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**MARMARA UNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
GAZETECİLİK ANABİLİM DALI
GENEL GAZETECİLİK BİLİM DALI**

**TANZANYA’DA MEDYA SAHİPLİĞİNİN YAPISAL
DÖNÜŞÜMÜ HAKKINDA GAZETECİLERİN İZLENİMLERİ
(1990 – 2017)**

**THE JOURNALISTIC IMPRESSIONS ON THE STRUCTURAL
TRANSFORMATION OF MEDIA OWNERSHIP IN TANZANIA
(1990 – 2017)**

Doktora Tezi

KHAMIS JUMA ABDALLA

Istanbul, 2019

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İstanbul, 2019

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

TEZ ONAY BELGESİ

GAZETECİLİK Anabilim Dalı GENEL GAZETECİLİK Bilim Dalı DOKTORA öğrencisi KHAMİS JUMA ABDALLA'nın TANZANYA'DA MEDYA SAHİPLİĞİNİN YAPISAL DÖNÜŞÜMÜ HAKKINDA GAZETECİLERİN İZLENİMLERİ (1990 - 2017) adlı tez çalışması, Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 3.10.2019 tarih ve 2019-36/30 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından ~~oy birliği~~ / oy çokluğu ile Doktora Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Abstract

The condition of media system in Tanzania became inconsistent across the time in accordance with political and economic dynamics as well as technological advancement. The exemplary ownership transition bordered from the postcolonial media system, notably the Afrocentric mass media regulatory prototype anchored in Socialist (Ujamaa) philosophies. As the economic reforms traced in 1980s alongside the legal political basis in effect of 1992 multipartism commonly declined the orthodox structure of the de facto government monopoly in common with slight family oriented ownership into large corporations of diverse interests. Thus, by using the mixed method of quantitative and qualitative approaches, this thesis explored twenty-five years (1992-2017) of economic liberalization and multiparty politics in the course of transformation of journalism outlook and functionality based on the motives of owners, precisely political propaganda, public services, commercial and religious provisions. Accordingly, the descriptive data reveal the miscellaneous concerns by research respondents signifying substantial compliance with existing ownership structure.

Equally, the quantitative content analysis of three publications explicitly Mtanzania, Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo exposes the impression of journalism through the media pluralism and diversity of content. The study revealed the prominence of political contents (54.4%) over developmental and other non-developmental contents, with the abundant portrayal through photos and article placement, news actors and source as well as the appearance of proprietors. The type of newspaper ownership with institutional mechanism matters, as the state-owned publication covers more the topical themes which impress the government mostly, meanwhile the private newspapers tend to vary on their articles with more political contents and the insignificant portrayal of developmental contents.

As long as the conglomeration evolves, there is a typical concern about the disposition of commercial journalism together with persistence of geographical disparity for 67.1% of urban coverage over rural populaces whereas the major cities incline to overwhelm the popularity in media depiction. Likewise, both descriptive and numerical data reveal the inspiration of technology (blogosphere and social networks) on expanding the Tanzanian mediascapes and potential of fostering Political information, especially for youths aged 18 to 45 along the extensive geographical exposure from the diaspora to the local usage. Therefore, this study recommends the policy resolution through institutional and professional undertakings keen on inclusive spheres for the efficacious public good of information.

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Özet

Tanzania medya sistemi, politik ve ekonomik dinamiklerin yanı sıra teknolojik gelişmelere de bağlı olarak sürekli bir değişim yaşamaktadır. Belirgin mülkiyet geçişi, post-kolonyal medya mülkiyet yapılarından, özellikle Sosyalist (Ujamaa) felsefelerinde yer alan Afrosentrik kitle iletişim araçları düzenleyici prototipine dayanmaktadır. 1980'lerde yaşanan ekonomik reformlar ile birlikte 1992'deki kökten siyasi reformların etkisiyle, çoklu partizim genel itibariyle, az sayıdaki ailelerle ortaklaşan hükümetin tekelinde olan ortodoks yapısını, ekonomik ve politik arenada farklı ilgi alanlarına sahip büyük şirketlere indirgemıştır. Dolayısıyla, bu tez çalışmasında, nitel ve nicel yöntemlerden oluşan karma bir metodoloji kullanılarak, sahiplerinin motivasyonlarına özellikle siyasi propaganda, kamu hizmetleri, ticari ve dini amaçlara dayalı gazeteciliğin dönüşüm sürecindeki ekonomik liberalleşme ve çok partili siyasetin yirmi beş yılı (1992-2017) araştırılmıştır.

Aynı şekilde, Mtanzania, Nipashe ve Zanzibar Leo yayınlarının niceliksel içerik analizi, gazeteciliğin izlenimini çoğulculuk ve içerik çeşitliliği ile ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, incelenen yayınlardan elde edilen %54'lük gelişimlere dair politik içeriklerin ve diğer gelişim dışı yazı türlerinin önemini açıklamaktadır. Ayrıca, fotoğraf ve metin yerleştirme, haber aktörleri ve haber kaynağının yanı sıra sahipliğin oluşumu sürecindeki siyasi içeriklerin genel portresini çizmektedir. Gazete mülkiyeti, aynı zamanda devlete ait yayınlar olduğundan, hükümeti en çok etkileyen önemli konuları kapsamaktadır.

Serbest piyasa ekonomisiyle yaygınlaşan medyanın holdingleşme sürecinde, Tanzania, reklam çağını benimsediği sürece, ticari gazetecilik eğilimi ile ilgili tipik endişeler yaşamaktadır. Kentsel alanların kırsal alanlara olan % 67,1'lik eşitsizlik farkı ile birlikte, büyük şehirler medya kullanım popülarlığını korumaya devam etmektedir. Benzer şekilde, hem betimleyici hem de sayısal veriler, teknolojinin (blogosfer ve sosyal ağlar) Tanzania medya ortamını genişletme ve diasporadan yerel kullanıma kadar geniş kapsamlı coğrafi yayılma boyunca özellikle 18 ila 45 yaş arasındaki gençler için politik bilgileri geliştirme potansiyelini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma, kamunun bilgilenmesi için istekli olan kurumsal ve profesyonel teşebbüsler aracılığıyla çözüm yolları önermektedir.

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List of Abbreviations

AJM:	Association of Journalists and Media Workers
AOL:	American Online Library
AZJO:	Association of Zanzibar Journalists
BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
BTL:	Business Times Limited
CCM:	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)
CHADEMA:	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CSOs:	Civil Society Organizations
CTN:	Coastal Television Network
CUF:	Civic United Front
DSTV:	Digital Satellite Television
DTV:	Dar es Salaam Television
EAC:	East African Community
EATV:	East Africa Television
EPA:	External Payment Arrears
FM :	Frequency Modulation
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
HIP:	Health Information Project
HR:	Human Resources
ICCPR:	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IPP:	Industrial Production Promotion
ITV:	Independent Television
ITU:	International Telecommunication Union
LHRC:	Legal and Human Rights Centre
M.A.S:	Media Accountability Systems
MCL:	Mwananchi Communications Limited
MCT:	Media Council of Tanzania
MISA:	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MOAT:	Media Owners Association of Tanzania
MP:	Member of Parliament
MSJ:	Morogoro School of Journalism
MTV:	Music Television (an American pay television channel)
MUM:	Muslim University of Morogoro
NCCR:	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NEC:	National Electoral Commission
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
NHCL:	New Habari Corporation Limited
NWICO:	New World Information and Communication Order
PCB:	Prevention of Corruption Bureau

PR:	Public Relations
RC:	Regional Commissioner
RSF:	Reporters without Borders
RTD:	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SHIHATA:	Shirika la Habari Tanzania (Tanzania News Agency)
SJMC:	School of Journalism and Mass Communication
SPSS:	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.
STZ:	Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar (the voice of Tanzania Zanzibar)
TAJA:	Tanzania Journalists' Association
TANU:	Tanganyika African National Union
TAJOA:	Tanzania Journalism Association
TAMPS:	Tanzania All Media Products Survey
TAMWA:	Tanzania Media Women Association
TASWA:	Tanzania Sports Writers Association
TBC:	Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation
TBC:	Tanzania Broadcasting Commission
T.C:	Türkiye Cumhuriyet (Republic of Turkey)
TCRA:	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority
TGRT:	Türkiye Gazetesi Radyo Televizyonu
TIS:	Tanganyika Information Services
TLP:	Tanzania Labour Party
TMF:	Tanzania Media Funds
TSN:	Tanzania Standard Newspaper
TVZ:	Television Zanzibar
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UDSM:	University of Dar es Salam
URT:	United Republic of Tanzania
UTPC:	United of Tanzanian Press Clubs
VOA:	Voice of America
ZBC:	Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission
ZCTV:	Zanzibar Cable Television
ZCMG:	Zanzibar Cable Media Group
ZEC:	Zanzibar Electoral Commission
ZIBS:	Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services
ZJMMC:	Zanzibar Journalism and Mass Media College
ZMCL:	Zanzibar Media Corporation Ltd.
ZNC:	Zanzibar Newspapers Corporations
ZU:	Zanzibar University

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Introduction

This study traces the media ownership transformation in term of structure, consequences and scrutinizing the concerned enormous potency to Tanzanian journalism outlook. It's in accordance with political and economic occurrences along with technological influence for instance the escalation of online social networks and blogosphere characterized with a variety of formats and methods around journalism practices. Media ownership transformation is an evolving phenomenon which spurs controversies to the professional stances. Several media literatures in Tanzania (inter alia, Smeltzer, 1998: 47; Sturmer, 2008ed; Kilimwiko, 2008; Rioba, 2012; Patterson, 2004: 12, MCT, 2013b) affirm on the ownership bearings addicted to eccentric and maneuvers on contents productions, media styles and overall journalists' performances across state run and privately-owned media institutions. The transformation of the media ownership structure in Tanzania can be presented in consistent with the political, social and economic alterations into liberalism and plural democracy just in effect of 1990s onwards.

Whilst, before colonialism, Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar) used the traditional methods of mass communication across the communities, the entire ownership and control existed on the community executives such by chiefs and other local authorities made use of enormous means of interpersonal communication such as gongs and drums, catering the common needs and social control by dint of storytelling and widespread information upon their aspirations (Rioba, 2008: 9 and Hamdani et al 2014: 1). The shared objective was to strengthen the unitary domain in respect of social identity under supervision of indigenous privileges. Meanwhile, the state of affairs became inconsistent during the colonialism, commencing the missionaries' utilization of the modern mass media (newspapers) in 1800s for the portrayal of spiritual works and colonial values (Ng'wanakilala, 1984: 26). As the first Tanzanian newspaper MSIMULIZI (The Storyteller) came to exist at the end of the 19th century in Zanzibar owned by Anglican University Mission of Central Africa (UMCA), so far there had been already circulations of the press by the commercial class in the islands (Stumer, 2008: 273).

Tanzanian media system was constantly assigned into partisanship, the German and British colonial rules distinctly and strategically inspired mass media as propaganda instruments to propagate their colonial ideas and values. Some decades later, the number of local newspapers proliferated rapidly regarding the nationalist and tribal perspectives in serving the socio-political contextual needs. Whereas on Zanzibar the ruling sultanate and commercial elites prevailed the press ecosystem (Hamdani et al 2014: 1). The provision of ideological postures multiplied the media ownership structures and carried contents from the missionary to the colonial policies, nationalist ideology of political parties as well as individual businesses and private companies (p. 47-65). Accordingly, media institution revolved into a momentous platform forcivic education in common with political propaganda in respect of relevant cluster keen on the attempt to manage public opinions. In 1950s young Africans commonly pursued a political liberation crusade for their countries, whereby the press virtually coped an inclusive arena where rational debates and citizenry discussion were generated to counter colonialism.

In advance, Tanganyika and Zanzibar commenced the self-governance paradigm with a number of trade unions and media outlets commonly strived for economic sustainability and social welfare rationality (Abdalla, 2015: 1). It's normally known that; Tanzanian politics always influence the state and practices of the media industry impressively. In 1964 when the united republic of Tanzania formed (from Tanganyika and Zanzibar) as many other African countries adopted the theoretical framework used in dictatorial and authoritarian societies (Stevenson, 1988). In view of that, the number of trade unions as well as mass media declined in African countries just after independence across the time. Tanzania embraced a transitional epoch of socialist principles under the one party within the framework of socialism (Ujamaa) and self-reliance (kujitegemea) ethos. The media ownership became typically a monopoly structure whereby the existing media outlets utterly served the interests of ruling party and government bureaucrats (Patterson, 2004: 14), which so far implied to the ideological dominance vis-à-vis the social and ruling elites' control of the industry.

