
\(^11\) Act No. 11 of 1965  
\(^12\) Cap. 45 of 1922
of the Minister responsible for information. It also prescribed that no stage play could be produced and performed without being granted a certificate of approval by the stage plays authority. Such was the media and information policy that characterised the post colonial—socialist era during which the media was supposed to be, almost, part of the government and the ruling party.

2.4 Multiparty State (1992–)

The beginning of the fourth phase can be traced between 1980s and 1992 when the cold war reached freezing point and the Eastern block of communist regimes began crumbling down. The international wind of change blew Tanzania away from socialistic norms into a liberalised market economy, and political pluralism. It is important to note that the severe economic crisis which faced the country since early 1970s leading to concerted efforts by donors to link aid with conditionalities seemed to have dominated most of the debates in the 1980 within official and non-official circles (Chachage 1996). The implementation of the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), over the past years meant liberalization of the economy and reliance on market forces with less state intervention as a means to stimulate production of traditional exports and overcoming the crisis. It also meant price decontrols, devaluation of the currency, payment of user-charge fees, removal of subsidies, etc.

As Chachage (1997) has argued, with the crisis of developmentalism (premised on concentration of powers in the executive arm of the state and promises to bring about social services, industries and infrastructure in exchange for a high degree of economic control and undivided political loyalty) the state legitimacy was almost collapsing by 1980s. It was not surprising that the 1980s became characterised by an increase in active and passive resistance from workers and civil society, mostly in response to the implementation of SAPs. The biting economic hardships, compounded by the aftermath of the war with Uganda in 1978, forced the state to open a debate on constitutional amendments in 1983. In the process of the debates on issues that had been identified by the ruling party, members of the public went beyond them and started challenging the very legitimacy of the ruling party. In a debate organized by the Tanganyika Law Society at Luther House in Dar Es Salaam in 1983, some of the participants openly disassociated themselves with the ruling party. This debate resulted into the inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the 1984 Constitution of the country.

Indeed, these debates invited extremely vocal voices which called for, among other things, the need to have independent social organizations that operated outside the armpits of the state, among them, a free and independent press. As Chachage (1997: 13) has noted it was a call for the creation of social and political capacities to challenge state monopolization of politics and decision making.
By and large, issues that these earlier debates raised, and which received a lot of attention from a few private media outlets that existed, were related to the question of how the economy and society in general were to be organized. With the implementation of the SAPs, especially from 1986, it was becoming evident that contradictions of a class divided society had become sharper; and, that the gap between the rich and the poor was becoming bigger. The private media outlets which were established from 1989 therefore began to concentrate more on issues of abuse of power, corruption, embezzlement and fraud\textsuperscript{13}. These white collar and corporate crimes had become quite common, ranging from financial fraud and violation of trust, restraint of trade, misinterpretation in advertising, rebates, forgeries, tax evasion, etc. With the media exposing incidences of tax evasion and dubious tax exemptions, Tanzania’s development partners began to threaten that they would cut short their assistance if the government did not act. In fact the government itself was to admit that in 1994 alone tax evasion and tax exemptions amounted to Tshs 70 billion and Tshs 30 billion respectively.

Indeed, it can be argued, the newly established media outlets had been freed from specific roles and purposes they were supposed to perform in the previous phases and were now walking with difficulty, on a new path of freedom. The fourth phase can be termed as the Transitional Phase due to a paradigm shift and the nature of changes that have continued to shape and reshape media operations. The most important changes in the media sector included aspects such as: media ownership, multiplicity of media outlets, the changing process in gathering and dissemination owing to new technology, and the changing values and tastes of media consumers.

More specifically, we have witnessed numerous important changes under the transition period, which include:

First, there is change in terms of numbers. The media outlets have grown from barely 12 in their totality almost two decades ago, to more than 50 publications, 64 radio stations and 34 television stations now operating.\textsuperscript{14}

Second, there is change in terms of variety: whereas ten years ago, the content of the media and mode of presentation mainly reflected the view of the state and socialist ideology, today there are

\textsuperscript{13} For example, cases of fraud and embezzlement (those exceeding 10 million Tanzanian Shillings) reported in the newspapers from January 1989 to July 22nd, 1991 amounted to a total of Tshs. 6195.4m (NBAA/TAA Joint Seminar on the Role of the Accountant in Controlling Fraud and Embezzlement, Keynote Address by Mr. H.K. Senkoro, Zanzibar, 19th - 21st September, 1991).

\textsuperscript{14} There could be more radio and television stations in the registrar’s book just like there are over 550 registered newspapers and other publications.
various types of broadsheets and tabloids; various channels of radio and TV stations with wide variation of opinions, approaches to presentation and content.

Third, there is change brought about by economic liberalism and political pluralism: with looming freedom and an air of competition, things are no longer the same.

Fourth, whereas in the past journalism was a haven for a few, more trained individuals with a nose for news and a craft for writing, it now attracted everybody, including school drop outs who wished to eke out a living through writing or photojournalism.

Fifth, there has been a proliferation of journalism training institutions offering courses ranging from three months journalism studies to degree level certificates. Unfortunately many of these colleges face shortage of qualified teachers and facilities.

Sixth, most owners seemed to have established media organs as commercial investments – as opposed to social service institutions – their interest being to make profits.

The post-mortem in many of these newsrooms was done to establish how much revenue the previous issue had collected.15 Whereas the new press was expected to bridge the gap that had been created by the previous official press, it actually seemed to do little. The new (transitional) press found itself characterized by a number of both structural and ethical lapses, as outlined by Rioba (1998): First, there was overwhelming excitement over the new freedom; second, there was lack of adequate experience in running a newspaper business; third, there was the problem of inadequate number of trained journalists to run the papers professionally fourth, the public, having been brought up in a closed and docile society, did not know how to deal with the truth being told in black and white. These factors led to lack of direction and the private press, having failed to articulate critical issues of the day, ended up swimming with the tides of checkbook journalism, sensationalism, shallow reportage based on facts that are slanted or distorted to suit the reporter’s or newspaper’s subjective stand.

It is during this period that a Kiswahili weekly reporter is questioned over a letter alleged to have been written by TANESCO Managing Director Simon Mhaville to Daikin Air Conditioning,

15 This categorization can also be found in Rioba & Karashani (2000).
demanding a commission of 22.5 million Tanzanian Shillings for a tender award. The purported letter was a forged one but the reporter never bothered to cross-check (Rioba 1995: 7). It is during this period that a Kiswahili weekly is given a warning for publishing a front page lead story titled; ‘Nyerere ni mtu wa kuchinjwa’ (“Nyerere deserves to be slaughtered”). It is during this period that a Kiswahili weekly comes out with a headline reading: ‘Ntimizi akampeni akiwa nusu uchi, ajionyesha mfano halisi wa kiruka njia,’ (“Ntimizi campaigns while half naked, She portrays herself as a real hooker”). Ntimizi was a District Commissioner and a candidate for parliamentary seat. It is during this period that a Kiswahili paper came out with a story titled: ‘Wanajeshi nao wasema uchaguzi mkuu ni batili’ (“The army also declares elections null and void; soldiers are waiting for the electoral commission to announce the results for them to take action. Army officers warn Mwinyi that he’d be accountable if things went wrong.”). Mwinyi was the president then (ibid: 8).

In a nutshell, it was a period in which newspapers published anything as long as it helped to sell. That was the period that Former President Ali Hassan Mwinyi referred to as ‘Freedom Era’. A period he told journalists, as he was leaving office, that they will live to remember. Mwinyi was also quoted as having said: “I could not ban these newspapers simply because they had insulted me...I knew by insulting me, the publishers were able to sell and by selling, their children were able to get food and education. But the press freedom that reigned during Mwinyi’s era, was more apparent than real. It was supported more by his temperament (tolerance, understanding) than by any policy or statutory guarantee. The laws were restrictive and undemocratic – prompting Judge Francis Nyalali’s Commission to make a recommendation that they be repealed.16

2.4.1 Media and multiparty elections
Despite there being a new spirit of democracy in the new policy, still on February 1, 1993 the government used the Newspaper Act to ban two papers, Michapo (Stories) and Cheka (Laugh). This was barely four months before the government announced its intention to introduce a Media Council. Another paper, Baraza, was banned in 1994. These papers had published stories which the government considered “obscene” even though these were the same type of materials being published by the party owned Uhuru and Burudani. Indeed, with political liberalization, the government seemed to behave in a more authoritarian manner in its dealing with the media than ever before. Chachage (1996: 9) argues that this was the real contradiction as far as the introduction

16 In 1990 Justice Francis Nyalali chaired a Presidential Commission which sought views from Tanzanians on whether or not they welcomed multiparty politics in the country.
of multiparty politics was concerned. Papers undertook investigative reporting, and thus revealing corruption, embezzlement and fraud, that was taking place in public institutions and other higher levels, were increasingly getting into trouble more than ever before.

The then Minister for Information and Broadcasting had started interfering in the functioning of the press openly by ridiculing all independent papers, which criticised the government. He even intimidated journalists from the government owned *Daily News* by asking them to leave the paper in case they were not ready to serve the ruling party as a government mouth-piece (ibid.). The government warned some papers to stop reporting about opposition leaders.

In August 1995, towards the first multiparty elections, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) announced that it would put all public media under its control to ensure that all parties had equal access during the electoral campaigns. These included Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), Sautiya Tanzania Zanzibar (STZ), Zanzibar Television and the Tanzania Standard Newspapers Ltd. RTD, which had all along been under the monopoly of the Government and the ruling party, opened up for other parties by formally launching election campaign programmes for fully registered political parties on September 23, 1995. This decision was also in accordance with the election guidelines, which tackled the question of access to state-controlled media—radio, newspapers and television—by all political parties. The guidelines called for the media to be impartial in its election campaigning coverage. These guidelines did not apply to the private press. The Association of Journalists and Media Workers (AJM) monitored the media conduct during the elections.

A clear case of ambiguity of the government’s democratic credentials is reflected in the way the media in general reported the elections. Whereas it was evident that some sections of the private media flouted ethics in their reportage of the elections, both government and CCM media also did the same. The AJM monitoring reports revealed that some of the newspapers were involved in stereotyped journalism, producing stories which fanned hatred and chaos among the populace. Still CCM and its Presidential candidate enjoyed virtual monopoly, as other political parties as well as their candidates got much less airtime. Papers such as *Mfanyakazi*, *Babari* and *Al Nuur* - like the CCM-owned *Uhuru* and *Mzalendo* - acted as propaganda mouthpieces of specific political parties and individual candidates without declaring so. These papers in some instances were dominated by

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17 This had also been provided for in the new Information and Broadcasting Policy, Chapter 4, Section 23, which stated that “All political parties shall be given equal access to public media during elections.”
calumny, malicious misrepresentation, rumours and even outright lies (ibid: 11). Papers from Zanzibar, which reflected the same, were Nuru (government owned) and Jukwaa (privately owned). AJM reported that some newspapers were running stories, which were likely to sow discord, promote ill-feelings and hostility among candidates and supporters of contesting political parties. In general, AJM was of the opinion that newspapers’ coverage countrywide on the election process flagrantly abused professional ethics. Many papers ran stories, which failed to distinguish an opinion from a news item, while some stories had no sources or were exaggerated and sensational headlines dominated most private papers.

Five years later, the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) monitored both print and electronic media during the 2000 General Elections. A total of 15 newspapers, six radio stations and seven television stations were sampled for monitoring. The MCT observed that the public media failed to discharge their duty to inform the electorate about the election issues by taking explicit editorial positions in favour of the ruling CCM. This bias was even more pronounced in Zanzibar, where only state media were dominant. The MCT further observed that there was a pronounced absence of the voice of the citizens during electoral campaigns. The media concentrated on a litany of propaganda from politicians without strict examination of issues of concern to the electorate. Consequently, even women issues were hardly covered, except in the case of Mtanzania and Majira. Paid coverage of political parties and shorter campaign messages were also available although there were instances when Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar (STZ) did not broadcast in full at least two paid political programmes. Thus, the media failed abysmally to guide the election agenda.

2.4.2 Media challenges during transition

The media houses and editors in a way violated most ethical guidelines, despite the fact that they took part in formulating the Code of Conduct in July 2000 and had vowed to adhere to it. There are varied opinions on the real causes of such unethical practice during elections. Some argue that the transition had seen rapid expansion of the media industry in a situation where owners and practitioners who were really grounded in the field were very few.

It is estimated that the number of media practitioners had suddenly shot up from a mere 700 trained workers in 1989 to more than 4,000 by 1994, with the majority of them having no training of whatsoever kind as Chachage (2001) noted. Not only that: even ownership patterns have
shifted. There are media moguls in the field who are simply interested in the profits rather than essential services the media can provide to the public.

There are numerous challenges to media operations in Tanzania apart from the question of control. The costs of running newspaper business in Tanzania are quite high and sometimes very unpredictable, especially when a newspaper relies entirely on adverts for survival. According to UNESCO’s standard of assessing media development, a country is deficient in press coverage if it produces less than 10 copies of daily newspapers for every 100 inhabitants. With an estimated readership of over 15 million, Tanzania can not boast of coming even near to that figure (Rioba 1995). There is no newspaper that has a circulation of over 80,000 copies per issue. All range between 1,500 and 50,000 copies per issue, and the number is even going down. There is no newspaper that can boast of having all-round circulation in all the 26 administrative regions of the country. The costs of gathering, processing, printing and distributing newspapers threaten the survival of most newspapers. Transport and distribution network is a major factor hindering newspaper circulation throughout the country. Most newspapers are sold in urban areas and the unsold copies are returned to the publisher. The timeliest newspaper to a rural inhabitant may be last month’s news. Most of the articles are about what happens in urban areas. Little is covered about the periphery. However, few people in rural areas can afford to part with the precious 300/- shillings to buy a newspaper where there is radio signal.

All in all, it is undeniable that the electorate could hardly have been better informed if there had been no proliferation of private and independent newspapers, radio and television during the transition from one-party to multiparty system.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has dwelt on a brief history of the media in Tanzania with a strong focus on Information and Media policy formulation. It is key to note that despite numerous efforts by experts in media and communication sector since 1973, it was not until 1993, two decades later, that Tanzania got its first Information and Broadcasting Policy aimed at guiding the operations of the media and its relations with other sectors in the country. It was unfortunate that the first policy that came by way of a pronouncement from President Nyerere still suffered a number of shortcomings in terms of implementation of objectives as Kivikuru (1994: 410) has noted again:
If Tanzania has, in many ways, been privileged in her short nation-making process, the same
can not be said about her mass communication system….Tanzania has an extremely weak
and urban-oriented mass media structure. All major media are publicly controlled, but the
state has not given much attention to the implementation of established communication
policies…

Even the 1993 Information and Broadcasting Policy stated clearly that during one-party system,
directives from senior party and government leaders – as well as other guidelines – were sufficient to
guide the operations of the media sector. The same philosophy that guided central planning in the
socialistic economy also directed operations of the media. The media therefore operated under a
heavy hand of the government in ensuring that citizens understood and implemented socialistic
policies of the day.

It is also clear that although the new Policy provided for some new operational directions for the
media sector under the new political and economic system, it still maintained the heavy handed
control of the media under the government. Many provisions underlined the need, by the
government, to ensure ‘protection’ of national security, national interests as well as other abstract
values. Apart from one provision which mentions the role of media in the democratic dispensation,
the Policy hardly addressed a media environment that is in line with the new political, economic as
well as social realities. In other words, the new policy did not create a media sector that supports
effectively a democratic and pluralistic society.

Despite the introduction of this policy to fill the vacuum created by the shift from one-party
hegemony to political pluralism and economic liberalism, all draconian laws that are restrictive to the
operations of media in a democracy remained in place. The newspaper Act continued to be used to
stifle the media while the new Tanzania Broadcasting Act\(^\text{18}\) imposed more restrictions for
broadcasters. As noted in this Chapter, the media coverage of elections proved a great deal of
professional failing. But the failing came from the state as well as private media, each one with its
unique share of failing. The government often proved tough in disciplining private media while
doing nothing to its own media and those owned by the ruling party even when they flouted ethics.
So a clear contradiction arising from development of the media in Tanzania, especially during
transition to political pluralism and economic liberalization is that whereas politics and economics

\(^{18}\) Act No 4. of 1993
are ‘freed’ through new policies and regulations, the media sector is not. And whereas the information and broadcasting policy mentions the role of media in a democracy, it does not necessitate the enactment of laws that support press freedom, the cornerstone of democracy.
3. MEDIA AND DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

3.1 Economic Reforms

In 1986 Tanzania started implementing IMF/WB sponsored economic reforms abandoning the socialistic centrally planned economy and adopting a market oriented one led by the private sector. Amani et al. (2006: 205) note that the first generation of reforms which were implemented from 1986 to 1992, were dominated by the will to ‘get the prices right’, while the second generation of reforms, from 1993 to 2004, were devoted to institutional transformation. It should be noted, however, that the in the first five years of independence, 1961-66 Tanzania continued with a market oriented economy which marked fast rates of growth (ibid: 205). In 1967 after the Arusha Declaration the socialist approach to development put all major means of production under the state with the objective of addressing income disparities that were becoming more apparent.

As Amani et al. (2006) have noted, while the socialist policies were well intentioned, the strategies that were adopted to guide implementation paid little attention to incentives for performance, which eventually undermined the success of the socialist project. The socialist experiment continued to experience serious performance crisis with the government remaining adamant to change until 1986 when Tanzania experienced regime change for the first time since independence.

In their study which examined performance of economic and political reforms in Tanzania, Amani et al. (2006: 206) set out to test the following hypotheses:

- Economic crises in Tanzania were important for reforms to occurs
- Gradual policy reforms generate better results in terms of ‘high quality growth’ and minimizing the discrepancy between macro-stability achievements and micro-level impacts on livelihoods and well being;
- Broader participation in the reform process leads to better technical content in policies;
- National ownership of reforms is essential for a nation’s commitment to, and the ultimate success of, reforms;
- The impetus for the policy changes usually comes, to a large extent, from the influence of the donor community;
- The nature and the extent of civil society participation in the reforms are generally conditioned by the legacy of the government;
Reforms need to be backed by strong institutions and human capacities to be able to cope with the challenges that emerge in the reform process.

The findings in the study above exposed a number of challenges as well as impressive degree of progress. However, central to this study is the fact that a number of new laws - including amendments to the legislation that regulated the economic regime – were enacted to facilitate a liberalized economy in the country. A law was enacted to establish the Tanzania Investment Center and there were other pieces of legislation in place to guarantee change in the mining sector, petroleum sector, banking and financial sector, tax collection, procurement activities as well as a new law to curb corruption in the country. Among all these pieces of legislation none ever took so long - as has been the case with reform in media legal regime - to be passed in Parliament and accented by the President.

3.2 Political Reforms

The turning point came in 1991 when the then President, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Francis Nyalali to collect views of citizens on whether or not they welcomed multiparty system. The Commission established that almost 77% of those it interviewed favoured One-party system, Maliyamkono & Mason (2006: 30). Given the fact that the world was awash with press and demands for more open and pluralistic society both President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and the retired president, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, influence public opinion otherwise. Their argument was that Tanzania was not an island and that it was bound to face similar pressure – as in other parts of the world – for pluralistic democracy.

In 1992, Article 3 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 was amended by Parliament to usher in multiparty system. The changes were immediately followed by an amendment to the Zanzibar Constitution to provide for multiparty politics on the Islands. The amendments to the Constitutions gave way to other legislations to facilitate the smooth conduct of multiparty general elections.

But still the real basis for opposition seemed to be weak. Maliyamkono & Mason (2006: 33) observes that the new political parties struggled to establish a distinctive identity. In practice, the authors note, given the constraints on the Tanzanian economy, there was little space to develop distinct ideological approach. The parties seemed to develop similar programmes with slight differences in approach.
CCM was still sticking, officially, to Ujamaa (socialist) vision when President Mwinyi clearly appeared to favour economic liberalism with his philosophy of “Ruksa”.19 Until 1995 when CCM picked Benjamin Mkapa as its Presidential candidate, the party was still trying to walk a broken path; one side proclaiming Ujamaa while the other one pursuing economic liberalism. Maliyamkono & Mason (2006: 34) outline four challenges that President Mkapa faced when he assumed office in 1995:

i. Overseeing the operation of a multiparty parliament where, rather than the parliament operating to consider and approve decisions made on operational grounds in committee, it could become the source of argument and division on party lines;

ii. Providing space for political parties to develop and consolidate themselves prior to the next set of elections;

iii. Reconfiguring CCM to make it a party with a coherent policy rather than a party which assumed itself to have a right to govern;

iv. Building some semblance of harmony in Zanzibar and thus repairing Tanzania’s tarnished international reputation.

Another challenge that President Mkapa was to grapple with was the hastening of the reform processes, part of which had started during his predecessor. President Mwinyi started the reform process in 1991 by reviewing the whole public sector. The process to study weaknesses and problems in the civil service was funded by UNDP and in 1993 the World Bank funded the Public and Parastatal Sector Reform Project. The project was meant to trim down the size of the civil service and to introduce necessary training for the remaining workforce. These reforms were supported by a number of new legislation to facilitate the implementation. This was not the case in the information and media sector.

Key constitutional and legal reforms towards multiparty system include the following:20

i. April/May, 1992: Union Parliament enacted legislation which provided for multiparty politics in Tanzania and nullified one-party rule and its supremacy;

ii. July, 1992: Political Parties Act became operational. It allowed the formation of opposition parties in Tanzania and prescribed conditions for their registration. Also Parliamentary

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19 Ruksa is a Kiswahili word which could mean: “Permitted”, “Go ahead”, “Feel Free”
20 As outlined in Professor Max Muya’s paper (2001).
Election Laws 1985 were amended to provide for multiparty elections for the Union Government. Local Government Election Laws were also amended to provide for multiparty elections at local government level. There was also change of Government structure from village, district and urban councils to accommodate opposition members;

iii. December, 1992: Parliament was empowered to impeach the president in the event of breaching the Constitution or showed behaviour contrary to the conduct of his office; Parliament could now propose a motion of no confidence in the Prime Minister; The president could only dissolve Parliament during the last year of his five year term;

iv. 1998: The government launched a White paper on Constitutional Revision for public debate. Subsequently a Presidential Committee to coordinate collection of public views was created; it submitted its report November 04, 1999;

v. April 8, 2000: President Benjamin Mkapa approved the 13th amendments to the Union Constitution.

