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THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN FIGHTING
POVERTY IN TANZANIA

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Abstract

Poverty is linked to powerlessness, injustice and exclusion. The primary concern of this study is to empower the people at the grassroots level of the society through the agency of the media in order to fight poverty. The study is based on the conviction that an increase use of grassroots level news actors in the media will motivate these people and empower them so that they play an active role in their endeavor to fight poverty.

The study starts with an overview of earlier studies on development communication in the developing poor countries. It discusses the theories of development journalism and proposes the adoption of an alternative news genre based on the multiplicity paradigm. The history of the media in Tanzania from the colonial era through the state controlled media to the present liberalized media industry is also reviewed. Poverty, a multidimensional phenomenon and which the media is expected to contribute in its fight, is defined. The initiatives in poverty reduction strategies by both Tanzania and the international community are discussed.

The study task involved content analysis of popular newspapers and newsreel radio broadcasts in Tanzania. The data collected from the quantitative analysis together with the general observations on how poverty was covered in the media are reported.

The study conclusively found that the media in Tanzania is not doing enough in fighting poverty given the magnitude of the problem and the current national and international discourse of poverty led by the United Nations. The Tanzania media still apply the dominant practice of an elite-bias news style based on the conventional definition of news. The news genre that is appropriate for the empowerment of the people at the grassroots level is recommended. This new news genre should be introduced cautiously and slowly. This is because many people have comprehension problems with a new style of news which give prominence to the ordinary people as the main news actors to the disadvantage of the politicians and other bureaucrats. Specific action based recommendations on how to achieve this change are given to both the media and the government through its National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty – MKUKUTA policy framework.

FOREWORD

I am a trained film/TV Cameraman and Director and was a Production Manager of Audio Visual Institute (AVI) in Tanzania producing newsreels, educational programmes and documentaries for about 20 years before I joined the academia in 2000. While at AVI which is now the National TV station (TVT) we used to produce programmes on health and nutrition, adult education, afforestation campaigns and land use, women empowerment and the like. During the production process we involved experts and the people at the grass roots and we succeeded producing programmes targeted to the people. The newsreels and documentaries we produced contributed immensely in the literacy, health and nutrition campaigns and other development activities in Tanzania.

The selection of this research topic came out of my reading on development communication books. I was very much touched with the theories of scholars and findings on earlier studies describing the causes of poverty in the Third World countries and how the media can be used to alleviate this problem. Given the fact that there are more media in Tanzania now than before, I am of the opinion that the media can play a positive role in fighting poverty if they involve the people at the grassroots as I did with newsreels and documentaries.

None of the above people I have thanked, however, are responsible for any errors which this thesis may contain, I am solely responsible.

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Tampere, Finland
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ABSTRACT

FOREWORD

1. INTRODUCTION

This study is derived from the concern that poverty has detrimental effects in the development of any society and that the media can play an important role in alleviating it. Specifically, the study looks at how poverty issues are reported in the mainstream media in Tanzania. The study is expected to contribute towards the efforts of the government of Tanzania to reduce and ultimately eradicate poverty. It is in line with the current international discourse on poverty led by the United Nations.

Tanzania boasts of being one of the few countries in sub Saharan Africa with a big number of both print and broadcast media (see appendix A). The study seeks to establish whether the media which is abundant now than before is doing enough in reporting activities and initiatives of the people for their own development. Specifically the study seeks to identify some of the weaknesses and problems of the media in Tanzania and proposes possible remedies based on earlier studies done on development communication.

Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world (United Nations Report, 2005). The incidence of poverty as shown in the country's Household Budget Survey (2002) reveals that poverty is a rural phenomenon. It is more spread and deeper in rural areas than urban ones. The majority of the rural population are engaged in subsistence farming and pastoralism. However, there is also an increase of urban poverty. The youths, disabled persons, the women, the old and large households, to mention a few, are very poor. Worse still, the illiterate and least educated are poorer as they are not employed neither can they employ themselves.

Economic problems such as poverty facing many African countries are associated with civil wars resulting into refugees. Tanzania is a peaceful and politically stable country. It has been host to a big number of refugees from the African Great Lakes region and other parts of Africa. The effects of hosting refugees are diverse. They range from insecurity to environmental degradation. It is estimated that since the 1994 Rwanda genocide a total of hectares of forest around refugee camps have been destroyed in western Tanzania alone.

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Economic problems including poverty in many African countries are associated with civil wars resulting into refugees. Tanzania is a peaceful and politically stable country. It has been host to a big number of refugees from the African Great Lakes region and other parts of Africa. The effects of hosting refugees are diverse. They range from insecurity to environmental degradation.

Tanzania participates actively in many international forums and engagements. Its former President Benjamin Mkapa was a co-chairperson with the President of Finland Tarja Halonen in the United Nations Commission for social dimensions on globalization.

Tanzania is also endowed with abundant natural resources. It is the home of the world's famous flora and fauna which attracts a good number of tourists. The country is also rich in industrial minerals and gemstones. Tanzanite, the most precious gemstone in the world, is found in Tanzania only.

The war against poverty in developing countries such as Tanzania needs the commitment of many stakeholders. The key player in this war is the government, then its people and the international community. The latter is associated for historical reasons and the fact that a country cannot survive in isolation in this globe village.

Mass media have an important role to play in the development of any society. The media acts as a bridge between the government and its people. It provides important mechanisms for the interaction and forum for exchange of ideas in the society. There are various types of media which can contribute immensely in the efforts of fighting poverty. These include

newspapers, radio, television, film, video as well as traditional media such as songs, dances and plays.

The role of mass media in the developing world has traditionally been understood to have two main functions: to integrate all people within the modern society and to make them participate in national development schemes (Martin and Chaudhary, 1983: 101). Wilbur Schramm (1964) offered a detailed description of mass media functions in developing countries:

> To bring the people of the developing countries into the decisions of
> development, to give them a basis for participating effectively, to speed
> and smooth the changes decide upon…..It is not entirely an impersonal,
> inflexible process. If the flow of information will permit, the people can
> have s great deal to do with setting goals and deciding when and how they
> should change and what they want their society to change to.

Schramm was optimistic about the role of mass media in national development. He sees that the media can add to the already existing information of the people and hence widen their horizons. This can in turn build empathy and focus on their problem and development goals.

Y.V.L Rao (1968), an Indian scholar, paid more attention to the "constant" and "cumulative" interactions between mass media and national development creating the proper environment of modernization:

> While it is true that economic development leads to an increase in
> the flow of information through the greater purchasing capacity
> of the people, reflected in subscriptions to newspapers, magazines
> and specialized journals as well as the ownership of radio sets and
> travel, it is also true that increased information furthers development

In essence, Rao says that an increase in the flow of information contributes to economic growth, and economic expansion in turn stimulates the supply of more information.

These scholars presuppose that development in African societies should come from outside, notably from the ruling elite. This created a form of political hierarchy in which only what the ruling elite chose to define as the interest of the people was expected to dominate the mediated public discourse. This was premised by the modernization thinking

that because African countries were comparatively underdeveloped, solutions to their problems and hence development could come from western countries partly through the agency of mass media (Alhassan, 1997: 3).

Afterwards it became evident that the modernization theory was not suitable in the search for a solution to underdevelopment in the third world countries. During this period, a critically oriented phase in communication and development research was emerging (see Rogers et al, 1976). This phase generally referred to as the critical phase was a combination of critical appraisals of the modernization and an upsurge of Marxist views in communication development thinking (Hellman, 1980; Nordenstreng and Schiller, 1979).
The basic idea underlying the concept of development support communication is that mass media should be more rural oriented in content or at least should give a substantial coverage of national events and happenings, paying special attention to issues that are of relevance to rural development and are of rural in origin (Amupala, 1988: 3).

There has never been a universal definition of development journalism but Aggarwala (1979) in defines it as a kind of journalism practised in many third world countries for which the news is not different from regular news or investigative reporting. The only significance of development journalism is that a journalist should critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of the development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation. The reporting should also include the difference between its impacts on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually (Martin and Chaudhary, 1983: 49-50).

Unfortunately the concept of development journalism was misappropriated by many power hungry African governments. Their discomfort with oppositional views on how to govern was the motive behind their hold on the media rather than faithful intentions on development (Alhassan, 1997: 3).

However, after more than two decades attention was given to the power relations within the society and the media access as a baseline for development journalism. Theoretically, journalism in Africa has been a two way information tool in which both the ruled and the rulers could alternate roles as senders and receiver of messages. However, this did not help

much. There were still structural factors that inhibit the active participation of the people at the grass roots level in the public discourse.

The focus of this study is on the development news reported from the regions referred to as investigative reports on radio broadcasts and local news and commentaries on newspapers. Television has been excluded because of its limited viewership. Television in Tanzania still remains a medium for very few urban elites and middle class viewers. This is because of its high cost of acquisition and non availability of electricity in rural areas where the majority live. Radio broadcasting has over ninety percent coverage of the entire country. It is an organ of mass communication in the circumstances of Tanzania and other poor developing countries. This is so because of its easy access as the price of a radio set is affordable and the fact that Africans are used to communal life hence one radio set can be shared by many people. Also as a widely used communication channel, radio can be utilized to reach urban audiences.

Print media and in particular newspapers, the oldest form of mass media, has a very low circulation and readership in Tanzania. The newspapers are read by very few people. This is because of the increasing illiteracy rate in Tanzania. According the Tanzania Poverty and Human Report (2002), it is estimated that over 28 percent of Tanzanians can not read and write in any language. Gender wise, there is more illiteracy among women (36 per cent) than among men (20.4 per cent). However, newspapers are included in this study due to their significance. Newspapers are widely read by policy makers – politicians, government officials, the international community, the academia, working class, and the literate and other stakeholders in the war against poverty. It is a common practice to find senior government officials such as Ministers and Permanent Secretaries reading newspapers as they are being driven to and from work in official cars.

After the introduction, the next part of this report focuses on the understanding of poverty and analyses some of the most important conceptual frameworks and initiatives related to poverty reduction. It also identifies some of the approaches taken by the international community to assist in this endeavour as well as the Tanzania's economic growth and reduction of poverty strategy. This is followed by a chapter on the concepts and practices of development communication from the dominant paradigm of modernization to the multiplicity paradigm. The discussion will start with the early eclectic theoretical constructs

influenced by the modernization theory through the dependency school to the present modern multiplicity paradigm. News genre under the multiplicity paradigm will also feature in this chapter as the difference between development journalism and conventional journalism lies in the diverse conceptual views of the news values. Chapter four contains the empirical part. It begins with an outline of the study objective and the methodologies employed. This study used a quantitative content analysis method of six daily newspapers and development newsreel broadcasts of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) and Radio Free Africa for the month of January 2006. Criteria and methods used to select populations, samples and variables as well as coding are explained. The results of content analysis for both the newspapers and radio broadcasts as well as general observations of this study are also contained in this chapter. The report ends with a chapter on conclusions and recommendations.

The history of the media in Tanzania from the colonial era through the state controlled media to the present liberalized media industry is reviewed and put as appendix A.

In this study, development subscribes to the empowerment of the people through the active engagement in mediated public discourse as a basis of their own development. As such, development communication as a concept is rooted in the principles of the peoples' own development aiming at giving them the opportunity to fight poverty.

2. POVERTY

Tanzania with a population of over 33 million people (Population census, 2002) is one of the poorest countries in the world. It has a per capita income of $610 with a growth rate of five percent which is lower than its neighbours in East Africa region (World Bank, 2002).

Tanzania was following a socialist economic system under single political party known as the policy of socialism and self reliance until in the early 90s when it moved into a multiparty democracy with an open market capitalistic economy. It has in place a national strategy to reduce poverty under its stance of commitment to the pursuit of sound, consistent and predictable macro-economic policies with low inflation.

2.1. Poverty Defined

Poverty is a multidimensional concept, which is difficult to define. Many people have addressed the advantages of distinguishing "absolute poverty" from "relative poverty". Absolute poverty is the minimum necessary to guarantee the physical efficiency of a person while relative poverty is the average standard of living of a given society.

In addition, there is also a long term situation of poverty referred to as "structural poverty" and a temporary situation affecting people ordinarily able to ensure their self – sufficiency called "transitional poverty"

A combination of the above two occurs where the lack of access to and control of land and other productive resources becomes the major cause of poverty. Note that this should not be confused with the lack of access to household or paid labour, as in the past is the case of African societies where land was considered to be an unlimited good (Bonfiglioli, 2003: 13).

Thus, poverty does not have a direct straight definition. For instance, one of the most quoted definitions is one provided by the World Bank: poverty is an "unacceptable human deprivation in terms of economic opportunity, education, health and nutrition as well as lack of empowerment and security." Also it should be stressed that the nature of poverty

reduction policies influence the way poverty is defined. For example in the modernisation paradigm, that is, in the 1960s, the efforts to fight poverty were based on large investments in physical capital and infrastructure. In the 1970s and 1980s, improvements in health and education were considered as key factors to increasing the income of the poor.

On the other hand, the perception of poverty is also influenced by the reason of defining it. For example, is the definition for just understanding poverty or it is for some intervention? If it is for the latter, the focus was on more objective measures of individual or household income and consumption. There is a growing awareness that understanding poverty requires an appreciation of some other, non-economic considerations of the human condition. Therefore, both relative measures and subjective views as well as absolute and objective indicators are equally important. Still there is a concern to consider access of public services and security, empowerment and sense of self-worth in the definition.

In the search for an adequate understanding of poverty, a general consensus has been achieved around the following principles:

- Poverty as a multi-dimensional deprivation is the inability of people to meet economic, social and other standards of well being. The multiple causes of poverty are either internal and structural or induced by man or policy;

- Poverty is definitely linked to low income, lack of education and poor health. But there is a growing emphasis on considering poverty as a direct result of inadequate policies and ill-designed development programmes. Such programmes include those preventing sustainable access to social services or control over productive assets and those hampering political empowerment;

- Poverty is not simply a technical problem, but foremost a highly political one. Poverty also refers to a number of issues at every level of the government. In order for the policies to be effective, they have to combine both sound technical analyses with political support and legitimacy that emanates from the poor themselves. Unequal social, economic and political relationships between 'the haves' and 'the have-nots' explain poverty, and being poor is at the lower end of the relationship. Therefore, as being poor means powerless, fighting poverty definitely means empowering the poor;

- The poor do not constitute a homogenous group. Furthermore, their coping and survival strategies are different and in constant flux (Bonfiglioli, 2003: 15).