Nevertheless, the global economic and political change into liberalism and the deterioration of communist ideology around the world in 1980s disposed to break out the Tanzania government monopoly structure and traditionally family-owned media ownership into discursive private configurations. It was apparent to adhere with multiparty system in 1990s, prospective to afford substantial press freedom and foster advocacy role of media in the democratization course. So far, the number of media outlets, academic institutions as well as regulatory board and associations in Tanzania thrived straight away (TAMPS, 2010: 3). In the interim, the emergence and embedment of civil society organizations in the democratization scheme, springs further potential in common with media to play a pivotal role in unveiling societal problems and rationalizing the transition movement headed for the ironic multiparty democratic point of views. Whilst, neoliberalism policies have been materialized to conquer the traditional liberal democratic values, meant for weakening the dispersal ownership structure and pluralist viewpoints of media outlets and contents produced. As long as capitalist ownership model has been tremendously shaping the prevailing media and communicative practices, meant for consolidation perspective (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Several individual media outlets and conglomerates are drastically generated, branch out to other economic sectors to secure abundant power, operating the journalism career and ensuing into ownership and economic concentration.

Through the liberal economy prototype, such big businesses are certain of diversification through the journalistic initiatives, consuming manifold outlets accompanied by integration with other media firms to dictate the media market vaguely (Wasko, 2005: 46). The status quo raises concerns over pluralistic conception for few media to own and control compound undertakings of the media industry, acquiring large percent of newspaper circulations and broadcasting trends hooked on oligopoly in the marketplace and inclines the commodification proviso hitherto. At the same time as, technological power streamlines the convergent democratic culture of media (Deuze, 2008: 1), it's now acknowledged to fill up the gap of gatekeeper and passive audience. The rising of new media has dramatically changed the orthodox of media ownership and control, counting the new practices of journalism (De Maio & Mariana 2015: 21). Internet via web 2.0

settings streamlines a wide range of formats and platforms for communicators to use in the manner appropriate. Accordingly, some authors argue that the term ‘mass’ communication is quite irrelevant, instead ‘media’ communication (cf. Chaffee & Metzger, 2001: 369), representing the outset of User generated content, citizen journalism, networked journalism as evolved (Castells, Haak & Parks, 2012: 6). Audiences (users) are now much active to halt the traditional editorial monopoly, their influences convey puzzling monitoring, and mainstream media are hitherto ineffective in defining the niche audiences. Insofar as ownership and control are subverted, indicating democratic practices on the ground. Yet, the question of journalistic eminence in term of censorship and editorial power is thought-provoking around professionalism, in which news media, ownership and governments arbitrarily give up their authority over innumerable users, which so far deprive the imperative content production and market target timidly.

Therefore, ownership conception has been typically factored by such new characteristics generated athwart the politically and commercially oriented mode, from the impression of conventional ownership spectrum. The proprietors are presented with an adequate institutional control of the media environment and content productions. On the other hands of internet via web 2.0 news environment, the traditional media scope of news gathering, production, editing and dissemination of information waved on the hands of audiences (users), having full control of the content for reproducing and distribution (p. 7).

This thesis appeals to the political economy approach by what means the news is formed and restricted by market forces in views of economic liberations scheme from 1992 to 2017. Instrumental arguments over elite control of news media and contents through policies and laws on media regulations, sociology accounts of media performance based on the democratic cultures upon the social context over occupational setting of journalists, alongside liberal democracy and social responsibility of media functions in democratic transition society. Ultimately, the study is eventual to figure and sort out some potential area on policing the media phenomenon on the scope of management, control and financing in Tanzania. Tracing on the market and regulatory framework for the sake to revive the constructive ownership, so that to nurture the social values of media utilizations to accomplish the broad democratic culture via the political arena.

PART ONE

Conceptual Framework for Media Ownership

1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1 Aims of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to convey a broader picture on the transformation of media ownership in the democratic transition period from 1992 to 2017. Through examining the consequences and antecedents meant for the journalism impressions on the subject of institutional reforms in Tanzanian media. The specific objectives of the study are developed from political and economic experiences on the ownership transformation, particularly after 1990s towards the present configuration. Researcher typically tends to find out the relations and effects of journalistic adjustment in term of insitutuional control and administrative performances of daily media operations over substantive political changes in the country. This thesis is designed for tracing the political economic factors behind the current ownership structure, signifying the perversion of government monopoly into a multi-ownership system. It is exclusive and intentional to discover further across the Tanzanian media ecosystem, tracing on antecedents prior to ownership transformation, from monopoly system by government through Afrocentric mass media system in the course of Socialism (Ujamaa) in an attempt to draw a clear picture on the dynamics concerning the transformation scenery headed for democratic journalism from 1990s. Along with scrutiny around the political economy of Tanzanian media, focusing on the correlation of media owners, patronages, journalists, and contents produced alongside the regulatory framework keen on market and political forces by means of advertisers, government and other local politicians.

Besides, the research pursuits the technology diffusion via new networking communications (blogosphere and online social platfroms) in fostering political information efficacy over an inclusive sphere. For internet powers, just transpires subsequent to the critical inspirations of new typography over mainstream journalistic outlooks which result in audiences' content control (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001: 368), thus far, it has identical implication to media ownership and control as to the expansion of Tanzanian media landscape. The dissertation has specific aims to examine the trends of media pluralism and diversity of contents accounted on the contemporary media ownership setting. In consort with instant scrutiny from journalists' perceptions on ownership postures and mass media functionality based on neoliberalism which challenge the objective journalistic practices on civic deliberation. Since the neoliberal policies of media market have twisted the political journalism approach (McChesney, 2001: 56), in preference of the evolving blurred boundaries between information and news, entertainment and news (Doyle, 2002: 42) for the business media rationalizing their commercial and political interests.

1.1.2 Research Hypotheses

In 1980s, the world's political and economic consequences comprising the privatization and adoption to multiparty system drew incredible transformation of media industry, coping with liberation movement which had influenced the global status quo of communication and information livelihood¹. Thus, Tanzania adopted the global political changes from socialism into multiparty democracy scheme. In the meantime, the liberation tendency prompted the private sectors to embark on media practices to streamline the state democratization through a broad concept of media freedom. Accordingly, the monopoly media ownership of *Ujamaa* government was substituted with pluralism and liberalization. The diversity of media contents was ostensible to escalation sharply with the number of media outlets. Audiences were so far molded on miscellaneous media preferences, exposing public opinions as a way forward to the political reforms. Unlike socialism and self-reliance ethos of mono-party system, in this era the media policies were designed to comply with market competition perspective, which triggered the media professionals and fostered the fully informed publics of democratic transition.

Thus, this study deliberately explored the impression that journalism acquired on the structural changes of media institutions in Tanzania, meant for the nascent ownership configuration, in accordance with political obligation of media's Fourth Estate accounts to generate informed citizenry and providing an inclusive platform for the civic accomplishments. It's commencing on the structural alteration of media ownership patterns in which the variables such owners' influences, editorial independence, content ideology, journalist autonomy and overall institutional mechanism are potential to rationalize the media's social accountability, while audience's consumption scrutinized as media integrity vis-à-vis the contents produced into the democratic reforms. Therefore, the study's hypothesis persists on the theory of media ownership as put forward by Altschull (1984) that media content intensely tend to reflect the financier's ideology and values (p. 254). In so far as this thesis develops the following hypothesis to examine the moments and trends of 25 years of media ownership structures, as per political and economic deviations and technological guidance through new media that apparently determine the media position on civic stances in Tanzania.

- a) The Tanzanian political reform and liberal economic rise in 1990s has streamlined into multiple media ownership structure from orthodox model of government monopoly ownership.

¹ In the 20th century, globalization grew into comprehensive patterns commencing the era of the Cold War (1945-1989). The emerging of Economic liberalization has so far triggered the proliferation of mass media through privatization of media industries, which lead to the wide flows of services and information in respect of political and commercial affairs. While the fall of the Soviet Bloc – The end of communism in Eastern Europe with aids of communications technology speed up the integration of isolated markets, questioned the major ideological competitor notable American liberal democracy and capitalism.

- b) The inspiration of technology (blogosphere and social networks) has expanded the Tanzanian mediascapes and surpasses over traditional censorship and control on News Production and dissemination in fostering Political information efficacy.
- c) The provision of miscellaneous ownership configuration anchored in multiple privately-owned outlets rationalizes the pluralism and diversity of political media contents.
- d) The internal institutional mechanism through the current media ownership structure encounters the journalism ethically functioning in Tanzania.
- e) The government control of media is still imperative in the operation of present new media landscapes.

1.1.3 Significance of the Study

This research provides the comprehensive facts and details on the above stipulated hypotheses concerning the network amid institutional powers, journalists and mass media contents to ultimate community. Although journalists have common professional intellect to be pluralistic and independent in serving particular society, the institutional influence is yet potential of journalist's occupation (cf. Deuze, 2008: 110), in common with other external forces tend to impress the position of journalists in the media systems (Weischenberg, 1995: 69). Hitherto any changes surrounded by media ownership structure greatly matters (inter alia, Baker 2007, Barnett 2010, Doyle 2002, Chomsky and Herman 1989, McChesney, 2001), in which to large extent inspire the content production and media function viewpoint around democratic society. In view of that, Altschull (1984) contends on the "interest pattern" typology that owner's stance typically determines the margins of media outlets to operate (p. 257). Hence, this study is framed to highlight the hypothetical consideration come out after the economic liberalization, which has not only boomed the number of media outlets wherein the daily newspapers grew from 4 to 40 in 1990 (Media Sustainability Index, 2009; 1) and onwards many other outlets came into operation addicted to pluralistic environment in realization of liberal democracy. Hitherto it has standardized and modernized the industry as well as nurture professional perspectives, for a number of media colleges to grow and result a good figure of professional graduates.

Further to this point, UDSM economic research bureau (2005) found an interesting character of Ethical conviction over academic institution, 68% of media personnel are higher than diploma of two years, while 70% in the news room such as reporters are also graduate and diploma holders (UDSM economic research bureau, 2005: 7). Yet, the journalism career turned in to new era apropos the presumption of external syndrome, by means of laws and regulations which are derived crosswise the general functioning of media, playing a large part on muzzling the media voices upon political coverage, through which a number of outlets are being marginalized and punished, while Journalist are still harassed at their daily routines (MCT, 2013a: 1). Thus, the study advance knowledge on the media system tracing behind the scene factors for the values generated all over diverse undertakings of the media, commencing the supervision of owners to the self-censorship by journalists.

As long as audiences speed up an exploitation of new media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, having advantage of timely news alerts, Newman (2009) sights on the contribution of the compression of the 'news cycle' where audiences put more pressure on editors over what to report, how and when (p. 36). Whilst, various studies conducted in Tanzania on media ownership and its impression to professionalism and normative functions, (Smeltzer, 1998; Kilimwiko, 2008; Patterson, 2004: 12 and MCT, 2013b) have attempted to overview the general influences by sole present ownership framework and control by using alike consideration. Whereby, both states owned and private media were drawn for the data collection through in-depth interview and contents analysis to measure the system's prestige and ultimate accountability on fostering public information efficacy just after transformation from 1992. Thus, this research furthers knowledge in the area of media administration and control, from the background of media staff recruitment, resources allocation in regards of professional outlooks. As well as the inspiration that owners have in generating the impacts on media styles as reinforcement of institutional transformation in Tanzanian media industry. The applied method allows for the validation of hypothesized relationships of the impression around journalistic revolutions, for the political media coverage which are addressed as dependent variable over institutional power as dependent variable in an attempt to quantify the degree of transformative status quo.

As an agent for political changes, Media aligned with civil society played their part soon after embankment to multiparty democracy in Tanzania (Mkwazu, 2009: 6). This study is conducted in the accurate time, thanks to the quest of significant changes of media in relations with politics in the country. Whereas public cognizance and civic cultures advanced with somewhat intuition of media uses to satisfy their political needs and aspirations, especially for the youths are more enthusiastic to speak up everywhere about their citizenry (Lunat, 2008: 21). It's so far has diverse implication to the current political economy of media system in Tanzania, whereby few massive businessmen concentrated the industry as well as local politicians evolved to commonly figure out the information flow athwart mass media in respect of their profit-making and political confiscations respectively, afore the objectivity and socially based journalism (MCT & RSF, 2018: 3).