### 3.3 Media Regulatory Framework

#### 3.3.1 The first Information Policy (1970)

Interestingly, what could be termed as the first Information Policy in Tanzania was a directive pronounced by the first President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere on February 5, 1970. It came to the public knowledge in the form of a signed editorial in the Daily News and below was what it said:

i. The mass media will support the country’s policy of Socialism and Self Reliance;

ii. They (mass Media) will give general support to the policies of the Party and Government;

iii. They will initiate and join in debates for and against any particular proposals put forward for the consideration of the people, whether by the Party, Government or other bodies;

iv. They will be free to initiate discussions on any subject relevant to the development of a socialist and democratic society in Tanzania. The mass media will be guided by the principle that free debate is an essential element of socialism, and they will strive to encourage and maintain high standards of socialist discussion;

v. The mass media will be free to criticize any particular acts of individual Party or Government leaders, and to publicise any failures in the community, by whoever they are committed in the implementation of agreed policies, either on their own initiatives or following upon complaints or suggestions from the people;

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21 In Information and Broadcasting Policy (2003)
vi. The mass media will aim at supplying the people with all domestic and world news and quickly and as fully as possible. They will keep the trust to the best of their ability, and without distortion, whether that trust is pleasant or unpleasant;
vii. The mass media will endeavour to spread an understanding about socialism in Tanzania among the people. By discussion, and their articles, they will demonstrate that the priorities in the building of socialism are a matter for free discussion among citizens of a socialist state. They will help to ensure that the people’s will is not only paramount in Tanzania, but also is seen to be paramount;
viii. The watchwords of the mass media of Tanzania will be: “The socialist Equality and Dignity of Man”. It is in that spirit they will seek to serve the citizens of Tanzania without distinction on grounds of race, religion, sex, or tribe;
ix. The mass media will speak for the government to the people and for the people to the government.

The first Information or media policy therefore typically reflected Mwalimu Nyerere’s political philosophy and provided the mass media with an ideological framework within which to function. Although some analysts have credited the policy for having had impact on the country’s national unity, identity, universal primary education, good neighbourliness and so forth, critics see it as having been a snag to establishment of a free press in Tanzania. There were very few official mainstream media plus a number of other sectoral publications established to fulfil the objectives of the socialist regime.

The policy, it can be argued, scared off any individuals who might have wished to establish independent media to play a true role of the fourth estate in a democratic society. Journalists and media practitioners became almost like civil servants, identifying themselves more with the Party and Government goals than with the varied aspirations of the citizenry. Despite Nyerere’s call for honest criticism – which of course appeared often in the official press – his policy promoted a culture of conformity among media practitioners and the citizenry in general.

Nyerere’s information policy became the forerunner to the infamous Newspaper Act,\textsuperscript{22} which is largely seen as a snag to a free press today. Consequently, criticism of policy was largely thwarted and opposing viewpoints became rare altogether. It was not surprising therefore that even after the

\textsuperscript{22} Act No. 3 of 1976
Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania had been amended in 1992 to provide for multiparty politics, some circles in the government did not take criticism from the media lightly.

### 3.3.2 The second Information Policy (1993)

In 1993 the Minister for Information and Broadcasting unveiled a proposal for a new media policy.\(^{23}\) The government, in this proposal sought to regulate and control the media professionals through a statutory media council. It aimed at controlling what it considered to be ‘irresponsible journalism’ and ‘media excesses’ by disciplining journalists through a Code of Conduct.\(^{24}\)

It is critical to examine the new policy closely for it was the first document, since independence, put in place by the government to give policy direction to the media sector. The first Chapter of the document gives a rationale for the new Information and Broadcasting policy as to set broad guidelines for the operations of the media and the sector’s relations with other sectors in the country.\(^{25}\) The Chapter clearly states thus:

> For quite a long time there has been a need in the country to have a distinct policy to guide the operations of the media sector. The ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, through experts, organized seminars for media practitioners in 1973, 1978 and 1988, during which participants made resounding declarations calling for information policy.

Section 3 of Chapter one states clearly that despite all the declarations made in the seminars for media practitioners, no information policy, whatsoever, has been in place. Interestingly it states thus:

> Nevertheless, (despite all the declarations from media practitioners) so far no information policy has been in place, as has been the case with, say, economic and social sectors in the country. During One-party system, directives from senior party and government leaders – as well as other guidelines – were sufficient to guide the operations of the media sector.

The Chapter sets goal of the new Information and Broadcasting Policy as follows:

1. to clarify the scope of the information and broadcasting sector;
2. to realign the media sector with new (pluralistic) political and economic sectors in the country;

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\(^{23}\) This was the first media policy to be unveiled formerly by the government unlike the one that President Nyerere handed to the Daily News for publication in 1970.

\(^{24}\) *Government Gazette* (1993)

\(^{25}\) *Sera ya Habari na Utangazaji* (1993)
4.3 to provide guidance to the media sector in the face of new developments in global information and communication technologies;

4.4 to set standards and ethical guidelines for media practitioners as a way of protecting national interests.

Furthermore, the Chapter sets specific objectives of the policy as follows:

5.1 to strengthen, to coordinate, to supervise and to develop the media sector;

5.2 to strengthen Government Departments and Institutions dealing with information broadcasting and photography;

5.3 to coordinate, to supervise and to promote development of private newspapers;

5.4 to coordinate, to supervise establishment, operations and development of radio and television;

5.5 to supervise and to develop the making and distribution of video and films;

5.6 to supervise and to promote development of services provided by news agencies;

5.7 to strengthen, to develop and to sustain journalism standards and ethical practice in newspapers and broadcast media.

Chapter 2 (9) stipulates the role of the ministry responsible for information as:

At National level, the major role of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is to build a bridge of communication between the Government – which entails various ministries and departments – and citizens in their various occupations important to the national economy.26

For the first time in the whole document, Chapter 2 (10) mentions the role of media in the democratic process. It states thus:

Apart from building a bridge between the Government and citizens, the media sector also has the role of promoting democracy and to sensitize citizens to participate effectively in planning, decision making and implementation of development plans.

The new Information and Broadcasting policy formalized private sector participation in the information and news dissemination industry. The policy became the basis for the enactment of the Tanzania Broadcasting Act27 under which the applications for and issuance of licenses for radio and

26 Ibid. Pp 5
27 Act No 16 of 1993
television were provided for. Journalists and small press owners opposed this policy for reasons that it aimed at eroding the gains already made in the country’s press freedom. One of the major press freedom snags, the Newspaper Act,\(^{28}\) continued to guide the registration and operations of newspapers in the country. The Newspaper Act, it should be noted, is a piece of draconian legislation which had been suitable for, and beneficial to, the workings of a One-party system. Calls for the repeal of the Newspaper Act ended in deaf ears of those in power. The government claimed that the new independent media outlets were simply producing cheap street literature and rumours, which they (Government and CCM officials referred to derogatorily as “*magazeti ya mitaani*” or literary meaning street papers Chachage (1997: 8). The government by then was using its media (together with the party newspapers) to wage a campaign against the new private papers, just as it waged scathing attacks against views and opinions that opposed it.

### 3.3.3 The new Information and Broadcasting Policy (2003)

The first (informal) information or media policy in 1970 came from the President of the United Republic himself. The second one in 1993 came from the Minister responsible for information and broadcasting upon which it encountered opposition from the media fraternity and civil society organizations because it indicated a desire to tame the media. The third information and broadcasting policy in 2003 came as a result of protracted consultations between the government and media stakeholders. For the first time Tanzania produced a policy document that resulted from a participatory process that involved all key stakeholders, such as media practitioners, lawyers, civil society activists as well as government representatives.

**Chapter One** of the policy document sets out Vision and Objective of the Information and Broadcasting Policy as:

1. **Vision**

   …The existence of strong, diverse and pluralistic media, with ownership in public, private and community hands, and which are guided by a high degree of professional and social ethics contributing effectively to the National Development Vision 2025.

The policy encourages establishment of training institutions, research and consultancy services that support the growth of the information industry and which contribute to the development of

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\(^{28}\) Act No. 3 of 1976
a film and video industry as a way nurturing talents and documenting Tanzania’s history and culture.

1.2 The Goals and Objectives of the Policy are stated as follows:

- To create an enabling environment for the growth of the Information and Broadcasting Sector all over the country;
- To sensitize media institutions on the need to offer professional services according to professional ethics and norms;
- To sensitize media practitioners in establishing and supporting a professional ethics regulatory body;
- To put in place mechanisms that will ensure sustainable development of the information industry.

Chapter Two addresses policy objectives and declarations. The chapter starts with:

2.1 Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities of Media

The preamble describes the current media environment as follows:

…Currently, the attainment of the constitutional right to receive and impart information hinges on laws that have become subject to complaints, examples include the National Security Act of 1970, the Newspaper Act of 1976, the Broadcasting Services of 1993, and several other pieces of legislation that relate to information and broadcasting. Equally important, both state and privately owned media outlets are not accessible to the entire population partly because of financial constraints on the part of the government, and due to rules and regulations that control media operations. In addition, there exists underdeveloped communication infrastructure, together with lack of understanding of the whole concept of press freedom and responsibility of the media among media owners, practitioners and the general public.

2.1.1 Policy Objectives as:

- To remove all impediments that hold back the right of citizens to receive and impart information;
- To educate people on their constitutional right to receive and impart information;
- To advocate for the establishment of media outlets throughout the country;
• To advocate for priority investment in the information communication infrastructure throughout the country;
• To advocate and educate media owners and practitioners on the responsibility of the media;

2.1.2 Policy Directives as:
• The constitutional right to receive and impart information should be guaranteed by law;
• The private sector and local governments should be sensitized to establish media outlets where the service does not exist;
• Procedures for establishing media in rural areas should be simplified to attract investors;
• Communication infrastructure should be established and be easily available;
• Regulatory bodies should disseminate education to create awareness of the public’s right to receive and impart information as well as on the freedom and responsibility of the media.

The Chapter clearly points out that there are concerns that laws governing newspapers and broadcasting empower the Minister responsible for information and broadcasting to punish media outlets that publish or broadcast information which, on the Minister’s own interpretation, endanger public interest.

2.2 Objectives for review of laws are:
• to enable citizens to enjoy in full their basic right to receive and impart information as stipulated in the constitution;
• To defend journalists who practice their profession according to professional ethics;
• To defend rights, freedoms and responsibilities of the media;
• To give equal opportunities to those investing in the media sector;
• To remove unnecessary secrecy.

2.2.2 Policy Directive under Media Laws review:
• The government will ensure that all laws being disputed are reviewed and amended;
• The government will ensure that the media laws respect the right to be reconciled through the judicial process;
• The government will ensure the legislation of a single law governing media operations.
2.3 **On Media Ownership, the Chapter sets out the following Objectives:**

- To allow media owners to own more than one media outlet;
- To ensure that media institutions render public service to the community;
- To ensure that a media owner has qualified professional practitioners;
- To sensitize media owners on the importance of professional training for their employees;
- To ensure that the management of media institutions is in the hands of nationals and that foreign experts are recruited only where local expertise is not available;

2.4 **On Government and Media, the Chapter sets out the following Objectives:**

- To strengthen and extend media services offered by the state media throughout the country, especially in areas shunned by private investors;
- To remove impediments that hinder availability of information from the government and its agencies;
- To strengthen the Tanzania Information Services department as Chief Government Spokesperson and coordinator of information on government activities;
- To strengthen information units in ministries, government departments and agencies, regional administrations and local governments;
- To appoint a government spokesperson at the level of ministry, regional administration and government agencies;
- To strengthen government-owned media training institutions.

2.5 **On Newspapers and magazines, the Chapter sets out the following Objectives:**

- To ensure newspapers and magazines adhere to professional code of ethics and social values, and to ensure that newspapers and magazines are registered in accordance with the law;
- To find ways of reducing the costs of newspapers;
- To underscore the importance of adhering to professional codes of ethics.

2.6 **On News Agencies the Chapter sets out the following Objectives:**

- To sensitize private sector to invest in news agencies’ sector;
• To increase the capacity of the Tanzania Information Services department by equipping it with enough qualified manpower and other resources to enable it fulfil its obligations;
• To encourage investment in the information and communication sector.

2.7 On Radio and Television the Chapter sets out the following Objectives:
• To place internet services under the law and regulations guiding radio and television services;
• To ensure that radio and television programmes adhere to professional code of ethics and social values;
• To encourage the establishment of television stations in rural areas;
• To encourage radio and television stations to recruit information and broadcasting professionals;
• To put in place a mechanism that will link private radio and television stations with the public radio and television to cover special national events;

2.8 On Films, Audio Visual and Video the Chapter sets out the following Objectives:
• To ensure that the screening of films, video and audio visuals adhere to professional code of ethics and social values;
• To encourage the production of films, video and audio visual materials that are locally tailored;
• To promote people’s creativity through film, video and audio visual materials;
• To encourage investments in the film, video and audio visual industry.

2.9 Objectives for capacity building of the sector are:
• To enable the information sector to have strong training and research institutions;
• To uplift the professional standards for media practitioners;
• To enable media outlets to have many and well trained professionals so as to meet the industry’s needs;
• To produce competent and experienced professionals with the capacity to cope with external competition;
• To ensure adherence to professional code of ethics and social values and norms.

Then Chapter Three addresses the issue of division of responsibilities as follows:
The Government

i. It is the government’s responsibility to protect citizen’s rights to receive and impart information as provided for under Article 18 of the Constitution of the United republic of Tanzania (1977) and under Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

ii. To create an enabling environment for the growth and development of the information and Broadcasting sector;

iii. To coordinate, monitor and evaluate the implementation of the policy

Media Council of Tanzania

i. To strengthen, monitor and promote high standards of professional practice and adherence to a code of ethics in the information and broadcasting sector;

ii. To cooperate with stakeholders in promoting freedom and responsibility of mass media;

iii. To promote cordial relations between the media and the public and among the media themselves;

Professional Associations

i. They will be formed according to the law for the purpose of advancing media practitioners educationally and in professional practice;

ii. To assist members attains higher professional training in their areas of specialty;

iii. To promote high productivity standards in the information sector;

iv. To promote cordial working relationship between journalists and news sources;

v. To raise public awareness on the right to get information;

vi. To defend interests of workers.

Media Institutions

i. To give the public information, education and entertainment services in accordance with Tanzania’s values and culture;

ii. To take part in shielding society from disasters like war, famine, epidemics and environmental destruction;

iii. To take active part in various campaigns for social prosperity like gender equality, poverty alleviation, war against corruption, diseases and ignorance.

Training Institutions

i. To enhance the capacity of media practitioners by offering training in information and broadcasting in accordance with the needs of the sector;

ii. To undertake research in various areas with the aim of advancing knowledge in the information and broadcasting industry;
Media Owners

i. To ensure that media output does not violate ethics;
ii. To prepare and implement training programmes.

Finally, this Chapter addresses the issue of regulatory authorities that shall ensure adherence to the objectives and directives of the Policy as well as laws and regulations binding the media operations.

Chapter Four addresses issues of coordination and evaluation of adherence by all stakeholders that have rights, freedoms and responsibilities in the Policy.

The new policy is a detailed document which specifically sets a direction for the functioning of the information and Broadcasting sector in Tanzania. Unlike the previous documents which were unidirectional, treating the media sector as passive recipient of directives from the government, the new policy spells out what the government itself must do in order to create conducive environment for a free and pluralistic media to flourish.

It has all the aroma of a document that incorporated the views of other stakeholders unlike Mwalimu Nyerere’s first directive or even the Information and Broadcasting Policy of 1993. In the new policy, there is a shift from Mwalimu’s limited goal and objectives for media in a socialist society to a broader emphasis on pluralism and professionalism.

The new policy talks about rights, freedoms and responsibilities of the media as well as the imperative of amending the Constitution and repealing some laws that have a bearing in the functioning of the media sector. This is a radical shift indeed. It draws its legitimacy right from the constitutional right for every citizen to receive and impart information.

The new policy recognises and mentions other factors that impinge on freedom of the press, and access to information; issues such as poor accessibility to media products by all citizens due to infrastructural challenges as well as costs of newsprint. The Policy also suggests what has to be done to address these challenges.
3.3.4 Media reform process

In 2001 media stakeholders met, under a project led by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA-Tan), for consultations to review laws that were a snag to press freedom and bring recommendations to the government for action. The team of stakeholders which worked between May and July, 2001, produced a report with recommendations and handed it to the government. The report clearly reflected a new thinking in, not only policy formulation but also, the need by Tanzanians to strengthen the media sector through a relevant policy and democratic legislations.

In its introduction, the report states:

The consultative process which involved stakeholders between May – July 2001, has underscored the imperative of reviewing, and repealing, as soon as possible, all laws that are a snag to the thriving of press freedom and freedom of expression.

The report draws justification for reforms in the media sector legal regime from a number of documents. The first one is the Constitution. Article 18 of the Constitution is drawn from Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides for the right to freedom of expression, which includes the right to seek, receive and impart information through any media and without any frontier.

The stakeholders noted that Article 18 of the Constitution was being undermined by a claw back clause which stated thus:

…Subject to the laws of the land, every person has the right to freedom of expression…”

They argued that it was not proper for the Constitution, which is the principal law of the land, to relegate to other subordinate laws its powers to guarantee citizens’ rights and freedoms.29

The stakeholders further noted that Tanzania was a signatory to other International Conventions such as International Covenant on Civil and political Rights (ICCPR) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) which obliged the member countries to guarantee those rights in their respective constitutions.

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29 The claw back clause has since been removed in the 2005 amendments to the Constitution.
Among other observations, stakeholders also noted that the Constitution lacked necessary provisions to ensure:

i. Press freedom as is the case in the Constitutions of Namibia, South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique;

ii. Editorial independence in public service media as is the case in South Africa;

iii. Protection of media sources of information as is the case in Mozambique.

They cited Article 30 (1) of the Constitution which states that the rights and freedoms provided for in the constitution shall not be exercised by a person in a manner that causes interference with or curtailment of the rights and freedoms of other persons or of the public interest. They also cited Article 30 (2) which states that provisions contained in the Constitution which set out the basic human rights, freedoms and duties, do not invalidate any existing legislation or prohibit the enactment of any legislation or the doing of any lawful act in accordance with such legislation for the purpose of:

i. Ensuring that the rights and freedoms of other people or of the interests of the public are not prejudiced by the wrongful exercise of the freedoms and rights of individuals;

ii. Ensuring the defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, rural and urban development planning …;

iii. Protecting the reputation, rights and freedoms of others or the privacy of persons involved in any court proceedings, prohibiting the disclosure of confidential information, or safeguarding the dignity, authority and independence of courts;

iv. Enabling any other thing to be done which promotes, or preserves the national interests in general.

The stakeholders argued that phrases such as: “In the public interest”, were vague and did not have a single interpretation that meets international standards. They pointed out in cases where consequences of restrictions outweighed the benefits of freedoms then automatically the provisions would be said to fall below international standards.

One of the key proposals that the stakeholders suggested to be made to the constitution was the removal of the claw back clause from Article 18. The second proposal was an additional provision under Article 18 (3) which should provide for press freedom. It states:
There shall be no restrictions in the establishment of private media institutions, and specifically, there shall be no law that requires any person to acquire a license as a condition for establishing a newspaper, magazine or any media outlet.

The stakeholders also proposed that an additional provision should be added in the constitution to guarantee the right of citizens to access information. They proposed that a law, Freedom of Information Act, be enacted to provide for the right to citizen’s access to government information. The suggested another provision, Article 18 (4) which states:

…Every citizen has the right to access information held by government or its agency, except when the exposure of such information poses a threat to national security of an individual’s privacy.

The stakeholders also noted that the Newspaper Act was inherited from colonial governments and was therefore not in harmony with democratic values. They therefore proposed that this law be repealed.

Another law that the stakeholders found highly lacking in democratic values was the National Security Act30. The law, the stakeholders observed, gives the state unnecessary powers to determine what information should be accessed by members of the public. The law prescribes what is referred to as “restricted area” which the President of the United Republic may declare whenever he deems fit to do so in public interest.

The stakeholders observed that the National Security Act was a continuation of the English Official Secrets Act of 1911 which was enacted at a time when Britain was under a threat of World War I. Since Tanzania was not at war, the stakeholders argued, the law was unconstitutional. They suggested that the law should be reviewed to ensure that draconian provisions are thrown out.

Another piece of legislation that the stakeholders found wanting was the Broadcasting Services Act31. They highlighted a number of restrictive provisions in the Act and suggested that it be replaced by another legislation which should consider the following:

30 Act No. 3 of 1970
31 Act No. 6 of 1993
i. Radio and television stations be established under company laws and that owners can go to the Broadcasting Commission to ask for frequencies;

ii. That programmes be prepared professionally and all stations set programming air time for civic education;

iii. That all radio and television stations be allowed to broadcast throughout the country;\(^{32}\)

iv. That there should be three modes of ownership: Public Service, private and community;

v. That there should be provisions to help promote indigenous capital in broadcasting;

Another piece of legislation that was attacked by stakeholders was the Films and Stage Plays Act of 1976. They argued that the law had been overtaken by issues as well as technology and should be repealed. Stakeholders also picked issue with the Criminal Procedure Act of 1945 which they said, had about ten provisions that muzzled press freedom. They therefore proposed a review of the law and removal of and decriminalization of some provisions.

Stakeholders also went for the Regional and Area Commissioners’ Act of 1962 which, they said, gave regional as well as district commissioners powers to order arrest of any person and the keeping of such a person in custody for 48 hours if they are in the opinion that such a person may cause breach of peace. Stakeholders noted that many citizens had been victims of this law, including journalists. They proposed that the law be repealed because it was against the values of a democratic society.

Leadership Ethics Act\(^{33}\) is another piece of legislation stakeholders found restrictive to media practitioners and a hitch to transparency and good governance. They proposed that the law be reviewed to include provisions that allow journalists or citizens to access information about the wealth of their leaders.

The stakeholders also found the Tanzania Revenue Authority Act restrictive to the workings of journalists. They noted that journalists carrying out investigative stories of tax evaders have met with snags created by this Act. They proposed that these provisions be removed to facilitate access to information of tax evaders.

\(^{32}\) The Broadcasting Services Act (No 6 of 1993) set restrictions on private radio and television stations not to broadcast beyond a third of the country.