2.2. Measuring Poverty

There are several ways of measuring poverty. Most of them are based on the definition of poverty. However, poverty can be measured in absolute or relative terms. Absolute poverty is the position of an individual or household in relation to poverty datum line whereby there is real value fixed over a period of time. Any one who is absolutely poor means s/he does not attain what is considered to be the minimum living requirements. Therefore, one is not poor if s/he is able to obtain the basic minimum needs for a living. These are food, health facilities, education and so on.

In most international comparisons, poverty line is defined in an absolute way, as the level of income necessary for the people to buy the necessary goods for their survival. People who earn less than this level of income will not have enough food, medical facilities, clothing and good housing and hence will be considered to be poor. The "dollar a day" poverty line has been extensively used since the 1990s in poor countries as a measure of absolute poverty.

Relative poverty as earlier mentioned, is an arbitrary concept. This refers to the position of an individual or a household compared with the average income in the country, such as the poverty line.

Subjective poverty is easily manifested in the following scenarios as outlined in Poverty Policy Analysis Manual for Media Practitioners (2004) as follows:
- Unemployment: Poverty increases when the country has many unemployed people in both the public and private sector. Also the use of modern technology and mechanisation which does not require many people leads to unemployment as people are laid off or retrenched without sufficient compensation package.
- Lack of capital: The shortage of capital is a hindrance in the establishment of businesses or industries which in turn makes it difficult for people to be employed.

- Poor essential services: There is shortage or poor provision of education and health facilities which lead to high illiteracy rate and ill health of its people. This is caused by not having enough schools, qualified teachers and insufficient or lack of teaching materials. Another feature is shortage of health centres, shortage of doctors and lack or shortage of essential medicines.
- Low economic productivity: This is caused by primitive tools and poor agricultural methods which depend on rain and the hand hoe.
- Malnutrition: This is one of the important indicators of poverty. Malnutrition results from poor balanced diet, which can be caused by the rigid cultural norms and beliefs. A popular belief in Africa is not allowing pregnant women to eat eggs due to the belief that they will bear children with bald heads.
- Large and extended families: The practice and tradition of taking care of the welfare of other people who do not have blood ties.

2.3. Types of Poverty

Poverty is both material and non material condition. Thus poverty alludes not only to the influence of market forces on the distribution of real income, wealth, prestige, and power, but also the changing pattern of provision of public goods by the state.

There are different types of poverty. There is income and non income poverty as well as objective and subjective poverty. Income poverty is understood as a concept derived from low income or as a consequence of insufficient disposable income (as reflected in people's consumption patterns or general well being). It refers to a situation whereby a person can not earn at least a minimum income that will him/her afford the basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing compared to the average individual in that society.

Income poverty is observed when individuals or families lack resources to obtain the type of diet common or encouraged in the society they belong. They feel uncomfortable to participate in communal activities and lack the resources to have the living conditions and amenities that are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong.

Non income poverty goes beyond the absence of having a certain level of minimum income that allow one to have adequate basic needs-food, shelter and clothing to those things that move people from ill being to well being. These needs which are absent include access to good education, health facilities, access to clean and safe water, nutrition and participating effectively in social and economic activities pertaining to his or her society.

People in non income poverty are likely to die at an early age, become malnourished, have stunted growth, and fail to participate fully in making decisions that affects their lives.

Fighting non income poverty can be compared like the change from being corrupt to being honest and justice loving, from being violent to loving peace and equality, from powerlessness to grass roots democracy, from being weak to being able to take action and from bare subsistence life to owning property and being secured (REPOA, 1995).

2.4. Initiatives on Poverty Reduction

Poverty reduction strategies operate within the broad context of an international debate on public policy, which is supported by a number of important initiatives and discourses. Several plans have been in place on a global or regional scale to give new push into the on-going efforts to reduce poverty in developing countries. Some of these initiatives are The United Nations Millennium Development Goals, "The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative", and The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers.

The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals is a comprehensive agenda for reducing the causes and manifestations of poverty by the year 2015 pioneered by the United Nations. The agenda was adopted by the General Assembly in 2002 includes eight goals with their specific targets as follows:
Goal 1: To eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. This goal targets at halving the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day and reducing by half the proportion of people suffering from hunger.

Goal 2: To achieve universal primary education. It targets at ensuring that all girls and boys complete a full course of primary education.

Goal 3: To promote gender equality and empower women. This goal targets at eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education.

Goal 4: T o reduce child mortality. The target aims at reducing by two-thirds the mortality rate among children under five.

Goal 5: To improve maternal health. This goal targets at reducing by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio.

Goal 6: To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. It aims to halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and incidence of malaria and other major diseases.

Goal 7: To ensure environmental sustainability. This goal aims at integrating the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse the loss of environmental resources. It also targets to reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and achieving a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.

Goal 8: To develop a global partnership for development. This goal aims at comprehensively with developing countries' debt problems and providing access to affordable essential drugs (United Nations, 2005).

The "Heavily Indebted Poor Country" (HIPC) initiative

This initiative was launched in 1996 by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was to look for new ways to remove the debt of the poorest countries. Basically HIPC initiative links debt relief with poverty reduction. To qualify for the debt relief, debtor countries have to follow strict procedures. Debt is reduced only when the country reach the completion point. Tanzania is one of the few beneficiaries of the HIPC initiative. In fact one of the motives to start the initiative is the principle that the development of a number of countries is severely constrained by debt (Bonfiglioli, 2003: 22).

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

These were developed by the HIPC initiative for submission to the World Bank and IMF by authorities of poor countries within the context of obtaining debt relief. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) has now become the principal planning framework in many countries.

The PRSP approach has been an effective means for donors to interact with recipient countries in order to stimulate effective poverty reduction. At the centre of the PRSP are salient features which are designed to raise sustainable growth and reduce poverty. The PRSP describes a country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programmes to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs. Governments prepare Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers through participatory process involving civil society and development partners, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The development and implementation of poverty reduction strategies should follow the following guidelines:
- Should involve broad-based participation by civil society and the private sector in all operational steps;
- Are results-oriented, and focused on outcomes that would benefit the poor;
- Must be comprehensive in recognizing the multidimensional nature of poverty, prioritised so that implementation is feasible, in both fiscal and institutional terms:
- Should be partnership-oriented, involving coordinated participation of the development partners.
- Should be based on a long-term perspective for poverty reduction.

Together with the above, there are four critical parts that must be included in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers for its successful implementation. These are: (i) macro and structural policies to support sustainable growth in which the poor participate, (ii) ways to improve governance, including public sector financial management, (iii) appropriate sector

policies and programmes and (iv) realistic pricing and appropriate levels of funding for the major programmes (Bongfiglioli, 2003: 25).

2.5 Tanzania Poverty Reduction Strategy

The latest Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Tanzania was prepared in 2000 and now it has been reviewed and revised. The Tanzania's PRSP provided a vehicle for increasing public allocations to priority sectors, where education and health featured particularly strongly. The new strategy, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), MKUKUTA in the Kiswahili acronym, continues the priority accorded to improving human capabilities and in addition puts emphasis on poverty-reducing growth.

The NSGRP[1] was prepared in consultation with a wide range of stakeholders and was approved by the government to be implemented for an initial period of over five years from 2005. The strategy is built around three main clusters of strategies. The first one is on the economic growth and the reduction of income poverty which is closely linked to the second one on an improved quality of life and social well being of the people. The third cluster is on good governance and accountability. Between them, the three clusters are expected to make sure that development initiatives are efficient, reflective and harmonised and that every Tanzanian benefits from the new wealth which will be created.

These strategies have been assigned specific expected outcomes. Many of the outcomes are to be achieved through cross-sector coordination and will involve all stakeholders in their implementation. The stake holders include not only the various parts of government, but also the private sector, civil society, development partners and, most importantly, communities themselves. All stakeholders are encouraged to participate in the implementation and evaluation and when the time arrives to participate in the next round of planning as well. This will make sure that the strategy is "owned" by everyone in the country. Participation and increased two-way communication will allow the many different stake holders to work in harmony.

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[1] www.povertymonitoring.go.tz

The strategy has identified certain groups of people in the society who are more vulnerable to poverty than others. These are children, elderly people, people living with HIV/AIDS and their families, people with ling illness, people with disabilities, widowed women or who cannot support themselves for other reasons and the youth who are unemployed or have unreliable incomes.

There are six main types of forces that push people into poverty. These are on environment, macroeconomic conditions, governance, ill-health, lifecycle-linked conditions and cultural beliefs and practices. They are described in detail in the following table.

Table 1.Types of forces which push people into poverty

Type	Description
Environment	Weather extremes (e.g. flooding, drought); gradual degrading of forests, soil, fisheries and pastures; health effects, and loss of confidence in future well being
Macroeconomic conditions	National economic decisions such as privatisation, trade liberalisation, elimination of subsidies, cost sharing in health, reducing spending on agricultural, rural livelihoods, costs and access to social services
Governance	Coercion, extortion, all forms of corruption, unsatisfactory taxation (multiple taxation, coercive tax collection methods); political exclusion
Ill-health	Malnutrition, injury, diseases, HIV/AIDS, other physical and psychological disabilities
Lifecycle-linked conditions	Ill-health, risks and social marginalisation because of age. Children, youths and the elderly are particularly vulnerable to special problems
Cultural beliefs and practices	Cultural habits and traditional beliefs that lessen people's freedom of choice and action – e.g. those discriminating against women and children

The Tanzania Poverty and Human Development Report (2005) show that the country's GDP growth rates overall, and in agriculture, have increased in recent years, with especially positive growth in 2004 when GDP overall grew by 6.7 per cent and agricultural GDP by 6.0 per cent. The extent to which this growth has reduced poverty is mitigated by changes in inequality and may be affected by international and rural-urban terms of trade. Growth has had a greater impact on poverty reduction in areas where the proportion of households with incomes below the poverty line is lowest, notably in Dar es Salaam the capital city of Tanzania.

3. DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Development communication has been an area of concern in communication research from the early sixties when it held much promise of assisting the development cause of the Third World. The works of Daniel Lerner (1958), Wilbur Schramm (1964), Everett Rogers (1962, 1969) and many others like Fredrick Frey, Lucien Pye and Lakshmana Rao, attest this lively interest (Melkote, 1991: 19).

The study of development communication research tradition originated from Europe and North America where the conceptualisation and choice of research areas were to a greater extent influenced by their interests. The rationale that underlay the conceptual work then, was to study how communication and the accumulated experiences from the extension studies conducted among the agrarian communities in European and North American could be exploited to the advancement of their interest in the underdeveloped region.

3.1. The Dominant Paradigm

The years following World War II saw the birth of multilateral development assistance through the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United Nations family of specialised agencies, and the emergency of bilateral development assistance to help the newly independent Third World countries.

An important concern among the developed West Europe and North America nations was how to develop the underdeveloped societies just emancipated from centuries of colonial rule. The main trend in sociological theory was an extrapolation of concepts generated from the West European and North America analysis to the study of national development in the Third World nations.

Scholars from different disciplines and backgrounds were involved in the study of development communication and brought in a variety of perspectives of theories in this new field of study.

The dominant paradigm in the West vis-à-vis Third World development was based on an application of the evolutionary concept of Darwin to social change:

> Not only was change in one social sphere able to stimulate change in others, but social modernization was able to generate continuing change, and also to absorb the stress of change and adapt itself to changing demands. In other words, the process seemed relatively irreversible. Once the necessary conditions were established to take off, a country to take off, became modern, and stayed modern (Schramm, 1976: 46 in Melkote,1991: 38).

The notion was prescribed by western scholars that a nation is regarded developed if its modernity resembles that of the western industrialised nations.

Another set of theories was the traditional versus modernity. These bipolar theories of modernization are given as status vs. contract, mechanic vs. organic solidarity, traditional vs. modern society, primary vs. secondary social attachments and folk vs. urban societies.

In all these theories, the traditional society was conceptualised as small, mostly rural community where people know each other. The other side was a large mostly urban society where interpersonal relations do not exist. The transformation from the traditional to the modern society required greater functional specialization and structural differentiation (Melkote, 1991: 40).

Another theory of development is the unilinear model of development. Among its proponents are Walt Rostow and Daniel Lerner. They stated explicitly that once institutions and certain behaviour patterns were established, development was more or less sustained. The changes were irreversible and the process of development moved in a common universal direction (Melkote, 1991: 42).

Rostow expanded his economic growth theory in his "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non Communist Manifesto" (1960) in which he constructed a five- stage model of transition from a traditional society to a modern industrial complex. The stages are the traditional society, preconditions for take off, take off, drive to maturity and the age of high consumption (Melkote, 1991: 42). African societies from the stand point of view of Rostow theory of economic growth were perceived to be at the primary stage that is traditional

society. Rostow (1960: 18-19) goes on to say that "a society predominantly agricultural – with in fact 75 percent or more of its workforce in agriculture must shift to a predominance for industry, communication, trade and services" (Alhassan, 1997: 7).

One characteristic of the traditional society is that its activities are limited to a small domestic area and an important part of the condition for its economic take off is to get involved in export trade. Rostow in a way puts across an ethnocentric view of colonialism as it was the colonial policy to incapacitate the African societies for producing for the export market.

In addition, modernization was expected to assist people to understand and accept the idea of "nation ness" which was a new form of spatial organization. Modernization would help the individual of the traditional society, whose understanding of the universe was long bound by the world of the village and the ethnic unit, in seeing him/herself as a member of a nation, which in turn belongs to a wider concept of modern nations. In actual fact, people were supposed to expand their thinking and understanding beyond what was perceived to be a traditional world of close kinship relations and village life towards an awareness of national and international dynamics. Such an orientation towards the nation was said to be crucial for building stable political institutions necessary for what Rostow described as economic "take off".

Weiner (1966) believed that the attitudinal and value changes were pre- requisites to creating a modern, socio economic polity. However, the cause and effect relationship was hard to establish and there was no categorical answer to whether attitudes or institutions change first. Nevertheless, all scholars in this area believed that neither modern science and technology or modern institutions could be successfully grafted on a society whose people were basically traditional, uneducated, self-centred, unscientific in their thinking and attitudes (Melkote, 1991: 44).