Notwithstanding, this research will fill up a gap in academic knowledge in consort with representation of further discourses outside of academia, such as advocacy, publicity, marketing and advertising upon requirement to facilitate the same, based on the scope of the communication field. It's abstracts to the evolving of technical tools for undertaking the political communication, where political actors tend to blur the gap of retaining public awareness on behalf of sensitizing their political agendas (McNair, 2010: 57). Likewise, manipulation methods for acquisition of further publicity and pressing forward their political reputation over general public are dominated throughout the contemporary media activities. Accordingly, this study is useful to the broad area of social science through information and communication tools, as a key entry in exploring the media conducts with social applications in accordance with political settings across the modern way of communication system.

1.1.4 Scope and Limitation

The dissertation is about the transformation of media ownership structure vis-à-vis journalistic posture on the structural perspectives in Tanzania. The designed hypotheses are enclosed within the ownership concept of media in the basis of authority, supervision and regulation, comprising the light history of Tanzania postcolonial media system anchored in monopoly government of socialist (Ujamaa) values. However, the main focus is concentrated from 1990s when the country embarked to multiparty democracy and economic liberalization which came into sensitizing the public opinions. The research covered abundant details on the trend of historical ownership alteration through reviewing the policy papers, assessing the works of regulatory bodies, regulations and legislations. While decisively pressed on current trend of transformation, the technological ascendancy of new social networks and blogosphere, examining its protagonist on raising civic cultures through audience participatory as long as the mediascape is factored. The content analysis approach is applied on assessing the extent that public reform on journalism scenario is realized with reference to the plurality and diversity conceptions. Finally, the presumption was set on the existing media ownership structure which aligned with liberalism notion that hasty the media commitment on shaping public opinions and setting agenda in respect of public deliberation in Tanzania.

However, some prospective limitations came across during the research. The first and foremost was about ethical consideration; this study was undertaken in the natural setting of media houses and professionals in Tanzania, whereby diverse scientific methods were used to collect data and in analysis process. Research was likely limited to draw sample design techniques; instead it makes use of randomly sampling design; where some informants touched embracement to uncover the manner of their media undertakings for the anxiety of disciplinary action against them. In this case researcher tried the best to keep the privacy of every informant and disqualified the data upon request by him/her. Likewise, as the scope of the study is structured within the media industry regarding political changes in historical overview of transformation from 1990s. However, the potential constraints which face the study in qualitative method when measuring reliability of data, which was essential to assess some contents for years before, during the single party transition socialist and communist era where ownership steered to serve the ruling elites. Yet, researcher used secondary data to fill the gap in the descriptive method so as to minimize the threat for validity of the study. Moreover, the most eventual limitation of the study was about the external validity of the methods that is used. Under normal circumstance Tanzania media has been patterned in varied ownership structures, Public (state owned transition), Private with a variety of conglomerates, Partisan which includes religious and political outlets and Community media (Kilimwiko, 2008: 1). That means covering all of these patterns across the country needs enough time and resources in which researcher fought to overcome.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Research Design

This study appeals the critical theory by means of empirical data and eloquent analysis of Tanzanian media prospects in accordance with determinist and functionist accounts vis-à-vis the emergence of new structure of media ownership as dynamic factor for professional reformation and novel media institutions (Rosengren, 1989). Encompassing the ideological backgrounds in the course of political economy of media from socialist (Ujamaa) media system to multiparty and liberal undertakings in view of sociological research typology. This thesis typically makes use of qualitative design and quantitative content analysis because of pertinence to the dissertation; hence the combination, or triangulation, of diverse methodologies in the same research project is valuable in media studies to block up each other's gaps (Jensen & Jankowski, 1993). Whilst, Vicente---Mariño (2014) affirms that quantitative research is much applicable in the thesis of receptionist assertion (audience research) and media message for generalization with numerical analysis to the entire field of a studied phenomenon, it so far illustrates the existing relationships between instrumental factors (p. 39).

A qualitative method is convenient to validate the findings in media study, its hitherto potential approach to generate interpretative and hypothetical data on the complex situation of media into realization of a subterranean information with attributions and properties to such messages (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004: 204). It's meant for discovering in-depth ideas and findings including attributes of journalists and understanding behind the scene factors for content productions and ultimate outlooks and values notably by dint of institutional mechanism (Brennen 2012). Therefore, the utilization of mixed methods of data collection and analysis through both pragmatic and theoretical research approaches is deliberate to reveal comprehensive and detailed findings on the research hypotheses using abundant literature reviews, computed and descriptive data. Researcher came to explore with rich methodological framework of qualitative approach and quantitative content analysis, drawing the samples from the news content, owners, editors, media experts to reporters across the country in respect of reliability and validity for generalizing the results in consistent with future researchers.

1.2.2 Data Collection and Sampling Techniques

Accordingly, the fused approach of qualitative and quantitative devices has employed both purposive and convenient sampling techniques, designed for deliberate picking out the individuals for in-depth interview and focus group discussions, together with selection of three newspapers for content analysis in order to generate exploratory and conclusive information. As a point of departure, this study reviewed various literatures to collect data on historical viewpoints for measuring external validity of the results and for the purposes to adhere into vital landmark in the course of academia and for compliance with existing studies. It takes advantages of orthodox theories of media ownership as initially stated by Altschull (1984) that "*the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press*" (p. 254). Hence, the

theoretical methodology commences on scrutinizing the level of objectivity in Tanzanian media system prior to owners' eminences over news content across the specified time (1992-2017). In accordance with the deregulation model of media market which apprehends on diversity and pluralistic perspectives (Baker, 2007 and Doyle, 2002). It's heading for explosion of big media organization to diversify media outlets, the conception of media and market concentration raised attributable to the commercialization of industry for these few firms to control a large quantity of publications and broadcasting media (Wasko, 2005: 32). The dissertation made use of the policy papers and other publications like media research papers and official documents with reference to the political, technological and economic factors as dynamic on media-political relations during the state monopoly ownership to the current structure.

Henceforth the findings of the study are also based on a quantitative content analysis; this method opts in the precondition for determination, productions and studies of media effects (Harris, 2004). It provides clear picture of media conducts through policies and journalists' aptitudes which archetypally reflect to the topographies of publications. Berelson (1952) views content analysis as "*a research technique for the objective, systemic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communication*" (p. 74). In this thesis, researcher got to demonstrate a statistical analysis of texts and the symbolic meanings and forms of visual constituents. Three dailies out of 416 Tanzanian officially registered and active publications were drawn as case studies to endorse data with implications to existing ownership structure on the basis of journalist conducts. Consequently, the study measured the weight of political content based on the ownership patterns in the 25 years of multiparty democracy from 1992 to 2017. Including a government owned newspaper notably Zanzibar Leo, operated under Zanzibar Newspaper Corporation which is in the possession of Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, and two others are the privately run newspapers; Mtanzania and Nipashe belonging to New Habari Corporation (2006) and IPP Media Group respectively.

The selection for content analysis of three newspapers was centered on a stratified sampling technique of several issues edited for the duration of 1992 to 2017. The study drew periodical and monthly stratified sample into five terms of Tanzanian general elections 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015, whereby the newspaper productions for January, March, May, July, September and November of each election-year with first copy of designated month were picked for analysis. Consequently, every newspaper was about to get six issues per year and total became thirty editions for whole terms of study. The calculation for sample size for each newspaper was a formula of $\frac{1}{3} \times \text{target samples (90/100\% papers)}$ which resulted to 30 (33.3%) editions per selected newspaper. Nonetheless, altogether the study examined 86 (95.6%) editions, whereby Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo got 30 (33.3%) issues for each as illustrated in the table 1.2.1 below. It was only Mtanzania newspaper which had total 26 (33.3%) publications and missed four issues (4.4%), due to its first commencement being on September 10, 1995, hence four copies for January, March, May, July 1995 couldn't be analyzed. The high concentration was paid on the analysis of news articles with total 948 items with 206 photos trendy national new

content solely, while little emphasis was on opinions such as feature items, letter to editor and editorials published in three dailies.

Table 1.2.1: Sample Size and Distribution for Content Analysis

Newspapers		Reached and Analyzed				Target Samples; ⅓ x total issues (90/100%)	
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Percent
Valid	Mtanzania	26	28.9	30.2	30.2	30	33.3
	Nipashe	30	33.3	34.9	65.1	30	33.3
	Zanzibar Leo	30	33.3	34.9	100.0	30	33.3
	Total	86	95.6	100.0		90	100.0
Missing	items	4	4.4			0.0	0.0

Source: Field Research, 2018

Besides, the questions for in-depth interview were premeditated of cross sectional that enabled researcher to collect data at a point during the study with a parallel-sample design from more than one sample (groups) representing two or more populations (Jurs and Wiersma, 2004: 65). The interview instrument is useful for qualitative data to cover the in depth and expressive experience and ideas of individuals on the subject (Berelson, 1952: 19). In this dissertation interview technique involved 73 informants, table 1.2.2 shows a composition of samples used; counting media executives such as owners, managing directors, news editors and program managers through non-probability sampling. These samples were drawn from News institutions of Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland namely Aboud Media Group, Alnoor Media, Hali Halisi Media, IPP Media Group, Mwananchi Communication, New Habari Corporation (2006), Tanzania Standard Newspaper (TSN), Swahiba Media, Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), Zanzibar Cable Media Group (ZCMG) and Zanzibar Media Corporation Ltd (ZMCL). They were interviewed to gather data for critical analysis with reference to their long managerial attitudes based on organization motives and policies on shaping the news contents in proportion to professionalism and socially concerns in their daily endeavors.

It also covered representatives from media associations notably Media Council of Tanzania MCT, Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Tanzania Press Club TPS, Media Owners Association of Tanzania (MOAT) and Tanzania Journalism Association (TAJOA). Along with veteran journalists were involved as expedient informants to enable researcher to generate the implications specific to journalism career and settings with related conditions on phenomenon. Interview also included media academicians in purposive sampling from Morogoro School of Journalism (MSJ), Zanzibar Journalism and Mass Media College (ZJMMC), Muslim University of Morogoro (MUM), Zanzibar University (ZU) and School of Journalism and Mass Communication SJMC based in the University of Dar-es-salaam, as to what is convenient to acquire their rich experience and hypothetical viewpoints on the current mode of media ownership structures.

Table 1.2.2: Sample Size and Distribution for In-depth Interview

Respondents		Reached and Analyzed				Target Samples	
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Percent
Valid	Media Owners	7	8.8	9.6	9.6	10	12.5
	General Managers	9	11.3	12.3	21.9	10	12.5
	Veteran Journalists	15	18.8	20.5	42.5	15	18.8
	Media Associations' Representatives	8	10.0	11.0	53.4	10	12.5
	Chief Editors	14	17.5	19.2	72.6	15	18.8
	Media Academics	10	12.5	13.7	86.3	10	12.5
	Bloggers/Online Forum Operators	10	12.5	13.7	100.0	10	12.5
	Total	73	91.3	100.0		80	100.0
Missing items		8	7	8.8			

Source: Field Research, 2018

Likewise, for new media news environment around the political liberations, bloggers and online platform frontrunners were interviewed to prompt their sophisticated undertakings on the application of crowdsourcing and user-generated content routines as new emerging features, highlighting the civil reforms over digital political sphere. This comprised of Michuzi Blog, Zanzibar Yetu, Mzalendo Net, Pemba Today, Jamiiforum, Zaima Media Online and Zanzibar 24. These are among the leading online social networks based in Zanzibar and Tanzanian mainland whose operators were counted in so as to give out their views on their identical positions in new media practices as opportune in filling up the gaps on political communication over mainstream media. The interview technique in this study applied face-to-face using semi-structured approach to certify an analytical discussion and follow up questions as well as email and phones interviews took part to obtain valued insights in structured questions to respondents as alternative means of cost effective and time management.

In addition, the two focus groups were designed to obtain in-depth understandings and ideas from nineteen young journalists; the first discussion took place at ZJMMC and the later was at MUM comprised ten and nine participants respectively. The strength of the focus group as stated by Morgan (1988) is *“the explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group”* (p. 12). The sessions were conducted through snow-ball technique which employed the miscellaneous clusters of practicing journalists plus journalism students as future media practitioners in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar independently. Researcher formed participatory and freedom mode throughout the discussion in which participants comfortably commented on the subjects and inspired others into vibrant contributions. He ultimately examined through their gestural responses and narrative knowledges, perceptions and concerns about alteration of media ownership structure and how media owners affect the ultimate average news routines.