\(^{33}\) Leadership Ethics Act (No 13 of 1995)
But Mbunda (2004: 1-27) makes a thorough critique of existing media legal and regulatory framework, in which he sees a dichotomy in the way the governments have treated the media sector since independence. He observes that the most fought for rights and freedoms during the struggle for independence in the country – freedom of speech and expression – turned out to be the most abused by invariably all subsequent governments after independence. He argues that lack of good laws and good governance which are the pillars of democracy are part of the reasons for the contradiction.

Mbunda argues that there are several basic essentials of journalism, which must be met, which jointly and/or severally make it possible for freedom of the press to be meaningful. First, he notes, there must be free access to information that gives journalists the right to seek, transmit or publish news and information unhindered. The author emphasises that this essential must be supported by an undertaking by the government to protect journalists from harassment, undue hostility, non-cooperation by news sources, and denial of facilities for news collection and transmission. In short, he adds, there must be good laws and good governance that are necessary to provide a friendly legal environment that allows journalists to operate without fear.

The second essential, Mbunda observes, journalists should have the right to express their findings freely without facts being tempered with or expert opinion being censored. Likewise, he adds, people must have the right to be informed since the right to hold opinion can only be realized if one is well informed about the subject one wants to take a view upon.

Third, Mbunda observes that confidentiality is a very closely guarded tenet of journalism. Confidentiality which means non-disclosure of one’s sources of information for protection is universally recognized ethically but not necessarily through the law. But he gives the rationale for confidentiality element as the need to protect sources to ensure more journalists continue to be trusted to be given information in confidence in future. His analysis and conclusion seems to have informed the stakeholders who reviewed laws that were a snag to the Constitution.

3.3.5 Media landscape
The new Information and Broadcasting Policy comes at a time when the media environment is totally different from what it was during one-party era. Today Tanzania boasts of varieties of media outlets under different modes of ownerships. There are also a number of media training institutions including universities which offer degree in Journalism, Mass Communication and
Public Relations and Advertising. During one-party era, the mainstream media sector had the following electronic as well as print outlets:

i. Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) which was owned by the government;

ii. Television Zanzibar (also owned by the Government of Zanzibar)


iv. Uhuru Publishers Ltd., publishers of Uhuru and Mzalendo newspapers which were (are) owned by the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM);

v. Mfanyakazi newspaper which was owned by Workers Union (JUWATA) which later changed into Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions (OTTU);

vi. Kiongozi newspaper which was published by the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania;

vii. There were also several sectoral publications which were basically informational as well as educational; they covered issues ranging from agriculture, animal husbandry, bee keeping, forestry, etc., and were aimed at grassroots readership.

It is interesting to note that no private or independent publication, radio or television station existed at the time even though there was no law explicitly banning their registration. The first private newspapers emerged mid 1980s after the government began to implement trade liberalization policies.

Currently there are over 400 registered newspapers and other publications in the country although not all of them are active. Kilimwiko (2006: 251) showed in his book chapter on media and democracy in Tanzania that there were 18 daily newspapers, 53 weeklies and over 40 others which were published on a regular basis. Kilimwiko further noted that there were 32 radio stations, and over 15 million radio set ownership in the country. The author showed that there were 650,000 television sets throughout the country in 1997. New media outlets keep emerging on the scene particularly during general elections. There are four major patterns of media ownership in Tanzania which are categorized as follows:

i. Public Media (in transition from state owned) which include; Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), which runs TBC television and radio channels; Tanzanian Standard newspapers, publishers of The Daily News, Sunday News and Habari Leo, a Kiswahili daily.
ii. Private Media: in this category there are five major media conglomerates which include; IPP Media, publisher of several newspapers and owner of television and radio stations; Habari Corporation, publishers of several newspapers; Sahara Communication, owner of a television and radio stations; Business Times Ltd., publishers of several newspapers and owner of a radio station; Global Publishers Ltd., publishers of several tabloid newspapers. In this category there are also several newspapers owned and published by individuals.

iii. Partisan Media: in this category there are news media that are owned by political parties, religious institutions and the like. These include Uhuru and Mzalendo (CCM), An-Nuur (Muslims), Mambo ya Nyakati (Christians), etc.

iv. Community Media: in this category we have a new wave of community media, mostly radio stations that serve geographical or community interests of listeners.

In terms of information technologies, Kilimwiko (2006: 252) quotes United Nations Human Development Report of 2001 stating that in every 1,000 Tanzanians 4 are connected to a telephone service; 13 own mobile phone handsets and 3 have access to the internet.

Towards the end of one-party state in 1990, the media sector employed about 230 journalists. Today the number of journalists throughout the country is said to be over 3,000 (Kilimwiko, 2006: 252). It is estimated that the media sector today employs over 10,000 people.  

For details of media landscape, see appendix.

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34 It may not be an easy task to establish the exact number of employees in the media sector given the fact that many do not get employed formerly
4. CONTEMPORARY MEDIA DEBATES

This chapter dwells on three key debates that have characterized development of media in Tanzania in recent years regarding (1) freedom of information, (2) peace and (3) good governance.

4.1 The Quest for Freedom of Information (FOI) Law in Tanzania

There has been an interesting debate on freedom of information following a revelation that the government was planning to send to Parliament for enactment a Freedom of Information Bill that sought to control the media and restrict access to information. The leading media organisations such as Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA-Tan), MCT, Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) and Media Owners Association (MOAT) formed a coalition to steer a public debate on the issue and seek public views with a view to improving on the government proposal. The coalition has so far completed its proposals for a new Bill and has forwarded it to the government.

Enacting a Freedom of Information Act in Africa has not been easy. This has resulted from totalitarian tradition of one party system the continent leaders adopted after independence as observed by Hameso (1995: 9):

For example, in a totalitarian, one party political regime, the convention is that dissent is not tolerated; that freedom of expression is repressed; that people scarcely have access to right kind of official information. This stands in stark contrast to adoption and professed commitment by many regimes to UN and OAU (AU) charters and tantalising phrases on human rights. In many instances, such phrases remain on official statute books that are often destined to gather dust on shelves while citizens scarcely know what their governments are doing and, more importantly, why?

Tanzania is at the threshold of enacting a Freedom of Information Act, commonly abbreviated as FOI. As the debate on the kind of FOI we need rages on over 60 countries around the globe have so far enacted the legislation, including South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana. Apart from fulfilling international obligations, the enactment of the FOI is in line with the imperative of running a democratic society in a more open, responsible and responsive manner. It empowers the citizenry to participate more usefully and effectively in decisions that affect their everyday
lives. It borrows its justification from the fact that any democratic government draws its legitimacy from the citizenry. In the last decade Tanzania has embarked on numerous reforms to ensure the laws and institutions in place are in harmony with the culture of a democratic society. One such reform process has been on the media sector.

As discussed in the chapter above, in 2003 the government released its new Information and Broadcasting Policy setting out the vision and strategies needed to build a more democratic society that is better placed to deal with its developmental challenges more effectively. The process of forming the policy was participatory and considered the views of key stakeholders. Furthermore the release of the policy was a forerunner to yet another significant process of reforming media laws and enacting a freedom of information legislation which would be in line with international conventions to which the country is a signatory. This process has been ongoing and, in not a small way, has resulted in a very important national debate about the kind of Freedom of Information Act Tanzania needs. This has been a very healthy and important debate. Indeed, the fact that the government was able to see wisdom in convening a stakeholders’ workshop to deliberate on the kind of FOI we needed was itself indicative of a participatory democratic culture that has, for quite sometime, been lacking in media sector reforms.

4.1.1 Background to quest for FOI in Africa

It is imperative to link the rationale of enacting a FOI today to the history of Africa, and how the continent has been fairing in freedom of information issues. Shuttered by years of colonial repression, freedom of information was to continue remaining in custody even with the new nationalist rulers of Africa who took over from colonial governors. Despite the fact that Africa’s nationalists had opposed colonialism, largely, due to its malign, oppressive, and exploitative nature, the independence governments did very little to implement principles of good governance. The democratic models that came with independence showed obvious lack of strong foundations for open, disciplined and enlightened political discourse and governance (Amonoo et al.: 2003: 19). In one country after another, violent opposition met with high handed government security machinery that by 1966, authoritarian and single party regimes had replaced democratic systems of governance in more than half of all the independent states. The cold war aggravated the trend by providing the despots with a source of legitimacy from either East or West. Up to the 1980s less than 10% of Africa’s 52 independent states retained at least the basic elements of liberal democracy, with the rest of the continent infested by corrupt autocrats presiding over crumbling economies and crisis ridden states (Meredith 2006: 2).
The radical political wave of change that started with the Eastern Block in the late 1980s swept across Africa, bringing with it pressure on all governments on the continent to reform. As Amonoo et al. (2003) have pointed out, good governance - defined essentially as an open, transparent and competent rule in accordance with the values, procedures and institutions of liberal democracy - was demanded by institutions and nations of various inclinations that hitherto sustained the corrupt and despotic rulers (ibid: 20) This was to coincide with the re-emergence of opposition groups which called for regime change either by force or through multiparty elections. Indeed, the pressure for change in political leadership and demand for good governance combined to bring about Africa’s second wave of democratisation efforts, with multiparty politics and competitive politics re-emerging across the continent. But surprisingly, as Amonoo et al. have noted, despotism had continued to plague Africa despite strong global support for democratisation. The authors note that the warning signs started to flash since the second half of 1990s, with a dozen cases of military coups, civil wars, rooted in power tussles or corruption, suppression of opposition groups, curbing of civil liberties, and bitter unrests after elections. The authors further argue that the situation is hardly surprising because much of what has been hailed as a new wave of democratic liberalisation has actually been merely electoralism. Electoralism, the authors observe, is the use of elections to lay claim to democratic legitimacy by a regime that is operationally undemocratic: Just a way of acquiring power with the cover of electoral process which may be neither free nor fair. Amonoo et al., argue that the practice is possible only because the social situation in Africa today is suitable for political manipulation rather than individual participation in the democratic process. In a real democracy, the voice of the people is heeded and their wishes prevail.

As the authors quoted above have argued, a meaningful democratic process requires greater mass participation and dedication, possible only through full awareness of the workings and activities of government, wider availability and access to government information. Hameso (1995: 156-164) observes that it is dismaying that until quite recently in contemporary Africa the manner in which silence has been maintained, the degree to which cynicism and feelings of resignation were allowed to prevail and subsequently apparent lack of productive debate as to what to do (the whole environment jammed by political censoring not only of ideas but also of institutions of ideas) gives room for despair. Hameso (1995: 160) describes the dilemma of the African citizen thus:
The borders of silence and a level of ignorance (that no amount of statistical indices could hope to capture) imposed on those people who are mind-cuffed to think, handcuffed to write, handicapped to move and overpowered not to recreate their social culture, is deeply disconcerting”.

Hameso argues that Africa lacks the will to transform those rights from words to deeds simply because it is still grappling with the problems of the system (or lack of it) of authority relations. It is the prevalence, in one way or another, of ineffective and unresponsive regimes having patrimonial, personal rule at the centre….the political culture inherited from the colonial states in much of Africa tended to be centralised, authoritarian, one-party rule devoid of room for choice and participation.

4.1.2 The Concept of Freedom of Information

The concept of freedom of information can not be adequately understood without summoning the history of human struggles to break away from excessive state and religious control of citizens’ ways of lives. The best case that elucidates these struggles is found in the history of Medieval Europe. Between 1680s and 1832, for instance, Britain was dominated by landed elite of aristocracy and gentry, which controlled parliament through its influence over a limited and corrupt franchise. In a predominantly rural economy of Britain, the elite exercised economic power as the principal landowners and provided leadership of the armed forces and Anglican Church. According to Curran (2002: 47) the emergent media system was integrated into this structure of elite male power. Although the press ceased to be licensed in 1696, it was still subjected to other controls, such as restrictive laws, patronage, rising press taxes, news management and ideological influence. Between 1760 and 1832 Britain had become the leading trading power and the first country to industrialise. Economic growth multiplied the number of people, with significant economic and cultural resources, who had been excluded from the formal political system (ibid: 48). The new class of empowered citizens developed spheres of opinion and organisations independent of aristocratic control, supported by new papers and periodicals which they owned or funded. These new media outlets posed a formidable opposition to the ancient regime. Indeed, the reform of the libel law in 1843 and the repeal of ‘taxes on knowledge’ in the period 1853–61 ushered in a relatively independent press which became free of the legal and economic control by the state.
Interestingly, the struggles of the controlled masses to attain more freedom in Britain did not leave behind the women, who had equally been subjected under both state and male domination. In the 1860s, a national women’s movement was established for the first time and became increasingly influential (ibid: 48). The rise of ‘social liberalism’ started to shake the foundations upon which the ruling elite operated. The growth of Irish nationalism led to the divorce with Britain in 1921. Growing numbers of unskilled and semiskilled workers were recruited into general trade unions, creating a new critical mass of organised workers. As Curran has noted, while new social forces were initially underrepresented by the media, the growth of minority socialist and feminist press in the early twentieth century was a precursor of the changes that followed. In a modern democracy, and with advanced information technology it does appear that nothing – not laws, not even guns – would stop the citizenry from demanding accountability from their rulers.

Nevertheless, it is still critically important to try and provide answers to the question: Why freedom? Why, for instance, did the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, come up with a long list of citizens’ freedoms and rights? History has one important lesson about freedom. Those who valued freedom were able to know. And once they got to know, they were able to use that knowledge to improve the standard of life and their preparedness in tackling disasters, both natural and man made. Despite enormous evidence available in today’s wealth of knowledge about the essence of freedom, many of us particularly in Africa continue to treat the concept as just another academic jargon. The word freedom is derived from the term ‘free’ which means, “…able to act at will, not under compulsion or restraint…not restricted or affected by…” The word ‘free’ is also associated with words such as: at liberty, liberated, independent, unconstrained, unfettered, unrestrained, unobstructed, unimpeded, unhampered, etc. Freedom, on the other hand, is associated with words such as: autonomy, deliverance, emancipation, ability, carte blanche, opportunity, power, licence, release, etc. (Markins 1999)

In history, as in today’s world, every individual or group of individuals, who sought to control others, did so apparently in pursuit of freedom and power. Whereas in controlling others the conquerors gained power, they denied their conquered subjects – ironically as well as themselves – the very freedom they thought could come with power. It was the struggles of the conquered subjects to gain back their freedom, which also brought freedom to their conquerors. As the case was in South Africa, when the White the minority in South Africa needed power, it sought to control the Black majority through a brutal Apartheid system. As a result, none of both the
minority White and the majority Black South Africans enjoyed freedom for decades. When the majority South Africans succeeded in their protracted struggle for freedom, they also – by extension – liberated the White minority. It was not surprising therefore that on the eve of South Africa’s true independence, after the release of Nelson Mandela, White South Africans were among motorists who celebrated in the streets, cheering and hooting melodiously and singing: “Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.”

It is also evident that the period that aristocrats and the church controlled almost all of Europe, the continent continued to wallow in the mud of poverty - because both the conquerors and the conquered were locked up in the prison of ignorance. The 16th century struggles were able to free the minds of innovative thinkers which, in turn, generated knowledge that produced machines which enabled mass circulation of information. This formed the basis of industrial revolution. There seem to be an undeniable and inseparable relationship between freedom and human innovation and development.

Information, on the other hand, is power. The right to freedom of information refers primarily to the right to access information held by a wide range of public bodies. It reflects the principle that public bodies do not hold information on their own behalf, but rather for the benefit of all members of the public. Individuals should therefore have the right to access this information, unless there is an overriding public interest reason for denying access. Mendel (1999)35 argues rightly that the right to freedom of information goes beyond the passive right to access documents upon request, and includes a second element, a positive obligation by States to publish and widely disseminate key categories of information of public interest. According to Mendel, another important aspect of the right to freedom of information is starting to emerge, namely the right to truth. It refers to the obligation of the state to ensure that people know the truth about serious incidents of human rights abuse and other traumatic social events, such as a major man made disasters or sickness. In such cases, he argues, it is not enough for public authorities simply to provide access to their files, or even to actively publish key documents they hold. It is incumbent on the State to ensure that the matter is fully investigated and that the results of that investigation are made public. The most common means of doing this is through a truth commission although numerous other means are also available, including commissions of inquiry. Hameso (1995: 158) says freedom of information is not esoteric reference, ‘broadly speaking, it includes the right to access information and the right to free expression of opinions,

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35 Mendel is Law Programme Director with ARTICLE 19.
i.e., the right to freedom of speech and freedom to publish. He argues that although most discussions on freedom of information do focus on the question of access to government or official documents and information, there is need to emphasise the right of the people to be informed. “It ought to involve, in some recognizable way, the majority of African societies; meaning that in a situation where most people live in rural areas, issues of freedom of information, need to reflect this reality (ibid).

The concept of freedom of information laws, which facilitate the right to access information, has existed for more than 200 years. However, there is now a trend of freedom of information legislation all across the globe. In the last decade, numerous such laws have been passed, or are in the process of being enacted.

The history of freedom of information laws can be traced back to Sweden where, the notion was protected since 1766. Another country with a long history of freedom of information legislation is Colombia, whose 1888 Code of Political and Municipal Organization allowed individuals to request documents held by government agencies or in government archives. The USA passed a freedom of information law in 1967 which was followed by Australia, Canada and New Zealand, all in 1982. A large number of countries have passed freedom of information laws since then including: Hong Kong, the Philippines, South Korea and Thailand (Asia), Israel (Middle East), South Africa, Ghana Nigeria (Africa), Peru, The Autonomous Government of the City of Buenos Aires, Belize and Trinidad and Tobago (Americas), Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Slovakia, Russia, Ukraine and the United Kingdom (Europe).

A number of countries in all regions continue to prepare and enact FOI legislation. There is seemingly an unstoppable and significant global trend towards adopting freedom of information legislation (ibid).

4.1.3 Challenges for media in Tanzania

There are numerous challenges to media operations in Tanzania apart from the question of control. The costs of running newspaper business in Tanzania are quite high and sometimes very unpredictable, especially when a newspaper relies entirely on adverts for survival. As noted in Chapter Three, according to UNESCO’s standard of assessing media development, a country is deficient in press coverage if it produces less than 10 copies of daily newspapers for every 100 inhabitants. With an estimated readership of over 15 million, Tanzania can not boast of coming
even near to that figure (Rioba, 1995: 13). There is no newspaper that has a circulation of over 80,000 copies per issue. All range between 1,500 and 50,000 copies per issue. There is no newspaper that can boast of having all-round circulation in all the 26 administrative regions of the country. The costs of gathering, processing, printing and distributing newspapers threaten the survival of most newspapers. Transport and distribution network is a major factor hindering newspaper circulation throughout the country. Most newspapers are sold in urban areas and the unsold copies are returned to the publisher. The timeliest newspaper to a rural inhabitant may be last month’s news. Most of the articles are about what happens in urban areas. Little is covered about the periphery. However, few people in rural areas can afford to part with the precious 300/- shillings to buy a newspaper where there is radio signal.

4.1.4 Policy and legal status of FOI in Tanzania

Soon after he was elected to lead the United Republic of Tanzania in 1995, President Benjamin William Mkapa declared his leadership doctrine as *Truth and openness* (or transparency). The doctrine was received with mixed feeling among Tanzanians. Such a doctrine would have to take into consideration the fact that access to information, transparency and accountability went hand in hand. The doctrine holds that the more people have information the more they are equipped to demand for accountability from those in positions of authority and also the higher standards of responsibility placed on the discharge of public duties. In 2003 the government held a grand workshop at Bagamoyo to discuss how it could improve its communication with the publics. The workshop which was organised by the Directorate of Communication at the State House brought together permanent secretaries, senior members of the press and key stakeholders. While opening the workshop, President Mkapa underscored the relationship between effective government communication and citizens’ development. Two key challenges emerged at that workshop.

Firstly, it was a fact that the laws, regulations and standing orders still strongly disagreed with the President’s spirit to run an open and responsive government.

Secondly, it was evident that the civil service was still riddled with a mindset problem. The culture of secrecy was so much ingrained in the technocrats’ ways of doing things that it would probably take another generation to change it.

36 By ‘Communication’ President Mkapa emphasized the significance of two-way flow of information as opposed to the traditional one-way flow of information.
Nevertheless, the government has, so far, established communication units within its ministries and departments. Although the communication units have begun improving the way the government communicates, the existence of many restrictive laws in the statutes books hamper people’s access to information. And this denies the people of Tanzania their constitutional right to access government information. Again it is clear that even much of the disagreements that happened between the government and stakeholders during discussions on the proposed bill on Freedom of Information, were the results of a serious failure, on the part of the government, to interpret properly the current Information and Broadcasting Policy.37

As a member of the United Nations, Tanzania also subscribe to the principles of human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Article 19 of the convention provides that:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The Constitution

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) also guarantees freedom of opinion and expression under Article 18 which provides that:38

Every person:

(a) has the right to freedom of opinion and expression;
(b) has the right to seek, receive and impart information through any media and regardless of frontiers;
(c) has the freedom to communicate and the right to do so without interference; and;
(d) has the right to be informed at all times of various events of importance to the lives and activities of the people and also of issues of importance to society.

37 The new Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 is a product of long consultations between the government and stakeholders. The new policy was meant to replace the 1993 policy
38 Before it was amended in 2005, Article 18 (1) had a claw back clause, “Subject to the laws of the land”, which had subjected the right to freedom of opinion, expression and information to other subordinate laws in the country. With the removal of the clause, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania now guarantees these rights.
Despite the amendment to the Constitution which marked a paradigm shift from the era of strict state control on media there are still other laws that contradict the essence of freedom of information and access to information. Below is a brief description of some of these legislations as obtained in the Information Department (MAELEZO) website.\(^3^9\)

**The Broadcasting Services Act, 1993**

The establishment and workings of the electronic media in Tanzania are governed and regulated by the Broadcasting Services Act\(^4^0\). The Act vide section 5 establishes the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission which under the provisions of Section 6, it is vested with both regulatory and supervisory powers over all broadcasting activities in the country. The Commission is likewise vested with powers to issue license for broadcasting activities (Section 6 (1) (a)), and acquisition of such license for the undertaking of any broadcasting activity or business.

The Commission is also ‘responsible for the standardisation, 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…’ (S. 6 (1) (e)).