Dominant economic theories of development advanced by Nurske (1953) with his "balance growth theory", Hirschmann (1956) with his "balance growth strategy" and the illustrious "stage theory" of Rostow (1960) made a tremendous impact on the conception of communication and development at that stage. The "growth theories" are quite evident in

the book Communication and Change in Developing Countries, co-edited by Lerner and Schramm (1967).

The common tenets in the modernization theories are high industrial productivity and the idea that development is measurable in terms of production in statistical figures such as GNP, per capita income and other related variables such as literacy rate, urbanization and political participation. In an ethnocentric tradition, Lerner concluded that following the western development model was the logical approach to modernize the rest of the world. He therefore argued that when traditional individuals attain media mediated mobility then it was inevitable that industrialisation and urbanization take place. After that, other variables such as literacy and participation take up their turn accordingly (Lerner, 1958: 55-65; also Schramm, 1964: 46 in Amupala, 1988: 12).

Lerner's classic "The Passing of Traditional Society" sees the modernization of the Middle East in the early 1950's as the infusion of rationalist and positivist ideas that were vital for the development of the area. One of the main theses of his book is that before the traditional Middle East societies could modernize, the people must have a sense of empathy, defined as the "ability to see oneself in the other fellow's situation" (Lerner, 1958; 50). Empathy has to do with psychic mobility. This increase in mobility begins with physical travel which is an ancient form of communication.

Lerner mentions to have seen radio in the Chief's house in Bargat, Middle East. This shows that already at the early stage of the conception of communication and development thoughts. The radio was considered an important medium of modernization.

By considering the radio as the multiplier of modernity, Lerner explicitly concedes to the powerful media theory. In essence Lerner considers modern media as signifying modernity and has the power to change communication patterns in traditional societies and replace local traditional media which were considered as retainers of inertia and backwardness. For instance, he does not believe in the potency of traditional media system, as he asserts that in modernization the direction of change is from oral to modern media systems (ibid: 56).

Lerner's method of determining the level of empathy among the respondents in his work is of interest. He asked his respondents nine objective questions, some of which are:

a) If you were made the Editor of a newspaper what kind of paper would you run?

b) If for some reason you could not live in your country, what other country would you choose?

c) Suppose that you were made the Head of government. What are some of the things would you do?

The questions in his questionnaire were intended to make the respondents demonstrate their ability for role play, to emphasize , to think the unthinkable, to copy or emulate from other people.

Lerner's concept of empathy, as the foundation for a traditional society to modernize, aims at making traditional people to become good imitators of the modernised society. This is where Lerner's modernization theory does wrong. It presupposes that out there in the modernized society there is a superb culture to emulate. This is both cultural arrogance and ethnocentrism. We should ask about self confidence as a precondition for a more media participatory environment and not empathy in this way of copying another culture which may be very peculiar.

The use of projective questions to measure empathy has been criticised by Kunczik (1984: 114-115) and Awa (1979: 268). The most interesting criticism of Lerner comes from Samarajiwa who criticised him on ethical grounds. Samarajiwa (1987: 11-15) brings out the fact that Lerner's project was sponsored by the Voice of America with an objective of giving the United States of America intelligence information in its cold war with the then Soviet Union. Lerner failed to reveal this to his research team, which is unethical (Alhassan, 1997: 10).

Lerner himself admits that his projective questions were considered by the interviewees in the Middle East as "baffling" or even "impious". Awa (1979: 268) for instance, considers Lerner's question in which he asked: "Suppose that you were made Head of government, what are some of the things you would do?" as an inappropriate within the circumstances of a person in the Third World. Awa argues that the "man in the street", even in his fantasies,

can not imagine such a situation and thus is not able to answer such a question. Lack of empathy may not be the characteristics of a person from the traditional society that is not yet on the threshold of modernization. Golding (1974: 47) concludes that the lack of empathy could be out of a frustrated experience and not the cause of fatalism.

McClleland contribution to the sociology of development communication is of interest in this study. He was interested in identifying and measuring the variable that might be the impulse to modernization. There were several questions which interested him. Why did some nations 'take off' into rapid economic growth while others stood still or declined? McClelland was interested in what impulse produced economic growth and modernization (Melkote, 1991: 45).

In his analysis, McClleland separated a "mental virus" that made people behave in a particularly "energetic" way. He called this virus "need for achievement", in short "n-ach". The n-ach was identified as the part of a person's thought which had to do with "doing something better" than it had been done before. That is doing things more effectively and faster with less labour (McClleland, 1984: 216-220 in Alhassan, 1997: 11).

McClleland cautioned that n-ach by itself was not enough to bring about development. There should be another input which was equally important. This was social consciousness that is working for the common good. In sum, the impulse to modernise consists of a personal variable, n-ach and a social virtue, which is a concern of the welfare of others.

McClleland relates the relevance of his thoughts and findings to the acceleration of economic growth in developing countries. He assumes that ideas are in fact more important in shaping history than purely materialistic arrangements. What count more in the drive to achieve is the human resources. Therefore, according to McClleland, the main task is to "infect" individuals systematically with the virus of motivation to achieve. What matters is not the alteration of traditional social structures but the forming of persons, the mind-setting.

In forming of persons, the first thing to be done is the recognition that the traditional norms must be replaced by new ones, in order to obtain the advantages of the new progressive

material culture. When the necessity of a change of orientation is once accepted, then the means can be found to implement the change (Alhassan, 1997: 11).

The first prerequisite for the transformation from history to practice is intensified communication. This include good infrastructure such as roads, affordable public transport, electricity, radio, telephone, newspapers and other forms of media. To achieve this, McClleland suggested carrying out massive ideological campaigns similar to those that were carried out by former communist regimes or the earlier ones carried by the church for evangelism purposes. The means of communication such as radio, public speeches and the press must be used to prepare the transformation.

McClleland emphasises the significance of ideological movements, that they represent a haven of emotional security and a new authority for the people who have become rootless and unhappy due to the breakdown of their traditional structures. He recommends three specific methods of fostering the way into modernity and an intensification of the motive to achieve. One of his methods calls for the creation of an informed public opinion as typified by a society with a free press. Unfortunately he did not show how an ideological movement can guarantee a free press.

In addition to the n-ach and the social consciousness thoughts by McClleland, another scholar, Everett Hagen (1962) attempted to determine measures that influenced entrepreneurial activity in the developed countries. He found another out "virus" which he called the concept of "withdraw of status respect". In developed nations, there were individuals who rejected their traditional values of high respects, of doing or not doing certain things, and took on new roles and became innovative and hence successful. This shows that the impetus for socio- economic development was provided by a psychological characteristic present in certain groups of people (Melkote, 1991: 46).

The concept of development under the dominant paradigm was seen to be industrialisation as the main route to economic growth and development. Rogers (1976) distilled four elements of his conception of development as:

    a)   Economic growth through industrialisation and accompanying urbanization was the key to development. He compared this with Industrial Revolution in Europe.

This assumed that development performance could be quantified in economic term like GNP and per capita income.

b)   The choice of technology was to be capital- intensive as well as labour-intensive. The labour was expected to be mainly imported from developed countries.

c)   For speed and proper guidance of development activities, planning should be centralised and controlled by experts – bankers and economists.

d)   The problems of underdevelopment were due to the problems of the Third World themselves rather than exogenous factors like the international economic order (Melkote, 1991: 56-57).

Rogers argues that the drive for the quantification of development, an outgrowth and extension of Europe and North America social science empiricism, helped define what development was and was not. Material well–being could be measured. Such values as dignity, justice and freedom did not fit on dollars–and–cents yard stick and so the meaning of development began to have some what dehumanised nature. Political stability and unity were thought to be necessary for continued economic growth, and authoritarian leadership increasingly emerged, often in the form of military dictatorships. And in the push for government stability, individual freedoms often were trampled (Rogers, 1976: 125).

In fact such a capital and labour intensive development strategy is more suitable for industrialised nations, not for the underdeveloped countries where the industrial sector is nascent, urban located while the majority of the population live in the rural areas.

The development policies in the early 1960's did no pay attention to the quality of the development benefits. Trickle–down concept was offered to explain how benefits would eventually spread out to the lagging sectors of the economy. However, this never materialised and if it did, it was that the benefits trickled upwards to widen the already existing poverty gap.

As mentioned earlier, modernization theorists claim that underdevelopment was attributed to internal factors. These included a biased social structure which suffered from a top – heavy land tenure system as well as traditional attitudes among the people, especially the

peasantry. These attitudes were said to have hindered modernization process (Alhassan, 1997: 13).

Everett Rogers (1969) in his study on peasants in India, Nigeria and Columbia found that in order for a country to modernise, it was necessary that the peasants were persuaded to change their traditional ways of life. He identified ten elements of what he described as peasant sub-culture that hindered their modernization and hence development:

a)   Mutual distrust in interpersonal relations: In general peasants were suspicious, evasive and distrustful of others in community and non cooperative in interpersonal relations with peers;

b)   Perceived limited good: Peasants believed that all good things in life are available in limited quantities. Thus, one could improve one's position only at somebody else's expense;

c)   Dependence and hostility toward government authority: Peasants had an ambivalent attitude toward government officials. On the one hand, they depended upon them for solving many of their problems. However, there was a general distrust of government leaders;

d)   Familism: The family played an important role in the life of the peasant. Peasants were prepared to subordinate their personal goals to those of the family;

e)   Lack of innovativeness: Peasants were reluctant to adopt modernising innovations, had a negative attitude toward change, and their behaviour was not fully oriented toward rational economic considerations;

f)   Fatalism: Peasants believe that their well-being was controlled by a supernatural fate. This had a dysfunctional consequence on directed social change;

g)   Limited aspirations: Peasants exhibited low aspirations for advancement. Also, they had low levels of achievement motivation and tendency toward inconspicuous consumption;

h)   Lack of deferred gratifications: Peasants lacked the ability to postpone satisfaction of immediate needs in anticipation of better future rewards;

i)   Limited view of the world: First they were not time conscious. Second, they were oriented within their communities and had no orientation to the world

beyond their immediate view. Consequently, they had very limited geographic mobility;

j)   Low empathy: Peasants exhibited mental inertness. They could not imagine themselves in new situations or places (Melkote, 1991: 58-59).

Lerner, McClleland and Hagen in a way, support Rogers by what they call "individual blame" for the traditional individuals which was responsible for their underdevelopment.

3.2 Communication under Dominant Paradigm

Education and the mass media were considered to be central in the development and modernization of the less developed countries by the industrialised developed countries of the north. This is evidenced from scholars like Schramm (1964) who reiterated that in order for the poor nations to develop they required information and education to speed and smooth the task of mobilising human resources. To them major problem in the Third World was not shortage of natural resources, but the underdevelopment of human resources. Thus education and the mass media were seen to have the enormous task of building the human capital.

The first thing to do in this endeavour was to understand the socio- scientific foundation of communication and mass communication in general and in particular their role in development theory and practice. Three approaches to communication were revisited namely communication effects approach, diffusion of innovation approach and the modernisation approach.

Lasswell (1927) came forward with a communication model of media effects which considered people who are consumers of products as defenceless who absorbed whatever was transmitted to them. This is what is called the stimulus – response model of communication (Melkote, 1991: 65).

There were several theoretical concepts behind the stimulus – response theory of mass media effects. Lowery and DeFleur (1983) contended that there was indeed a close relationship between the concept of western countries as mass societies and the earlier

theories of mass communication effects. This is manifested in the 18th century when industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation transformed the west as seen in their way of living as well as material culture. The strong inter personal ties between people that were characteristic of non-industrial communities were no longer there. They have been replaced by individualistic life styles in the newly industrialised societies. This transformation, according to McQuail and Windahl (1981), was described as the emergency of mass society, one that consists of an aggregate of relatively atomized individuals.

Thus in this kind of society, the mass media were perceived to have an immense power as their impact can not be constrained by another competing and psychologically influences on individuals. However, in another study done after World War II, it was found that the stimulus – response theory, also called the bullet theory, was ineffective.

Katz and Lazersfeld (1955) came forward with the two–step flow theory, for which information was first communicated to opinion leaders and then the opinion leaders send the information to the community. This theory was making certain people in the society to be exposed to information from the media than others. So the more informed people became the source of information for those not much informed.

Another study on how and why individuals responded to persuasive messages showed that social categories such as educational level and individual differences were more predictive of certain effects than the mass media. People's attitude to media messages could be categorised as selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention. Klapper (1960) found that the mass media rather then being considered as causal agents of behavioural or attitudinal change in individuals were more agents of reinforcement. The social categories to which people belonged, their individual characteristics and social relationships had a far greater influence than the combined mass media (Melkote: 1991: 73).

Despite the research revelations of the minimal effect of the media, it was still considered to be a great agent of social change in the Third World. The orientation of communication as transmission of information and communication as persuasion were transferred to such diverse field as agricultural extension, health education and public relations. The emphasis

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was in communication effects, creating awareness of new ideas and practices and generally bringing about attitudinal and behavioural changes in individuals. This is shown in the extent to which the mass media of communication were perceived by administrators and policy makers in Third World nations.

Consequently, studies of diffusion of innovation among Third World nations were conducted. This established the importance of communication in the modernisation process at the local level. In the dominant paradigm, communication was visualised as the important link through which exogenous ideas entered the local communities. Diffusion of innovation then emphasized the nature and role of communication facilitating further dissemination within local communities. To this, Rogers (1969) wrote:

> Since innovation within a closed society like a peasant village is a rare
>
> event, until there is communication of ideas from sources external to
>
> the village, little change can occur in peasant knowledge, attitudes and
>
> behaviour. Communication is, therefore, central to modernisation
>
> in such circumstances (Melkote, 1991: 81).

Lakshamana Rao (1963) selected two villages in India for his study. He found that the construction of a new road to one village from a nearby city started the process of modernisation. The road brought among other things, new people, new ideas and the mass media into the village while at the same time facilitating the villagers to visit the urban centres.