Table Table 1.2.3: Sample Size and Distribution for Focus Group Discussion

Participants		Reached and Analyzed				Target Samples	
Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Frequency	Percent
	Morogoro	9	45.0	47.4	47.4	10	50.0
	Zanzibar	10	50.0	52.6	52.6	10	50.0
	Total	19	95.0	100.0	100.0	20	100
Missing items		1	5.0				

Source: Field Research, 2018

The research has also applied Participant Observations method; since researcher has decent experience on media working environment. He has been working with radio station as broadcaster for three years and writing for newspaper as a freelancer for more than five years. During his partaking, he became familiar with the potentiality by private owners to interfere the radio programming and editorial authority. In consort with advertiser's demand might probably twist the coverage of particular news events. Researcher has also common interactions with other practicing journalists in the country; he has recognized momentous constituents to Tanzanian media ecosystem but mostly is concerning self-censorship as the common imperatives of the day for journalists in both private and public owned broadcasting and newspapers. However, this model of ownership is quite different from state-owned media structure, where editorial affiliation with government officials is vivid to threaten the political reportage and news placement on particular magnitude, duration and space (Msoka, 2003: 21). Thus, research participants encompass a network of a variety of diverse journalistic backgrounds, representing several media fields such broadcasting, publications, photojournalism as well as online journalism. Varying in demographic characteristics such ages, genders, high experienced, retired as well as students and recent graduates along with diverse location of their affiliated working institutions. It also consists of individuals from diverse sort of ownership with specialization of their undertakings such as entertainment, religious, academic, sports, political and commercial based media institutions.

1.2.3 Validity and Reliability Measurement

The reflection of research variables is foremost essential throughout the study: This signifies some queries which might come to pass on the variances, in access of the instruments in natural and experimental environments. Since, this thesis is about both determinist and effects research, so long as the media ownership patterns change dramatically across the time; the media operation still become costly, which leads the circulation into unstable and varying, ultimately puzzling the whole ecosystem of media sector in Tanzania (Rioba, 2009: 21). So far as the contention of urban domination in news coverage and access also portrays the rural subjectivity for the civic life, in view of that, literature review was ideal to complement other methods. Thus, research involved participants who encompass a network of a variety of diverse journalistic backgrounds, representing several media fields such broadcasting, publications, photojournalism,

online journalism. Varying in demographic characteristics such as ages, genders, high experienced, retired as well as students and recent graduates along with diverse location of their affiliated working institutions. It also consists of individuals from diverse sort of ownership with specialization of their undertakings such as entertainment, religious, academic, sports, political and commercial based media firms. This is all for portrayal of a valid picture of changing frame of media system in Tanzania.

Therefore, for validity and reliability accomplishments, the study made use of triangulation methods in application of testing and retesting over documentary reviews, content analysis, focus group discussion and interview instruments keen on descriptive and numerical analysis, sketching the sociopolitical background of media operating system in Tanzania along carefully appraising the findings, for the authenticity and accuracy of the results. Danzin (1978) asserts on the triangulation which utilizes quantitative and qualitative study with multiple methods that entails several informants that enable researcher to justify for validity and abandon any blunders. The integrated research methods tend to justify the results with rational comprehension of the study area, meant for coherence, consistency and comprehensibility. Such as the convenience sampling was sensible to rationalize potential bias and shortcomings from a miscellaneous array of media industry. It embraces media owners, corporation general managers, news editors, program managers, representatives from media organizations, bloggers and online platform frontrunners, media academics, correspondents and students of journalism and communication. The study utilized representative reliability in order to maintain dependable and consistent results for composed social clusters potential in media system and undertakings in Tanzania.

Neuendorf (2002) asserts that the implication of reliability in content analysis method of media research is *"to identify and record relatively objective (or at least intersubjective) characteristics of messages"* and he further concludes that *"....without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless"* (p. 141). For validity dimension, Eveland et al. (2002) posit some incredible distinctions on media studies amongst type of medium in the aspect of productions and presentation, to him newspapers are likely systematic than television texts (p. 76). This question points to the validity concern of television contents that lacks some journalistic values. While newspaper texts imply to rather professional point of views, as of using inverted pyramid and more factual information are keen to test external validity. Hence, for the minimization of external and ecological validity threats and further consistency and replicability of results in this study. The format for data collection throughout content analyses were prepared as pretest technique in line with journalistic norms of newspapers reporting as well as the visual materials was organized appropriate for data retests. In consort with a predesigned code matrix in respect of the review of news article from selected newspapers as found in Appendix Two, whereby the code matrix table consists of variables in accordance with determinants for media ownership postures on news contents. The selection for these three newspapers was deliberate in purposive sampling for picking up the national newspapers being circulated across the major cities in Tanzania, covering socio-political and economic affairs in a selected period of study. In

this context, the only journalistic contents were counted in the analyses with great emphasizes of stories related to politics were examined profoundly, tracing the lengths of paragraphs, positions, genre, dateline, number of photos, news actor and source cited and demographic orientation specified to the stories. While the decently advertising or thematically dedicated issues were excluded.

The discourse analyses were utilized to explicitly scrutinize the content appearance and functionality in accordance with ownership provision of selected newspaper editions in an attempt to generalize the findings to entire journalism in the country. Since it was about to cover nighty samples for all three newspapers, however four issues for Mtanzania were unexploited (see table 1.2.1 above). Whilst, data analysis procedure consists of a straight attempt to scrutinize the collected data for the assurance of validity, reliability and inferences of the results. Data processing involved testing the significant relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable, data are presented in the form of numerical values with aids of charts, table, and percentages (Adam & Kamuzora, 2008: 56). The authenticity data trend of collected articles from the content analysis of selected three media outlets were converted through coding with conveyance numeral of other symbols to classes, so that to smooth the progress of data entry insets and entry for the entire response in form of number or symbol only. The Microsoft Excel (MS-Excel) and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software by using a compound linear model and Chi-square analysis were expended to compile, code, and summarize the gathered data into descriptive statistics to quantify the liaison of variables.

Moreover, Researcher clearly demarcated variables of the study in accordance with the method classified in order to extract the detailed data. Pearson correlation on log10-transformed data was utilized to test and relate dependent and independents variables regarding the number of articles for analysis based on newspaper ownership types. Hitherto the interview responses were qualitatively sorted out to compliment the inferential statistical analysis of content analysis as triangulation means. The reliability test for internal consistency was utilized using the split-half technique and Cronbach's Alpha through SPSS in counting the pilot study content analysis to cross-check for the reliability of the study, whereby the ultimate results (0.948 and 0.816) point to relevance of the instrument in view of the correlation coefficient between halves is 1 and the Spearman-Brown split-half coefficient is 1 as mentioned in the Table 1.2.4.

Researcher initially employed various test initiatives so as to develop the reliability and validity of the instruments. Apart from three advisors, various media researchers were involved in the revision of the questions for data collections in accordance with research hypothesis. The translation of interview and focus group questions into Swahili was the foremost initiative to sustain stability, internal consistency, and equivalency of instrument, in which questions were distributed to some participants considering their demographic attributes such as education, religion, gender, experience in media, income level as well as type of media they work in.

Table 1.2.4: Reliability Statistics for Research Instruments

Cronbach's Alpha	
Part 1 Value	.948
No. of Items	15
Part 2 Value	.814
No. of Items	10
Total No. of Items	25
Correlation Between Forms	1.000
Spearman-Brown Coefficient Equal Length	1.000
Unequal Length	.000
Guttman Split-Half Coefficient	.876

Source: Field Research, 2018

As the purpose was to reveal representativeness of the entire population in the social life, researcher collected results from Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, SMS and phone calls which indicated high clarity of the translation among the participants. However, this initiative exposed lack of knowledge among participants on the concept of media ownership structure, for the sake of the reliability of understanding, researcher revised all questions related to media ownership structures into more clarity of the ownership knowledge regarding the feedback of the pretest design. Far ahead, additional endeavors were deliberated to distribute the revised questions to the same number of participants with same characteristics and communication tool as previous initiatives, consequently it displayed good results of the reliability of knowledge on ownership structure and its consequences to media operation in Tanzania.

The same threats to validity happened through interview technique which missed to grasp the target number of interview participants whereby fourteen respondents of 100 samples were not reached as shown on the table 1.2.2b above. With the purpose to assure accurate responses and ultimate representativeness, the researcher subsequently self-administered the instruments using purposive sampling with the same questions to the most influential informants based on the type of media, gender, age, and experience and job position so as to gather a miscellaneous and rich insights on the subject of ownership changing structures. To counter bias in the sampling, the stratification was utilized to assure actual and reliable findings from knowledgeable and skillful informants who were randomly selected among prominent media owners, managing directors, veteran journalists, academicians, executive editors, presidents of Media organizations, bloggers/online platform operators and young journalists who have decent empathy of the media in relations with political reforms. It was intentional to overcome research limitations including a limited number of respondents, unskillful respondents, and the possibility of subjective debate on certain themes. Therefore, Researcher ethically considers the legitimacy, reliability, accuracy and implication of previous media works, journals, government publications, policy documents, books, newspapers and other media programs on hardcopy and digital version in the provision of research hypothesis.

Meanwhile, the observation method became worthwhile in validating the findings. This method is very astonishing in triangulation among mass communication research methods due to its authenticity over hypothetical assertions, scrutinizing in details through physical reaction and empathies among media personnel in the field and particularly inside the newsrooms (Goffman, 1998: 125). Hence, researcher has rich familiarity with media control and management; working as radio presenter, program producer and turned into news editor at private station, while recently is instructor at Media College. Subsequently, researcher took apparent variables and variance into consideration during analysis, commencing the institutional structures such as editorial conditions, autonomy of journalists, owner influence, working environments, quality control and types of existing media. Along with ownership, market competition, legal scene, advertising and sources of revenue were considered as discursive factors which commonly signify actual picture of journalism in the course of transformation. Ultimately, the whole document was so far revised by various media academics and linguist purposely to improve research into the accuracy and efficacy of the findings and curtail the possible obstructions beyond the control of the researcher. Prior to the qualitative methods, research put under consideration all about rights of respondents through expedient atmosphere such venue and emotional suits during the discussion. All participants including of interview and focus group discussion were recorded and are aware of study utilization of their quotes and narrations generated during the data collection and were mentioned their names whenever necessary in the final thesis report. Finally, researcher put ethics into concentration as integrity and honesty over bias and exaggeration during the analysis, interpretation and presentation of findings.

1.3 Theoretical Context of Media Ownership

1.3.1 Normative Theories on Media Ownership

Normative theories of media tend to reflect the sociopolitical-philosophical doctrines modelling the mass media outlook in proportion of the social settings, delineating the general functions of media in a certain type of society, they are rational so far in labeling geopolitics of the state (Curran, 2002: 166). To many social scientists the normative theories recount into evaluative standard in the basis of sociological context as to the structural functionalists in respect of social consistency by means of social activity (Bicchieri, 2005). In their book about the liaison of media and society titled *Four Theories of the Press* Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur instituted the normative theories of media, articulating media as social institution is likely shaped and twisted according to the social and political system and potential to replicate the values of the served society (Siebert 1956: 1). Media scholars trace basic social requirement of media from the propositions and conception of the media normative manners regarding daily routines, management, news production and regulation under the social ascendancy (Benson, 2011: 2592). Whilst, the public communication structure tends to alter over time consistent with

the moral foundations of society which commonly affect the mass media functionality alongside the set course of action (White, 2000: 58).

Equally, normative theories incline to feature the Media Regulation meant for propositions vis-à-vis the influence and control of social and political actions to the media operations, to mean the correlation of media and existing social powers including government, media ownership and public at large. Hence, normative theories are rather pragmatic on highlighting the influences of ownership and control over ultimate media functions than in studying the media-audiences accounts. Although, there is limited implication of normative theories to the entire journalism practices due to the contemporary evolving and novel forms and methods of media practices (Nerone, 1995), its applications remain valuable to the academic uses through the professional trainings in particular. Accordingly, it comes to the descriptive account on the dynamic character of journalism in the liberal democracy expressly. Several media researchers (McQuail 2005; Baker 2002; Benson, 2011) utilize the normative theories of media in the recitation of democratic and nondemocratic viewpoints with consequences of the progressive trends of mass media, sketching the state control and regulations on the media undertakings together with emerging economic interdependence of media.