The regulatory authority over the electronic media is not confined to the Commission. Contained in the Act are several provisions that give the Minister responsible for information and broadcasting wide powers of control over the electronic media. In fact, the Minister even controls the Commission (S.5 (4), 8(2), 13 (2), 25 and 27). Such powers provided by the Act are similar to those provided in the Newspaper Act, 1976.

**Newspapers Act, 1976**

The principal law governing the establishment and operation of the print media in Tanzania is the Newspapers Act\(^4^1\) read together with the Newspaper Regulations, 1977. The Act requires that each and every newspaper to be established be duly registered with the Registrar of Newspapers (S. 6). Likewise a publisher of a newspaper has to execute and register in the office of Registrar a bond as prescribed and required by the Minister (S. 13).

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\(^3^9\) [www.tanzania.go.tz/maelezo](http://www.tanzania.go.tz/maelezo)  
\(^4^0\) Act No 6 of 1993  
\(^4^1\) Act No. 16 of 1976
The Act makes it an offence punishable by fine and/or imprisonment to print or publish or cause to be printed and published any newspaper that is unregistered (S.12) or so done without a bond (S.17). Under the provisions of S. 22 the police are empowered to seize newspapers or any publication so defined and search premises suspected of printing /publishing a newspaper contrary to the Act and the regulations thereof.

Under S.25 the Minister may prohibit publication of any newspaper if he/she is of the ‘opinion that it is in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order’ to do so. The President, under S. 27, can ban importation of any publication.

Also controlling the media is The Law of Sedition. This is contained in sections 31 to 35 of the Newspapers Act that makes it an offence to incite people to disaffection or to raise discontent against the State. Furthermore this law allows easy conviction of an accused person by stipulating that to establish a seditious intention; every person shall be deemed to intend the consequences, which would naturally follow from his conduct.

The Newspapers Act also contains provisions on The Law of Defamation (Sections 38 to 47). It prohibits publication of defamatory matter against a person. The law also provides for redress to victims of defamation. The law essentially relates or covers natural persons as opposed to institutions like the government or corporations.

**The National Security Act, 1970**

This is another piece of legislation, which in some ways also controls the workings of the media. S. 4 of the Act comes close to prohibiting release or flow of information from not only government offices, but also from any official deemed to hold public office. Breach of the provisions of S. 4 as well as those of S. 5 which protect classified information would attract up to 20 years imprisonment upon conviction.

**Legal Protection of Sources**

Unlike the case of advocates and witnesses in legal proceedings, there is no privilege whatsoever available to protect journalists from disclosing their sources of information if required to do so by a court. Under the law as it stands now, journalists can be imprisoned for contempt of court should one refuse to disclose his/her sources.
Non-Statutory Regulation of the Media

The Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) is the main non-statutory regulatory body of the media, whether electronic or print. The Council is a non-governmental, independent and voluntary organisation formed with the initiative of media practitioners to “oversee that journalists, editors, broadcasters, producers, directors and all those involved in the media industry in Tanzania adhere to highest professional and ethical standards.” The Council is therefore a kind of self-regulatory mechanism for the media.

Generally speaking, the Council exercises its regulatory function through its Ethics Committee, which constitutes an autonomous Adjudication Board of the Council. The Committee is vested with authority to hear complaints of infringement of the Code of Ethics of the Media, and settle matters amicably or reconcile parties. In appropriate cases, the committee can order publication of an apology or token payment of damages and costs.

Freedom of Information Act for Tanzania

We have discussed why we believe freedom of information is important and necessary for a democracy to function properly and for people to achieve sustainable development. As Hameso (1995: 157-161) has put it, information has always been the basis for knowledge and power and that in the same vein lack of information contributes to knowledge deficiency thus leading to powerlessness. Hameso contends that freedom of information implies a form of empowerment, or better still, it signifies freedom from ignorance, from servitude and ultimately freedom to choose. An informed person, the author observes, is an empowered person. For freedom of information to be ensured in Tanzania, it requires, inter alia;

i. Open and accountable government;
ii. Healthy mass media, and;
iii. Informed, responsive public.

4.1.5 Principles of FOI

In his detailed publication, Mendel describes what should be expected of a Freedom of Information Act. He says the specific content of the right to freedom of information has been elaborated by a number of authoritative sources, including the detailed statements of the UN

42 See www.juridicas.unam.mx/publication
Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, as well as the draft Recommendation of the Council of Europe. The content can also be derived from the Aarhus Convention, and the many national laws on freedom of information. As would be expected, freedom of information Act is supposed to free government information from “the prison of information”. The document is supposed to provide for freedom to access information as a norm and limitations as exceptions. But as Mendel has pointed out, the exceptions are often the most controversial aspect of a freedom of information law or policy and an excessively broad or subjective exceptions regime can fundamentally undermine an otherwise good law.

The famous Article 19 has set out the international standards and best practice on freedom of information legislation in *The Public’s Right to Know: Principles on Freedom of Expression Legislation*. These are standards that were endorsed by the UN Special Rapporteur in the 2000 Annual Report. On May, 1999, Law Ministers from the Commonwealth meeting in Trinidad and Tobago also endorsed the principles. The Special Rapporteur has also endorsed them, describing them as “the fundamental basis and criteria to secure effective access to information”. The *Principles* may be summarised as follows:

**Principle 1: Maximum Disclosure** - Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation should be guided by the principle of maximum disclosure, which involves a presumption that all information held by public bodies is subject to disclosure and that exceptions apply only in very limited circumstances. Exercising the right to access information should not require undue effort and the onus should be on the public authority to justify any denials.

**Principle 2: Obligation to Publish** - Freedom of information requires public bodies to do more than accede to requests for information. They must also actively publish and disseminate key categories of information of significant public interest. This obligation covers information about the public body, including operational information, finances, information on complaints, procedures for public input and any decisions affecting the public.

**Principle 3: Promotion of Open Government** - FOI legislation needs to make provision for informing the public about their access rights and promoting a culture of openness within the government. At a minimum, the law should make provisions for public education and dissemination of information regarding the right to access information, the scope of information available and the manner in which rights can be exercised. In addition, to overcome the culture of secrecy in
government, the law should require training for public employees and encourage the adoption of internal codes on access and openness.

**Principle 4: Limited Scope of Exceptions** - Requests for information should be met unless the public body shows that the information falls within a narrow category of exceptions. The exceptions regime should conform to the following three-part test:

i. The information must relate to a legitimate aim listed in the law;
ii. Disclosure must threaten substantial harm to that aim; and
iii. The harm must be greater than the public interest in disclosure.

**Principle 5: Processes to Facilitate Access** - All requests for information should be processed quickly and fairly by individuals within the public bodies responsible for handling requests. In the case of denial, a procedure for appeal to an independent administrative body, and from there to the courts, should be established.

**Principle 6: Costs** - The cost of access to information should never be so high that it deters requests. Public interest requests should be subject to lower fees, while higher fees may be charged for commercial requests.

**Principle 7: Open Meetings** - FOI legislation should establish the presumption that all meetings of governing bodies are open to the public, so that the public is aware of what the authorities are doing and is able to participate in decision-making processes. Meetings may be closed, but only where this can be justified and adequate reasons are provided. To facilitate attendance, adequate notice of meetings should be provided.

**Principle 8: Disclosure Takes Precedence** - Other legislation should be interpreted in a manner that renders it consistent with the disclosure requirements of the FOI legislation. In particular, in case of a conflict between the FOI law and a secrecy law, the former should prevail.

**Principle 9: Protection for Whistleblowers** - FOI legislation should include provisions protecting individuals from legal, administrative or employment-related sanctions for releasing information on wrongdoing.

4.1.6 Conclusion

This part starts with an analysis of the situation in Africa. This is done for reasons that the talk about freedom of Information Act has not emerged from nowhere. It is born out of the realities
characterising the African situation. Although independent Africa is now almost half a Century old, the continent continues to demonstrate the oddest of behaviours, save for a few improvements as noted earlier. African governments have relegated the best values and practices to the continent’s own peril. Slowly, it has begun calling out for help from the very colonialists the nationalists waged wars to defeat. Meanwhile the gap between the rulers and the ruled is widening in unimaginable proportions. Education standards are falling; agriculture has been neglected; health services are crumbling down; justice has become a commodity sold to the highest bidder; media are controlled; the roads are impassable, majority of citizens have to walk miles and miles to meet their basic daily needs as their rulers enjoy the most luxurious of lifestyles. There are countries that are said to be doing very well in terms of economic growth in recent years, Tanzania inclusive. But until the values of democracy are fully made part of good governance; numerous efforts made by the government and the private sector to alleviate poverty such as MKUKUTA, MKURABITA, MKUZA, NACSAP, etc will remain elusive. Freedom of Information Act is one effective way of empowering the people of Tanzania to participate more effectively in the way they are governed. Tanzanians therefore expect a FOI which releases information from prison; sets minimum - only necessary and justifiable restrictions - to ensure transparency and the citizens’ enjoyment of the constitutional right to freedom of information. To make this law effective, a number of laws would have to be repealed or amended as already suggested by Justice Francis Nyalali’s Commission.

4.2 Media in Promoting Peace

This part examines the roles of the media as an agent of change and promoter of peace in general. It touches on some theoretical conceptions on the role of the media in society as well as reviews the situation in Tanzania to see the extent to which the same serves – or does otherwise - as an agent of change and promoter of peace.

This part also gives a general overview of the media professionals and journalistic practices in the country with a view to assessing the extent to which these have acted as agents of change and promoters of peace. But first it is important to define the key terms and concepts that constitute the major theme of this paper to facilitate a contextual understanding of the analysis being made.
4.2.1 Defining concepts

Peace

Is peace the absence of war or conflicts? This is a question that has been at the centre of contentious debates by scholars in the field. According to Combined Dictionary & Thesaurus (1999) peace is defined as freedom from war; harmony; quietness of mind; calm; repose; free from war, tumult. In the Thesaurus side, peace is associated with the following words: accord; agreement; amity; concord; cessation of hostilities; conciliation; tranquillity; etc. Peace is therefore a situation whereby tranquillity and concord are attained despite a myriad of differences and conflicts that may threaten harmonious existence within the individual or in a larger society.

Conflict

A Conflict is a dispute between parties on specific issues. It refers to differences in outlook, opinion and values on specific issues. The issues themselves can be cultural, social, political or economic. Conflict happens at various levels, ranging from individual, community, national to international levels. Conflicts occurring at national level are referred to as intra-state conflicts while those involving more than one country are known as inter-state conflicts.

Media

Mass Media\(^{43}\) refers to such conventional informational channels as newspapers, radio, cinema, television, and the internet. There are several other channels such as posters, caps, stickers, drama, etc. In this paper, however, by media we shall mean mainstream newspapers, radio and television stations – which include all media owned privately but independently of specific, partisan interests. Partisan media are those under independent ownership, and have as their primary objectives, to promote and defend a certain line of thought and interests which may not necessarily reflect the will, opinions and aspirations of every person in the United Republic. This may sound a tall order.

4.2.2 Mass media: Models and roles

Before assessing the roles of mass media in promoting peace it is imperative to make a brief assessment of the various theories and models that assign mass media, or media of public communication, certain roles and functions. To be able to understand the roles of the mass media in society it is imperative to study the various models applicable in different societies.

\(^{43}\) Media is also used interchangeable with the term ‘press’.
As Nordenstreng (2007) has pointed out the literature of journalism and mass communication has produced several media models other than the common extremes of libertarianism and authoritarianism or the social responsibility theory. Nordenstreng, for instance, gives a brief review of some models to be found in certain countries. In the United States, he notes, a synthesis of contemporary media models is presented in a new anthology;

The Press (Overhosler & Hall Jamieson 2005) presents mass media as: Market place of ideas; Agenda setter; Watchdog; Informing public; Mobilising citizen participation.

Another typology from the U.S., which also corresponds to the historical stages the press has gone through, is presented by Michael Schudson (1995) as: Advocacy; Market; Trustee

Nordenstreng also sums up a contemporary British list of media models presented in McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory (2005) as: Liberal-pluralist, Market; Social responsibility; Public interest; Professional; Alternative.

Another basic typology summed up by Nordenstreng which is typically found in Scandinavia is as follows: Information, Surveillance; Criticism, Participation; Forum, Open Access

There is also another recent clarification of Euro-American media systems by Hallin & Mancini (2004) with three overall models: Liberal; Democratic corporatist; Polarised pluralist.

Studying the roles of mass media from a theoretical perspective is necessary to enable us examine whether, and how, they can be utilised effectively in the promotion of peace and development in society. It is also important to point out that the media models mentioned above reflect the ideological, political, economic and technological advancements of the West and probably that their direct application to Africa may not be as effective as one would desire. Developing countries, on their part, are still entangled in the web of conflicting values and practices which, at times, render them apparently ‘valueless’. Even though developing countries have been forced to adopt multiparty democracy and free market economic policies, they are still politically and culturally slow to change. Nevertheless, it is commonly – and simplistically - held that the traditional roles of the mass media are to inform, educate, entertain and persuade. Many journalism students would outline these as the major roles – or even core functions – of the
media in society. McQuail sees the mass media’s significance as arising from its near universality of reach, great popularity and public character (Devereux, 2003). He argues that these features have profound consequences for the cultural life and political organisation of contemporary societies. McQuail (Devereux 2003: 267) further makes a significant conclusion that the texts may be a primary source of information and knowledge about the social world and most significantly about relationships of power. Media texts have a further potency in the way in which cultural and political differences are constructed and defined (ibid). This is particularly important in that it is through the way differences and identities are constructed and perpetuated that a society’s harmony and understanding get significantly challenged. Below is how McQuail (ibid) conceptualises mass media:

i. Mass media as means of communication between sender and receiver
ii. Mass media as industries or organisations
iii. Mass media texts as commodities produced by media industries
iv. Mass media texts as cultural products with social, cultural and political significance
v. Mass media as agents of social change and globalisation
vi. Mass media as agents of socialisation and powerful sources of social meaning

McQuail (ibid) thus sees mass media as important agents of transformation and social change. He argues that the mass media have played – and continue to play – an important part in the transformation of societies from being traditional to modern and from modern to post-modern. The author confirms the question we asked at the beginning of this paper on whether the mass media have the potential to promote peace and development.44

Probably a more important contribution in contemporary conceptualisation on the roles of the mass media comes from Nordenstreng et al. (forthcoming). The authors reflect on the relationship between normative theories and democracy, making free use of the notion of the media’s role in society. The media, argue Nordenstreng et al., sometimes refers to their own role in the sense of their purposes or the services they provide. In sociology, the authors note, the role concept is typically found in functionalist or social system theory, where it usually refers to some activity that has to be performed by some person or other unit of a system in order to ensure the proper working of that system as a whole.

44 The media’s ability to play the role of an agent of peace and development depends highly on whether the industry is equipped with the necessary requirements expected of it in a democracy
In expounding on the role of media in a democracy Nordenstreng et al. (forthcoming) take a leap from the conceptualisation of early theorists (e.g. Lasswell, 1948) whose three main social functions of communication expressed in terms of roles were: surveillance (providing information on the world); correlation (promoting social cohesion); and continuity (transmitting values and culture across generations). A fourth function of entertainment was added in 1959 by Charles Wright (1959).

Nordenstreng et al., make a summary of the main components in the range of ideas about media roles in society - and democratic politics in particular - as follows:

- Provision of information about events and their context;
- Provision of comments including guidance and advice in relation to events;
- Provision of a forum or access channels for diverse views and for political advocacy;
- Provision of a two-way channel between citizens and government;
- Acting as critic or watchdog in order to hold the government to account.

The authors contend that another dimension according to which media roles are typically differentiated draws a demarcation of media as observers of events from the media as participants in events. As such they coin the word dog to distinguish the different roles that the media plays in different societies. The authors further refer to common metaphors that characterize media roles as different kinds of dog: a watchdog controlling the power holders, a lapdog serving the master, and a guard dog, looking after vested interests”. The experience in Africa has been that of the two dog roles above, namely; the lapdog and the guard dog. It is due to the same, it can be argued, quite often the media has been associated with conflicts as was the case with Radio Mille Collines and Kangura newspaper in Rwanda during the genocide. The authors also take note of the Internet, in particular as having a bearing on a new or different formulation of roles, with particular reference to its massive capacity to carry information, its open access to senders and receivers and its interactive potential.

The authors further develop four general formulations that deal with what they believe to be the central issues today. The new formulations relate to the monitorial or provision of information, collaboration, or not, of media with authority; the transparency of society and flow of information within it; the facilitation of social and political processes, especially the democratic
system; and the critical or radical role for communications media that has to be fulfilled independently of vested interests and established institutions.

This new thinking in the role of media in society develops out of the complexities that characterize the operations of the today’s media rendering the industry vulnerable to manipulation. As such whether the media can effectively continue to play any effective role in ‘watering the roots of democracy’, as Merrill put it, would depend a great deal on the model under which the sector operates (Merrill, 2000).

Bogart (1995) argues that a sober look at how media work in today’s world suggests that they remain vulnerable to manipulation – by political authorities motivated by ideological zeal or crude self-interests, or by economic forces that limit their resources, their variety and their integrity. Theoretically, therefore, the media has and can play very important roles in promoting democracy and its ideals, including peace. Although there are Western scholars who find sections of the media irresponsible, they do not, in any way, seem to suggest that there should be some form of government control on the media.

4.2.3 Conflict situation in Africa

“We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form”. India’s Jawaharlal Nehru on Mahatama Gandhi’s contributions to the world.

Intra-state conflict has become a defining characteristic of the modern, post-Cold War world. According to Donna Kipps Africa has experienced more of this internal conflict probably more than any other continent in recent history. This has resulted in what Kipps has referred to as the trend towards “Afro-pessimism”. The view holds that Africa is doomed to remain in a state of ever-increasing conflict, making development and democratization impossible, at least in the short term. Kipps’ paper makes a significant contribution to this topic by pointing out the key sources of African conflicts. She cites Anyadike (1997) in which the author argued that in African

45 See Donna Kipp’s paper in www.journ.ru.ac.za/amd/conflict
conflict, the lines of confrontation were most often “drawn over issues of exclusion, identity, and the frustration of basic needs under conditions of under-development and the crumbling hold and legitimacy of an impoverished state.” Anyadike, (1997: 10) Anyadike points out that the conflicts in Africa arise as a result of a global economic system that keeps Africa locked into a cycle of poverty and domination, aggravating local conflicts over power and wealth. In their well acclaimed work, African Media and Conflict, Onadipe and Lord (1999) dwell deeper into the causes of Africa’s conflicts. They argue that all societies on all corners of the globe have had conflict. The authors note that Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa have all been the scene of tremendous human carnage and material destruction in this century but further point out that while many parts of the world have moved towards greater stability and political and economic co-operation, Africa and the territory of the former Soviet Union remain cauldrons of instability. Onadipe and Lord argue that the variety of possible conflicts in any society allows different perspectives and frameworks - political, economic, historical, social, cultural, and psychological - for defining and describing them. The fullest explanations, the authors note, also take into account the internal and external dynamics of conflict. They add that in recent years, those studying conflicts have paid increasing attention to multidisciplinary approaches to understanding and responding to a wide range of conflicts. According to the authors, one way of looking at Africa’s violent present and recent past is through the frameworks of identity, participation, distribution and legitimacy. They cite political scientist Stephen Stedman, as contending that these causes of conflict can be subdivided further into struggles for power, ethnicity, militarism, alienation of people, and deep-rooted historical, socio-economic and cultural elements.

Onadipe and Lord further observe that identity relates to how the individual sees himself in relation to socially, politically and territorially delineated groups. They identify three key areas that constitute the core causes of conflict which are; Participation, Distribution and Legitimacy. According to the authors, Participation denotes how well an individual considers his access to political and economic decision-making will result in beneficial policy changes; Distribution refers to the level of perceived fairness and justice in the sharing of resources, such as land, financial and educational opportunities, while Legitimacy refers to perceptions of the rightness of the rules governing political competition. The authors therefore conclude that these areas of conflict overlap and can often reinforce each other. For instance, identity conflicts can coincide with limits on political participation and uneven distribution of scarce resources, as can be observed in many conflicts in Africa.
The United Nations has also noted various economic causes of African conflict some of which include: “A hostile international economic environment and African vulnerability to the changes in external conditions (e.g. terms of trade), external debt burden, shift from a global economy based on the exploitation of natural resources (the base for most African economies) to one based on the exploitation of knowledge and information, declining national incomes accompanied by reduction in social spending, food insecurity, and increasing poverty and economic inequities, as well as poor economic performance Onadipe & Lord (1999).

The authors further enlist colonial legacy as a continuing source of conflict in many parts of Africa. The authors argue that with hundreds of ethnic and linguistic groups lumped together in 50-odd countries, the majority of their borders arbitrarily determined by colonial powers with little consideration for ethnic boundaries, state-building and the implantation of ideals of nationalism have proved difficult. Most importantly and candidly the authors see African politicians and military leaders as having often chosen to consolidate their own positions and those of their immediate supporters by manipulating communal and internal competition over the allocation of resources, religion, identity, territorial claims and political participation. The result has often been communal warfare. In many cases, colonial borders also cause tension by dividing ethnic groups, cutting through shared resources and hindering economic and social mobility. Another important contribution to the debate about Africa’s conflict is their analysis of leadership problems. The authors thus describe Africa’s leadership dilemma as follows: “For example, leadership in Africa is largely authoritarian and based on systems of economic and social patronage. Pluralism, transparency and participative decision-making are rare commodities within African nation-states. Without open and responsive policies that are seen to be fair by the majority within a state, those in power are the sole winners and the governed the losers. Irresponsible leaders cling to power or the trappings and benefits of their limited power and refuse to accept political defeat, alternance and peaceable competition”.

The authors further bring in psychological and biological perspective on conflict, aggression and violence. They cite an example from Francis Fukuyama, an American academic, who writes: “The

46 It is important to note that one of the leading casualties in this manipulation has often been the press. And this explains how the media in Rwanda fell in the wrong hands of the extremists in a period leading to the 1994 genocide which left over 800,000 Rwandan Tutsis and moderate Hutus dead. In Rwanda in 1994, 30 journalists were killed in the genocide, and 14 were specifically targeted as journalists.
47 Op. Cit
basic social problem that any society faces is to control the aggressive tendencies of its young men. In hunter-gatherer societies, the vast preponderance of violence is over sex, a situation that continues to characterise domestic violent crime in contemporary post-industrial societies. Older men in the community have generally been responsible for socialising younger ones by ritualising their aggression, often by directing it toward enemies outside the community... Channelling aggression outside the community may not lower societies overall rate of violence, but it at least offers them the possibility of domestic peace between wars.”