Research findings by Lerner (1958) in the Middle East and Rao (1963) in India generated high expectations from the mass media. They were considered as magic multipliers of development benefits in Third World nations. Administrators, researchers and field workers believed in the great power of the mass media as harbingers of modernising influences. This period in the history of development was characterised by a spirit of optimism. Rogers (1967) found out that the literacy level was increasing in which people wanted newspapers to read together with listening to the transistor radios which had started penetrating the villages. However, the communication was predominantly one – way flow from the government development agencies to the people, and the mass media seemed ideally suited to this role (Melkote, 1991: 87).

The relationship between the availability of mass media and national development was very important at this time. The more the developed the nation is, the higher was the availability of mass media. The converse was also true. Hence mass media were seen as both agents of change and indices of development. This led to UNESCO to suggest a minimum standard for mass media availability in the Third World. UNESCO recommended that every nation should aim to provide for every 100 people ten copies of daily newspapers, five radio sets, two television sets and two cinema seats. Thus the establishment of the critical minimum of mass media outlets was strongly encouraged it the Third World nations were to achieve modernisation.

3.3. Decline of the Dominant Paradigm

Early in the 1970's the theories and practice of the dominant paradigm of development were revisited as the plight of the very poor in the developing nations had not improved significantly. The process of development has developed a minority and underdeveloped a majority of individuals and groups especially in the Third World nations.

Underdevelopment in the Third World nations was seen as a result of socio-cultural like traditionalism. Therefore under the dominant paradigm it was thought that changing the traditions and other internal obstacles will bring about development. This thinking is rather inadequate in explaining the development of the Third World nations. The modern industrialised environment within which the European nations operate can itself be an obstacle to the development of the Third World nations. This weakness of the modernisationists which focuses on the exploitative of the periphery by the centre is explained by scholars of the Dependency School. They argue that there is a dialectical relationship between the developed North and the underdeveloped South.

Another weak point in the dominant paradigm was the equation of development with modernisation or westernisation. This is based on the belief that the path taken by the European and North America nations to develop is equally proper to be taken by the rest of the world. This in a way brings about ethnocentrism as if this model was to work it meant forcing the traditional societies to adopt the western way of life as the cultural values of the

Third World nations were not taken into consideration. This perception plays down the fact that technology and ideas which are valuable and cannot be transferred easily.

Amin (1989) in his critique of modernisationists, however, points out that the societies of the West thought they were modern because of their unique qualities and also assumed that such 'modern' qualities could be generalised and accepted globally. Also the West did not base its claim of superiority merely on the fact that the 'modern' happened to be born in the West, but that it could not have been born elsewhere. This made the West not being able to acknowledge the specificity and diversity of conditions, aspirations and priorities of the Third World nations (Alhassan, 1997: 20).

In the old paradigm there were wrong indicators for development. Parsons (1964) identified several 'evolutionary universals' such as money, markets and bureaucracy as strategic for development. However, for the majority of the Third World nations, these were not new. Again on the UNESCO minimum requirement for the provision of mass media to the Third World as an indicator to development was not practical. Already many of the developing countries had achieved or even surpassed the UNESCO standards, yet there was not much corresponding increase in their living standard.

Another criticism against the dominant paradigm is that its approach to communication was a top–down system. Development communication was one way from the government to the people. Whether the policy makers were wrong or not, the people had to accept as if the government were the most knowledgeable and their ideas and actions could not be challenged. Nothing by way of ideas or suggestions were expected from the people at the grass roots level. Priorities, aspirations and interests of the poor were never taken care of.

Weaver and Jameson (1978) noted that unemployment, poverty and income inequality increased during this period. The basic problem lay in the conception of trickle–down strategy. In the Third World, it was difficult "grow now and trickle down later". The unequal structures and the concomitant economic and political power of those who controlled the rules of the game prevented redistribution of benefits. More over, the new profits and income were converted into goods such as expensive college education, luxury houses and expensive cars which could not be distributed (Melkote, 1991: 130).

An implicit assumption in the dominant paradigm was that the mass media in developing nations carried strong pro-development content. As such (Rogers, 1969; Douglas, 1971) argued that increased exposure to mass media messages create the "climate of modernisation" in the Third World. This view was not correct.

Shore (1980) cited a substantial amount of research done on the content of newspapers and on some broadcasting channels in some Third World nations which showed consistently less development content than sports and entertainment content. Some scholars in Latin America, perceived the mass media in their nations as an extension of exploitative relationships with the United States based multinational corporations, especially through advertising of commercial products. This was caused partly by the elite ownership and control of the media institutions (Melkote, 1991: 150).

The paradigm also avoided a thorough examination of the socio–structural constraints in the Third World nations. The traditional people were exposed to images of the West without the same conditions available in their environs. This resulted in the individuals in the Third World to behave irrationally. This was brought about by a serious imbalance in the want/get ratio which can be a source of rising frustration, and an atmosphere for the generation of social and political conflict.

3.4. Dependency Theory of Communication and Development

Critically national development does not take place in an isolated nation-society, but in each and every society which is part of the international system characterised by structural contradictions. It implies that certain external factors exert a certain amount of influence on national or social development processes. For example Wallerstein (1985) in his theory of capitalist–world–economic system tries to explicate the notion of economic incorporation of peripheral underdeveloped regions into the global capitalist economic system. He argued that in order to guarantee constant profit making in the world markets, the capitalist world – economy strives to create a "single world system of division of labour", and due to its inherent exploitative nature will penetrate an unequal exchange between the centre of the capitalist–economy and the peripheral incorporated underdeveloped nations. Such an

unbalanced trade relation perpetrates inequality in the international structural system (Amupala, 1988: 21).

Wallerstein's ideas are related to the dependency concept which has also enriched development communication thinking. The dependency theorists pin their analysis on an international perspective. Thus when it comes to study the media as an industry, the subject is viewed on the basis of the domination of the periphery by the media giants of the centre, best known as cultural imperialism.

Tunstall (1977) notes that the West media institutions had been a source of financial assistance to the developing nations in terms of technological aid including both hardware and software products which gave them a political access to the cultural and information policies in the developing nations. This created a dependence relationship in which media in the Third World had swamped with popular cultural materials from the West.

The cultural imperialism was also seen in light of the capitalist–world–economic theory in which the West media institutions strived for the homogenization of cultural production. Such homogenization enhanced the dependence relations between the metropolis and the developing nations.

Schiller (1976) argued that the impact of the western media institutions domination on development and social change in underdeveloped nations was to inundate the world with cultural and communication products which are embodied with the ideological features of the world's capitalist economy. They pursued a dependent development strategy in developed countries by promoting the consumption and socialisation in western values through colonial language such as English and advertising their cultural products in the media (Amupala, 1988: 23).

The dependency theory lacked feasible guidelines for the practical policy on the way forward from the global capitalist economy as a basis for development. The best way out is probably to look for other theories and notably theories based on the multiplicity paradigm of communication and development.

3.5 The Way Out: Multiplicity Paradigm

Development efforts in the Third World nations under the modernisation theory of the dominant paradigm were seen not to yield the expected results. This led to communicologists and development practitioners to think of a more participatory and indigenous oriented approach to development. According to Hettne (1982) indigenization of development thinking is the "pre requisite for the growth of a more comprehensive and relevant conception of development" (Amupala, 1988: 17).

The genesis underlying this new paradigm called the multiplicity paradigm is the empowerment of the people at the grass roots level by involving them at all stages of their development. This participatory approach calls for an upward, transactive, open and radical forms of planning that encompass both grass roots collective actions and large–scale processes.

The goal of participation efforts should be to facilitate conscientization of peasants on the extremely unequal social, political and spatial structures in their societies. It is through conscientization that people at the grass roots level could be made to perceive their real needs, identify their real constraints and plan to overcome problems (Melkote, 1991: 246).

The rationale behind the involvement of the people at the all the stages is based on the premise that no one's perception of reality is totally objective or complete. Many projects have failed because they were designed at the top according to their own personal views of reality. They did not take into account the men – in – a – situation to whom the project is aimed at (Freire, 1973: 82-83). Indeed Freire describes as a cultural invasion any attempt to plant on the people any programme drawn without taking the views of the people into account.

Central to the theory on liberating education, is the dialogical nature of communication as against communiqué, where the flow of information is one way from the teacher, seen to be the expert, to the student or the people (Freire, 1973: 66). According to Freire, it is only dialogue, which is capable of generating critical thinking otherwise there can be no true education. Freire's new pedagogy queries the validity of the top–down approach to

education and communication and throws a challenge for the formulation of a more humane approach. He criticised the dominant model under which the "expert" as the source of knowledge deposits it to the people who later memorise and repeat it. True this is a dehumanising model.

The Freirean doctrine is closely related to the multiplicity paradigm as it suggests a liberating or problem solving approach in which the status gap between the communicator and the audience is narrowed or removed all together.

3.6 The Alternative News Genre

News is only part of journalism, but the connection is so basic some people confuse the two. Today's news values are much more complex and very directly tied to the demographic profile of the target audience. Koch (1990) once noted that the definition of news and the role of journalism are understood as much more complex activities than simply providing "a window on the world" because "the view through the window depends upon whether the glass is opaque or clear" (Burns, 2002: 6).

News is normally defined as an accurate, fair, balanced, and objective report that must have certain news values based on such criteria as impact, prominence, proximity, timeliness, human interest, conflict and bizarre. These criteria are supposed to help reporters and editors judge the value of the news and whether the story should be prominently displayed, played down or neglected altogether. This is part of the news production process termed as gate keeping.

The news story normally follows a journalistic formula of "the inverted pyramid" in which the information is arranged in descending order of importance with the most important feature in the "lead" paragraph.

Galtung and Vincent (1992) outline two factors that underlie the thinking of actors in the gate keeping process. The first factor is based on the centre–periphery relationship. In here centre means the modern developed elite societies and the periphery are the least developed poor Third World nations. Any news communication between countries falls within one of

the following relationships: centre–centre, centre–periphery, or periphery–periphery. According to them when international relations between countries are reported disproportionately, the bias is in favour of first centre–centre, then centre–periphery and last periphery–periphery relationship.

The scheme outlined above by Galtung and Vincent operates in Africa in more or less the same way for which the centre is the urban modern developed society and the periphery is the rural poor society.

Galtung and Vincent identify 12 factors that must be satisfied either in part or wholly in order for an event to become news. The most important factors are as follows:

a) The more the event concerns the elite countries the more probable that it will become a news item.

b) The more the event concerns elite people, the more likely that it will become a news item.

c) The more the event can be seen in personal terms as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable it will become a news item.

d) The more the negative the event in its consequences, the more probable that it will become news item (Galtung and Vincent, 1992: 7).

The above factors make events happening in the periphery countries to qualify for the news litmus test if they are negative happenings. This is because they are not the elite countries. Such an event could qualify to be news if it involved an important person such as the President or Head of state or any other important person (to the elites) of the periphery countries. Hence the tendency among the western media to report about Third World countries mostly when negative events like famine, wars, coup de tat and other disasters occur there.

It is unfortunate that this type of reporting is also practised in the Third World countries, Tanzania not an exception. This can be due to the history of the genesis of media education which is very much related to the colonial experience of these developing countries. Education and training of journalists in Africa lacked in depth and critical analysis of some philosophical questions on journalism and its role in the society. It is not enough to teach

trainee journalists how to report or edit a news story and lay it on a page or broadcast it. The trainee needed to know why s/he was reporting and editing the stories for publication or broadcasting in the way s/he did. Even more, the trainee reporters needed to know and understand their society before they started serving their society (Kasoma, 2000: 43).

It is true that more journalism schools have opened in African colleges and universities but the curricula being offered leaves much to be desired. In this connection, Murphy and Scotton (1986) made the not-so surprising statement that some of Africa's journalism or communication programmes could be moved to the United States of America without changing texts, curricula or instructors.

A study conducted in Tanzania earlier, confirm that the news in that country has a western slant. The western concept of "hard news" and the tendency to cover news activities as events and not as process is evident in the country's journalistic output (Nordenstreng and Ng'wanakilala, 1987: 27; Silvennoinen, 1991: 88).

Neither can journalism instructors and professors in Africa be spared blame. In an effort to get a start in the up hill task of getting African curricula in journalism studies, some African journalist teachers and journalists and some other non African contributors prepared a "text book" entitled 'Reporting Africa' published in 1985. Surprisingly enough, most of the contributors had the western conventional definition of news, except a few like Michael Traber and Edward Mamutse.

Traber (1985) argues for the need to create alternative social news actors other than the people of the upper echelons of the society by focusing publicity on the poor people at the grass roots. He also calls for an alternative framework for time as a news value. He admits that timeliness makes news event-oriented. However, peasant life is a status quo. It is a process or a development which can not be measured meaningfully in time intervals. It therefore does not matter whether the news about the people at the grass roots is reported today or next week, so long it is reported in their favour (Traber, 1985: 3-6).

Traber also calls for an alternative in the way news is constructed. The dominant and famous "inverted pyramid" has to be revisited. The ingredients of the news which are to

appear at the top of the pyramid have to reflect the majority ordinary people and not the elites. In doing this, the journalist should use all possible means which include own observations and peoples' own voices and artfully interwoven.

Conflict as a news value should be replaced with "empathy and affinity". I am not saying that conflict is eliminated in essence since we live in a world of conflict. But the event is not the conflict as such; it is people in certain situations looking a solution to conflict, which is, most ordinary people wan and do. It is empathy for, and affinity with, people and their plight which is the backbone of the alternative news genre (Traber, 1985: 5).

Palagumni Sainath, an Indian journalist, sheds light to how it is to operate under a new paradigm of journalism in the service of development. In his book, "Journalism of the Fourth World" Sainath demands that before a journalist can be qualified to report about a certain community s/he should live there and learn to see reality from the people's perspective. It is the wearer of the shoe who knows where it pinches.

Sainath started to publish poverty articles in one of the prestigious newspapers in India, The Times of India in what was called Village Vox series in 1993 and 1994 and concentrated on the coverage of the poor. Far from making a boring reading, his incisive articles were reproduced in many other national newspapers of India. When asked about the origin of the idea he said that he just wanted to restore poverty on Indian national agenda. No wonder India is now one of the developing countries whose economy is growing very fast.

Journalists in Third World countries are required to be active partners in fostering their national growth. Aggarwala (1979) provides a definition that represents the kind of journalism which should operate in new paradigm. This is called development news. It is not different from regular news or investigative reporting. In covering the developing news beat, a journalist should critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation, and for the difference its impact on people as claimed by government officials (Chaudhary, 1983: 49-50).