The version of nondemocratic theories such as *authoritarian normative theory* stipulates that media are always subjective and obedient to the state or dominant class owing to the provision of autocratic social systems (Folarin, 2002: 27). According to Siebert et al (1956) the authoritarian government might not put straight restrictions to the media ownership configurations but the mass media might be kept under sever censorship and regulations by the ruling bureaucrats and authorities in the country, which results into divisive treatment nearby day-to-day socially commitments (p. 13). Under the authoritarian doctrine the media institutions are entailed to preserve the apparent social cohesion and national security while deprived of any reasoning and inquiries over the governing system. Hence, the state is liable to censor the conducts of media houses and determine the ultimate contents by means of legislations and choral accounts over the ideal threats of information/news. The authoritative regulations and laws subordinate press around social institutions into narrow universe on catering the betterment of general community, in place of serving the interest of ruling elites minority.

More punitive existence over media bearings are ought to be imposed through the *totalitarianism* spectrum which is close to the assertion of *Marxist-Leninist* (Benson, 2011: 2592) rose throughout the disintegration of soviet unions. In this authoritative version, the media industry is utterly totalized within the state in term of ownership and control to serve working classes and ostensible concentration of the society as generated from Karl Marx and Engel's ideas of communism, the privately-owned media scheme is no longer allowed to operate. According to Benson (2011) in soviet media theory the industry is intensely vested by state keen on servicing the existing power and foremost behaviors, the best example for this soviet communism theory is found on the North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam rules (p. 592).

Besides, *political economy of communication* come into being with another version of normative theory; Schram (1964) and McQuail (2005) put forward the normative *development journalism theory*, for the media having identical communicative livelihood on the subject of heightening national economic development in the developing countries specifically. If any, the press can turn into subservient institution for the sake of economic, social and political development of the state. This presupposition was typically derived in the root of western donation to the foreign countries (Benson, 2011: 2593) where media are epitome smitten with social mobilization and spacing the precise condition on the proper utilization of the given aids. However, the critical synopses came across the western grants through the globalization theory (Curran, 2002: 166), as more international organizations emerged to cultivate the monopoly system of western media values. The idea of cultural imperialism was so far settled, hitherto prompted UNESCO into the establishment of NWICO, streamlining the concept of universal right to information keen on global cultural diversity perspective. The organ was aimed at fostering the dispersal media ownership in respect of universal pluralization of cultural products in media and communication outlets across the world.

On the other hand of democratic theories; the *libertarian theory* of media objects at maximizing the natural freedom of expression to human, nurturing the marketplace of thoughts (Siebert et al 1956: 43). The philosophy emerged in the consequences of the modern society which accounts for free media, enterprise and political parties, with presumption that “*Development of society is achieved by allowing free individual initiative and free circulation of ideas*” (White 2000, p 58). It signifies the complete freedom of opinions of individual that should not be interfered by any means such as governmental imperatives. This theory is anchored in philosophical principles of individualism and Liberalism derived from the earlier pioneers of human liberty in the 16th century like John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, David Hume and others. Libertarianism reveals that the authority should let the society unconditionally free to access any sort of information from the absolute liberal ownership system in order to fulfill the needs and aspirations. As to the libertarian point of view, any custom of censorship is dispensable to the media democratic survival since the man can resolve on what is bad or good news. Due to the undue abstract and positivity of libertarian ethos which typically underestimates the provision of disparate individual rationality as might instigates the erratic version of freedoms in the practicality of media operation. Hitherto the social transformation anchored in technological development cultivated entire changes of media into professionalism, whereby in the mid-twentieth century the conception of ‘social responsibility’ encompassed the moral assertions of key players. As far as the press freedom accounted over public regulation meant for democratization through social critics (White, 2000: 60).

Social responsibility doctrine substitutes to accentuate the media accountability to community even over external enforcements, insomuch as the media ownership must be installed in the concept of press freedom. It might be set up prior regulatory frameworks with main intention to play a pivotal character in serving the social aspirations and acting the watchdog role on monitoring those on powers (Schudson, 1999: 85). Some pioneers of *social responsibility*

assertion think about the media obligation into public good that should be mostly drawn from self-regulatory spectrum by dint of the set professional standards and ethical observation against severe political and market sceneries (Siebert et al 1956: 43 & Bertrand, 2007). So far as Bertrand (2007) calls for the media ownership structure which typically fashions social responsibility atmosphere, it should be enclosed by means of self-regulatory framework detaching from state control and vague market (p. 86). The self-regulatory basis involves the assignment of press council to normalize media in view of the social obligation role, utilizing the code of conduct and retaining the mutual interests of journalism and public.

The private ownership model is prospective in the social responsibility paradigm of media and ideal to prompt the “interpretative” reporting (investigative reporting) rather than “objective” reporting (facts reporting). Hence the end of social responsibility account is to induce professionalism across the media operation. Ettema and Glasser (2007) stress the investigative journalism in view of the professional obligation of journalist potential to exercise social conscience and attaining high moral exposure as distinctive mechanism on catering the betterment of general community athwart unveiling cynical current affairs in the country (p.64). It’s professed that media and other social organizations have imperative role against civic manipulations and promote good governance (Abdalla, 2015: 24). In the developed countries such as Japan, Italy, Great Britain and other use media independently in detecting corrupt conducts and their main actors. While in Tanzania, according to the survey by PCB and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam (2006) indicate that during the general election in Tanzania remains the gravely period in which bribery is practiced. Nevertheless, Media remains strong weapons forefront reporting the corrupt leaders who attempted to furnish the voters monetary grants and other goods for humbly getting elected (Mrutu, 2003: 90).

While objectivity as fundamental principle of western journalism inclines to generate the fairness and accurate coverage of entity apropos diverse settings and dimensions. However, the critical views on the current media ownership configuration that merely speeds up the capitalist ideology afore democracy facilitation (Baker 2007; Chomsky and Herman 1989; McChesney2001, Mosco, 1996). Such critiques are presented by political economists of media subsequent to the embryonic global capitalists’ dominance of industry, in which media become the manipulative tools on surfacing the political creams and business operators through indefinite ownership of cross and vertical trend.

For Baker (2007) *democratic elites’ theory* is growing to entrench political elites’ provision, where media plays substantial role to represent their views over citizens so that to reassure their ostensible democratic survival (p. 13). While McQuail (2005) sees the *democratic participation* of normative democracy that media has potential to safeguard equal social participation in their citizenships, providing the public forum for diverse social groups into comprehensive participation, with their civic rights on discursive domain. Other more concerns over *liberal theory* of media is on the *public sphere* which views media as an open space for

rational and critical debate where individuals equally get in the inclusive realm (Habermas, 1989), as this theory is elaborated more on the following part.

1.3.2 The Media Ownership over Public Sphere Conception

The idea of journalism in public sphere conception has been archetypally transcribed by miscellaneous media scholars and social science theorists (Rosen, 1999; Glasser, 1999; Haas, 2007; Heikkilä and Kunelius 2006 inter alia). Before having the substantial reviews of public journalism, it's useful to keep in mind the position of public journalism over public sphere theory, as far as regarded a convenient realm operating between civil society and government institutions (Ahva, 2011: 32). The revolutionary thesis of Public sphere was set forth by Jürgen Habermas (1962) a German sociologist and philosopher, in his earlier work titled *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* which explores the progress of the bourgeois public sphere and its consequent transformation from 17th century. He cites public sphere as ideal, a unitary domain where private individuals get involved in vis-à-vis their vital civic decisions to grasp their common interest, as the essential cause of democracy (Habermas, 1989: 31). It's by all accounts, for such kind of inclusive equality on the sphere of miscellaneous clusters, that media would be protagonist to discourage the private concerns for the matter of common good in the respect of public interest on the single and unifying public sphere (Calhoun 1995, Garnham 1992, Hallin 1994, and Sparks 2000). (Habermas, 1989: 31).

Habermas concerns on media control and ownership through the ideas of changing framework from the journalism of private men of letters to the public consumer services of the mass media (p. 181). He so far traces the institutionalization of privates in favor of an individual in the course of public sphere transformation of the bourgeois society which turned into disintegration in 19th and 20th centuries after the dominant elites took power over media and cycled ideologically to undergo their secretive primaries (p.43). According to him there is a typical conversion of political character of the public sphere, hitherto evolves the manufactured publicity and *nonpublic opinion*. Such moments however triggered through the escalation of manipulation tools like advertising and public relations techniques which twisted the media ineffective political space, utilizing the concentration of minority elites, as consequence to the nascent private realm (Habermas, 1989: 181-235). Habermas further came to review his first work of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, after many critics from various social theorists (inter alia, Fraser 1992, Marx Ferree 2002,) who argue that public sphere conception should not ignore the multiple spheres existing at peripheral along the common domain. Consequently, Habermas (1992) admits a model of multiplicity and he promotes toward global public sphere, the sphere that is from heterogeneous small clusters contained in the national community (p. 35). He recognizes the presence of diverse provinces and discursive interactional course, which are fostered through communicative processes over consuming media and individual interactions to adopt into civic progression featured with plural views on the domains (p.36). The acknowledgment of subordinate public spheres appear significantly to retain

the diverse proclivities in the line of mutual trusts and benefits within community towards social deliberations (Fraser 1992: 131).

Whilst, the conception of public journalism presents the marginal prosperity that is potentially influenced by a number of economic and social factors (Haas, 2007), resulting into demoralizing the sense of social cohesion attributable to the presumption of unified territories with shared values and interests. For many public journalism scholars like Blumer (1948: 545) consents that public sphere is shaped with plural views which might invite the conflicting consensus, whereby the harmony is merely grasped through discursive communicative actions over public discussion and deliberation no matter the idiosyncratic manifestation of multiplicity of spheres. This signifies the necessity of critical revision of public journalism into miscellaneous standpoints, commencing the media structure across instrumental accomplishments and media operation per daily routines such as news production process (Ahva, 2011: 43) alongside the social structure (through individual construction of society) and audiences' reception point of view. To this point, the modern conception of public journalism in relation to authentic public sphere should focus on the dichotomy of individual and social; whereby individual is the active builder and substantial entity on the viewpoint of society. The transformation of public service media with a number of discursive factors such as Privatization, conglomeration, deregulation and transnationalities nurtures novel ideal on the democratic function of media into modern idea of public sphere.

Besides, Merritt (1998) uses the assertion of common problems and common goals to indicate the presumption of totalizing the community as a unitary domain which share common good in the public life. Through such *universalistic* abstraction of publicness implies to suppose the neutrality and equality by the journalists, to diminish the conflicts of interest and personal standpoints as well as to detach from full involvement in political deliberation, as to get rid of the notions of 'doing politics' in preference to 'doing journalism' (Rosen 1999, Austin 1997 and Coleman 2000). Contrary to the *particularistic* approach which conceptualizes the genuine civility on the absolute journalist's synthesis keen on citizen deliberation, for the particular benefits of marginal spheres over limited access through the supposition of prevalent interest and values of dominant groups and entities (Glasser, 1999 and Schudson 1999). Thus, journalists should not simplify the discord; instead have a duty to help individuals to observe mutual trust in respect of their diversity, due to the reality that the society is fractured with reference to heterogeneity. Conversely, Merritt (1998) and Rosen (1999) contend that media should stay alert as referee only on deliberative processes and take part simply in outcomes of civic deliberation rather than on the initial stage of movement as full participation.

Further to the inception of public sphere, Day and Schuler (2004) professes three characteristics. The first is to mean comprehensive communication prospects, where citizens engage in conversation by a variety of means, comprising journalistic implements like newspapers, radio and TV, as well as face-to-face ways or through other selected networks. Secondly, public spheres are "public" for a wide range of "spaces" (publicness) accessible and open to public deprived of discrimination on the basis of nationality, religion, gender, physical

appearance, political affiliation, ages, ethnicity, occupation, mental capacity, sexual orientation and economic status; instead it's open to all publics (p. 4). Thirdly, a public sphere mediates between people and institutions like political parties, the media, NGO and other government institutions, as well as links between influential and inferior entities for the intention to clear out our variations, example between leaders and those powerless by giving voice to the voiceless (p. 5). Based on these three reputes, the nascent regulation of journalism would retaliate the emerging networked structures where the strong, the political public sphere, the weaker and the informal public sphere are interconnected by means of communicative network (Friedland et al; 63) from multiple layers into fused arena. The media information system, especially the miscellaneous realms on the internet sphere are still dynamic in the creation of civic debate and shaping the public opinions certainly as a step ahead the social identity and problem elucidation.