Widespread societal conflict in Africa is often played out against the backdrop of deep poverty, illiteracy and weak systems of governance. Undermined by unfavourable terms of trade and indebtedness, administrative failures to respond to social needs, underdeveloped infrastructure, low levels of education and widespread corruption, governments are hard pressed to also cope with ethnic, communal, religious and regional rivalries. But the most horrendous violence in recent times did not take place in a failing state. The Hutu-led regime in Rwanda can be seen as an example of a government and its supporters who retained a monopoly on the means of violence. Feeling under threat, it unleashed genocide against a large segment of the country’s population, while the international community largely ignored the ethnically-motivated carnage. This graphic description and discussion of the conflict situation in Africa serves to support the line of our argument that the role of the media can play in Africa to promote peace and development relies heavily on the model under which the industry operates. Below we glance at the situation of the media in Africa today.

4.2.4 The state of African media

The relationship between the government and the press (in Africa) has generally been characterized by tensions and conflicts. Where there appears to be no tension, the reason is that the press has either been cowed into submission or it has become an organ of the ruling party. Carver, the Africa Director of Article 19, the International Freedom of Expression organisation based in London, illustrates two of the constant tensions that media in Africa have to contend with in reporting on conflict and war. Carver highlights the “many situations where the press finds itself in trouble because of its attempts to expose the nature and causes of political violence”, and on the other hand, the situations in which the media finds itself being singled out for “disproportionate blame” when looking at the causes of political violence in a region, as in

48 Richard Carver, the Africa Director of Article 19, the international freedom of expression organisation based in London.
Rwanda (Carver 1996). In the first instance, Carver cites the example of the Kenyan press in trying to uncover the truth behind the political violence in the Kenyan rift valley. “This violence began at precisely the moment when Kenya became a multi-party state - reluctantly and under heavy donor pressure. Communities that had lived peacefully together since independence suddenly took up arms.” He continues: “There is no secret as to why. Reports from national and international human rights groups, from churches, even from a Kenyan parliamentary select committee, have all concluded that the violence was engineered by the government, using members of the President’s own ethnic group, the Kalenjin, to attack communities of Kikuyu, Luo and Luhya. The effect of this - and no doubt the intention - was to drive hundreds of thousands of people from their homes so that they could not vote in the 1992 elections, with 16 candidates for the ruling party, KANU, in the Rift Valley being elected unopposed”. 49 The state’s reaction to the Kenyan press uncovering the state involvement in the Rift Valley violence was to clamp down on press freedom, putting many media out of business. Carver notes that in 1993 the government declared some of the worst affected areas of violence “security zones where effectively the press could not travel”. By doing this, the author notes, the government ‘keeps journalists out [of the flashpoint areas] and stops them checking their stories properly; then punishes them for inaccurate reporting”50.

There are notable cases where media, in conflict situation, acted as inciters of violence, especially in the 1994 Rwandan crisis. Carver (1996) argues that the media is more often singled out for “disproportionate blame”, used as a scapegoat for the atrocities and rapidly escalating conflicts seen in many African nations. Carver asks very pertinent questions: do the media truly play such a pivotal role in inciting violence, and do they do so through intention or negligence, or because they are used as tools in a political power game? Are the media as responsible for escalating conflict and violence as they are made to seem, or are they used as a scapegoat by governments and external critics? The case study of Radio de Milles Collines (RTLM) in Rwanda in 1994 is frequently cited as an extreme example of the media's power to ferment violence in conflict situations. The station broadcast propaganda advocating violence against the Tutsi people, who were massacred on a large scale. Carver questions the assumption that the radio station played a leading and direct role in the genocide in Rwanda. This, the author argues, is largely explained by the everyday frustrations facing African media, aggravated by the tensions within the continent at large. In many cases, repression and control of media outlets has caused a defeatist attitude

49 ibid
50 ibid
among journalists and editors. Carver further argues that the most blatant cases of media exploitation and propaganda occur in situations such as Rwanda, where most media is under the control of the state or ruling elite. This implies that the problems of state ownership and control of media compromise the media, leading to the media becoming directly involved in the conflict and therefore unable to report objectively and constructively to aid conciliation. The historical, economic and structural constraints on the media outlined in this paper seem to trap the media into a position where they are either used as a mouthpiece or prevented from reporting.

4.2.5 Media and promotion of peace

There is no doubt, as Ray (2006: 9) has argued, that it is agreeable among members of the international community that peace is the only way to economic, social and cultural progress and the development of human character. It is not a coincidence then that the first stated purpose of the U.N. Charter reads, “To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace (Ray 2006).

UNESCO Declaration on media and peace (1978)

In 1978, the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) at its twentieth session in Paris, on 28 November 1978 came up with the Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights, and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. It is important to note that these provisions were meant to help extenuate the media’s role in a world that is vulnerable to conflicts most of which result from lack of understanding, tolerance or even sheer paranoia. The Declaration therefore elevated considerably the position of the media in the process of promoting world peace and understanding among rainbox peoples of the world.\footnote{\textsuperscript{51} The entire UNESCO declaration is attached as annex at the end of this paper}

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Expectations of Media in Conflict

According to Botes (1996) in the common-sense view of both journalists and media consumers the world over, conflict situations lead to expectations of certain similarities between the media and the third parties that traditionally aid in resolving conflicts, such as mediators or arbiters. Both begin by analyzing conflicts, finding out who is engaged in the conflict, what motivates them, what are the realities behind the dispute and what the conflict could probably and possibly lead to. Botes (1996) observes that the media therefore are placed in a similar position to such “conflict resolvers”, and have the power to influence conflict situations, as journalists in such situations do not necessarily just report the facts. Onadipe & Lord (1999) for instance emphasise the imperative of media being part of the solution to conflicts rather than otherwise. The media, the authors observe, may also give the parties involved in the conflict, or interested third parties, an opportunity to express their views freely or that they may ask questions that shed light on the situation, or suggest potential solutions. The media, the authors argue further, are expected to remain impartial and gather accurate and balanced facts in situations where the facts are unclear – where one side’s facts are the other’s propaganda - under pressurized deadlines and, often, physical danger (ibid).

In times of war in Africa, the authors argue, where opposing sides are often difficult to identify and few parties respect the neutrality of journalists, the media risk their lives to cover conflict. The dangers of being in a war zone – which include landmines, stray bullets – are also well known. In 1994 about 30 journalists were killed in the genocide in Rwanda, 14 of whom were specifically targeted as journalists (ibid). The expectations of media in conflict situations, therefore, seem to be almost impossibly high for the African media given pressures from involved parties exerted on the practitioners. As noted in the chapters above the transition to political pluralism has seen the media sensationalise or dramatise issues just to sell.
4.2.6 Possible sources of conflict in Tanzania

The following is a collection (or summary) of human rights problems that were reported in the media in 2006:52

- unlawful killings by security forces
- societal killings of elderly persons accused of being witches
- torture, beatings, and other abuses of persons, particularly detainees and prisoners, by security forces
- impunity
- harsh and life-threatening prison conditions
- arbitrary arrest and detention of opposition politicians, members, and supporters
- prolonged pre-trial detention
- infringement on citizens’ privacy rights
- restrictions on freedoms of speech and the press, particularly on Zanzibar
- restrictions on freedoms of assembly and association, including the forcible dispersion of demonstrators
- limits on the right of asylum and restrictions on refugees’ freedom of movement
- pervasive official corruption
- societal violence, including rape, and societal discrimination against women
- child abuse, including female genital mutilation (FGM)
- trafficking in persons
- child labour and forced labour

Before I conclude it is important to highlight the contribution the media can have in promoting peace and development. There are currently two schools of thoughts which continue to clash relentlessly over what the role of the media should be in peace building. The first one holds that the media must continue to remain an objective observer, informing the citizenry of whatever is happening whether good or bad. This school of thought holds that it would be upon the individuals who are the listeners, readers and viewers to make their opinions on such situations. The other school of thought holds that the media is also part of the society. And as such, the

school believes, the media must participate in peace building efforts because everyone, including media, gets affected whenever peace breaks. The school of thought further holds that holding to the “objective observer” dogma renders irrelevant all theories about the role of communication in fostering development. If there is any situation that encourages anyone - with the risk of travelling the mediocre path – to take the middle ground is a controversy, then this one sounds appealing. However, this is a topic that requires a separate study and discussions.

What any responsible media need to do is to play the role that would support and strengthen democracy. Any responsible media should give importance to such subject matters which inform the people of the socio-political context of the country with particular focus on peace issues, their contemporary problems and challenges. According to Sarup (2006) responsible media should inspire all to make opinions and decisions on development, human rights, in a society; serve improve knowledge and shape perceptions and attitudes about a variety of subjects, including influencing peace issues and behavior. It is imperative, she argues, for responsible media practitioners to develop a positive attitude towards peace process issues. It is important to point out that government's efforts alone are not sufficient in dealing with the multiple causes of conflict because, as Sarup has put it, it often is the party to a conflict. She argues further that responsible media is the whole complex of distinctive intellectual features that characterize a society or social group adding that it includes modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. The author rightly observes that we also can compare hidden parts of Media mainstream or traditional. Some kind of media, she says, may emphasise individualism and independence while another values collectivism and interdependence. When people from different views come together there is often misunderstanding and conflict. It is then imperative that the practitioners and society in general work towards encouraging a culture of tolerance of diversity. Responsible media should realise that people’s wishes and feelings are more important and hence assist civilian movements in framing and carrying out well-conceived strategies in setting the agenda for negotiations and resolution of conflicts. Sarup emphasizes that the role of the responsible media is still more crucial when politics and political leaders fail. She concludes that an active and responsible media is needed for leading the social movement because a strong responsible media is the foundation of democratic stable, peaceful and development and creation of a just and equitable society. The role of responsible media in

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53 Sarup, K., PhD scholar, has been published in World Security Network (WSN), World Press, Global Politician, Scoop Media, Bangladesh-web.com, Nepalnews.com, etc. She has also been invited to speak at a number of women conferences. She is also editor of Peacejournalism.com
creating a secure atmosphere is really needed by society. Sarup’s suggestion goes further to suggest that during on-going violent conflict the roles of responsible media are more circumscribed, and may include: providing necessary channels for dialogue in crisis situations; facilitating and mediating in conflict situations; mobilizing and uniting communities in support of peace; and providing essential social services and humanitarian support. Effective conflict prevention, however, requires the design of institutions and strategies that address the sources of conflict both before it initially erupts and once violence has been quelled. But more significantly the author points out that given the failure of the existing development paradigms, there is an urgent need for responsible media to formulate and promote alternative development strategies that are friendly toward both entrepreneurs and the environment, and are rooted in their realities and traditions.

4.2.7 Conclusion

As it has been noted throughout the paper, the media can play a significant role in promoting peace and development through responsible journalism. The media can promote the culture of tolerance while trying to provide truthful and reliable information to its public with the aim of creating understanding where there are differences and the potential for animosity.

But the media’s role can be grossly limited by a number of factors. One major factor is the model that informs its role in society. A lapdog or guard dog media can only do what any such dog would do. Another factor is the extent to which a country is prepared to be governed democratically, where the core principles of fairness, openness and participation determine the distribution of resources and dispensation of justice. In cases where human rights are abused, albeit by the state, peace has always been elusive. We have noted cases of unprofessional tendencies among media practitioners in Tanzania. But we have also noted a considerable improvement in media performance if we compare the current situation with, say, a decade ago. Suffice it to say, despite various cases of deviant practices among media practitioners, we still do not yet have sufficient proof to raise alarm that the Fourth Estate in Tanzania is behaving in ways that could disrupt peace. However, if Tanzanians were to fail, all of them as a nation, to critically address the human rights abuses mentioned in the report above – whether real or exaggerated – the country could end up in the abysmal black hole of endless conflicts like in other African countries, the media’s role notwithstanding.
In his publication Nordenstreng (2008: 76-77) makes suggestions of what can be done to strengthen the media’s role in building and sustaining peace. He argues that national (media) associations should sustain continuous debate among members on the values and practices of professional ethics – both in general and particularly with regards to peace. The author further suggest that professional associations should be effectively involved in monitoring and criticizing media performance and that they should be in the forefront of constructive criticism of the media. The author therefore adds a significant input about who should help strengthen the media’s role in sustaining peace. Nordenstreng points out clearly that national media associations as well as professional bodies should take a central role in promoting debate on best practices but also in monitoring media performance.

4.3 Media in Promoting Good Governance

Immediately after independence the first President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere conceptualised that for a nation to develop it needed four major factors, namely;

- Land,
- People,
- Good Policies and
- Good Leadership.

Today good governance has become the buzzword in all reforms taking place in Africa. As discussed in the previous chapters, Africa’s economic and other failures have been attributed to bad governance, particularly corruption. And as we have already noted, mass media can play an important role in promoting principles of democracy and helping to told bad governments to account on behalf of citizens.

4.3.1 Corruption in Tanzania

After independence Tanzania took bold steps to alleviate and curtail any forms of corruption with the aim of building a socialist country of men and women who valued equality, human dignity and concord. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 outlined national values and leadership qualities for those who were to seek political power. But with the unceremonious expiration of socialistic policies in the late 1980s Tanzania entered a new era of dramatic economic and political changes. It was since then that corruption begun to develop into some form of national culture. It will be recalled that corruption was made a central theme in the 1995 elections campaigns by some of the major political parties. As Chachage (1997: 13) noted, corruption was
made a big campaign issue because of the growing concern by the populace of incidents of irresponsibility and unaccountability which had become rampant in our country. Efforts to fight corruption after the 1995 elections culminated in the formation of a Commission, led by Judge J.S. Warioba, to probe into issues related to and sources of, corruption and how to deal with them. Indeed as Chachage (ibid: 14) noted, attempts to deal with corruption at the legal level could be traced back in 1958. Having realised that corruption was already taking roots in the country; the Legislative Council (LEGCO) passed the first legislation to address corruption which was known as Prevention of Corruption Ordinance. This Act was amended in 1970. The amendments, among other things empowered police officers authorized by the President or attorney General to require public officers to account for their properties. In section 7 (d) the amendments empowered the police to search any person if it was reasonably suspected that the person was in possession of property acquired through corrupt means. The Act above was repealed in 1971, and was replaced by the prevention of Corruption Act. The wording of most sections, including the definition of corruption almost remained the same as the repealed Act. But, as Chachage (ibid) has put it, the new Act added the flame in the fight against corruption by increasing the penalties, and empowering the Attorney General to prohibit transfer of property corruptly acquired.

This Act also provided institutional framework to enforce the law. The law, however, was amended in 1975 to allow the President to establish an Anti-Corruption Squad. The Squad was supposed to do the following:

i. Undertake measures to prevent corruption in public and private sectors;
ii. Investigate and prosecute (subject to the directions of the Director of Public Prosecution) for offences under the Act or offences on corruption in general;
iii. And advice the Government, the community, corporations and institutions on ways and means to prevent corruption.

By and large, the Squad was given the powers to search, arrest, detain, and seize property of those suspected to be involved in corruption, prosecute and investigate. With the amendments of this law in 1991, the squad changed into Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB).

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54 Cap (400)
55 It was amended by Act No 1/70
56 Act No. 16 of 1971
Chachage (ibid: 15) also notes that in 1959 the Governor of Tanganyika issued leadership rules which were prepared by the Colonial Office. These rules demanded that leaders should not be directors of commercial enterprises; should not be employed or in receipt of salaries from trade unions or cooperative unions; should not involve themselves in businesses which will interfere with their ministerial jobs; should not use secret information obtained within their positions for their own benefit or that of their friends; should not support any project/plan which they hope to benefit; should not use their positions to favour people where justice is required; should not take bribes; should not buy shares in companies; and, should not announce news or write books or articles in newspapers while still ministers.

Ethical guidelines for the conduct of civil servants were codified in the Civil Service Act\(^57\), which amended the previous one\(^58\) and Civil Service Regulations Act.\(^59\) It is evident that through these Acts, civil servants were supposed to serve the public efficiently and diligently. They were supposed to be politically impartial and transparent in their execution of duties while also sticking to values such as fairness, integrity, confidentiality and secrecy. The Civil Service Department was placed under the President’s office. Apart from the anticorruption legal framework, the Government, as far back as 1966, had introduced the Tanzanian Ombudsman Office under the Permanent Commission of Enquiry. This institution was created in response to the recommendations made by a Commission set up to investigate on ways to introduce a one party system in 1965. It proposed the formation of the Ombudsman to help prevent abuse of power by those in authority in the absence of opposition parties. It was created, as Chachage has noted, as an institution for both internal and external controls of self-restraint of public officials, with the express aim to safeguard the rights of the people against abuse of power, maladministration and arbitrary decisions. This institution is entrenched in the Constitution of the Union and the Zanzibar Constitution.

The Leadership Code Act\(^60\) was also introduced to add thrust to efforts by the government to instill a sense of values of good governance among public leaders. This Act was replaced in 1995 by the Public Leadership Code of Ethics Act.\(^61\) The Act aimed at ensuring that the government had a cadre of leaders who were honest, clean, impartial, transparent, and of highest integrity. The 1977 United Republic Constitution under clause 132 made provision for the creation of an

\(^{57}\) Act No. 16 of 1989  
^{58}\ Cap 509 of 1962  
^{59}\ Cap 509 of 1970  
^{60}\ Act No. 6 of 1973  
^{61}\ Act No. 13 of 1995
Ethics Secretariat of Public Leaders. The Secretariat was given authority to enquire into any alleged or suspected breach of the leadership code of ethics.

Parallel to all these efforts to strengthen the fight against corruption, the Controller and Auditor General was established in the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. This body is supposed to report to the President, who in turn sends reports to the National Assembly. Its functions are: examination, enquiry into and auditing of all accounts of public revenue. It ensures that the collection is in accordance with the law and the treasury regulations, and that government property are safeguarded and properly used. Other specific laws were enacted to deal, for instance, with political corruption, mainly in the form of elections. The Elections Act\(^{62}\) which was amended by another Act\(^{63}\) provided that corruption, bribery and treating or undue influence in relation to election were offences punishable by law. Yet, with all these efforts corruption has continued to pose such a formidable challenge to successive government that there are more reforms and amendment to the laws than genuine success in the fight against the vice.

4.3.2 Media under one-party and corruption

The socialist indoctrination of journalists in the 1970s and 1980s prepared a cadre of media practitioners who believed in the government initiated socialistic policies – which aimed at unifying people, promoting equality addressing the challenges of poverty diseases and ignorance.

Critics have argued that the government used the excuse of promoting unity, equality and implementing socialistic policies to gag the media and conceal information. As we noted earlier, Tegambwage (1990: 28) detailed examples of how the government denied or manipulated information in those years, the classic cases being the way information was manipulated about the killings of the workers in Kilombero in 1986; the fire that gutted the Bank of Tanzania in 1984; the killings in the gold mines in Nyarugusu (Geita) and the signing of the International Monetary Fund accord in 1986. It was in this context, as I noted earlier, that the rumour industry flourished in those years such that Tegambwage was able to collect 87 examples of politically related rumours over a period of 15 years from 1973 (ibid: 29). Journalism was characterized by too much self-censorship on the part of editors and journalists, because most of them tended to rely on political sanctioning which guaranteed some rewards in the form of promotion or other privileges. Lederbogen (1991:

\(^{62}\) Act No. 1 of 1985
\(^{63}\) Act No 20 of 1990
10) has noted how former President, Julius Nyerere often accused the journalists of censoring news themselves so as not to endanger their careers. But the reintroduction of political pluralism and economic liberalisation policies has altered the media terrain in fundamental ways.

4.3.3 Pluralistic media and corruption

It is important to try and point out examples of independent media’s role in the fight against corruption in Tanzania. As a way of example, the private media beginning the year 1989 subjected the government to serious scrutiny in ways never experienced before. As Chachage (op. cit: 7) has noted, with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) especially from 1986 it was becoming clear that contradictions of a class divided society had become sharper; and, that the dividing line between the rich and the poor was becoming greater. He observes that the media (independent media) which emerged from 1989 began to concentrate more on issues of abuse of power, corruption, embezzlement and fraud. These white collar and corporate crimes, argues the author, had become wide-ranging, from financial fraud and violation of trust, restraint of trade, misinterpretation in advertising, rebates, forgeries, to tax evasion, etc. It was media exposure of incidences of tax evasion and dubious tax exemptions that alerted the country donors who in turn threatened to withdraw their assistance if the government failed to act. The government was to admit that in 1994 alone tax evasion and tax exemptions amounted to 70 billion and 30 billion Tanzanian Shillings respectively (ibid).

Chachage further observes that alongside the cases cited above, other issues which began to appear in the media revealed that there was a growing evidence of forms of accumulation based on the plunder of Mother Nature (some of them ecologically irreversible) in wildlife products, forest products, marine products and mineral products. According to Chachage, a Member of Parliament once revealed that there had been 703 government scandals which were reported between 1990 and June 1994, to most of which the government had been unable to respond (Op. cit: 9). He cites the classic example of the scandals which were to be reported by the media as including the trip to Rio de Janeiro exposed by *Family Mirror* (1992), the joining of Organization of Islamic Organization (OIC) by the Zanzibar Government exposed by *Motomoto* (1992) and the granting secretly of Loliondo game reserve (Arusha) to an Arab hunting Sheik by *Mfanyakazi* (1993). The former case addressed the question of misuse of public funds and the hard-earned foreign exchange for private use by top leadership in the country during a trip to the Rio Summit. The second scandal was in relation to Zanzibar joining the OIC secretly contrary to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania which stipulates that Tanzania is a Secular State. And finally, the issue of Loliondo

---

64 Senkoro told a workshop in 1991 in Zanzibar that cases of fraud and embezzlement (those exceeding Tshs. 10m) reported in the newspapers from January 1989 to July 22nd, 1991 amounted to a total of Tshs. 6195.4m
65 Also see Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, (1990) in Chachage, Gibbon & Errickson, (1992)
concerned the issue of the government granting a lease over a 4,000 square kilometre land in Northern Tanzania to Brigadier Mohammed Adulrahim Al-Ally of United Arab Emirates for hunting purposes. 66

In recent years the independent media outlets have continued to expose government dealings smacking of corruption as well as direct corrupt practices. The most notable reports include the purchase of radar system from BAE in the United Kingdom; purchase of presidential jet at inflated prices; privatisation exercise in general and NBC in particular, IPTL power deal which continues to milk the tax payers, the NSSF’s scandalous purchase of hungers from Quality Group at outrageous prices; scam in which Tanzania’s Ambassador to Italy was alleged to have swindled the government of over 2 billion Tanzanian shillings in a deal to purchase embassy premises; Richmond power project which has led to the resignation of the Prime Minister, Edward Lowassa and two other cabinet ministers, Dr. Ibrahim Msabaha and Nazir Kalamagi. The media has also played an important role in exposing and enlightening the public on the scandal in which individuals that are highly connected to the government were involved in siphoning funds from the Bank of Tanzania’s External Debt Arrears Account (EPA). Currently, two former cabinet ministers, a former ambassador and a former Permanent Secretary are appearing before the court to answer allegations of misuse of power.