Mamutse (1985) defines a development journalist in an African context as a field agent whose communication techniques form part of the practical tools needed for rural development. He lists down the tasks of a development journalist as follows:

a) Informing rural population about government policies and providing a forum for discussion and debate on the policies and the development plans;

b) Providing governments with information about development priorities from the rural people and feedback about the effects of the government policies and plans (bottom–up communication);

c) Providing information and stimulus for action to rural populations related to their particular needs, environment and culture;

d) Cross–informing the various rural communities on what the others are doing and giving support to their organisations such as councils, co-operative societies, clubs and other societies (horizontal communication);

e) Bridging the communication gap between the urban centres and the rural areas and establishing dialogue between them;

f) Creating conditions for intelligent and informed participation of the people in government projects and programmes bearing in mind the desire and action for change must come from people themselves–for, the main problems facing African countries is not poor natural resources, but the underdevelopment of human resources;

g) Promoting national integration, unity and loyalty to the government and state.

Mamutse's definition of a development journalist do not differ much from that of Aggrawala, only that his definition together with the tasks makes his ideas quite relevant in evolving a more dialogical news genre. However asking the journalist to be loyal to the government and the state is not practical as some of the African countries can be under dictatorial regimes or military rule which most of the time is against the interest of the majority. What can be expected from the development journalist is being loyal to the nation. In this way the journalist can draw the attention of the government to its shortcomings. Criticising government and loyalty to it might be interpreted as two ends of the same pole. They do not go together in most circumstances. Nation here does not necessarily refer to a group of people with a common linguistic and cultural background, but rather a group of people who share a common historical experience and living in a

territory they consider as their common homeland with their nation ness embedded in them (Alhassan, 1997: 35).

It is this type of loyalty to the government that has caused the corruption and indeed, the de-legitimisation of development journalism in the name of development by some African governments (Martin and Chaudhary, 1983: 50).

Development journalism does not differ much with public journalism. According to Glasser and Craft, public journalism calls for a shift from a "journalism of information" to a "journalism of conversation". The public needs not only information but also engagement in the day's news that invites discussion and debate (McQuail, 2005: 183).

Shah views the task of development journalism first as an emancipation act to dislodge developing countries from the modernisation paradigm. He prescribes a normative model for the role of journalism. According to him emancipatory journalism as he prefers to call development journalism, "should be democratic and communication should be 'bottom-top'". What he calls for is to de-emphasise the views of the officials by seeking out local knowledge and discuss the development process. He believes that through this the voices of the people be given prominence and their priorities for development from their point of view will be made known.

Emanciptory journalism calls for pragmatic and unconventional in reportage. According to Glasser and Craft in McQuail (2005) public or emancipatory journalism parts with the tradition of neutrality and objective reporting, but it is not a return to politicised or advocacy journalism. Shah (1994) also demands that journalists should replace the dry, mechanical recitation of "facts" with reporting of contextualised narratives and interpretations. They should obliterate the false division between news and editorial that is derived from the myth of objectivity. What is called here is the constructive involvement of the journalist in reporting about the community.

As mentioned above the similarities between development journalism and public journalism based on the multiplicity paradigm can not be mistaken. They both decry the current one way top–down and the unquestioned privilege reserved for journalists to decide

what is news. These two models of journalism are aimed at evolving new ways of empowering the ordinary people through increased focus on them as news sources and coverage.

Research into the acclaimed objectivity of news reporting has rather revealed the opposite. McQuail (2005: 203) contends that what may be said to be the most objective news of the highest professional calibre has not been spared of attacks when fundamental differences of interests and values are involved. The very process of news reporting and the conditions surrounding it limit the extent of objectivity that the reporter can put into play. There can be an enormous quantity of news information that has to be processed and selected under pressure of time. Sources may not readily disclose information or may be too enthusiastic to talk for their private profit. More so, there is often intense competition from other journalists and media houses for the same information. The news has to be selectively presented to please consumers.

Martin and Chaudhary (1983) came up with the same observation that objectivity as a journalistic standard has been difficult to attain even in the western countries because many journalists feel that they can never completely divorce themselves from the issues and events they are covering. This has led to the emergence of the "new journalism" school of thought, which holds that journalists should be more than messengers and should get involved in the message and admit their biases.

It is only working with the people at the grass roots, focusing media attention on their understanding of reality and creating them as news actors that they will begin to have self confidence and hence claim their humanity. Being accustomed to a culture of silence for so many years due to domination through the elite supported media and biases inherent in the modernisation paradigm people at the grass roots need an alternative approach in order to accept the new role as news actors. This demands alternative journalism, one which requires much more participatory approach than the conventional orthodox journalism. This is the alternative news genre which will empower the ordinary people as their voices will be heard and contribute towards their own development.

4. CONTENT ANALYSIS

Bernard Berelson (1952) famously described content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

The above definition is useful because it highlights key facets of the origins and concerns of the method. In particular the claim to objectivity and the emphasis on manifest or observable evidence are the main reasons for being chosen as a research method for this study. Content analysis is a quantitative method designed to bring the rigour and authority of 'natural' scientific inquiry to the study of human and social phenomena (Deacon, D. et al. 1999: 115).

The material for this study was collected in the month of January because it is when many rural people, who are the focus of this study have more time to listen to the radio. It is a period these people are not engaged in their subsistence agricultural activities and are waiting for the rain season.

Tanzania has two main rain seasons. The first season starts in early October and ends in early December while the second rain season is from mid March to the end of June. During the rain season most of the rural people are engaged in food crops farming and very few in cash crops. The farming activities include preparation of the fields, sowing seeds, weeding and harvesting. People still listen to the radio during this time but not as much as after harvesting. Another significant feature of the African rural population is their tradition of holding ceremonies after harvesting. They spend the little they got within short period without saving for the future, which is a manifestation of poverty.

January, the first month of a year, is regarded as a special month for most people in Tanzania. It is the time to review the previous year's performance, especially for the urban poor and the working middle class who had been "forced" to spend unwillingly in the end of the year festive season. In this month most households are in financial crisis as whatever

is available is needed to pay school fees[2] and buy school uniforms. Academic year for primary and secondary schools starts in January. As such many people turn to the media for information and entertainment as well as to pass time.

4.1 Sampling

In order to get a descriptive account of the role of the newspapers and radio in fighting poverty, I had to work out a sampling scheme which will as much as possible represent the population of my study. After getting the representative samples, I then worked out a set of variables which were used to analyse the selected newspapers and the radio programs.

Newspapers

Six newspapers were randomly selected from twelve popular daily newspapers. The selected newspapers included two English dailies and four Swahili dailies. The selection process was done as follows: Two English dailies were randomly selected from six English dailies and four Swahili dailies from six Swahili dailies. The selection of the papers in both languages in that ratio is based on the fact that the majority of newspaper readers are fluent in Swahili language than English although they are both official languages in Tanzania. The names of the sampled newspapers are Mtanzania, Nipashe, Majira, and Uhuru. These are the Swahili newspapers. The English newspapers are The Daily News, which is owned by the government and The Guardian. The rest of the newspapers are privately owned except Uhuru which is owned by the ruling political party, CCM.

All news items appearing in the newspapers are categorised as either news or commentary. News can be hard or soft, on the front page or otherwise. For this study, both the news and commentary which contains editorials, feature articles, letters from the readers and others were analysed. Feature articles and letters to the editor are regarded as voices of the people for whose development is sought and which is the focus of this study.

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[2] No school fees for public schools but there are other expenses to be incurred by parents/guardians

The Daily News and Mtanzania were further randomly selected out of the six to find out the proportion of poverty stories reported compared with the total number of news stories appearing in the papers for the same period of study. The same newspapers were used to find out how often poverty stories on the following socio economic issues are reported: Education, health, food shortage, environment, democracy and good governance, women, tourism and natural resources, crimes and accidents, agriculture, HIV/AIDS, persons with disabilities and orphans, trade and commerce, transport and water. These issues are considered to be of priority in the war against poverty as contained in the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty[3] (2005) policy document.

Radio

Tanzania has a total of 64 radio stations, three of which cover almost the whole country. These are Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) owned by the government and two privately owned radio stations namely Radio Free Africa (RFA) and Radio One. The ownership of other radio stations with small coverage ranges from public institutions, private business enterprises to community and religious institutions.

For radio, I decided to analyse newsreel broadcasts of two of the three radio stations which cover the whole country. These are Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam and Radio Free Africa. I selected the two stations because of several reasons. First is on the ownership. One is government owned (RTD) and the other is privately owned (RFA). Second, all the stations transmit on FM frequencies (RTD has also short wave transmitters) with almost the same strength of the broadcast signals. Third, the format is almost the same. They differ slightly in the programming/scheduling of development content. However, they both have a same development newsreel program with the same theme; same presentation style and they are broadcasted at almost the same time. This is the programme which was used in the analysis. Last, their head offices, production studios and news rooms are located in different cities. The head office of RTD is in Dar es Salaam, the capital city, while that of RFA is in Mwanza, the second largest city situated about 1000 kilometres north west of Dar es

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[3] This current policy document is built around three main clusters of strategies. These are Economic growth and the reduction of income poverty, Improved quality of life and social well being, Good governance and accountability (www.povertymonitoring.go.tz).

Salaam on the shores of lake Victoria. The two radio stations have reporters and correspondents/stringers located in different parts of the country. They also have zone/regional offices for their smooth operations. The difference in location of the main news rooms and studios of the two stations brings about the homogeneity of the radio audience brought about by patronization. There is always an individual preference on the choice of a radio station to tune in. Although Radio One has the same attributes as Radio Free Africa but it is located in Dar es Salaam city the same as Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam as such it failed the litmus test.

According to Amupala (1988), radio programmes can be categorized as follows:

Category	Programme
a)Informational programmes	News bulletins, commentaries, actualities press reviews, and sports news.
b)Educational programmes	Formal education (school radio), adult education, agriculture/forestry, health and nutrition.
c)Magazines and features	Documentaries, women's, the youth's, children's, worker's programmes and other serious programmes.
d)Cultural programmes	Traditional music, literature and the like.
e) Religion	Prayers, mass services, Bible and Quran lessons and whims
f) Advertisements	
g) Entertainment	Pop music, quizzes, plays, service programmes (requests, telephone call-ins), live sports commentaries and the like.

Some of the above categories are development oriented. The programmes falling under categories (a) and (b) have a manifest content generally intended to inform and to help promote improvement, or to effect change in social sectors. The newsreel broadcasts I chose for this study falls under this category.

The newsreel broadcasts popularly referred to by the two radio stations as investigative news from the regions, are telephone voice casts of reporters from the regions recorded and

broadcasted from the main studios of the stations. Tanzania is divided into 21 geographic and administrative regions and Zanzibar[4]. The announcer/presenter, who happens to be the producer of the programme, introduces the news items in a form of a teaser, which at times serves as a lead, before the recorded voice casts are played. One newsreel broadcast contains seven news items on average, with some commercial breaks in between.

RTD calls this newsreel programme MAJIRA a Swahili word meaning "season" while RFA calls it MATUKIO which means "events" in English. The duration of the programme is fifteen minutes, the same for each station. MAJIRA is on air in the morning at 0645-0700 hours local time while MATUKIO is on air at 0700-0715 hours local time. All the programmes have the same commercials of one mobile telephone company and one beverage company.

Table 2. Dates of Broadcast Recordings

Station	Dates of January 2006														
RTD	2	6	11	13	15	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	26	30	31
RFA	3	4	5	7	8	9	10	12	14	16	24	25	27	28	29

For this study, the newsreel broadcasts were recorded off air for thirty days in January 2006. Each radio station had its broadcasts recorded for fifteen days. The dates for the recordings were obtained by random sampling as in Table 1 above.

The recording was done on sixty minutes long compact audio cassettes. Each day's recording was done on one side of the cassette in order to avoid the possibility of running out of tape in the middle of a recording. A total of about eight hours of newsreel broadcasts were recorded and analysed.

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[4] Zanzibar has its own media although some newspapers and radio broadcasts from the mainland Tanzania reach there.

4.2 Variables and Coding

To analyse the contents, two main variables were identified for both radio newsreels and newspapers. The first variable is on how the news item reported is related to poverty and the second one is based on the theme of the reporting whether it is event driven or issue focused.

 In order to understand the variables used in this study let us first define poverty. Different people, groups and institutions define poverty differently. It is a multi dimensional concept, which is difficult to define. Even with a particular concept, it is likely to have different ways to define it.

The most commonly used definition is that which addresses the income dimension of poverty. Income is taken to be the relevant welfare indicator and defines poverty as the inability to attain a minimum standard of living. Thus conventionally, poverty is measured by income or expenditure level that can sustain a bare minimum standard of living.

According to the Manual for Media Practitioners on Poverty Policy Analysis[5], poverty is also the condition of being poor. Having a great need of necessary items or goods, being inferior compared to others, being inadequately equipped and having scarcity of things such as food, shelter, health, education etc. To be poverty stricken means to be poor to earn a living.

Poverty is also understood as a situation or condition of life or living that is associated with insufficiency in such minimal necessities as adequate nutrition, housing, safe water, health and education. Poverty is both a material and non material condition. Poverty is not only concerned with the influence of the market forces on the redistribution of real income, wealth, prestige and power, but also the provision of public goods by the state. It is also defined in reference to getting a fair share of education and health care; equal access to structures of decision making; having respect and status in community and also being

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[5] This manual was prepared by Prof. M. Possi, E. Mrutu and J. Meena to train journalists to understand Poverty Policy Analysis document of the Poverty Eradication Division of the Tanzania's Vice President's Office, 2004.

secure in the sense that one has some influence over what happens in his or her life and therefore of having hope for the future.

The first variable was based on how the news items reported are related to poverty. This variable was divided into two categories: The poverty news items regarded to be directly related to poverty and those which are not directly related to poverty. In this case the definition of poverty was applied. For this study poverty is defined as both a material and non material phenomenon. It is defined as a situation whereby an individual is deprived or does not get both the material and non material needs. The material needs are like food, clothes, shelter, water, education, health facilities and the like. Non material needs include the opportunity to be heard and participate in political, cultural and other socio-economic activities in the society. The direct poverty news items are those for which material condition of poverty dominate while the indirect news items are those for which non material condition of poverty is central.