Thus far, the constructionist and postmodern model tend to streamline free and assorted individual perspectives of grassroots and marginal spheres (Barnhurt and Nerone 2001: 86). The proportion of media-driven civil society has been drastically vanishing; according to the embryonic school of thought in the course of conspicuous dissertation of polity and ideology in the 20th century, commonly viewed civil society a public sphere. For instance, the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, in his dominant notion of 'hegemony' and the 'manufacture of consent' (as discussed more in the following part) sights 'society' under the capitalist control is into two identical forms; 'political society' which is 'hegemony' and a 'civil society' where overlapping spheres are found and restructured into the 'manufacture of consent' (Gramsci, 1971). Thanks to the contemporary capitalist media settings, the orthodox scope of public sphere reflects the divisive control and instrument, signifying the inconclusive discourse on civic deliberations, ultimately to amplify the civil grievances meant for depraved polity and contrasting interest. To this point, Day and Schuler (2004) hypothesize the alternative spheres in an attempt to *challenge the assumption and specifics of the more orthodox public spheres* of which their 'mediating structure' miscarries to link the desperate viewpoints (cf, p. 5). In consort with a social critical theory which posits the *alternative media* potential in the best interest of subordinate spheres owing to the media control of the governing authorities and commercial elites. This noncommercial and participative ownership steers publics to the collective civic endeavors and equal decision making as well as inspires the deliberation of their citizenry through earnest public opinions deprived of manipulated and monopolized agenda in the basis of liberal management for the betterment of public life (p. 6).

1.3.3 Manufacture of Consent

As conventional principles in the liberal democracy confirms that mass media have significant role in the fortification of pluralism and diversity of ideas in the course of democracy dispersion. The formerly works of media researches in the beginning of the 19th and 20th centuries like Walter Lipmann in 1922 explored much about media as material implement on shaping the public opinion in the society. Whereas, tremendous discussions preoccupied on how the media power is exploited under the instrumental efforts in respect of political atmosphere of

the nation state. It was then frequently argued about the fourth estate ideal function of media, having communicative role as anchor concerning the government conducts and civil society at large, along with watchdog connotation to monitor the abuses of power. For critical contention, politicians would make use of the loophole of media influence into consent designation in an attempt to overlook the civil society point of view. Lipmann (1922) worked on the way that consent is manufactured by those who control the system, broadening the gap of *hegemony* and *civil society* (Gramsci, 1971). According to him media institutions were strategically endeavored to represent the status quo of inspired phenomenon beyond the professionalism. Hitherto journalistic mechanisms are dramatically involved in the manipulation methods and are mounted through pseudo-events (Boorstin, 1962) and sociological means (McNair, 2010: 23) by political actors to reveal the consent over reigned society.

Whilst, Gramsci (1971) asserts the manufacture of consent for the ‘political society’ to dominate intensely over ‘civil society’ partial to falsification. To him civil society sticks at a public domain where the heterogeneous realms reach consensus through ideas and beliefs produced and reformed meant for ‘manufacture of consent’ and legitimacy with the aid of the media, universities and religious institutions (p. 213). Hence, civil entities are preferably organized in the consensus of common good irrespective of the diversity. While ‘hegemony’ is set up more influential institution and hitherto overlap the civil society, having a supplementary command to pervert the political motions of civil society. The Gramsci’s works is so far based on his idea of a ‘third face of power’ or ‘invisible power’ which relatively had background of Marxist about ideology of class relations and masking paradoxes initiated from the governing power, values and beliefs (Heywood, 1994: 100). It should be tinted here that, the news contents are identically produced and conditioned behind various factors which dispense overdue guidance in excess of the societal prosperity, in line with monopolized institutional and occupational parameters. By dint of abandoning professional and deontological norms and values, the question of objectivity and accurate of news reporting is tantalized to demoralize the primary aspirations of ordinary citizens. In the process of consent manufacturing, Boorstin (1962) claims about the media tendency to nourish the public with unrealistic ingredients through deliberate fictions imposed by dominant elites, as of manipulation methods by politicians where accurate and truthful viewpoints are always discounted in place of propaganda proportions (p. 45). The contemporary political figures set up certain atmosphere which normally depicts the filtered public information, for instance by using the obtrusive terminologies such as public interest and national security which arrange for new concept of news on behalf of their private comforts (McNair, 2010: 24). In Tanzania, media houses are ostensibly institutionalized with dominant concentration foremost amid businessmen and politicians, insomuch that the minor and irrelevant information turned into regular phenomenon across daily media reportages (Barton 1979: 113). Alongside owners’ predisposition deteriorates the quality of information hooked on less clarity and continuity of news stories, it means most of the news entities are apparently manufactured to charm a certain group in the society over civil society’s prosperity.

By using political economy approach of communication, there are interesting number of media studies turning into more influential in scrutinizing the current communication and information esteems and general outlooks, in the scope of news management and control with burden of democratic society. The Propaganda Model was put forward by Herman and Chomsky (1988) stipulates the five elementary determinants as news filters designed for manufacturing consent from raw news, potential to interfere editorial decision of content management just before distribution and consumption to the masses. They consider *financial media ownership* as the first editorially distorting filter in which systematically retained to control the news content of media in the manner that fulfill the owner's welfares in the market (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Hence, mass media become "propaganda" machinery in the best interests of the companies and political institutions which incline to draw the perimeter of topical themes portrayal, such as the unveiling terrorism of America's enemies over US supporters like Guatemalam (p. 65). As per persistently growing of the giant media firms which tend to rule out the media profession in preference of foregoing proprietors' commercial interest commissioning countless appliances to influence mass viewers, listeners, and readers in the marketplace. Such kind of ownership nurtures media into apparently yield the consent on behalf of policy makers and economic elites who approve the being of such mode of ownership. This turns into an interchanging process of profitability for the media companies to service the elites and ruling authorities.

Figure 1.3.1: The Propaganda Model



Source: Monthly Review, 2018

In turn, Media Corporations potentially obtain conducive conditions through policies and *advertising* pertaining to the common interest as a primary source of income, in which propaganda model considers it as a second filter for the media determinedly attempt to definitely portray advertisers and privileged bureaucrats in reliance of capital supports, the manner that so far challenges the predetermined standards and professional ethics set in catering the community in a democratic society. Based on the neoliberal economic perspective the pluralistic conception has become insufficient enough to serve the general public in the egalitarian culture, representing the manufacture of consent in favor of influential minorities. Eventually, as transformational outcomes, the modern advertising spectrum is strained to limit the diversity of viewpoints and inherently divests the gatekeeping and watchdog roles of media in preference to servicing those on powers and commercial elites (Baker, 2007: 153). To the extent that cultivates mass media into irresponsible platform to the healthy democracy anchored in unfit settings for the equal voices of majority and marginal domains.

For the third filters, the propaganda model indicates subjectivity of *news sources*, whereby news media extremely rely information provided by “expert” and official sources by means of PR utilization (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The media outlets are too selective on featuring general news substances; they nursed merely on the discerning information offered by ‘spin doctor’ through well-regarded organizations by means of persuasive trappings and publicity like press release and press conferences (Herman and Chomsky, 2002). The media reliance on “think tank” as sources of information triggering self-censorship, while the vocabularies of particular discourse like “terrorist” is pragmatic merely to America’s enemies—Iraq or Hamas and the PLO (p. 28).

However, the community may rely typical representation by momentous groups in the society such as private influential groups which engage in civic deliberations. This implies the fourth editorial distorting filters in propaganda model, namely *Flak* and the *Enforcers* referring to the negative responses to a media statement or program; such as letters, complaints, lawsuits, petitions or legislative actions. Herman and Chomsky (1988) concluded the fifth filter for the news media in manufacture of consent is external intimidation. Expressing as *anti-communism* during the Cold War (1945–91) when *Manufacturing Consent* was originally published, whereas it’s recently replaced by the *War on Terror*, as the major social control mechanisms of post-9/11 political climate. It refers to the media perverse role to massive mobilization of ideology over a common enemy or against any threatening interests of the financial elite. The vivid example can be drawn from American media when commonly primed the contents on Iraq War and veiled the realistic accounts from the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan who considered the crusade as “illegal”. Its a growing tendency of media in the long run work for “manufacture of consent” with egotistic orientation of policy, meant for producing incomplete information where audience become more obedient and passive (McNair, 2010: 25). Ultimately the public who turned audiences are treated subjective with artificial fears; for the governing authority to shelter the public submissiveness in deprive of critics and to frighten the prospective critics. Nevertheless, the question of audience obedience to the media productions and control turn out to thought-

provoking perspective nowadays in consequence of technological snooping of editorial power as will be discussed in the below subpart.

1.3.4 Technological Determinism

The transformation of journalism profession with entire practice is classically manifested athwart the technological inspiration. The position of technology in regard to the communication system has been broadly discussed in the initial academic works of media and society in the middle of 20th century specifically through the thesis of ‘technological determinism’ among others. This theory offers the typical proposition of technological protagonist on challenging the status quo of societal provisions. For more progression of technological determinism theory McLuhan (1964) sets forth the model of ‘Medium is the message’, meaning that the “content” of any medium is always another medium. The prominence of structural meaning of medium itself matters reasonably than the carried content within the channel. In this sense, the characters of the medium tend to cultivate the miscellaneous contents of medium. For instance electric light can accommodate a number of activities like the night social events which turn to be the “content” and medium accordingly.

1.3.4.1 New Media and Journalism Convergence

Currently, the ideas of technological determinist inclines to synthesize the whole concept of institutional media control, news productions and distribution along with audience power by means of nascent abstraction on new media settings. The critical discourse endures the congregating aptitudes of technology vis-à-vis the media practices and overall communication systems in a broad sense, signifying *both a top-down corporate-driven process and a bottom-up consumer-driven process*, as Deuze (2008) further noted;

Media convergence must also be seen as having a cultural logic of its own, blurring the lines between different channels, forms and formats, between different parts of the media enterprise, between the acts of production and consumption, between making media and using media, and between active or passive spectatorship of mediated culture. (p. 103)

The new media scale has ultimate potential of journalistic transition, commencing individual hegemony through crowd sources of text, pictures, video and other inputs, designed for the multiple content production and simultaneously widespread to numerous user’s crosswise manifold channels, the conversion is more spontaneous to counter the traditional media provisions in advance (Newman, 2009: 21). As the nature of breaking news in the contemporary journalism practices drastically adjusts, user-generated contents prototype emerged to accelerate the transition of media practices (Nygren & Witschge 2009: 47), so far the mainstream media embrace into competition as of news feeds on compound social media platforms. This prompts the journalists apparently to look down the professional principles and ethics of facts-based reporting and objectivity foregoing to be the first on event coverage (Asough, 2012: 7). Hitherto

Michael (2012) argues that the modern journalism is ultimately growing into uncertainty beyond the neutrality and objectivities, due to the potentiality of web 2.0 emergences with innovative features which substitute a variety of channels and nurture crowd sources, puzzling the media practitioners to enfold ethical dilemmas in due course.

Devastation of journalism moralities can be appraised through social theories point of view, on accounts of the novel features and methods in new media environment which elicits the *Collapsed Context*, implying the *blurred boundary* between private and public, for the individuals' perspectives being contrarily fused into the public context (Marwick, 2012). As speciously practiced on opinionated blogs and other social media tools, whereby the user-generated content model rationalizes the combination of personal identity and professional observations; while proficient journalists keep on a tight spot, specifying to the owners and audiences' control which in common factor the structural adaptation and so far, trigger subjectivity of professional identity (Deuze 2007: 110). This tendency hitherto appeals to blur the territory of the occupational and professional standards, provoking the institutional control over news production and distribution, insomuch as a discourse of editorship, censorship, scalability, ownership of intellectual property become indefinite (Haak, 2012: 98). Likewise, the margin between connectivity and content offered by journalists, closed and open is so far uncertain (Deuze, 2007: 106).

With the provision of dubious antecedents and consequences across the transition of journalism along with the concept of user-structured (Nygren & Witschge 2009: 43), we come to the point that the career is in astonishing experiments which never happened before, in which Arsenault & Castells (2008) view this profession rather being in crisis. This critical discourse is drawn from the professionalism to the economic viewpoints. In the course of external factors assimilation, the term citizen journalism persists on the impressions of public good and freedom of expression anchored in the scope of human and legal rights, hence de-professionalization comes across; meaning the deprival process from being under control of certain specialists (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005). Yet, there are complex ideas on professionalism attributable to the blurred gap between journalists, newsmakers, and audience, whereby audiences sustain excessive autonomy on the journalism routes (Gillmor, 2004). However, the diverse literatures comply with common actors' perspective that journalism operates over discursive structural factors – society, economy, culture, media system and history – as well as influenced by personal characteristics (or: subjectivities) – background, upbringing, commitment, involvement, gender, ethnicity and age (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005; Berkowitz, 1997; Loeffelholz, 2000).