4.3.4 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have discussed the role of the media in a democracy, particularly in the promotion of democracy and good governance. I have tried to trace the problem of corruption in Tanzania from the colonial times to the present. I have also shown that during the one party rule, the press was not a better (neutral) institution to fight corruption because it was supposed to support the government in building Ujamaa and fighting the three enemies namely ignorance, diseases and poverty.

I have argued that it was until Tanzania returned to multiparty democracy that we saw the rebirth of a private and somehow independent media which began to play a crucial role in the fight against corruption.

It is however important to note that for any media to be able to fight corruption it must have the following qualities: First, it must be run by professionally qualified editors; second, it must be

66 Ibid
operated on newsroom principles; third, it must have journalists with unquestionable integrity; fourth, it must put the interests of the public ahead of all others; fifth, it must pay its journalists and other workers well and find ways of protecting them.
5. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

It has been noted in the previous chapters that although the country has embarked on political as well as economic reforms to embrace pluralistic democracy the government has consistently shown an insatiable desire to control the media. As such even after coming up with the first Information and Broadcasting Policy of 1993, following liberalization of economy and politics, still the government continued to use the same restrictive media laws that are a snag to press freedom and access to information.

On the other hand, there has been growing concerns – particularly after the liberalization of Tanzania’s economy and the advent of political pluralism – that ethical standards in journalism have been falling drastically. In the last ten years the Media Council of Tanzania, for instance, has noted common ethical transgressions that are committed by the media across the board. These include inaccuracy, biasness, invasion of privacy and the use of bad taste pictures.

Recently a heated reaction from the media and other stakeholders ensued when information about a draconian Bill on Freedom of Information proposed by the government leaked to the public. The justification the government gave for such a bill, which also proposed a statutory media standards board under the Ministry of Information, Culture and Sports, was that ethical standards in journalism had fallen beyond proportions. The minister responsible for information, Muhammed Seif Khatib, argued that the government had found it imperative to form a statutory body to protect the public from being harangued unfairly by the press. The main reason for falling ethical standards, according to the government, was lack of minimum entry qualifications for practicing journalists. As such, in its proposed Bill, the government sought to establish minimum entry qualifications for those wishing to practice journalism.

Unfortunately, not many studies have been carried out in this area to establish the extent to which ethical standards have fallen, or even otherwise, and what could be the causes for the same. In a survey carried out in the Lake Victoria Basin area in 2001, half of stakeholders who responded said the news in the media was less credible compared to ten years earlier (Rioba & Karashani, 2000: 5). Prominent news sources said they refused to give prompt interviews to local

67 Stakeholders included news sources in government and civil society organizations and journalists themselves
journalists for fear of distortions. The survey further found out that many journalists admitted to have failed to live up to ethical practice mainly due to the following reasons:

- Low education and (less or no) journalism training;
- Late and low payment;
- Lack of working tools and facilities; i.e., transport;

While such concerns are raised there has been a considerable increase in the number of journalism training institutions as well as graduates in the field; there have also been series of ethics training to journalists and editors both in-house and in workshops. In 2000, during general elections, an agreement was reached between media owners (and editors) and the Media Council of Tanzania that the media would observe journalism ethics in their reportage. Yet, as noted in the previous chapter, the coverage of elections left a lot to be desired. Increasingly, ethical standards in journalism continue to decline. This then suggests that there must be other factors that contribute to continued ethical transgressions, which can not be attributed only to lack of training or codes of ethics in newsrooms. Some of the other major factors mentioned often as contributing to unethical journalism practices include:

- Media ownership: key questions to be answered here include; what interests do media owners seek to pursue, promote or defend using their media outlets? Do owners allow professionalism to prevail or do they run their media outlets by proxy in ways that disregard ethics?
- Media policy: key questions to be answered include; what do the editorial policies in the various media outlets stipulate; what do they stand for, to what extent do they guide the workings of specific media outlets?
- Low pay and difficult working environment: key questions here include; to what extent do low salaries and late payments contribute to ethical failings by journalists? Likewise, to what extent does difficult working environment contribute to ethical failings?
- Conflict of interest: to what extent do journalists’ political inclinations contribute to their ethical transgressions? And to what extent do business interests interfere with journalists’ ethical decision making? In the same vein, to what extent do other social interests stand in the way of individual journalists’ professionalism?

In this survey, I chose to specifically approach individual journalists (including editors) to establish what they understood to be their professional roles in society as well as factors that
influence their ethical convictions. I sought responses to a number of questions which are attached to this study as annex.

5.1 Sample

I approached a sample of Tanzanian journalists by means of a simple questionnaire. Initially I distributed 20 questionnaires to journalists, who attended an Investigative Journalism Course in Dodoma, March, 2007. I received back 14. The group comprised of reporters from various corners of the country and they had attended a workshop organized by MISA-Tanzania and PACT, a development organization. With the responses from the 14 upcountry reporters, I modified slightly the question about income to help extract relevant and appropriate information from subsequent respondents.

5.1.1 Media houses

Given constraints of time and resources I distributed the questionnaires in five major media houses and one small newspaper in Dar es Salaam. The media houses picked were:

i. The Guardian Newspapers Ltd. (Privately owned and publishers of The Guardian, Nipashe, The Guardian on Sunday, Alasiri, Lete Raha, newspapers. Also sister company to ITV, Channel Five, Radio One and East Africa Radio)

ii. Habari Corporation Ltd. (publishers of Mtanzania, Rai, Dimba and The African newspapers)

iii. Mwananchi Communications Ltd. (publishers of Mwananchi, Spoti Leo, The Citizen and Sunday Citizen)

iv. Sahara Corporation Ltd. (owners of Star Television, Radio Free Africa and a publication)

v. Tanzania Standard Newspapers Ltd. (Government owned and publishers of The Daily News, Sunday News and Habari Leo)

vi. LadyBand Company Ltd. (publishers of Changamoto - a small privately owned newspaper)
I chose the media houses above for the following reasons.

- I wanted to focus on the major media houses. All the first five are major media houses in Tanzania whose populations of journalists could constitute a considerable sample representing Tanzanian journalists;

- I wanted to have a variety; i.e., print and broadcast media; private and government or partisan media; thus, the inclusion of Sahara communications Ltd, a broadcast media house and the Tanzania Standard Newspapers Ltd., a government owned media house;

- I considered media houses that were in the proximity of the researcher’s working station, where it was possible for him to walk in, talk to respondents and provide a spare questionnaire in cases where the first one had been misplaced.

In total I distributed about 110 questionnaires out of which 84 were supplied by the researcher himself in the newsrooms. The other 26 were distributed via an assistant. After I noted that there was a slow response to the questionnaires I had distributed earlier, I sent 50 more, some going to those who had misplaced the first questionnaire.

The table below shows the number of questionnaires distributed and those collected. It is important to note that there were cases where the respondents had filled in their questionnaires but were not available when the researcher went to collect them in the newsroom. On the other hand, some newsrooms seemed to be understaffed that the few journalists available were too busy and apparently unwillingness to fill in questionnaires. However, as the findings will indicate, the 50 questionnaires that I was able to collect from respondents have shown interesting and useful patterns that can help us draw some general conclusions.
Below is a chart describing the distribution of questionnaires to journalists in the six:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>MEDIA HOUSE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Guardian Ltd.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Distributed 15 but received only 6, despite follow-up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Habari Corporation Ltd.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Distributed over 12 but received only 2 despite follow-up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mwananchi Communications Ltd.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Distributed over 15 but received only 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sahara Communications Ltd.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Distributed 12 and received 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tanzania Standard Newspapers Ltd.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Distributed 15 and received 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ladyband Company Ltd.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Distributed 5 and received 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Distributed 20 and received 14,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>190</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td>15 more were distributed by a colleague</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the questionnaires, I provided for important variables such as age, sex, education qualifications and schools attended, experience, type of media and position held in media.

I wanted to see whether these indicators could have a bearing in journalists’ perceptions (or understanding) of their professional roles and their sources of ethical convictions. Another point worth noting in this study is the fact that respondents, 48 of them, filled in their actual names. This is significant in a number of ways; but most importantly, it, *ceteris paribus*, adds a degree of
seriousness and believability of responses, given the low level of importance many journalists attach to questionnaires in general.

5.1.2 Respondents

Sex and Age
Out of the 50 respondents in the survey 34 (68%) were male journalists while 16 (32%) were female. Seventy per cent of the respondents were aged between 26 and 35 followed by 16% of those aged between 36 and 45. Journalists aged 46 and above constituted 8% while those aged below 25 were only 6%.

Education
Majority (32%) of respondents was university graduates (degree or advanced diploma) and was followed closely by diploma holders (28%). Twenty two percent of respondents were holders of certificates in journalism while 8% and 2% were post graduates and secondary school leavers respectively.

Work position
Thirty four percent of respondents were Reporters who tallied with Senior Journalists with the same percentage. Junior Editors and Senior editors also tallied with 14% while the Post Editor category had 4%. (Post Editor category referred to those seasoned journalists who had risen to the post of editor and were now working in the newsroom as revise editors or training editors).

Salary levels
Majority (46%) of respondents earns 500,000/- or above. (In fact during discussions with some of the senior journalists they told me some of them earned over 1,500,000/- per month). Twenty seven percent of the respondents earn between 200,000/- and 500,000/- per month. Six percent of respondents earns between 100,000/- and 200,000/- per month while 2% earns between 60,000/- and 100,000/- per month. Eight percent of the respondents did not indicate their salaries.

Size of family dependants
Majority (34%) of respondents is single and without any dependants followed by 24% of respondents who indicated they have a family of four children or dependants. Twenty two percent of respondents has two children or dependants while 20% has six and above.
Employer

Majority of respondents (60%) indicated that they were employed by private media; 18% by the government newspaper while 22% did not indicate their employer.

Some reflections of the respondents’ background

Out of 50 respondents 34 (68%) were male journalists while 16 (32%) were female. This however does not necessarily reflect the percentage of gender imbalance that exists in the newsrooms. In recent years there has been a steady increase of females into the ranks of journalists though majority of them are confined to the newsrooms’ lower cadre. But a striking reality in the survey’s revelation that seventy percent of the respondents are indeed aged between 26 and 35 years. Journalism has attracted more young entrants to fill the vacuum being left by the seasoned journalists who either move up the ranks or get into Public Relations roles in the thriving private sector.

The issue of age is even reflected in the responses about the biggest dream where majority of those who indicated that they wanted to excel or be the best in the profession one day were young journalists. It can be argued that the older journalists already feel they are either successful at best or unfortunate at worst within the profession, which justifies why most of them said they wanted to become consultants or lecturers in journalism. However, there is a striking decline of seasoned journalists in the newsrooms who could probably act as mentors to the young and upcoming reporters. In the survey only 8% of respondents were aged above 46.

Again the survey found out that majority (32%) of respondents constituted university graduates (degree or advanced diploma) followed closely by diploma holders who constituted 28%. Nevertheless, much as the results of this survey may not be presenting all journalists’ education levels, it still cast an important light on the bigger picture.

Another important revelation by the survey was that majority (46%) of respondents earned 500,000/- or above. Some senior respondents while having informal discussions with this researcher said some of them earned over 1,500,000/- per month. This figure is on the high side for most employees in Tanzania. Over a quarter of the respondents earns between 200,000/- and

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68 Studies conducted by TAMWA, MISA and GenderLinks, civil society organizations in 2003 revealed that women were fewer than men in the newsrooms but that there had been a gradual increase of female journalists in recent years. The study also pointed out that women were still in the lower cadre in the newsroom when it came to holding positions of responsibility.
500,000/- per month while only six percent earns between 100,000/- and 200,000/- per month. In a country where the minimum wage is less than USD 50 per month the salary levels of the respondents may seem slightly better. However, journalists’ living standards are compounded by their difficult, albeit poor working and, living conditions. Most of the time journalists rely on their own means for travels between newsrooms and their homes or fieldwork. They too rely on their salaries for housing and for paying other bills including telephone calls. This, in a city like Dar es Salaam, is a tall order which explains why majority of respondents (27 responses) suggested salary increase as a remedy for their vulnerability to corruption and free lunches.

It is also poignant to note that although majority of respondents (34%) indicated they were single and without any dependants this does not seem to help in their savings. Most of those who indicated they were single are also young (between the ages of 26 – 35) whose daily needs in a country that is increasingly engulfing materialism are indeed enormous. This then explains why most of them still indicated that corruption and conflict of interests were major ethical challenges they faced in the course of their work. It is also evident from the survey that there were fewer journalists (20%), mostly seniors in terms of position and age, who had up to six or above children or dependants. As we have seen above senior journalists are paid relatively better which explains why their biggest ethical challenge was not low pay, as was the case with junior reporters, but ownership or government interference.

5.2 Presentation of Results
The survey contained two types of questions. Two questions provided options from which respondents chose the appropriate answers while others were open ended to allow for free expression of respondents’ views. In questions that provided options, interpretation of results is based on percentage of respondents who chose a particular option. In open ended questions, we grouped responses into several categories of similar viewpoints. In this case a respondent could typically be placed in more than one category for having mentioned more than one viewpoint. In this case, we counted the number of responses in each category to determine how many respondents shared similar viewpoints; and which viewpoints were shared by the majority.
The results below indicate the percentage that shared particular opinions with regards to questions asked. The questions have been summarized and arranged in the order below:

- Roles of the Media;
- Whether Media Plays its Roles Effectively;
- Factors Hindering Media
- Respondents’ Biggest Dream in life;
- Sources of Ethical Convictions;
- Biggest Ethical Challenge;
- What Should Be Done

**ROLES OF MEDIA**

Altogether 43.1% of responses cited informing public or creating awareness as the role the media has to play in promoting democracy, social change and development; 26.15% of responses described the role of media in promoting democracy, social change and development as that of mobilizing public, fostering public debate and providing a forum for public discussions; 26.15% of responses cited watchdog, critical and unearthing the truth as media’s role in promoting democracy, social change and development. 4.6% of responses also mentioned the importance of media being ethical in playing its roles.

Below is a chart showing categories under which similar roles of media have been grouped. Keys to coding (whereby R refers to “Role”) are outlined below the chart:
### Roles of the Media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Roles of the Media</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R1</td>
<td>The respondents mentioned education and awareness on issues of democracy and development as the role the media need to play to promote democracy and development</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>The respondents saw the media’s role as setting agenda, mobilizing public, providing forum for public debate and discussions on issues pertaining to democracy and development</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3</td>
<td>The respondents in this category cited watchdog role of media in exposing vices, telling (unearthing) the truth about wrongs to foster democracy and promote development</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4</td>
<td>The respondents in this category saw ethical practice as imperative for media to play their role more effectively</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**

R1  Informational Role: inform, create awareness, educate;
R2  Mobilization Role: set agenda, foster debate, provide forum for public discussion;
R3  Watchdog/critical Role: unearth the truth, criticize, and expose vices;
R4  Ethical Role: balance story, be fair

### Whether Media Plays Its Roles Effectively

On promoting democracy, social change and development, majority (66%) of respondents said the media in Tanzania played its role but not effectively. On the other hand 24% of respondents thought the media played its role effectively while 10% were of the view that the media played a very effective role.
Below is a chart showing the number of respondents in each option:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>WHETHER MEDIA PLAYS ITS ROLES EFFECTIVELY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>The media plays a very effective role</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>The Media plays an effective role</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>The media plays its role but not effectively</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FACTORS HINDERING MEDIA

Majority (29.8%) cited government, policies or legal regime as posing major hindrances to media and journalists in fulfilling their roles. 19.1% mentioned lack of education or knowledge on the roles of media as a hindrance and another 19.1% cited low pay, financial constraints and poor working conditions. 11.7% cited Media Owners while 10.5% mentioned Threats, Fear and Self Censorship. Nine responses cited corruption and lack of commitment on the part of journalists.

Below is a chart showing categories under which similar hindrances to media have been grouped. Keys to coding (whereby H refers to “Hindrances”) are outlined below the chart:
### FACTORS HINDERING MEDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>FACTORS HINDERING MEDIA</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONSES</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>Respondents cited government, policies, laws in general as being major hindrances</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>Respondents cited media owners as posing a hindrance to ethical practice.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>Respondents cited lack of education, knowledge on roles of media and ethics as snags to them in playing their roles more effectively.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>Respondents mentioned low pay, financial constraints, poor working conditions as hindrances to their work</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>Respondents cited corruption, lack of commitment on the part of journalists as being a hindrance to playing their roles effectively,</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6</td>
<td>Respondents mentioned threats, fear, self-censorship as being a hindrance to journalists fulfilling their roles</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**
- H1: Government, legal regime
- H2: Media owners
- H3: Lack of knowledge
- H4: Low payment
- H5: Corruption
- H6: Threats, fear, self-censorship

**BIGGEST DREAM IN LIFE**

Majority (41.7%) of respondents indicated that they would wish to excel in journalism; most of them gave statements such as: “I would like to be the best journalist in Africa”; “To be the top
journalist in the world”; “To be more respected journalist”; “to succeed professionally.” Respondents whose dream is to own a publication or even media house constituted 18.8%. They were followed by 14.6% of respondents who wished to be something else in life. Responses in this category included: “To be a consultant”; “To be an academician”; “To be a diplomat”, etc. 10.4% of respondents indicated that they wished to vie for an elective post in politics while 4.1% said their dream was to become authors.

Below is a chart showing categories under which similar dreams have been grouped. Keys to coding (whereby D refers to “Dream”) are outlined below the chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>BIGGEST DREAM IN LIFE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Respondents indicated that they wished to excel in journalism; or be the best in the profession</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>Respondents indicated that they wished to own a publication or media house one day</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3</td>
<td>Respondents indicated they wished to do something else other than journalism.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>Respondents indicated they wished to join active politics, get an elective post in government</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D5</td>
<td>The respondents described their dream as to become authors of books one day.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D6</td>
<td>OTHER (these are listed below)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**
- D1 To be successful/ best journalist
- D2 To be a publisher
- D3 To leave journalism, i.e, be academician, diplomat, consultant, etc.
- D4 To vie for elected office/become a politician
D5 To become a writer /author of books
D6 There were five distinct dreams which do not specifically fit into the categories above and thus are listed below:

i. To change the lives of thousands of people for the better,
ii. To be part of my country's effort in building democracy,
iii. To become Mwananchi Communication's managing Director,
iv. To make journalism a respectable profession by grooming young reporters in an ethical way,
v. To help bring about freedom of the press, good governance and economic prosperity,

**SOURCES OF ETHICAL CONVICTIONS**

In this category, respondents were given several sources of ethical convictions to indicate which ones influenced them most. The sources provided in the questionnaires were:

(a) Parents;
(b) Religion;
(c) Culture of ancestors;
(d) Education;
(e) Peers;
(f) Codes of Ethics;
(g) Training in Journalism Ethics;
(h) Other…………………………………

Some respondents did not indicate these sources by order of importance as requested. There are those who mentioned two, some mentioned three and others more than three. 16 respondents numbered their sources to indicate the importance of each; 3 respondents just put a tick against 5 sources; 3 respondents put ticks against 4 sources; 14 respondents put ticks against 3 sources; 7 respondents put a tick against one source. Of those who chose only one source; 4 respondents mentioned Codes of Ethics; 3 respondents picked training in Journalism Ethics and one chose education. Of those who indicated sources in order of importance; 4 put Parents as the number one source of ethical convictions; 4 respondents chose Education; 3 chose Training in Journalism Ethics; 2 chose Religion and one chose Codes of Ethics as their number of source of ethical convictions. For choice number two of sources of ethical convictions; 7 chose Codes of Ethics; 3
chose Education and the same number mentioned Religion; 2 mentioned Parents and one mentioned Training in Journalism Ethics.

Given the irregularity obtained in responses to the question above we decided to count how many times each source of ethical conviction was mentioned by each respondent. We used this to determine which sources were mentioned more than others. And given the fact that only 7 respondents made a choice of more than 4 sources, we thought by counting sources that were mentioned more than others we would arrive at a fairly general picture of what the respondents thought were their major sources of ethical convictions.

Training in Ethics as the major source of ethical convictions received majority of responses (19.7%) followed Education which was mentioned by 18.9%. Religion was third with 18.1% and was followed by Parents and Codes of Ethics with 15.7% each. Only 5.5% mentioned Culture of Ancestors as their source of ethical convictions while 4.7% indicated that peers influenced their ethical convictions. There were also 1.6% of respondents who said personal convictions were their major source of ethical values.