All the identified (direct and indirect) poverty news items were then analysed according to the second variable.

The second variable was based on the theme of the news item. This was done by considering the type of the lead of the news items. In journalism the lead is at times the story itself, but normally it tells the news genre. The leads were categorised into two; event focused and issue or process focused. Event focused news items are those that start with mentioning an activity such as an occasion like the laying of a foundation stone or the opening of a community project by a politician or a beaurocrat. News items that start with the announcement of an on-going project or meeting of villagers discussing their problems or achievements are regarded as issue or process focused. Issue focused stories are objectively reported with adequate follow up. These news items are generally deep rooted into the activities of ordinary people.

The counting of the news items was done according to the variables and coding schedule described above. This exercise was done by the researcher himself for consistency and for the systematic application of the research instruments. The news items which were doubted to fit into any categories were left out.

4.3 Empirical Results

After the counting of the news items as they appear in the selected media, the results are presented in tables and discussed together with the general observations of the study.

Table 3a. Newspaper News Items Distributed According to Relationship and Themes of Poverty

| Newspapers | Relationship to Poverty | | Total | Theme of Reporting | |
	Material	Non Material		Event focused	Issue focused
Mtanzania	32	15	47	14	33
Uhuru	12	5	17	10	7
Majira	60	21	81	57	24
Nipashe	44	20	64	46	18
The Guardian	26	7	33	14	19
The Daily News	23	11	34	22	12
Total	197	79	276	163	113
% of news items	**71.4**	**28.6**	**100**	**59**	**41**

Table 3b. Radio News Items Distributed According to Relationship and Theme of Poverty

| Radio Station | Relationship to Poverty | | Total | Theme of Reporting | |
	Material	Non Material		Event focused	Issue focused
RTD	48	12	60	38	22
RFA	34	9	43	25	18
Total items	82	21	103	63	40
% of poverty news items	**79.6**	**20.4**	**100**	**61.2**	**38.8**

The results shown on the Tables 3a and 3b above show that there are more direct poverty stories reported in both the newspapers and the radio than the indirect poverty stories.

For newspapers direct news items which are for material poverty constitute about 60 percent of all poverty news items reported, and about 80 percent of the same have been reported on radio. This shows that many people including journalists seem to understand poverty from the material point of view such as hunger, diseases and lack of education than from the non material perspective.

However, poverty is both a material and a non material phenomenon. Lack of material poverty which has been reported more by the media in this study, to a large extent is brought by the non material condition of poverty. Ryan (1976: 122-3), puts it this way: "Poverty is an economic status etiologically related to the absence of both monetary input and access to income generating resources. Conceptualized thus the strategy to overcome poverty would be to bring every poor person above the poverty line through transfer of resources" (Melkote, 1991:185). The key words here are access and transfer of resources which are the vital ingredients of empowering the poor, a non-material condition for alleviating poverty.

Furthermore, the results on the tables above show that many news items on poverty are event focused. Event focused news items in both newspapers and radio account for about 60 percent of the total poverty stories reported. This is an indicative of the slant of the stories. News is just unrelated empirical happenings that satisfy the dominant requirements of news as explained by Galtung and Vincent (1992:7) in Alhassan (1997: 64). They take the form of Glasser`s delineation of "the news report" and not "the news story". With such a news format, the media does not operate as an instrument for community mobilization; instead it functions as a centrifugal force.

The tendency to cover news activities as events and not as a process is confirmed in an earlier study of the Tanzania media system (Nordenstreng and Ng´wanakilala. 1987: 21). Process or issue focused stories should not necessarily follow the conventional news values of timeliness, prominence, proximity, conflict and bizarre (Traber, 1985: 3-6). Stories for

development journalism should give publicity on the poor, the oppressed and the ordinary people. These need competent and committed journalists.

The problems facing reporters in developing countries such as Tanzania are many. They range from none or inadequate journalism training, non availability or insufficient working tools to low salaries. Issue focused news stories demand for objectivity. Forde (1999) found that objectivity is one of the principal reasons the mainstream media fail to present diverse information to the public. As a result, journalists prefer "neutral" topics, such as crime and natural disasters, at the expense of intelligent examinations into the cause of events (Forde, 199: 39). However, for a development journalist, reporting on crimes, road or fire accidents and the like should include their consequences. Many people feel sorry for accident victims, in that there could be injuries or loss of life and property, a development journalist should add that such accidents also impoverish the society. The injured or the dead could be bread earners in their families. This also creates other problems such as the loss of productive manpower. Crime is another area reported without its relationship to poverty. Crime such as bank robberies should be reported with their possible effects to the economy of the country since most of them if not all are associated with other crimes such as money laundering.

There is another short coming with stories filed from the regions. Most reporters in the regions are correspondents or freelancers. Few media institutions have handful permanent staffers. These people have to sell their copy to make a living. Their working condition is not favourable to report objectively. They do not have resources such as transport to visit sources or countercheck with the other party in order to balance the story. A part from reporting stories on crimes and the like, they can go to the extent of making the stories to be dressed up to make them marketable. In Tanzania the working conditions of our journalists is unbearable. Journalists are being turned into destitute. To confirm this, there is a news item in this study which was aired on one radio station which had no substance. It was just a gesture to the visiting Government Minister who provided the reporter with transport and probably with lunch while visiting his parliamentary constituency.

Oliver Kanene (1995) who studied the Zambian rural news media came up with similar findings. In interviews with Zambian journalists, they argued that they can not reach out to

the rural areas on their own because their employers could not afford the cost. And when government officials and politicians provide them with transport, the reporters admitted that they end up writing to satisfy their benefactors (Alhassan, 1997: 82).

Type of ownership does not show to have any significant contribution on the way poverty issues are reported. However, the results on the two newspapers need some special attention. Uhuru, the newspaper owned by the ruling political party, has very few news items on poverty than the other Kiswahili papers. One could have expected poverty issues to be a political agenda. On the other hand, Mtanzania had more issue focused news items than the other newspapers. Again, issue focused reporting should be expected as the daily diet to feature more in The Daily News, the government owned newspaper, unfortunately it is not. This will be discussed later after digesting the results shown on the following tables.

Table 4. Categories of News Items Reported in Newspapers

Newspapers	Total no. of items	News		Commentary	
		No. of items	%	No. of items	%
Mtanzania	47	15	31.9	32	**68.1**
Uhuru	**17**	8	47.1	9	52.9
Majira	81	57	70.4	24	29.6
Nipashe	64	56	87.5	8	12.5
The Guardian	33	17	51.5	16	48.5
The Daily News	34	27	79.4	7	20.6
Total	276	180	**65.2**	96	**34.8**

Newspapers carry two main types of information material namely news and commentary. Commentary include the newspaper editorials and comments, feature articles which can be commissioned or otherwise, letters from readers, cartoons and other special material.

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Editorial is the stand or opinion of the newspaper while feature articles, letters from readers and cartoons are regarded as voices of the people.

The results on the table 4 above show that Mtanzania has more news items in the commentary (68.1 percent) than other newspapers. This is the same newspaper with more news items which are issue focused (see table 2a). The big number of new items was contributed by the editorials, feature articles and letters to the editor. This shows that news items originating from the people at the grass roots level are more focused to their activities than those reported from the elite perspective. For this study Mtanzania newspaper has passed the litmus test of giving voice the people at the grass roots. With this type of reporting the media can mobilize the community for their development.

On the other hand, the government Daily News has the highest proportion of the news, about 80 percent which are direct focused. This satisfies the dominant requirements of news as explained by Galtung and Vincent (1992: 7), but do not satisfy the objectives of the newspaper of supporting the government in its war against poverty. It does not give prominence to the ordinary people.

One of the arsenals of the government in this war is the media. There was an interesting story which appeared on The Daily News of January 17, 2006 with a headline "Government Acts on Vehicles Misuse". The story says that twelve government vehicles were impounded in different parts of Dar es Salaam for alleged violating a government order restricting movement of cars after working hours and that it was a nationwide operation. This is a good story on poverty as it is on the misuse of public property which falls under good governance and accountability. As it had been long since this order was in place, every one was eager to see its return. At least the media was performing its watch dog role. However, nothing had been heard ever since as if it was a Fool's Day hoax.

The study also worked on the proportion of the number of poverty news items reported compared to the total number of news items carried in the newspapers for the period of study. Two newspapers out of the six were randomly selected for this comparison. One is Mtanzania, the Kiswahili daily and The Daily News. The results of two newspapers are shown in table 5 below.

Table 5. Comparison of News Items Reported on Two Newspapers

(The numbers in brackets represent the number of news items carried in the newspaper for the one month of study).

Newspaper	News	Commentary	Total
Mtanzania	**15** (81)	**32** (169)	**47** (250)
The Daily News	**27** (104)	**7** (111)	**34** (215)
Total	**42** (185)	**39** (254)	**81** (465)
%Total	22.7	16.8	39.5
%Average	**11.4**	**8.4**	**19.8**

The study shows that on the average news item related to poverty constitute about 20 percent (19.8%) of the daily coverage of newspapers in Tanzania. In simple language there are two stories on or about poverty in every ten stories you read in any daily newspaper. However, it is only 8 percent of the total number of news stories about poverty which are reported as commentary in a form of editorials, feature articles, letters to the editor, cartoons, cross word puzzles, poems, supplements and the like. The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty calls for the participation of various stake holders, the media being one of them. These results call for the media to increase coverage of the activities of the people, giving them more space for their views.

The results on the socio-economic distribution of poverty news items in Table 6 below show that issues on education lead the list followed by issues on democracy/good governance, food shortage and crimes/accidents. The least reported issues were on international involvement. Education is the key to development, no wonder it is at the top. The First President of Tanzania, the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere once said: "Education is the key to a prosperous life" when he was inaugurating a national illiteracy campaign in Tanzania in 1970. Many poverty issues are linked to inadequate or lack of education.

Table 6. Socio-Economic Distribution of Reported Poverty News Items

	Newspaper	Radio	Total	%
Education	52	21	73	19.3
Democracy/Good Governance	49	9	58	15.3
Food Shortage	37	17	54	14.3
Crimes/Accidents	35	3	38	10.1
Women	14	10	24	6.3
Health and HIV/AIDS	17	6	23	6.1
Agriculture	8	9	17	4.5
Environment	13	3	16	4.2
Disabled/Orphans	8	7	15	4.1
Entrepreneurship	10	3	13	3.4
Water/Electricity	9	4	13	3.4
Tourism/Natural Resources	9	3	12	3.2
Youths	6	5	11	2.9
Trade and Commerce	5	1	6	1.6
International Involvement	3	2	5	1.3
Total	276	103	379	100

On democracy/good governance and food shortage, the high frequency of reporting may have been due to the fact that it was just after the general elections and a new government had just been formed. Also the country was experiencing a worst drought ever in recent history which resulted into serious food shortage.

There is an interesting story which appeared in the media during the period of this study. One District Commissioner refuted journalists' report that the district was hit hard by famine[6]. This officer did not want to admit the food shortage because in so doing he was

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[6] Tanzania is divided into 21 administrative regions. Each region has several districts headed by the District Commissioner.

dismissing himself from the post as per the Prime Minister's directive. With such contradicting stories, the Minister for the local government, for which the districts fall under it, had to visit the district accompanied by journalists only to find out that the media reports were correct. What exactly happened to the District Commissioner after this revelation, no one knows as there have been new appointments.

On crimes and accidents, the big number of news reports, can be due to the conventional meaning of news. However, there was a wave of banditry and robbery just after the general elections, which could add to the reportage. This forced the new government to form a new Ministry specifically responsible for the security of its people.

There were very few news items on the involvement of international community in the fight against poverty. These items are normally reported in occasions. They are event focused and hence need follow up. Example of such a story is that which appeared in The Guardian of January 25, 2006 with a headline: Tanzania to receive 693 billion shillings from donors. The story says that the government and 14 development partners signed a Partnership Framework Memorandum (PFM) governing General Budget Support for the implementation of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP). This financial support has to be disbursed during the 2006/2007 financial year. A part from the fact that this story need recasting for simple language, there has not been a follow up of this story up to the time this report is written.

My concern here is that the international involvement needs to be known to the grass roots people as they are the benefactors of most of the decisions reached at that level. They need to know about the United Nations 8 Millennium Development Goals and the Breton Woods institutions and other donor countries' contribution to the war against poverty. This will make them feel secured which is a non material need.

4.4. General Observations

The design and layout of all newspapers follow the same modern style with an attractive eye catching big headlines and colour photographs on front pages. All the newspapers are departmentalized, in the sense that there are specific pages for certain type of news. The motive behind this is for the newspaper to be attractive with good stories and hence make money.

McManus (1994), Koch (1990) and others in (Burns, 2002:24) claim that there is a massive move to a "market-driven journalism" which has fundamentally changed the daily role of journalists in making the news. The changes are characterized by a gradual and increasing lack of editorial independence within media organizations. Another study by Underwood (1993) supported this view and said:

> To fit into the newspaper's design and packaging needs,
> preplanning is essential….Editors who need to allot space
> in the news pages well in advance prefer stories that are
> predictable, come with plenty of lead time, and fit the
> preconceptions and that they have already been discussed
> in editorial meetings. In this system, it is easy to find the
> reporter reduced to a researcher, a gatherer of information,
> a functionary in the plan-package-and-market-the-newspaper
> bureaucracy (Underwood, 1993: 163).

This, as McManus says is commodification of news as a product for sale to advertisers which create conflict of interest. It is a conflict between the journalist's role to inform the society and the journalist's job, which is to increase the profits of his/her employer. It arises when the public interest is better served by telling people things they would rather not know – for example, things that make them feel uncomfortable or guilty.

The above is evidenced in the way poverty issues are presented in the newspapers. An example is on page 2 of The Daily News of January 26, 2006. It contains ten news items, six of which have been given prominence and four others have been stacked together as "briefs" (see appendix B). In the design and layout of a newspaper, those news items

regarded as important are given more space or lineage with their headlines in bigger fonts and or in bold typeface. The position on the page also matters. Important news items are placed at the top and less important ones at the bottom. In this page the news items which are directly related to poverty are three, two of them are stacked in the 'briefs' with small headlines. One of the news items is on a training workshop on entrepreneurship held in Kilosa, a small township, whereby the participants asked the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development to look into the possibility of extending such training as it was vital for their development. Another news item is on the involvement of the international community in which Italian government had donated food to the country to support the World Food Programme (WFP) activities in Tanzania. The last news item on poverty is about the increase of cholera cases in Dar es Salaam.