Coming to the economic outlook which similarly perseveres in the evolving of convergence culture, in which the professional duties have been dramatically broadening to a wider scope in news gathering, production and distributions (Gillmor, 2004: 23); in the meantime, citizen journalists take part on behalf of professionals – hitherto implying to de-professionalization (Nygren & Witschge, 2009: 49). Why mainstream news media on behalf of ownership should not be grateful for such endowments? Since the representativeness gives the connotation to adequate coverage, thanks to the spontaneous video footages, pictures and texts

which are casually brought up with compatible and digital devices from various dimension on spots with researnable costs. To these ideas, mainstream media inheritably reduce numbers of professional photographers and other personnel in reliance on the message boards filled with loads of text, comments, pictures and video which are circulated and are quite instantly useful and for future utilizations. Of couse, in place of primary function of internet as to simplify our daily routine, media companies bud to rely on multiskilling journalists (p. 44). Its inescapable for promptly moderating labor forces on the account of multifunction of digital devices, as opposed to traditional journalism model where division of labor is clearly marked in every part of media management namely editors, subeditors, reporters, distributors and publishers. When it's appraised further in the economic thoughts of journalism, it should be also scrutinized on the media economy itself through management and resources control along with economic as general motives for undertaking the profession.

The new media has radically interrupted the mainstream journalism economic visibility (Balding, 2007; Parks, 2012; Newman, 2009; Özçağlayan, 2008; Arsenault & Castells 2008). For Özçağlayan (2008) notes on ostensive deterioration of Turkish newspaper economy as a result of the mushrooming of free newspapers produced in Turkey since 2008 through the big cities like Istanbul and widespread everywhere especially on the public transport such as subway, buses boats and other vehicles where passengers have potential of liberal reading the papers day-to-day (p.138). He also professes the ultimate economic adjustment of Turkish press industry in the context of technological determinism from traditional subscriptions and circulations, as its recently exercised over the world but mostly in developed countries. The internet becomes unrestricted and inclusive panel for publications through assorted platforms, arranging for a large number of newspapers, in which many young people spend their time on reading ubiquitously online publications using their smartphones and other compatible devices. This liberation clues the declination of orthodox habits for newspapers readership and television viewership especially to the emerging generations (Mindich, 2005; Costera Meijer, 2006). The younger generation which is technologically adopted - Digital "Natives"² prefers much to use their mobile phones and computers in reading newspapers online free of charge than buying from the shops or streets. Accordingly, the supreme source of income for publications is vague and various advertisers tend to utilize online advertising, to the extent that the advertising patterns of mainstream newspapers

² Prensky (2001) underlines that the new social transformation nurtures young people into rather fitting the move, since they are digital "natives" that they have likely coped with this situation in an attempt to accomplish democratic, creative, an innovative generation. He further discerns with the digital "immigrants" referred to adults who just come to meet this settings on the progress later now, are typically differentiated on the basis of offline sceneries including cultures, belief, speaking. The digital "natives" intensifies itself potential digital degeneration with peculiarities, while immigrants certainly comply with the traditional scenario and integrate with a new style of digital generation. The notion of Generation divide; Digital "Immigrants" vs Digital "Natives" can be vividly found on the scope of new media and journalism viewpoints. This provides the general overview on the new way of personal communication, social interaction on a daily basis ration; young generation abundantly shifts to the online sphere as the primary space for exposition in respect of social conducts, along with recalling and prediction of their life and switch to new socialization.

and radios drastically declines in the recent years (Balding, 2007: 67). As consequences, nowadays mainstream media secure its survival from the external source for betterment of occupational accomplishment, these include government license fees and taxes, philanthropy, advertising, subscriptions, pay-per-view and crowd sourced contributions (Parks, 2012: 96). Nonetheless, the media access of public funds from taxpayer money, families' funds, and companies may raise private loyalty upon media coverage of government offers contrary to the public interest journalism.

1.3.4.2 Potential Civic Engagement in Virtual Public Sphere

As it has been reviewed above mostly the position of professional journalism in new media environment especially after emerging the web2.0 which offers the novel features and forms for the individual to get abundantly involved in journalistic duties and control de facto. With the aids of critical scholarly proclamations, this portion will continue to abstract the technological determinist viewpoints on modeling the structure and ultimate situation of communication control and practices. Since the 20th century onwards media and communication industry came into significant structural transformation of public information, hastening into view of globalization, which was disposed to turn the world into a single domain as put forward by McLuhan (1962) in his thesis of 'Global Village'. It utterly commenced from the advancement of information technology, to the degree that generates extensive autonomy of information flows globally, consuming complex technological means. Yet, the question has to come across on the aftermath is that; what eventual village is constructed in the course of globalization? The village which is precisely structured over technological diffusion is premeditated with deficient consensus passing through the elusive systems, as the decentral modality of information society over industrial society³ tends to endorse a marginal instance for the survival of unitary sphere conception as ideally claimed by Habermas (1989: 16).

Whilst, the multi layers are radically fostered on the scope of internet sphere, it's implying to an erratic disposition of emerging space to engender the civil society into broad approach of deliberative democracy, undermining the prospects to information efficacy meant for undemocratic participation counting assorted social entities from diverse backgrounds (Chen & Hirschheim 2004, Weimann 2006, Vincent 2007, McLaughlin 2003, Coleman 2000). Nonetheless, the wired sphere embraces the typology of social consumption of informational products including cultural properties and news accessible on the discursive space. Weimann (2006) admits the unique features of internet that reinforce the public engagement through communicative modalities, such as emails, message boards, links, web pages, chat rooms, which fuel loads of information materials, as of evolving online discussion on public agendas (p. 75). Likewise, the public institutions and individuals go forward into dynamic architects in exercising

³ Course Notes for Globalization and The Media, *Global Köyü Anlamak*,—Mehmet Özçağlayan, Marmara University, The Institute of Social Sciences. Istanbul, 2016.

the lively right to information and setting up various channels counting blogosphere which recently stands in a critique of communication and political revolution⁴.

It's the impression of internet that has emerged as a virtual and mysterious sphere, shaping the civil life whereby its peculiarities reflect to political culture and social movements addicted to the democratization. Howard (2011) insists that internet keeps on open and accessible sphere comprising diversity and plurality of the voices, a crucial phenomenon and driving force for expansion of civic lifecycle in the developing world specifically (p. 121). While Ogan and Cagiltay (2006) express their sympathetic ideas on the way that the civil society through Itiraf.com site can meet demand and integration of diverse citizens in Turkey (p. 12). It is abundantly used as logistical tools of widespread civic information with determinants (Vincent, 2007: 23), intended for cultivating political information efficacy on governing polity and civil society at large. Likewise, Howard (2011) affirms internet rests a significant domain of curtailing partitions within the community, particularly in the developing world where he places discourse in the civic engagement. The marginalized groups who have access to wired discussion might be forthcoming to gain citizenry exposure that further them to imaginable participation of offline sphere so far, ultimately they become active in economic and political arenas (p. 137). Hitherto he explains about wired sphere which emerged to seal the longstanding breach of men political and social domination having had always treated women as submissive, inferior and obedient to men. Citing several examples of women who are digitally empowered in the Muslim community, especially of the Gulf States, he affirms that the digital space triggers women's citizenship into more interesting than before (p. 143). As an alternative now internet grants a peculiar opportunity for women to voice up and participate abundant in civic debate and device their citizenship. For example, in Egypt nowadays technology infrastructure boosts women up in civic engagement than traditional media have been doing. In the past, girls were hardly ever registered after birth, The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights incorporation with World Bank managed the supporting venture for identity cards which ultimately used for voters' registration and other various access of public services (p. 83).

Therefore, internet presents heterogeneity point of views and backing the subordinate spheres for equality and revealing in public values keen on diversity on national and spiritual lines. The oppressive viewpoints of stereotypes based on social norms and colonial traditional constants, such as preventing from voting and participation in decision making like to be elected as MP are further discussed online at present days (p. 143). In this digital age, Social conscience and movements are most prospective through the backing of technology, many developing countries utilize in supporting the social movements while leftwing rest the most beneficiaries of

⁴Among others, Nayef Al-Rodhan (2007) introduces the weblogs (blogs) as a "*fifth estate of the realm*". Blogs have potential and real influence on contemporary policymaking, especially in the context of elections, reporting from conflict zones, and raising dissent over corporate or congressional policies. Thus, it should be sincerely apprehended for its consequences over the global political change and security.

this installment. The freedom of traditional media as normally restricted by some ruling elites around the developing world, such as government obtrusive deliberation through filtering and censorships imposed to the minority politicians. Conversely, the social organizations and activists now are gifted to penetrate with accompanying methods of cyberactivism and hacktivism to reach the political goals⁵.

For instance, Email and fax are ample alternative and communicative resources by many hostile groups to the states after their ordinary means being muzzled, along with social media accounts when interrupted by government intelligences. The practical examples are of the opposition organizers in Indonesia who brought down the Suharto Government, and when the PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers' Party)) leader Abdullah Ocalan was detained by Turkish government official security, Kurdish activists managed to organize massive demonstrations in 22 different cities across Europe all the way through email and fax from Turkey (Wolcott and Goodman 2000: 39). Accordingly, left wings and other social activists find virtual manifestation potential to political communication in approaching their publics and as refrainment from suppressive mainstream media exposure. What is more, the development of technological infrastructure chains the presence of comprehensive news portal in various languages, authorizing leftists in the countries of democratic transition and authoritarian to secure the diverse political information and appeal attractions to their domestic supporters, as well as to reach far all over the world as to gain politically backing from abroad, foreign journalists, and members of Diaspora communities in the direction to maintain global exposure.

As Al-Rodhan (2007) connotes the weblogs (blogs) as a "*fifth estate of the realm*" latent on the modern political information especially policymaking smitten with civic deliberations (p. 76). The provision of deliberative democracy is predetermined by dint of effective communication for public to have plentiful maneuvers in the opinion formation and delivery. The question might come across here is about the extent of indefinite individuals partaking with thoughts and values by means of excessive expression on the stage, to the scope that online participation may distress confidentiality, reliability, authenticity and accuracy, warning the trust of communication media. As considerably technology as concerns - a mediate sphere of polity and social determinations in general, to what extent the Tanzanian politics and political communication has been affected by new mediations in the practice of civic engagement across the social groups? There is growing remarkable online civic engagement crosswise the communities, following several political parties and civil society organizations prioritize the internet as a replacement for their approaches to reach far inclusive publics, counting journalists and other fans as well as ordinary citizens in particular. This happens in their struggles on

⁵ Hacktivism; activists use for political purpose on the internet by means of hacker skills, mostly against censorship and filtering programs from the national installations, Cyberactivism; movement by individuals or groups tend to encourage free information access, they use a lot of effort to reach their goals prejudiced in many authoritarian government.

reaching the simultaneous publics effectively through online alternative. Some studies indicates the inclination of civic culture in Tanzania strengthened by means of social networks, whereby political content accounting for more than 60%, decent politicians and policy-makers have joined social platforms with their distinctive “pages” to demonstrate their manifestations in partaking with ordinary people (MCT, 2013a: 54).

Moreover, in the latest Tanzanian general election 2015, the number of social media users in the context of political information has enormously increased, where WhatsApp leads in popularity for eight million users, compared to Facebook's 2.5 million and Twitter's 700,000 Tanzanian users⁶. SMS was so far put familiar by electoral candidates in monitoring the progress of the election campaigns. On Zanzibar isles the opposition presidential candidate supported by four opposition parties’ coalition namely Ukawa, Maalim Seif Hamad, was able to proclaim himself a winner before Electoral Commission - official announcements, after the party communicated with its polling agents and successfully computed the results across the country’s ballot centers. Although the election was later nullified, the total computed ballots for all centers made by oppositions were already widespread on social media and blogs.

The growing digital sphere is influential on the assumption that adoption of online political communication is perceptible especially to the reformist movements. When tracing again Tanzania polling 2015, despite the ruling party (CCM) candidate, President John Magufuli earned election, during his presidential candidate campaign, on his Facebook page namely Team Dr. John Magufuli had only 8,076 likes as of 11th October 2015, while pages for the opposition coalition candidate Team Lowassa secured with 246, 391 likes. The same trends was also found on Twitter; when CCM's candidate @MagufuliJP’s Twitter profile had 27,582 while Edward Lowassa’s official Twitters account has 29,293 followers (Global Voices, 2015). This clearly indicates the magnitude to the opposition crusade’s shift with confidence to online domain, owing to the limited and scarcely treatment of mainstream traditional media as illustrated by Howard (2011) citing that the leftwing political party’ presence online in many authoritarian governments; symbolizes the restrictions on the freedom and suppression by state owned media in term of civic deliberation (p. 312). Accordingly, oppositions and other social activists find virtual manifestation as a replacement for political communication in approaching their publics along with refrainment from suppressive mainstream media exposure.