Below is a chart showing categories under which similar sources of ethical convictions have been grouped:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>SOURCES OF ETHICAL CONVICTIONS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONSES</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Culture of ancestors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Code of Ethics</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Training in Journalism Ethics</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Personal Convictions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BIGGEST ETHICAL CHALLENGE**

In this category we count the number of responses on particular challenges rather than the number of respondents. This was an open ended question and drew a number of similar challenges from various respondents. Most respondents (28%) indicated that corruption – owing to low pay and poor working conditions – was the biggest ethical challenge they faced. 20% mentioned ‘biasness’ or ‘telling the truth’ as being their major ethical challenge. 20% cited issues relating to conflict of interests which included self-censorship. 12% cited media owners as their biggest ethical headache. 6% said fear of government was a challenge and another 6% mentioned lack of knowledge on ethical issues. Two responses cited sexual harassment as the biggest ethical challenge in their work.
Below is a chart showing categories under which similar Ethical Challenges have been grouped. Keys to coding (whereby EC refers to “Ethical Challenges”) are outlined below the chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>BIGGEST ETHICAL CHALLENGES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONSES</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EC1</td>
<td>Respondents mentioned fear of government as a challenge to journalists trying to practice ethical journalism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC2</td>
<td>Respondents indicated that owners’ interests or pressure interfered with editorial independence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC3</td>
<td>Respondents cited pressures — other than media owners – which posed conflict of interest to them</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC4</td>
<td>Respondents indicated that due to low pay and lack of working facilities the major ethical challenge is bribery or a car ride by a source of news</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC5</td>
<td>Most respondents in this category just mentioned ‘Biasness’ without any explanation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC6</td>
<td>The respondents mentioned lack of knowledge and skills on ethical issues</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC7</td>
<td>Sexual harassment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC8</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**
- EC1 Fear of Government
- EC2 Interference by Media Owners
- EC3 Conflict of interest and (self) censorship
- EC4 Corruption
- EC5 Biasness

97
EC6 Lack of skills and knowledge
EC7 Sexual harassment
EC8 Other challenges mentioned by two respondents but could not fit into the categories above are:
   i. Going to take a photo without the subject’s knowledge,
   ii. Losing the confidence of your sources,

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE
On what should be done, 34.1% suggested salary increase and improvement of working conditions. 32% suggested education and further ethical training as remedial measures while 16.6% proposed enforcement ethics. 9% called for editorial independence and 7.7% proposed rewarding best practices.

Below is a chart showing categories under which similar Solutions have been grouped. Keys to coding (whereby S refers to “Solution”) are outlined below the chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>WHAT SHOULD BE DONE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONSES</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Respondents called for editorial independence from government or media owners</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Respondents suggested salary increase and improvement of working conditions</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>Respondents suggested enforcement of ethical practice in newsrooms. Some suggested establishment of Media Standards Board</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>Respondents suggested further education and regular ethics training to journalists</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5</td>
<td>Respondents suggested rewarding or recognizing good practices among best journalists</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key
S1 Enhance editorial independence,
S2 Improve salaries, working conditions,
S3 Enforce ethical practice,
S4 Educate and train journalists,
S5 Award best practices,

5.3 Discussion
On the Role of the Media in Promoting Democracy, Social Change and Development there were basically four categories of responses. The first, with most responses mentioned informing public or creating awareness as the media’s leading role. It can then be argued that most respondents understand, and regard, the informational role of the media as most crucial. Most of the responses in this category came almost from journalists of all levels, young and old, junior and senior. Almost half the number of responses above described the role of media as that of mobilizing public, fostering public debate and providing a forum for public discussions. The same number of responses cited watchdog, critical and unearthing the truth, as another important role of the media. Respondents in the two categories above were mostly senior journalists and more educated than the others. This is mainly due to the fact that older journalists have been, and are still, involved in this role more than the young ones.

Generally, it can be observed, the respondents seemed to have knowledge of what their roles are in promoting democracy, social change and development in Tanzania. Nordenstreng, K. et al., (forthcoming) review the roles of media in democracies to reflect a paradigm shift in the last few decades. In their new formulation, the media’s roles become; Monitorial (or informational) Role, Facilitation Role, Watchdog (or radical) Role and Collaborative Role. The respondents in the survey have too mentioned roles that relate to three above. On the question whether the media in Tanzania plays its role effectively, majority of respondents were pessimistic. Only less than a quarter of all respondents thought the media played its role effectively with one tenth saying the media played a very effective role. Interestingly there was a mixture of responses in this question with some most experienced respondents concurring with young and new entrants that the media played its role very effectively. However, it is poignant to point out that almost all of those who indicated that the media played a very effective role were working for media houses where they enjoyed a relatively higher level of editorial independence and their media outlets were more critical than others.

It is also important to note that most respondents from the government owned newspaper were of the view that the media played its role but not effectively. And judging by their suggestions -
on the question about what should be done to improve ethical performance - that there should be a media standards board one could easily conclude that they believed it was sections of the private media that did not play an effective role. Still almost half of them mentioned their employer’s policy as getting in the way of editorial independence. It is then convincingly evident that since almost all of them were graduates or diploma holders from reputable journalism institutions they were judging the media in general through the lens of what they learnt in journalism schools. The responses also confirmed the relevance of other factors we mentioned at the beginning of this paper as being a hindrance to the media’s role. Most responses cited government, policies or laws in followed by those who mentioned lack of education or knowledge on the roles of media as being a hindrance. Interestingly low pay, financial constraints and poor working conditions again came out clearly as a major hindrance to the media’s role.69 Interestingly, respondents do not rule out their own personal failures, such as timidity; self censorship and corruption as factors affecting the media in playing its roles more effectively. If these are the views of individual respondents then one question looms larger: What could be their hope or dream which gives them a sense of purpose and strength to overcome the challenges above?

In the survey we asked respondents about what their dreams in life were. It is understood that if individuals have a dream they wished to attain in life then it is likely they would live a purposeful life indicative of what they wished to achieve. Responses in this category were significant in that they cast an important light on the motivation that drove individual journalists in their current work. As would be expected, majority of respondents indicated that they wished to excel in journalism. Most of them gave statements such as: “I would like to become the best journalist in Africa”; “To be the top journalist in the world”; “To be more respected journalist”; “to succeed professionally.” Whether the way they practice journalism is in line with this dream is another intriguing affair. But the dream presupposes that the respondents would work hard to observe ethics which is an important element in any journalist who want to be great one day. Like the dream to excel in journalism, a dream to own a publication also imbues in an individual a feeling of purpose in life. And as such it also partly presupposes that the respondents do understand and believe in the roles the media is supposed to play in society and journalism’s abiding values in general. If this is the case then both respondents in the two categories above would naturally

69 These factors are also mentioned in the study carried out in 2001 which we have cited in this paper
work hard to defend and reflect the values that guide journalism. Frost (2000) tries to link excellence in journalism and professional values by asserting thus:

However, if one were to define a *good* journalist as 'someone who gathers, in a morally justifiable way, topical, truthful, factually-based information of interest to the readers or viewers and then publishes it in a timely and accurate manner to a mass audience,' many would accept this as a reasonable description.

But quickly, Frost makes a reminder based on realities of journalism practice on the ground:

However, all too often, journalism falls far short of this ideal. Nor is this a description that would be used by all journalists to describe excellence in the profession.

And that is probably what may not be clear in this survey: Did all the respondents, who said they wanted to become the best, have the same criteria in mind of how to measure excellence? This is a question that begs a bigger debate than could be accommodated here.

It was also interesting to note that a considerable number of respondents wished to be something else in life. The responses in this category included declarations such as: “to be a consultant”; “to be an academician”; “to be a diplomat”, etc. Most of the respondents in this category were old timers who probably believed their time for active journalism was almost up. There has also been a trend in Tanzania where seasoned journalists are moving into Public Relations consultancy or doing other things. But there were also a fraction of respondents who were still young, but who thought they wished to move on to academic or diplomacy. Part of the explanation could be that they are looking for better career prospects outside journalism. In other words journalism to them does not seem to offer the kind of career satisfaction they wished to get in life. One quick reason for this is provided in the respondents concern about low pay and poor working conditions. It is hard to tell how respondents in this category regard journalism today and whether they subscribe to the roles of the media or even abide – religiously – to principles of journalism ethics.

An interesting scenario is found in a tenth of the respondents who indicated that they wished to vie for an elective post in politics. After the coming to power of the Fourth Phase Government
more and more journalists are increasingly showing interest in joining active politics. More journalists are declaring openly their desire to vie for political positions in the ruling party while they continue to operate from the newsrooms. How much this affects their journalism ethical behaviour on partisan issues is a matter that is currently provoking debate. Two respondents said their dream was to become authors of books one of whom is a gifted writer and a stringer based in Arusha. Another one is a young columnist of reputable professional abilities working with the government newspaper, *The Daily News*. A dream to become an author, it can be argued, is indicative of a natural desire for any writer in journalism. In principle, it can be argued that majority of respondents indicated that their dream was to move up but within the writing profession while a few indicated a desire to quit.

To what extent these dreams influence ethical behaviour of individual respondents is of very significant concern. Ordinarily ethical principles and values are ingrained in people through various processes from the time they are very young (Rioba & Karashani, 2000). In the survey we also asked respondents what their major sources of ethical convictions were. Results indicate that most respondents chose Training in Journalism Ethics as their major (or important) source of ethical convictions. This then concurs with our observation at the beginning of this paper where we alluded to the fact that there have been many training courses in journalism ethics as well as an increase in the number of journalism graduates yet concerns were surging about the falling of ethical standards in journalism. As we noted above, about 68% of respondents were either university graduates or holders of a two year diploma in journalism. This figure highly concurs with another study carried out by the University of Dar es Salaam’s Economic Research Bureau (ERB) in 2005/6 to establish market demands for journalism profession in Tanzania. The survey also found out that there were more than 70% graduate and diploma holding journalists in the newsrooms. The survey further established that more than half of newsroom employees working as reporters were either degree or diploma holders. This fact conflicts sharply with claims that ethical standards were falling because media houses were hiring uneducated hacks. In fact, even respondents who hold certificates in journalism have indicated that their source of ethics is training in journalism ethics or code of ethics.

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70 In the last General Elections there were three Members of Parliament who had journalism background. One of them, a young MP who was a broadcaster before, passed away last month.

71 In various workshops that bring journalists together and in other avenues a debate keeps resurfacing on whether journalists should be actively involved in partisan politics or seek elective posts when they are still working in newsrooms.
Below are findings from the ERB Survey (2005/6) on profile of journalists (186 respondents) by education:

**Journalists by training and qualifications**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certificate in Journalism</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary Diploma in Journalism</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Diploma in Journalism</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree in Mass Communication</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters in Mass communication</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal training</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other degrees</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Diploma in Journalism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Diploma e.g in information, computer, etc.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>99.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam*

The statistics above simply help to establish that over 70% of journalists in Tanzania today are holders of university degrees, or diplomas.

**Qualifications of journalists currently working as reporters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>CURRENT TITLE OF AWARD</th>
<th>CURRENTLY REPORTERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Certificate in Journalism</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ordinary Diploma in Journalism</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advanced Diploma in Journalism</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Degree in Mass Communication</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masters in Mass communication</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No formal training</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other degrees</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam*

It is also poignant to note that respondents seemed to show that majority of them were influenced more by training, education and codes of ethics in their work than other factors. Another interesting observation that can be draw from the findings is that most respondents are
influenced by parents and religion but not as much as they are by education. For instance only six respondents mentioned Culture of their Ancestors as their source of ethical convictions. Careful scrutiny of questionnaires revealed that almost all the respondents who were born and educated in urban areas did not select Culture as a source of ethical convictions. The most feasible explanation is that urban born respondents were not exposed to their ancestors’ traditions and cultural values because these are increasingly becoming a recipe for people born in rural areas. And this even puts to test the concept of African ethics (Afriethics) advanced by scholars such as the late Professor Francis Kasoma. All in all most journalists are aware of ethical values obtaining from knowledge in general and journalism profession in particular. The question then is to what extent does their awareness of journalism ethics influence their convictions and practice? What are the factors that challenge their ethical convictions?

On the Biggest Ethical Challenge in the respondents’ work we found seven key categories. Most responses again indicated that corruption – owing to low pay and poor working conditions – was their biggest ethical challenge. It is also important to point out that there has been a consistence, throughout the survey results, in the responses pointing out corruption as being an ethical challenge or a hindrance to ethical practice in journalism. In fact, respondents who mentioned ‘biasness’ or ‘telling the truth’ as being their major ethical challenge, were also aware of the principle of telling the truth as being cardinal in journalism. Indeed, ‘biasness’ occurs as a consequence of other common challenges such as lack of facilities, low pay, and pressures from owners, sources of news or advertisers. As Swain (1978) contends, even if reporters operate with a few conflicts of interest of their own, they constantly deal with people to whom it matters a great deal how (or if) they do their reporting. Swain says those people frequently attempt to influence reporters – occasionally with bribes, but often with job offers, favours, threats, adversary relationships or shrewd use of social events.

The two challenges above are more or less related for whenever a journalist finds himself or herself in a conflict of interest one expects that there should be ethical guidelines to bail them out. But once a journalist finds conflict of interest to be a permanent problem; which at times leads to ‘biasness’ it means there must be other factors that compounds the situation. As we noted above, most conflicts of interests that journalists in Tanzania encounter have something to do with the following scenarios:

72 In his book, Media Ethics in Africa (1993), Professor Kasoma alluded to the need for African approach to journalism ethics which meant putting into considerations African morality and cultural practices
- Interests of the State versus public interests (or owners’ interests);
- Interests of the media owner versus public interests (or versus a journalist’s set of values);
- Interests of an institution versus those of another;
- Public interests versus individual journalist’s interests;
- Professional interests versus individual journalist’s interests;

There were also six responses which mentioned media owners as the respondents’ biggest ethical headache. Surprisingly, Government interference (or fear of it) and media ownership have not come out so strongly in this question as it did in the question on what journalists considered to be an impediments to the media’s role in promoting democracy and development. An interesting fact is that some journalists, particularly senior ones, have argued that normally it is more of the editors’ timidity – as opposed to government or owners’ interference – which account for most ethical violations including censorship. The argument is that even in the government media there are journalists who are bolder and more critical than others; and the same thing happens to private media as well. There were three journalists who mentioned lack of education or training in ethics as a major ethical challenge. This still confirms the anomaly we raised above about there being claims that journalists are unethical because of lack of education even when there have been an increase in the number of graduates and series of courses in journalism ethics.

Two intriguing responses from two young female journalists cited sexual harassment as their biggest ethical challenge in their work. There could probably be more such cases only that most victims find it difficult to speak out given the prevailing culture of silence. And if such vices prevailed in the newsrooms unabated it would highly erode the trust of upcoming female journalists as well as that of the public at large in the Fourth Estate. It would also challenge the nature of values that inform journalists who, as watchdogs of society, are supposed to expose vices and evils, of which sexual harassment is one.

Majority of respondents again cited government, policies or laws in general as posing major hindrances to media and journalists in fulfilling their roles. It is important to note that the survey has taken place at a time when the question of freedom of information is high on the nation’s agenda. In other words the survey has helped to reveal that most journalists had shown interest in the debate about freedom of information. But it is also clear that most respondents believe the legal regime is not favourable enough for media to play an effective role in society. Furthermore
it is also poignant to note that most respondents, who mentioned government, policy and legal regime, were senior journalists unlike majority of those who cited low pay and financial constraints as being major impediments.

Again, as pointed out above, the number of responses mentioning low pay and financial constraints has been consistent throughout the survey results. This is an indication that some crucial answers about ethical performance could be sought in this category. A fifth of responses mentioned media owners (some mentioned editors) as being an impediment to the media’s ability in fulfilling its roles more effectively. There was a mixture of respondents’ profiles in this category that it is hard to draw general conclusions. As discussed above the question of owners’ interference is also quite debatable. The extent to which owners interfere with editorial independence - whether it is owners’ interference or, in some cases, journalists’ own timidity - is something for further debate given the fact that 10.6% mentioned Threats, Fear and Self Censorship as being hindrances to their work. To some extent most journalists do not see their being corrupt as a moral problem to which they should take responsibility; they perceive themselves as victims of low pay and poor working conditions. This explains why corruption is the least mentioned hindrance in this category though it appears widely in other areas of discussion in the survey.

On what should be done to improve ethical performance, most responses suggested salary increase and improvement of working conditions. As pointed out above most respondents seem to agree that their payment is low; their working conditions are poor and that these impact on their ethical behaviour and performance. On the question about what the biggest ethical challenge was, only three mentioned education and training. Nevertheless, respondents’ suggestion that education could solve the current ethical challenges could as well mean further education and training to those who lack them. It is also important to note that almost a third of respondents suggested the need to enforce ethics with four responses (from the government owned paper) proposing a media standards board. This also indicates that some respondents are of the view that there are no clear or concrete enforcement mechanisms.

Mfumbusa (2006: 59) is highly critical of self regulation. He concludes that self regulation in Tanzania has not been effective in enforcing journalism ethics. Failure, for instance, by the
MCT\textsuperscript{73} to censure the media or individual journalists has been one of the reasons the government came up with the idea of establishing a Media Standards Board, with statutory powers to enforce ethical practice. Yet the idea of a government controlled media ombudsman raises a number of critical questions. We have seen in the previous chapters how, during transition to multiparty democracy, the government punished private media which flouted ethics\textsuperscript{74} while taking no action whenever its own media or those under the ruling party adulterated the profession.

Although rewarding best practices seems to have been mentioned by fewer respondents, it still is the logical conclusion drawn by majority of responses. It is evident that suggestions for salary increase and improvement of working conditions definitely points to rewards of some sort. Needless to say, a proposal for awarding best practices could also be interpreted as a call to recognize good journalists who are lost in the maze of bad ones simply because owners lack any scheme of service to reward its best.

5.4 Conclusion

This part started by posing seven key questions. Here I briefly revisit them and sum up the responses. Most journalists perceive their roles as providers of information, mobilisers and watchdogs. Majority of them, it can be observed, understand clearly their roles in society. But still most of the respondents don’t think they play their roles effectively. Respondents therefore admit they could have played their roles better. Most of them cite government policies and legal regime as impediments to the media. They also think media owners tend to interfere with editorial independence. Furthermore respondents cite factors such as low pay and poor working environment as a hindrance to their work. Despite the hindrances above most respondents say their dream is to excel in the profession or become publishers. This means they still believe in the ideals of journalism and would work hard to attain their dreams. However, there are some journalists who wish to leave the profession for some other career, including politics. And there are practicing journalists who are already active politicians. This could have implications in their journalism ethical practice. Most respondents believe that their ethical convictions are informed by education, training in journalism, religion and parents. There was also a strong indication that codes of ethics were important sources of ethics. These responses provide evidence that

\textsuperscript{73} The mandate of the Media Council of Tanzania is to settle disputes within media and between media and the public on a voluntary basis. The MCT can not force parties to adhere to its verdicts.

\textsuperscript{74} At times the government punished media outlets that were vocal and critical in the name of “flouting ethics”.
education and training in ethics are important and necessary sources of journalists’ ethical convictions.

Finally, respondents propose that their salaries be increased and their working conditions be improved as part of solutions to factors hindering media from fulfilling its roles effectively. They also propose reform of prohibitive media laws as well as ensuring that there is editorial independence. But it has been evident that most journalists in the newsrooms are either university graduates or diploma holders, which is against a widely held notion that most journalists in Tanzania are uneducated. And journalists also admit that ethical challenges facing them are caused by factors other than lack of education. We suggest that more studies be carried out to help determine further the leading ethical transgressions in media; the profiles of leading transgressors and the major causes for the same.
6 SELF-REGULATION

6.1 The Media Council of Tanzania

This analysis focuses on the role self regulation – the product of efforts by civil society – has played in both averting the media sector from government control as well as ensuring standards and ethical practice.

In 1997, when the MCT was born, Tanzania had just emerged from the gates of a socialist state, a time when freedom of the press was something alien - though seemingly desirable. The storm of change that had blown throughout the communist world leaving flat terrains for pluralistic democracy to cruise had not spared African countries including Tanzania. The media industry began witnessing a number of privately owned media outlets established to provide a forum for alternative points of views and opinions. An opposition front, the National Committee for Construction and Reform (NCCR) had been established and the ‘venom’ that flowed from the lips of its leaders irritated the powers that be that even constructive criticism was considered as an abomination.

Having felt overwhelmed by the ‘venom’ from the opposition front liners on one hand and the private media on the other, in 1993 the Government started cooking a plan. The plan, as discussed in Chapter three, aimed at taming the media through a statutory press council. The government, it seemed, realised that by taming the media, the ‘venom’ from the opposition would have been blocked by proxy. By 1994, it had become clear that the then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. William Shija, was seriously preparing to send a bill to Parliament which sought to establish a statutory media body to tame the media, under the armpits of the government.

The civil society, led by journalists through the Media Institute of Southern Africa – Tanzania Chapter, (MISA-Tan), Association of Journalists and Media Workers (AJM) and Tanzania Journalists Association (TAJA), made a prolonged holler and forced the government to listen. Freedom of the Press was salvaged and safeguarded in the country and both the Government – which had wanted to tame the media – and other stakeholders became free and started enjoying the fruits of press freedom. The number of newspapers grew from less than five, which existed before 1990, to 40 within a short period of time. By the end of 1990s already dozens of private radio stations and television channels had been established. These provided the country’s new
political atmosphere with the oxygen needed for the survival and proper functioning of pluralistic democracy. But the most formidable and historical achievement of this period was the struggle by journalists and other stakeholders to reject a plan by the government to establish a monster that would keep the media industry in check. The struggle lived on throughout 1994 to 1995 and culminated in the formation of the independent, non-statutory and voluntary Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) on June 30, 1995 at the Jouralist and Stakeholders Convention held at the Korean Cultural Center in Dar es Salaam. The MCT started operations effectively on May 22, 1997 when the Government registered it and upon acquiring financial support from the Swedish Embassy in Tanzania which enabled it to form a secretariat and establish an office in Dar es Salaam. It was a landmark achievement that was to characterise other developments of the media sector and struggles for press freedom in the years to follow.

6.1.1 Objectives of MCT

The Mission of the MCT was to create an environment that enabled a strong and ethical media that contributed towards a more democratic and just society. Its vision was to see a democratic Tanzania with free, responsible and effective media. The objectives of the MCT included; to assist, safeguard and maintain freedom of the media in the United Republic of Tanzania; to oversee that journalists, editors, broadcasters, producers, directors, proprietors and all those involved in the media industry in Tanzania adhere to highest professional and ethical standards; to consider and adjudicate upon complaints from the public and amongst the media against infringements of the code of ethics. Other objectives include; encouraging development of the media profession in Tanzania by undertaking activities including, but not limited to, training of journalists, overseeing press clubs development, to conduct various media freedom campaigns, seminar, workshop and/or symposia; to maintain a register of developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance, keep a review of the same, and investigate the conduct and attitude of persons, corporations and governmental bodies at all levels, towards the media, and make public reports on such investigations.