On the same page there are two photographs; one is that of the Prime Minister consoling the Chairman of the Local Government Society in a hospital bed. This photograph covers about one fifth of the page and is placed at the top. At the bottom left corner of there is a photograph of a building belonging to a company known as Mohammed Enterprises which was destroyed by fire. The text of this photograph is on the adjacent page. If the person who did the layout of this page was a development journalist the poverty news items could have been given the prominence they deserve, given that it is a government newspaper. One of the stories could be placed next to the photograph of the Prime Minister.

The same thing is seen on page 3 of the Kiswahili daily Nipashe of January 3, 2006 (see appendix C). There is a big photograph of a Vodacom Company official sorting out winning tickets in one of the company's promotional draws. The photograph occupies about half a page and is positioned at the top of the page. At the bottom there is a news item on the disabled persons. Their Chairperson says that only 0.2 percent of the disabled persons have at least primary school education. He asked the authorities to involve them in the planning and execution of different socio-economic activities

News items appearing in newspapers are unnecessarily long with some repetitions and quotations which could be avoided. Most of these are event focused stories and may contain more than three unrelated issues which confuse the reader. This is confirmed by one News Editor of a reputable media house who admitted that it is caused by the lack of

sub editors in most newspapers. The other cause is the fact that at times, news can be a scarce commodity, hence forced to elongate them to fill the available space – which is bad journalism.

The radio newsreel broadcasts of the two stations studied follow a standardized pattern of content production. By standardized, I mean they are both constructed in the same way, following the same format, namely starting with a signature tune and ending with the same signature tune. The content and commercial breaks or jingles are in between.

The newsreel broadcasts had advertisements of Vodacom, a cellular telephone company and Pepsi Cola. Advertisements have their unique characteristic which differentiates them from other announcements. They are persuasive in intent and usually ambiguous in content. They exhort to buy the advertised product but supply little information about it (Amapula, 1988:124). The way the advertisements were used in the broadcasts is recommended as they gave the audience an opportunity to digest the previous news items. Also advertisements bring about the culture of consumerism, which is a catalyst for development.

In some of the newsreel broadcasts for which the main actor was the person at grass roots level, the story was reported different. This news item aired on RFA on January 10, 2006 was about a peasant father who took his family to the Regional Commissioner to seek for shelter and food in protest against the allocation of his piece of land to a school by government authorities. The lead of the story was the Regional Commissioner at hard time over a peasant who has taken his family to him in protest against the allocation of a piece of land to a school. This shows the weakness of the reporting that the elite bureaucrats are the ones who make news.

Another news item was on RTD of January 13, 2006, for which it is reported that a school girl has refused to be married in spite of the dowry price paid. This is a good example of a story which empowers the ordinary people. The broadcast could have more impact had it contained a sound bite of the girl's own words as we are advocating giving voice to the voiceless.

There was not much gender disparity in the reporting and presentation of the broadcasts, although it was not the main objective of the study. However, the number of female producers cum announcers out numbered their male colleagues, a positive indicator of women empowerment.

Something worth mentioning is on the poor quality of some of the voice casts. It is always advised for the reporter to be close to the microphone/telephone mouth piece in a quite room when sending voice over reports, unless it is an actuality. The other short coming observed was the inability of discovering a mistake while being recorded or on air and the courtesy of asking for an excuse. The date of January 6 was by mistake mentioned as July 6 on RFA.

There were few stories which were recycled. Some radio news items carried on the newsreel broadcasts appeared in the newspapers the following day. This is not a bad thing given the ill staffing of journalists situation in media institutions in Tanzania. The handicap was the style. The same news stories had appeared on radio and newspapers with the same wording and style. Definitely the content can be the same, but a copy for broadcasting should be different from that of the print media.

4.5. Limitations of the Study

The type and manner in which poverty issues were reported in the media may have been influenced by two things. The first one is the fact that the study was carried just after the general elections for which the media was saturated with how the election was carried as well as the elections results. The other thing is that during the study period the country was experiencing a severe drought which resulted into a serious food shortage. During this period there was also unofficial power rationing as the water dams used for generating electricity were drying up due to the drought.

Also the sample of the radio newsreel broadcasts may not be adequate to make a generalisation of how radio report poverty issues. This is because there are more newsreel broadcasts in a day. For example, Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam has two more newsreel broadcasts, at 1615 hours called HARAKATI and another MAJIRA at 2100 hours.

Due to the above two factors, the number of news items on poverty issues such as democracy and good governance as well as on the food shortage may not be generalised as representing the real situation of the media coverage on poverty in the country.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study looked at the role of the media in fighting poverty in Tanzania. It specifically focused on how poverty issues were covered in newspapers and radio newsreel broadcasts. This followed a concern that the media may not be doing enough in the support of other stake holders in fighting poverty even after the liberalisation of the media in Tanzania.

The study is based on the theories and practices of development communication in which its focus is the desire to empower people at the grass roots through the use of the media. The modernisation theories of the dominant paradigm together with the dependency theory of communication development proved to be inadequate in solving underdevelopment problems of the Third World nations. This called for a participation–as–a–means to an end approach ranging from attempts at mobilizing of the people to cooperate in development activities to empowering them so that they may articulate and manage their own development programmes. This approach called the multiplicity paradigm of communication and development calls for the media to work with the people at grass roots level.

Quantitative content analysis method was used in this study. Six daily newspapers selected randomly and newsreel broadcasts of two radio stations were analysed to determine the way poverty issues were covered in the media for a period of one month. The analysis was carried out by using two main variables. The first variable is based on how poverty is understood among the media personnel and the society in general. For this study, poverty which is a material and non material phenomena is defined as the absence or inadequate availability of both material and non material needs for the well being of a person or society. Material poverty is shortage or lack of basic needs such as food, education, health facilities and shelter and so on. Non material poverty includes shortage or lack of access to taking part in socio–economic and cultural activities, access to structures of decision making, the ill feeling of being unsecured and the like.

The second variable is on the theme of the media coverage. By theme, it means the reason or cause of the coverage. This is whether it was due to the laying of a foundation stone/opening of a project by a government official/bureaucrat or was it due to the activities of the people themselves. The objective of this variable was to determine the extent to which the media give prominence to the activities of the people at the grass roots level. Together with the two variables, the study looked at other aspects of media coverage on poverty issues. These included the proportion and type of poverty issues covered and the contribution of media ownership on the coverage. Gender perspective on reporters, the design and layout of the poverty stories in the newspapers and the quality of the radio newsreel broadcasts were also considered.

A total of 180 copies of six daily newspapers were analysed. These newspapers carried 276 news items on poverty related issues. Out of these news items only 8 percent were stories considered to be the voices of the people. These stories appeared as editorials, feature articles and letters to the editor. About eight hours of radio broadcasts recorded off air from two radio stations were analysed.

Together with the above, more stories were reported on material related poverty issues than non material related poverty issues in both the newspapers and the radio newsreel broadcasts. This is a type of reporting which can be compared with investing in curative measures rather than promoting preventive medicine. As mentioned earlier poverty is both a material and non material phenomenon. The absence of non material needs like the participation of the people at the grass roots will never liberate the society from the whims of poverty. Ryan (1976) once wrote: "Poverty has not been perceived as lack of money. It is clearly the result of lower class culture of the poor or the traditional culture of the peasants. The solution, therefore, is not distribution of resources. Instead, the spotlight is on how to change 'the way of life' of the poor"(Melkote, 1991: 185).

Also there was more news items on poverty reported due to the presence of government or political officials/bureaucrats than those reported on the activities of the people at the grass roots level. This shows that the media in Tanzania is lopsided in favour of the elite who work and live in urban areas which are more developed. When they visit the people in the rural areas, they come with the media and the media report about the peoples' activities

from the elite perspective. Based on the saying 'it is the wearer of the shoe who knows where it pinches', definitely the elite does not know what it is to be poor than the people at the grass roots level.

Poverty issues which appeared more frequently in the media during the period of study were those on education followed by those on good governance/democracy, food shortage and crimes/accidents. The least reported issues were on trade/commerce and those involved with international institutions.

There was a significant observation on how poverty issues were reported in the government owned newspaper, The Daily News. The newspaper had few issue focused news items just like the majority of the private owned newspapers, which show that the type of ownership has nothing to do with how poverty issues are reported. However for the fight against poverty the government newspaper should have been an exemplar and carry as many news stories as possible which are issue focused. Another observation in the same vein, is the surprisingly appearance of few poverty news items in Uhuru, the newspaper owned by the political party in power. It is common sense to expect poverty to be high in the political agenda.

Some of the voice casts were not heard properly due to some technical hitches and others lacked the needed voice inserts which could have made them more lively and authentic.

Female voices of the reports from the regions and studio presenters were heard more than their male colleagues in the radio newsreel broadcasts, a positive indicator of women empowerment.

The study showed that the media and in particular newspapers did not give much prominence to poverty issues. The news items on poverty if not reported in connection with the elite were given less space and their headlines written in smaller fonts. It was also observed that the main actors of the poverty news stories were reported to be the elite bureaucrats even when the story was about the initiatives of the ordinary people.

From the above findings the study concludes that the media in Tanzania is not doing enough in fighting poverty. Given the magnitude of the problem and the current national and international discourse on poverty led by the United Nations, the media ought to do more. Poverty issues are still being reported based on the conventional definition of news as well as the criteria for the selection of news. News genre that is appropriate for the empowerment of the people at the grass roots level is not practised in the Tanzanian media.

Tanzania journalists seem to be pro status quo in their day to day activities. They seem to be satisfied with their being a megaphone of the politicians, government officials, business people and other elitists. They do this by protecting their conscience with the elite – centred journalistic ethics and theories. The theories like objectivity based on attribution and impartial reporting of events as they happen lead them to neglect the activities of the people at the grass roots. In fact they are doing a disservice to the society!

It should be noted that the element of timeliness, which is an important quality of news in the developed countries, is no longer relevant in the day to day operations of news business in Tanzania. This does not mean that avoiding meeting deadlines, but it is a question of the practicability on the working environment of a journalist in Tanzania. The rural reporters, ill-equipped with basic communication facilities like telephones and absence of the Internet get their stories published after a week or two. Thus the element of 'when' is considered lightly as a value of the news copy. As such there should not be a time barrier which makes development content stories to be written or produced in a hurry.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

Development journalism will be the proper news genre for reporting poverty issues. The journalists have to use the ordinary people as their news actors. This approach will empower the ordinary people at the grass roots level. However, the shift to the people at the grass roots level should be gradual. It has to be remembered that even Rome was not built in one day. It is emphasised that the change should not be dramatic, otherwise it will not be accepted.

Journalists who report poverty stories should be revolutionary in a way. They still have to adhere to the traditional news principles such as sharp leads at the head of an inverted pyramid for which the most important news 'ingredients' come first. However, let these 'ingredients' of the news come from the people at the grass roots level. This should not be seen as irrational against the elites after all it is quite democratic as the majority of the population live in the rural areas.

News reporters working in the rural areas should abandon the traditional notions like objectivity and impartiality and actively engage in the development activities of the people they report about. They can do this by getting closer to them, and in fact by residing in these communities and getting to know them better.

Accidents and crimes news items should be associated with poverty when reported. The copy should go further to explain the social and economic consequences of such bad and ugly occurrences.

Most media institutions in the world and Tanzania not an exception operate as a business for profit. In order to survive in a highly competitive media business environment the media houses have to institute policies and strategies aimed at meeting their objectives. One of the objectives is getting as many audiences and advertisers as possible. The other objective of any media organisation which is also contained in the licence is service to the

society. It is possible that poverty issues do not appear much in the media because they do not "sell". For this it is recommended that Editors give as much space and time as possible in their media for news items on poverty which have the ordinary people as the main news actors as these people are their potential future media consumers.

Poverty is a problem which has been given global attention. The United Nations Eight Millennium Goals explicitly mention the commitment and willingness of the international community in assisting in the fight against poverty. These include the Breton Woods institutions and donor community. Tanzania is one among the Highly Indebted Poor Countries whose debts have been shelved away or rescheduled so that the debt can be directed to the improvement of social services such as education and health services. This shows that there is a possibility of allocating some funds from the debt relief towards the empowerment of the people at the grass roots using media.

The Tanzania National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) has a communication strategy whose objectives among others, is to ensure that communication is provided in appropriate formats suiting various stake holders, facilitating participation and institutionalise two-way flow of information (NSGRP Communication Strategy, 2005). In order to achieve the objectives there are funds budgeted for a period of three years from 2005/05 fiscal year. It is recommended that part of the funds be used to do the following:

a) Together with the current weekly development radio programme broadcasted on RTD, media stories on poverty should appear in all the media every day. They should appear focused at the people at the grass roots. Also there is need to revive all the RTD stations in the six zones namely Dodoma, Kigoma, Mwanza, Songea, Lindi and Arusha which used to broadcast local development programmes. Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) has a light entertainment programme which includes the sending of greetings by the people themselves from the famous Ubungo Upcountry Bus Terminal in Dar es Salaam. This programme is becoming popular and it is one way of giving voice to the people at the grass roots. Let the programme's theme change and focus at fighting poverty.

b) Looking for a possibility of a special page in at least one popular daily newspaper for which poverty stories from the people could be published. This approach has been successful in India in which one Indian journalist P.Sainath[7] set out with his "Village Vox" series in one of the most prestigious newspapers in India, The Times of India in 1993 and 1994 and concentrated on the coverage of the poor. At first the stories were boring but later the articles were a must read and were reproduced in many other national newspapers of India. What is important here is to break the ice. As mentioned earlier there should be a gradual change from the elite-centred journalism to the development journalism for which the ordinary people are the news focus.

c) Training workshops on development journalism should be conducted to journalists and news editors and emphasis should be on reporting with the people at the grass roots as main news actors.

d) Promoting the establishment of community radio stations in the country. From the definition a community radio is the one which is funded and operated by the community. This is the right channel for which the community's voices can be heard.

e) Promoting investigative journalism and commissioning the writing of feature articles, cartoons, poems and the like on poverty issues in the newspapers.

The development journalist must lead the crusade to change the society as they have been influenced by the dominance of the modernisation theories. They need to help in the emancipation of the people from the hegemonic influence caused chiefly by the cultural imperialism. A development journalist should always allow the people to express their development needs in their own words. Giving them voice should be the journalists' daily prayer.

Development should always mean the welfare of the majority of the people first. For example the people need to know after a certain period of time how many women were empowered to have voice and decisions about their well being, how many savings and

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[7] P.Sainath's Village Vox series earned him the best journalist award in 1996 from the European Union.

credit associations have been started, how much infant mortality rate has been reduced and the like. We do not want to read and hear facts and figures of impressive economic indicators from the budget speech of the Government Minister without such qualitative development indicators mentioned. This will only be possible if the media become ordinary people-centred.

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APPENDIX A: MEDIA IN TANZANIA

1. History

Media in Tanzania, like other African countries is one of the colonial legacies. The media were introduced primarily to serve the colonial settlers and rulers with no consideration given to the indigenous people. The content of the colonial media was predominantly foreign news from and about Europe and their western friends. Together with the news from abroad, there were also some colonial government propaganda meant to acculturate Africans into European civilization. African affairs were rarely considered to be newsworthy.

Newspapers

Many of the early newspapers in Tanzania (Tanganyika by then)[1], were published by European missionaries for evangelism purposes or by the colonial administration to impart western civilizations and to make their policies known. Along with the church-owned newspapers, there were also privately-owned papers. These were short lived because of poor market and financial limitations of the publishers (Konde, 1984: 14-15)

Before the end of the First World War there were also newspapers like Habari za Mwezi (News of the Month), The Official Gazette, The Usambara Post, War News and Kiongozi (Leader) published by a German priest (Konde, 1884: 14). Also there were fleeting attempts by various people and groups to put out specialised publications on various subjects such as geology and mining, medicine, animal husbandry and even Who's Who in East Africa.

Newspaper publishing was limited even during the British rule. This was partly brought by the high illiteracy level and economic problems with a weak market. Even by then the newspaper was expensive! However, the British like the German colonialists did not discourage establishment of indigenous nationalist newspapers for obvious reasons.

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[1] Tanzania was formed in 1964 as a union between two sovereign states, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

They were alert to the extent of checking publications published by missionaries to ascertain that they did not contain any material that could influence the Africans to demand for their freedom. However, there were some courageous individuals like Edward Munserian to pass some anti colonial sentiments to fellow Africans through his publications. This African had established three newspapers in 1950, two of which were run by him. These newspapers were called Bukya na Gandi and Tanganyika Mpya (New Tanganyika) (Konde, 1984: 28-28).

Mwafrika (The African), was one of the most outspoken newspaper was supported openly the nationalist movement, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the struggle for independence. This newspaper became very popular, and after independence in 1962, the East African Newspaper Ltd (The Nation Group of Companies) based in Kenya bought 39 percent of its shares. Its name changed from Mwafrika to Taifa. By this time, the English daily, The Tanganyika Standard which was launched in 1930 was being published by the East African Standard Limited also based in Kenya. At that time Kenya was following a capitalist policy different from a socialist one which was being practised in Tanzania.

The colonial administration had its own papers by this time. These included the daily Mwangaza, the weekly Official Gazette, monthly Habari za Leo and Month in Tanganyika, There were also periodicals such as What's the Answer for district and provisional commissioners. Mambo Leo (Current Affairs) was the most popular. This contained a lot of poetry glorifying the colonial administration with photo adapted from a local feature film (Ng'wanakilala, 1981: 17, Konde, 1984: 40).

There were newsletters and pamphlets published by individuals of many distinct groups and communities like the Asians and Greeks. Ngurumo was of the most popular nationalist newspaper worth mentioning. This was a private owned newspaper published in the capital city Dar es Salaam. It had the biggest circulation of about 40,000 copies a day for 1959 until 1974 (Konde, 1984: 40-41).

The Tanganyika Standard was nationalized in 1970 together with its sister newspaper The Sunday News. Sauti ya TANU, with its founding editor Julius Nyerere, grew into two papers namely Uhuru and the Nationalist which was at independence in 1961.

In 1972 the ruling political party, TANU merged the two newspapers-the government owned Standard and the party owned Nationalist to form a strong English daily, The Daily News. The other popular newspapers established were Mfanyakazi published by the Organization of Workers Union and the Gazette of the United Republic of Tanzania published both in Swahili and English by the Information Services Division. There was one fortnightly newspaper called Kiongozi published by the Tanzania Episcopal Conference Centre, constituting the Christian denominations.

Until 1992, Tanzania had two popular newspapers. The state owned English daily, The Daily News and Uhuru which is owned by the ruling political party. There was a limping paper, Mfanyakazi which was published by the Workers Trade Union but went out of circulation due to reasons best known to the Trade Union itself.

Broadcasting

The history of radio broadcasting in Tanzania goes back to the early 1950's when the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) launched its first broadcasting scheme in the country. By then, Tanzania was under British colonialism. It was more of an experiment for which a short wave transmitter that could only cover Dar es Salaam. After a year, the experiment grew into a powerful short wave radio station. With the installation of a bigger transmitter, the reception was increased beyond Dar es Salaam and the broadcasting time was also increased (Ng'wanakilala, 1980: 50 in Amupala, 1988: 71).

In 1961, this experiment emerged into a fully fledged broadcasting body, the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) built on the structure of the BBC. In 1965 TBC was taken over by the government and was assigned specific role to play in the development of the country. The broadcasting station was given the responsibility of promoting the policy of socialism and self reliance in the country. Its name became Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam, a department within the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Mutambo et al., 2002: 58).

Mytton (1983) in his studies of mass media in Tanzania perused through the political debates over the state of RTD and noted that national unity and integration was emphasised as the radio was expected to play a significant role in forging that unity.

The government view point was put on unequivocal terms by the then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, the late Abdul Wakil,

> "……..in our country where we are fighting a war to raise our peoples'
> standard of living we ought very much to be using radio for the
> benefits of all people. For this reason, we cannot leave the radio
> in the hands of a group of wealthy people who could use it as a
> shop for business only….without minding the needs of
> our republic. The government ought to have power in the studios
> and I and my Ministry will do everything we can that our radio is
> working for the benefit of the country" (Amupala, 1988: 71-72).

Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam used to run three channels. The first one is The National Service, broadcasting 18 hours a day in Kiswahili, the language spoken by the majority. Its content was more localized and considered the Channel Service which was basically an entertainment channel with commercials and sponsored programmes. The third channel was The External Service, which was mostly broadcasting in English catering for the local foreign audience. It also used to transmit radio programmes of the Southern African Liberation Movements (Mytton, 1974:65; Hambira and Kavari, 1983:109, 112-113 in Amupala, 1988:72).

RTD broadcasts cover all the country using FM and AM frequencies[2]. It has booster stations in Dodoma, the capital and seat of the government of Tanzania and is centrally located. Other booster stations are located strategically in Mbeya, Mwanza, Arusha, Nachingwea, Lindi, Masasi, Songea and Kigoma.

Tanzania mainland had no Television broadcasting until early in the 1990's. The only Television station which covered some parts of Dar es Salaam and Tanga is Television Zanzibar which was started in 1973.

2. Media in Tanzania Today

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[2] FM and AM stand for Frequency Modulation and Amplitude Modulation respectively.

The advent of multiparty democracy in Africa, following the collapse of communism in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe led to the growth of private media in Africa in the early 1990's.

The media in Tanzania from 1994 has witnessed a mushrooming of both the broadcast and print media. The climate of liberalisation coupled with rapid technological development has brought tremendous expansion in both the print and electronic media.

Newspapers

After the liberalisation of the media the number of newspapers published in Tanzania has increased tremendously. As at the time this study is carried, there are over thirty registered newspapers in circulation from hardly the two dailies fifteen years ago. Most of the papers are serious broad sheets and tabloids. There are about fifteen dailies and the rest are weekly. Together with the above, there are few magazines and periodicals such as Femina and Dar Guide, which is a free issue magazine carrying advertisements used as a tourists' guide.

Newspapers are registered and regulated by the Director of The Information Services of the Ministry responsible for Information and Broadcasting.

Some of the popular daily newspapers include The Daily News, The Guardian, Business News, The African, The Citizen, Mwananchi, Mtanzania, Nipashe, Majira, Uhuru, Tanzania Daima, Alasiri and Dar Leo. The weeklies include The East African, published in Kenya and carries news items of the three East African countries- Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The other weekly newspapers are Business Times, Financial Times, Sunday Observer, Sunday News, The Express, Family Mirror, ThisDay, Rai, Taifa Letu, Mzalendo, Kulikoni, Kiongozi, Uwazi, Ijumaa and Kiu. There are several religious weekly newspapers, among them are Al Nuur published by Muslims and Nyakati, a Christian paper.

The majority of the newspapers (about 84 percent) are written in Kiswahili, and the rest in English. Almost all the newspapers are published in Dar es Salaam, the capital city. There is an elaborate transport arrangement for the newspapers to reach other areas of the country from Dar es Salaam. This includes the use of special newspaper delivery

mini buses which distribute newspapers in the most populated north east and central parts of the country. The use of mini buses has proved to be cost effective as the newspapers are distributed along the highways and on their way back the buses carry passengers. The other distant cities and towns get newspapers by air freight.

Table showing number of circulation of selected daily newspapers

Newspaper	Number of circulation
Mwananchi	25,000
Nipashe	21,000
Majira	15,000
Mtanzania	13,000
Daily News	11,000
The Guardian	7,000
Uhuru	5000
Citizen	4500

Source: Marketing Departments of Respective Newspapers.

The price of a copy of the newspaper is about one quarter of a US dollar. This seems to be a little amount of money. However, given the fact that most Tanzanians are poor, only few urbanites can afford a copy a day. Most people read newspapers by sharing and those who can not be lucky to share, are forced to spend their precious time to read front pages of the displayed newspapers at the news stands.

A study by Mutambo et al. (2002) show that people in both medium and low cost urban and semi urban residential areas, equally rely on both newspapers and Television for information. However, those from the high cost residential areas and those with high academic qualification get more of their information from newspapers.

On the gender dimension, women get news predominantly from the newspapers than men who rely on radio.

Broadcasting

Tanzania has a total of 47 licensed radio broadcasting stations in mid-2006. Out of these two are owned by the government. These are Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) and PRT which are categorised as public broadcasting service stations. Before 2006 PRT was operating as an entertainment and commercial channel of RTD. The licensed radio stations include 25 commercial broadcasting stations, 17 non commercial stations and 2 community radio stations. It also has a total 28 Television broadcasting stations, 17 TV operators, 16 cable TV networks and one satellite operator. They are categorised as the radio stations. RTD and PRT government owned radio stations together with the government owned Television station, TVT are under the management of Tanzania Broadcasting Services (TBS) which is a public entity.

Radio and Television broadcasting stations are licensed and regulated by the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA), a government body enacted by act of parliament in 2003. Before TCRA there was Tanzania Broadcasting Commission (TBC).

With the liberalization of the air waves, all the broadcasting stations are allowed to cover the whole country. Before then each private station was allowed 25 percent coverage. Most radio stations broadcast on FM, few stations on short wave and some via satellite.

There are two radio and one TV stations owned and operated by high learning institutions. These are Radio Mlimani of the University of Dar es Salaam, Radio SAUT of St. Augustine University and SUATV, a TV station of the Sokoine University of Agriculture.

According to Mutambo et al. (2002), there are five types of radio stations namely community, commercial, religious, amateur and state radio stations.

State radio is the one that is funded directly by the government. Its operations depend on the system the government will find fit, be it licences or other fees from users or its own subvention. On the other hand commercial radio is for profit service that is usually run by private individuals or companies. Its survival depends on the money it makes in the market. Religious radio is that which is preoccupied with evangelism and disseminating messages members belonging to a certain belief or creed.

Oosthuizen (1990) defines community radio as a service that is controlled by a non profit entity for non profit purposes in order to serve the community. A community radio should promote the interest of the community to participate in the selection and provision of the programme. Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA, 1999) define community radio as the one owned, managed and programmed by the people it serves. This radio station is supposed to respond and to prioritise the needs of the community to which it is accountable. It is not for profit, as it must be available, accessible and affordable to the community (Mutambo, 2002:7).

In a survey conducted by Mutambo et al. (2000), show that Tanzania ranks top as one of the countries with high per capita in terms of radio ownership with a total of 86 percent of the population in possession of an operational radio set. The findings are shown in table1.

Table1. Distribution of Ownership of Radio Sets in Tanzania

Rural and Urban Categories	Have Radio (%)	Do Not Have Radio (%)
Small Scale Farmers	78	22
Medium Scale Farmers	89	11
Large Scale Farmers	97	3
Non Agriculture	77	23
Low Cost Areas	69	31
Medium Cost Areas	96	4
High Cost Areas	98	2
Mean	**86**	**14**

Source: Mutambo et al. (2002: 69).

The results on the table above indicate an evenly distributed high radio population across various categories and locations. This is explained due to the relatively low prices of radio sets arising from accessibility to cheap import routes of the Pacific Rim and Dubai. Most of the radio sets sold in and around Dar es Salaam are imported through Zanzibar with low customs tariffs. The other factor is due to lack of television

broadcasting for a long time until 1994 when the first TV broadcasting started in Mainland Tanzania. This left people with few options for information and entertainment and hence resorted to radio.

The same study shows that on average a significant number of people in urban areas listen to the radio for about four hours per day. The people in the rural areas whose economic activities are mainly agriculture, pastoralism or fishing have more listening hours as they can listen to the radio at any time. In addition, prime listening times are 0600-1000hours local time for rural population and 1800-2100hours local time for urbanites.

The survey also established that persons in the low income bracket spend more time listening to the radio than those in the high-income bracket. This could be explained due to the lack of accessibility to social amenities which demand financial outlay to access. In other words these people are suffering from material poverty. Another interesting finding is that those in the low income bracket are more interested with religious programmes as a result of religious fanaticism sweeping the world and Tanzania in particular.

On the gender dimension to radio listenership, males use radio for information and entertainment more than females.

New media is not uncommon in Tanzania today. Several newspapers and radio stations are on the Internet. Together with the Internet cafes which are popular in urban areas, there is a handful rural information centres where the rural community can surf the net and get access to any information they want.