Other MCT objectives are; to promote and defend the interests of readers, viewers and listeners and to promote gender sensitivity, equality, equity and balance. Furthermore, the MCT’s objectives include to raise funds for the purposes of the Council and to publish papers, journals, newsletters and other materials.
6.1.2 Ten Years of MCT

In the reflection of ten years of its existence, it is befitting to assess the MCT’s performance on the basis of the objectives for which it was established. Since its establishment the MCT has been in the forefront to defend and fight for freedom of the press whenever the need arose. By a mysterious twist of fate, or probably just by coincidence, while preparing to mark ten years of its establishment, the MCT has had to put up a similar fight like the one that led to its birth in 1997. In the recent struggle, the Council initiated and led efforts by other stakeholders such as MISA-Tan, MOAT, TAMWA and others in stopping the government from sending to Parliament a Freedom of Information Bill which aimed at muzzling freedom of the press and curtailing access to information.

Training and workshops

Since its establishment the MCT has conducted over 200 workshops and seminars to journalists, editors and media managers and other stakeholders. The trainings ranged from basic news reporting and journalism ethics to specialised courses such as investigative reporting and feature writing. Over 1,000 journalists throughout the country, including Zanzibar, have attended training conducted by the MCT. No single institution in Tanzania has been able to reach as many journalists throughout the country as the MCT has in the last ten years.

Press Clubs

The MCT has helped to set up 23 press clubs throughout the country, including Zanzibar and Pemba. Each of these press clubs has been supplied by MCT, through a grant, a television set, a video cassette recorder, a fax machine, a computer set, a UPS set and a printer. These facilities have helped facilitate the work of journalists, particularly those who work from remote areas where there are difficulties in accessing such services.

Code of Ethics

During General Elections, the MCT has been central in bringing the media stakeholders together to draw a code of ethics to which every party is supposed to comply. As such there has been a recorded increase in the civility of conduct and ethical reportage of elections over the last decade.
Although in the early 1990s, during the transitional period, Tanzania experienced cases of unethical practices by sections of the media outlets, there is ample evidence to support our position that the situation has been improving gradually. 75

**Newsletters**

The MCT has also been publishing the Media Watch and Barazani newsletters which have helped keep stakeholders informed about what the institution is doing and on other issues of interest to its readers. The newsletters, particularly Barazani, formed a special forum on which journalists in the press clubs expressed their concerns and exchanged experiences. The newsletters have also been publishing some scholarly pieces which are found to be useful by, mostly, journalism students in our institutions.

**Arbitration**

So far the MCT has received over 800 complaints from wronged persons out of which 65% were reconciled at secretariat level. According to the MCT’s Executive Secretary the Council has enjoyed 98% compliance of its arbitration decisions.

The strength of the MCT, it can be rightly argued, has been anchored, mainly, on the caliber of persons chosen to lead it. Unlike other organisations that are faced with sporadic scandals and financial malpractices, the MCT has maintained clean books of accounts, thanks to the Secretariat’s adherence to rules of financial prudence. The MCT Board, for instance, has been led by people with impeccable integrity and who command immense public respect the likes of Prof. Geoffrey Mmari (former Vice Chancellor of the Universities of Dar es Salaam and Open University of Tanzania), Judge Joseph Warioba (former Prime Minister and Second Vice President of the United republic of Tanzania), Judge Mark Bomani (a retired judge and respected citizen), Prof. Issa Shivji and Professor Haroub Othman (respected scholars), etc. As such, the profile of complainants has ranged from a very ordinary girl from Ukonga named Neema Malekela, whose character was assassinated in a serialised newspaper story, to the Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania, the late Dr. Omar Ali Juma, who filed a complaint against a newspaper. Other high profile persons who have filed their cases with the MCT include former Prime Ministers, Cleopa David Msuya, Frederick Tluway Sumaye and the former Premier

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75 Various studies conducted by the author recently clearly indicate that the standards of journalism have been improving over the years and not otherwise.
Edward Ngoyai Lowassa (before he became PM). Recently the Speaker of the National Assembly, Samwel Sitta, also brought his case before the MCT.

But the most notable case was filed by the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government against Dira newspaper. It was the highest indication of the Islands Government’s respect for the institution of self-regulation as well as freedom of the press. Other government or high profile individuals who brought their cases to the MCT include: regional commissioners such as; Daniel Ole Njoolay, Ukiwaona Ditopile Mzuzuri, Yusuf Makamba, Prof Mbwiliza, to mention just a few as well as the University of Dar es Salaam. Other individuals include; the late John Mgeja (former minister), Paul Bomani (former minister and CCM Treasurer), Njelu Kasaka (former minister), Makongoro Nyerere (Son of former President Julius Nyerere), etc. Journalists who were mishandled by authorities in Tarime District, Mara Region, a few years ago, brought their case to the MCT complaining against the DC, Paschal Mabiti, who had ordered their incarceration.

The fact that top government officials have been choosing to bring their cases to the MCT, and not to the courts, is a strong indication that they have faith in the workings of the voluntary arbitration institution; they, indeed, have given the MCT a befitting legitimacy. The MCT has therefore stood as a beacon of hope in creating the necessary light for others to see the need for freedom of the press.

Most of the successes of the MCT have been enumerated in different fora and on several occasions. So far, the MCT has been cited as the best example in the region of how independent, voluntary and non statutory media councils can promote press freedom and media accountability. The MCT has, on several occasions, been requested by journalists in other countries – including countries outside Africa – to go and help them to set up a council based on the Tanzanian model. These are not small achievements. The MCT has also established an office in Zanzibar to give the Islands a more active role in fulfilling the objectives of the MCT. However, it is ‘the where do we go from here’ question that needs to be critically addressed as we assess the ten years of the Council’s existence.

**Challenges**

First of all, much as we are bound to appreciate the support the MCT has received from development partners in the last decade, it is high time we the stakeholders thought of a more sustainable way of running the institution. To begin with, it is unfortunate that since its
establishment the MCT has been operating on rented premises, which even erodes the feeling of its permanency. There definitely is a need to find a permanent place for the MCT if (in fact because) its existence has proved more relevant than otherwise.

It is also easier to note that the MCT has all along been understaffed given the staffing needs that are necessitated by its vast programmes. For instance, one of the reasons the MCT can not monitor all the media houses and give a periodic feedback on ethical transgressions is that there are not enough employees to do the job. Of course, the reason for non monitoring of the media on a continuous basis has another reason: The MCT Executive Secretary Anthony Ngaiza describes this as a big challenge. “The media outlets or editors rather do not like the MCT to act as their prefect; they don’t feel comfortable with any patronising behaviour from a big brother called MCT,” says Ngaiza. So even if there were to be sufficient number of staff to do the monitoring, it would have to be done with extra care.

The MCT needs a fulltime employee to work as Information Management Officer. The employee would help keep all the record professionally, which include newspapers acquired daily, various publications and a proper record of all cases.

The other challenge that the MCT has to address is poor editorial performance in some media outlets, which can only be addressed through rigorous training at a higher level (as opposed to basic training). The MCT could start seeking placement opportunities for senior journalists, even outside the country, for them to gain wider exposure and acquire some lacking skills. The MCT could also start preparing training guides on knowledge and skills needed at senior editorial and management level while co-organising training courses with other relevant institutions. So far a lot has been done at the basic level. Having handled the arbitration of media cases for ten years now, the MCT is the best placed institution to know where serious ethical failings occur. This could be a necessary input by the MCT into courses that are run by universities and other journalism institutions.

Finally and most importantly, in its core activities the MCT need to be at the centre of “the Editors Forum” which could provide the best opportunity for free, candid and constructive exchange between the editors, the MCT and academic facilitators who would be objective assessors of media performance. This closeness between the MCT and its main stakeholders –
the editors is very crucial, particularly given what the MCT’s Executive Secretary said about editors’ sensitivity to criticism from the Council.

6.1.3 Conclusion
Although a thorough scientific research is required to draw this conclusion, already existing leads point to the fact that the MCT is a desirable and dependable institution which has been instrumental in fostering press freedom. Any effort to undermine the institution would be to the detriment of all Tanzanians who are the most important stakeholders of press freedom.

6.2 Promoting Press Freedom through Self-regulation
Tanzania is a good example, in this part of Africa, of what self regulation means, because it has an independent, voluntary and non statutory Media Council. This has been one of the attempts by the media in Tanzania to practice self regulation as opposed to government control through laws meant to muzzle the press. Countries like Egypt, Uganda, and Nigeria have statutory media councils which have proved to be incapable of enhancing either press freedom or ethical professional standards. The Executive Secretary of the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), Anthony Ngaiza, believes that media councils such as the MCT are a remarkable mechanism of self-media regulation because they depend on citizen participation.

It is the citizens who bring complaints to the Media Council, and as such, it is they who – at the end of the day – hold the media responsible and not the government.

Although there have been some cases of non compliance by some editors, these have been very rare. Ngaiza says an external evaluation report on MCT indicated that non-compliance of MCT’s decision was merely 2%.

Ngaiza therefore argues that since compliance with the MCT decision has been 98%, recourse to statutory mechanism is uncalled for. Indeed this is another indication that although often the government has indicated its desire to establish mechanism to control the media, most practitioners do not approve of such forms of control.

6.2.1 Press Freedom
The concept of press freedom is not new to many. It is a concept that emerged with the desire of citizens to take back their right to be informed and access information from those they had entrusted to administer their welfare.
Press Freedom constitutes two terms; *press* and *freedom*. Press refers to newspapers (which were the only mass media then), but also radio, television and internet (in today’s world). Freedom simply means free from interference or compulsion. Freedom to access and gather information, process it professionally and disseminate it through any media. This freedom also includes freedom to express one’s opinions and views. It is also freedom from being pushed to do things in certain ways by authorities or an institution with ownership interests.

Since freedom is power; and power without control can lead to disaster, there are exceptions to press freedom, which include national security, public morality and genuine public interest. Below are some key indicators of press freedom in a country:

- The laws are not prohibitive to the media work,
- Presence of a variety of media outlets; i.e., newspapers, radio stations, TV stations, under varied ownership, particularly independent ownership,
- Content that is critical and that allows dissenting views,
- Access to information is easy; journalists get access to information without delay or unnecessary bureaucracy,
- Safety of journalists; there are no cases of murder (as in the Columbian and the Philippines case), disappearance, torture, jailing or threatening of journalists,
- Advertisers are not the lifeline of the media outlets; for if this be the case, no scandal involving the advertiser would be published in that particular media,
- Absence of corruption; as long as a media outlet or a journalist is prone to corruption, freedom is elusive,
- Letters to the editor, phone-in programmes, talk shows and other programmes that allow public feedback indicate the level of openness and freedom,
- Proliferation of knowledge among the general public on various issues of concern to them,
- Prices of newsprint, newspapers, radio sets, TV sets are affordable and friendly,
- The level of fairness as well as professionalism is higher among media practitioners,
- The training of journalists prepares a cadre of critical reporters who are not satisfied just because they have scratched the surface of reality.
6.2.2 Self-regulation

Self regulation means the media taking charge of what the industry does and holds itself responsible for consequences of its own actions.

Self regulation presupposes the following conditions:

i. The press is owned by people who know the roles and functions of journalism and the media;
ii. The press is run by professional editors who are credible and have integrity;
iii. The press is run by journalists and reporters who are qualified enough (either through education or experience) to operate responsibly;
iv. There are no institutions or organizations with strong attachment to particular media outlets, with the aim of pursuing institutional interests – as opposed to public interests;
v. The media outlets do not depend entirely on advertisers or owners’ whims for whatever they do;
vi. There is in place, a council, or other organ, which is independent, non statutory, voluntary and credible enough to oversee ethical conduct of the media and media personnel;
vii. The media outlets, in their togetherness, are willing to support this organ both financially and in other ways, because they believe in self regulation;
viii. The government understands that it is for public good to have a free press and to trust initiatives of the press to regulate itself.

Can self-regulation work? The following points can be made:

i. Generally press freedom is enhanced;
ii. Freedom of expression promoted;
iii. Variety and diversity of views, opinions and ideas in the public domain;
iv. The press takes responsibility of disciplining itself as opposed to being disciplined by the government;
v. Cases in the media council take very short period to resolve as opposed to court process;
vi. Less costly for both parties involved;
vii. Process done in a very friendly environment, no police officers with guns around;
viii. Both parties in arbitration are reconciled and can build friendship thereafter;
ix. Process of arbitration is more educative even to the media personnel and the public;
x. Helps media to avoid being bankrupted in cases of defamation or from being banned by the government.
6.2.3 Conclusion

Western countries are credited for being leaders in press freedom. Struggles for press freedom began there centuries ago and it was until the last century that free press flourished and gained ground. Although Africa and other developing countries are sticky tagged as the leading gaggers of press freedom, a free press is thriving there in ways not experienced before. In the last decade only, Africa has experienced a proliferation of private as well as independent newspapers, radio and television stations which are critical and monumental in strengthening democratic principles and values. The only snag, of course, is the general lack of willingness by many leaders on the continent to enact Freedom of Information laws to guarantee press freedom in their respective countries.
7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

My objective was to study how information policy formulation has impacted on the workings of the media during transition from one-party to multiparty democracy. I stated that although Tanzania had embarked on a number of economic as well as political reforms to align the country’s institutions and procedures with pluralistic democratic culture it has all along indicated willingness to control the media through policy or lack of one.

In 1972 the first President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere released, through the government owned newspaper, the Daily News, what came to be termed as the first de-facto Information or Communication Policy in Tanzania. But the so called policy was more of a set of directives assigning the media a political task of supporting socialist policies and mobilising the masses to support and implement Ujamaa than a comprehensive communication policy worth the title.

It was a time when Tanzania was looking for a unique path that could lead it to nationhood and development. But, as I have shown throughout this study, some government officials during the one-party system used the pretext of building socialism to gag the press and deny the people access to government information. I have shown that in the absence of freedom of expression and access to information the rumour-mill became another powerful institution for information sharing that a veteran journalist Ndimara Tegambwage was able to collect almost 100 national rumours in a period of 15 years from 1973 (Chachage:1997)

The history of information policy making in Tanzania therefore started with a Presidential pronouncement in early 1970. It sent a message that the only media that would survive its ideologically limited credo was the government owned outlets. It created journalists who almost identified themselves with civil servants as well as the political commissars of the time. The dream of a free press which should have thrived after independence died a natural death, censorship crept in, and the government controlled who was to become a journalist and what had to be told to the people. Foreign publications that were unpleasant to socialist interests became banned and the government enacted laws to control media. It was under this kind of environment that the media sector operated up until late 1980s.

Several factors necessitated the changes that turned the political atmosphere in Tanzania towards the end of 1980s. First the economy had reached staggering levels because of, among other
factors, mismanagement, the war with Uganda in 1978, SAPs, and general poverty levels. Second, there were calls for change in almost the entire communist world which necessitated countries like Tanzania to reflect on what was to come. Third, voices that had all along opposed socialistic path within and outside Tanzania increasingly found support both within and outside the country. Four, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere the architect of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea policies had stepped down giving way to Ali Hassan Mwinyi whose temperament seemed to lean towards economic liberalism and political pluralism.76

In 2004 when I conducted an interview with him for his reflection on 40 years of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar which formed Tanzania, President Mwinyi was not apologetic about having steered the country from its socialistic path. When I asked him what was the basis of his “Ruksa” philosophy, President Mwinyi argued that by nature a human being was a free individual who could only reach out and tap his or her maximum potential when in freedom (Kipindi Maalum, ITV, April, 2004).77

So the seeming failure of Ujamaa coupled with economic difficulties, the global wind of change against communism, the change of national leadership and calls from citizens for change within the country contributed to a farewell bid to Ujamaa and the introduction of multiparty system in Tanzania.

The change itself from one-party to multiparty system was given a constitutional blessing in 1992. By that time, already a small number of private newspapers had started operating. Although the private papers were critical often exposing corruption, President Mwinyi’s government did not rush to punish them. But as I have noted in this study, soon the critical nature of these papers was to annoy some CCM veterans in the government who were not used to being challenged in public. Dr. William Shijja, the then minister for information presented to Parliament the first formal Information and Broadcasting Policy which clearly sought to ‘professionalise’ but also control media.

It was stated clearly that given the changed circumstances, Tanzania needed a new Information and Broadcasting Policy to guide the behaviour of the sector in the new pluralistic environment. But the tone of the 1993 Policy, as I have shown in Chapter Three, did not move away from

76 In fact I have also shown that Mwalimu Julius Nyerere himself had advised Tanzanians to adopt multipartysm even after about 77% of Tanzanians had wished otherwise in a referendum
77 Kipindi Maalum refers to a Special Programme the author hosted in Independent Television (ITV) as part of his regular show he hosted weekly.
Mwalimu Nyerere’s directive of 1972. It was meant to control the “excesses of media” and lack of professionalism.

It was then that the Media Council of Tanzania was introduced to self regulate the media in the country. Important to note is the fact that the new policy (1993) did not necessitate, nor did it call for, the change of draconian laws that Justice Francis Nyalali had recommended for repeal.

But institutions such as MISA-Tan, AJM, Tanganyika Law Society and other civil society organizations take credit too for their active involvement in stopping Dr Shijja’s bill and in establishing the Media Council of Tanzania. Ndimara Tegambwage, a seasoned media professional and activist went an extra mile and wrote a small booklet titled: “Uhuru wa Habari Kitanzini”, meaning: “Press Freedom on a Hanging Rope”. The booklet contained arguments on why it was important for all Tanzanians to refuse any move by the government to muzzle press freedom (Tegambwage, 1994).

As I have shown in Chapter two within less than five years since the official beginning of multiparty in Tanzania private media outlets had multiplied and their content was getting even more aggressive. While it was crucial that media stakeholders defended press freedom the question of unethical practices and content kept haunting them. But as I have explained, the media outlets multiplied within a very short period without a corresponding increase in the number of qualified or experienced journalist.

We also find that the first phase government under Mwalimu Nyerere appeared to take some steps to provide training to journalists. In 1975 therefore, the Tanzania School of Journalism was established. But it produced very few journalists each year. Another institute at the time which produced journalists was the Nyegezi Social Institute in Mwanza. The government also sent a good number of nationals abroad, mostly in the East European Socialist countries to study journalism or mass communication. Various seminars were also organized by the government for journalists. A number of them were ideological. It is obvious therefore that with the multiplication of media outlets after the introduction of multiparty politics generally the quality of journalism went down. But it is both an indication of the fact that the government did not take journalism training seriously as it should have as well as the fact that journalism was beginning to operate under the values of free market.
Although politicians used irresponsible journalism as an excuse for wanting to introduce mechanism to control media and for not repealing bad media laws, the study I conducted in 2007, which appears in Chapter Five of this study, indicates that the quality of journalism has been improving gradually and that even the number of graduates and diploma holders among media practitioners has reached more than 75% up from less than 30% in 1993. It would defeat common sense if, with such a promising trend, the government was to think the media and journalists must be controlled by draconian laws that served colonial as well as one party interests.

I have also shown that the third attempt at formulating a communication policy in Tanzania started with a consultative process in 2001 a process which brought together a government representative and other media stakeholders. The historic process produced the 2003 Information and Broadcasting Policy which I have discussed in Chapter Three. The policy reflected to a large extent the realities of the media, economic as well as political environment in Tanzania today.

What has been intriguing, and indeed confusing, is that despite the fact that Tanzania has seen a relatively free press, with diverse ownership, many outlets, critical content (including feedback from public), few incidents of harassments, the media industry remain the only sector that has continued to operate under the one-party restrictive legal regime.

I have shown that since 1992, various pieces of legislation have been put in place to facilitate democratic, political as well as economic changes that have taken place. In the media sector only Broadcasting Services Act was enacted in 1993 to regulate new private television stations that started to operate a year later. Otherwise the media sector continues to function under bad and dictatorial laws which could one day reverse completely the gains the country has made in press freedom in the last two decades.

And the situation is made more alarming by the fact that although the Constitution was emended to, among other things, remove the claw back clause in Article 18 which provides for freedom of expression and so forth, both President Benjamin Mkapa’s and Jakaya Kikwete’s administrations have not shown a genuine desire to enact a Freedom of Information legislation to replace all bad media laws as it has been recommended by various stakeholders including a leading scholar in media laws, Professor Lutfried X. Mbunda of the University of Dar es Salaam. Whereas Tanzania
enjoys a relatively higher degree of press freedom and freedom of expression, these are not guaranteed by the legal regime.

More alarming is the fact that on October 10, the government through a Notice No. 208 A, suspended *Mwanahalisi* newspaper for three months over allegations that the paper had published a seditious article. The article in question had revealed that there was a plot by some CCM members to stop the party national chairman, President Jakaya Kikwete, from running for his second term in 2010.

This new turn of events comes hardly two weeks after the MCT, MISA-Tan, TAMWA had, on behalf of other stakeholders, handed over stakeholders’ recommendations on the new FoI to the minister for Information, Culture and Sports, Retired Captain George Mkuchika. How ironic it was that the same minister who received media stakeholders’ recommendations which suggested, among other things, a repeal of the Newspaper Act of 1976, had to use the same legislation, hardly two weeks later, to punish a media outlet. The hard questions include: Would the current government under President Jakaya Kikwete accept recommendations from stakeholders and enact Freedom of Information legislation? What does the suspension on *Mwanahalisi*, using the draconian Newspaper legislation of 1976 signify at a time when the country is in the process of enacting FoI?

I have a few thoughts for a way forward. The government shall do itself a big favour if it went back to the Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 it participated in formulating and read its content thoroughly. The policy directs it to create conducive environment for a free and vibrant media and information sector to flourish. The policy also directs the government to repeal the Newspaper Act and other draconian legislation that impede on press freedom in general.

It has been evident that even with strict media legislation the government has not succeeded in ensuring there is ethical journalism practice throughout the transition period. There is nothing that suggests improvements in journalism practice have been brought about by strict legislation or heavy handed nature of government control. To a large extent, improvements in journalism

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78 CCM is the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi
practice have been are caused by more journalism training institutions and courses as I have shown in Chapter five.

Lastly, it would be highly contradictory if the government professed to follow the democratic path, complete with economic liberalism, political pluralism, the rule of law, and the like, on one hand but at the same time continue to exert strict control over the media sector on the other. I have shown in this study that a free and diverse media sector is a necessary condition for any democratic society to succeed in improving the lives and welfare of the citizenry while the opposite brings correspondingly disappointing results.
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