The development of technological infrastructure chains the presence of comprehensive news portal in various languages, permitting leftists in the countries of democratic transition and authoritarian to make possible political communication and pool attractions to their domestic

⁶ WhatsApp is appealing by far reachable than other new media platforms to Tanzania’s internet users, as so far a lot of sold Smart phones are already pre-installed with WhatsApp’s App which excite users to utilize.
<https://globalvoices.org/2015/10/12/whatsapp-leads-in-popularity-but-not-substance-in-tanzanian-election-campaign/>

supporters, as well as to reach far all over the world as politically aware backing from abroad, foreign journalists, and members of Diaspora communities so as to retain global exposure. As per Egyptian experience for Muslim Brotherhood, Pakistan's People's Party, and Kazakhstan's Ak Zhol (Right Path) their websites were always kept up busy featuring electoral occurrence. However, for the massive political parties' communication online, needs further scrutiny; is the high technology diffusion a liberal determinant to rationalize the civic need in the millennia? Turkey's political parties are very active online in providing their manifestos and make available the news through political speeches, profiles of electoral candidates, and the voting records of legislators, while Bosnia, Lebanon, Montenegro, Russia, and Tanzania are prominent with wired political parties (p. 256). Then again, new communication technology has factored the media economy point of view and regulatory outlooks, comprising the provision of media ownership structure and control.

Nevertheless, internet is also presumed an indefinite substructure for civil society practices in effect (Barney, 2001), as of information rich and poor conception, most of digital operators are still social elites and urban settlers who have enough access of bandwidth liable to widespread their identical ideologies. Along with persistent filtration and surveillance by those who govern the infrastructures, might convey social divide and misrepresent human interactions (p. 81). According to him some social groups especially of ethnic minorities who are politically marginalized, including women are about to be sternly isolated from online participation symbolically corresponding to the normal social settings set them out (p. 84). Despite the collaborative endeavors by the developing countries using the internet in the course of the social and political prosperities, the online representativeness signifies the virtual character debatable and likely challenging the suitability of being a common realm, taking example of Tanzania where the number of Internet users surpassed 23 Million (49% of total population) across the country as of December 2017. This number indicates scarce envoy to the total population of over 47 million Tanzanians who would be prospectively barred from online civic communication. As long as civic forerunners struggle to overcome their political power over the informational domain, the capitalist control of the internet so far, favors the commercial elites impressively to handle the social space into profit-making point of view (Thorseth and Ess, 2009: 153), commencing the rising of the cultural commodities and media conglomeration.

Likewise, Barney (2001) argue on the internet surveillance and control that merely cast down the public sphere notion, in view of the industrial capitalism that devastate the social power and hence deteriorate democratic principles throughout the wired sphere (p. 58). It remains a deficient public sphere which rarely affords civic power towards public needs in respect of egalitarianism in public life (p. 62). Moreover, McLuhan (1962) contends over categorical uniformity formed in global village due to variety of social scenarios and experiments within. In this sense, how the individuality manipulates into the structured global community as instantly acts according to personal characters based on unlike socio-political backgrounds? In light of the social cybernetic sphere which is created with a number of variabilities and divisions among the players as well as discontinuity of the customs and rules in such a way that no

common projections may prosper, on accounts of mysterious occurrence in the particular manner that demoralize the foundations of the tranquility of the ideal sphere (McLuhan, 1962). Nonetheless, the internet has ironic account on universal discourse for involvement of masses. Especially youths' sympathy aimed at the civic engagement in professing public life provisional in the course of information flows through liberal networked space, in proportion of the potentiality to rationalize two-way communication rather than the traditional media in consequence of some draconian laws and censorship pro the governing system and elites.

Thus, the prevailing penetration that technology diffusion has put forward the detective structures headed for the political information efficacy is patent for the integrity of egalitarian tendency on the virtual sphere. So long as communication and democracy are interchangeable phenomena under universal civil rights, it's skeptical yet whether this new form of communication sparks a typical democratic revolution in a broad sense of freedom of expression (Barney, 2001). Albeit, the contemporary role of media professionals in politics is surfacing into egoism rather than a totality of media outlets prior to professional codes and policies. For instance, political parties tend to hire autonomous media professionals with comprehensive methods using the compound features available on new media to entrench massive civic awareness across the niche community and overall users. As far as such individualism in information sharing goes forward to squeeze the political domain, the deliberate online discussion is unlikely to signify the legitimacy of the democratic life (Thorseth and Ess, 2009: 113). The question that might come across here is about the extent of indefinite individuals partaking private opinions and values by means of excessive expression on the stage, to the scope that online participation may distress confidentiality, reliability, authenticity and accuracy, warning the public trust of communication media in due course. This part has discussed in a comprehensive intellect the power of internet in meandering the social structure and the flow of public information. However, the question of whether journalism is still a public good, on account of some news media to compete for overcoming their aspirations over cross media and concentration ownership will be illustrated bellow.

1.3.5 Media Ownership in Pluralist Point of View

The normative accounts of orthodox Liberalism connote that *information is all about knowledge and knowledge is power*. People are autonomous with idiosyncratic thoughts towards the rational debates contributive to the social and civic accomplishments. Liberalists rely on the presumption of professional power and consciousness by the journalists through commitment to professional goals, based on the shifting perimeter of division of labour and specialization in media institutions (Curran, 2012: 123). According to this theory media should be set absolutely free without any restrictions in order to contract society gaining access to whatever kind of outlets and contents they desire whether is ultimate informative or misleading. Nevertheless, for many Neo-Marxists the core question remains *who control the media?* To them owners don't have direct control of the media but they have potential of influencing the media contents (Thompson, 2013). Marxists urge on the capitalist control of the global economy which spill out typical effects to the line of social institutions including the media practices. The dominant class

takes power and control of the media to represent the ideological arena to foster the dominant culture in the society. Neo-Marxists tend to link globalization into the commercial capitalism potential to twist the entire media professional outlooks and the apparent outputs (Özkan, 2006: 21). This includes the ecosystem of media provision and daily journalistic routines, commencing the recruitment process of personnel up to the management level which is installed per owners' preferences which so far liable to capitalist scenario. Given the media professionals' demand for high wages on accounts of conducive labor environment and job satisfaction, considering as motivation to efficient journalistic performance, such tendency justifies the media practitioners' loyalty to the proprietorship which is linked with dominant-class ideology. Thus, ruling-elite's values inescapable in journalism and commonly portrayed by journalists and media executives (Thompson, 2013: 61).

Insofar as Journalists are trained at media schools which have greatly accompanied with basic knowledge of capitalist viewpoints and servicing the governing structure (p. 117). In view of that, they are legitimate to apply these burdens in the field upon completion of their studies; they ultimately transfer into institutional and individual conducts. The contents produced in the capital market so far endorse the ideology specified by media institutions; in such a way that editorial is forcibly designed to hold on the values and settings of the existing system. In keeping with Neo-Marxist views signifying that capitalist dominance in media industry is an inexorable phenomenon since it's all about imperialism specifically in the course of the economic ordination rather than political assertion (Doyle, 2002). Additionally, to the thesis of dependency theory that mass media is typically involved in the reproduction of capitalistic socioeconomic and political values across the emerging world (cf. Servaes and Malikhaio 1991: 8). McChesney (2001) affirms that the contemporary media ownership spectrum might be held on the pick of neoliberal deregulation policies through market-driven approach, which triggers penetration for the media firms to widen commercial access foremost owing to the narrow governmental intervention in the marketplaces. Deregulation amplifies media concentration and ownership abstraction, threatening the contents diversity and overall quality (McChesney, 2001), also limits the social accountability of the media in the democratic society on favor of prevailing media oligopoly (Baker, 2007: 216).

Besides, Doyle (2002) asserts on the contention of market competition through the identical owners' endeavors that typically adjust editorials into ostensible efficiency upon requirements of market demands. Such owners' participation likely to accelerate the modification by means of their imperative mechanisms like institutional policies along with personnel recruitment procedures, which is so far prospective to impose the commercial interest foremost in support of their comforts throughout contents productions and distributions. On top of that, shareholders are said to have at least pressures to the editorial line due to media economic dependence for resourceful functioning⁷. Their influences to media operation are greatly

⁷Currently there has been a debate as to whether the shareholder control of a communication company influences, in practice, the contents. The growing commercialization of the media means that it is unlikely that proprietors will not

incentive regardless of whether majority or minority share of the ownership (La Porte Alfaro & Sábada, 2001: 31). Hence, Management decree in the media organization is determined by the ownership settings behind the scene, counting decision making which straightly impress the entire productivities of the media counter to professional and ethical standards, in preference to consumers' burdens. Hitherto Baker (2007) argues about Market determination by which owners enforce grave exertions to fulfill the public demand of the information products as the way of welfare maximization. Through which some external driving factors are irrelevant to the prosperity of the profession, including civic deliberations in particular, in the best interests of cultivating consumer preferences (Baker, 2007). The democratic function of media deteriorates due to the fluctuation of public good conception generated in commercialization and depoliticization of public information in preference to privately proposition of media business in the competitions (Garnham, 1986: 38-39).

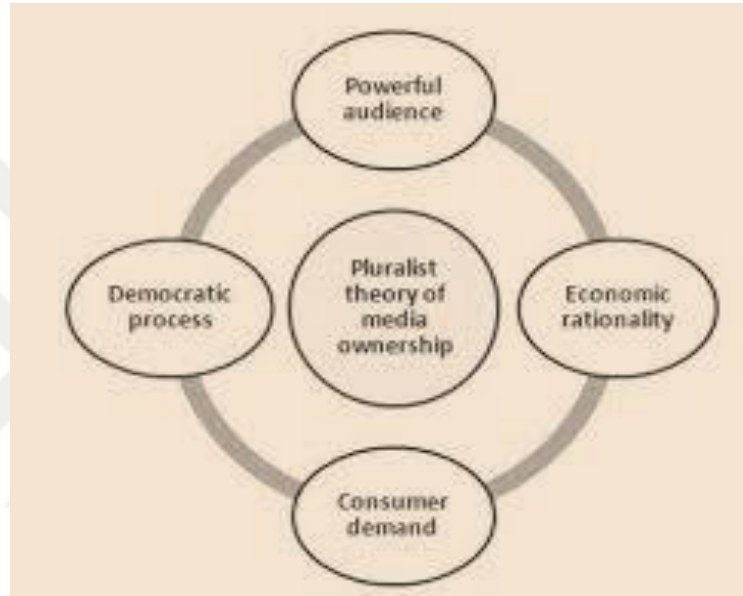
However, media Pluralists came up with diverse perceptions that ownership is quite disparate to manipulate the media contents behind a number of factors (Thompson, 2013: 93), as illustrated in figure 1.3.5. The pluralists view Media organizations like other social entity is autonomous from institutionalized forces like the state or other dominant groups. Since the society is heterogeneous by structure with equal implements, no exploitive group over others, hitherto the ownership operates with the sense of mutual benefits with audiences (McQuail 1977b). The pluralists sustain about the editorial independence from owners' interloping, in consideration of the gatekeeper theory of news production. The market-oriented rationalists contend on the dissolution control of ownership in large media conglomerates, by dint of the emerged professional managers in respect of the market performance toward consensus of society (Koss, 1984). As far as the functionist viewpoints which entails that mass media mightn't shape rather reflecting the reality which involves norms, values and individual interests within social groups (Curran, 2009: 127). Wherein journalists and editors are autonomous and endowed around social sceneries to produce the contents likely in the best interests of social conscience and civic concerns in proportion to the journalistic classification of news in which journalist always has nose for news (p. 128).

In accordance with *powerful audiences*, through receptionist model that public is active over media content, whereby Hall et al. (1978) found source as a primary definer of news while media is secondary. Here audiences become the ultimate decision maker of news content, henceforth can punish the media firm for preventing to consume the products when they have deemed that are contrary to their favorites. Accordingly, pluralists view Audiences are powerful on shaping the media outlooks, especially manipulating the contents diversely in line with their

get involved— to a greater or lesser extent — in the editorial line of newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television channels. Therefore, it has been considered that shareholder control of a communication company implies, at least, a risk of editorial control. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2001/296704/DG-4-JOIN_ET\(2001\)296704_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2001/296704/DG-4-JOIN_ET(2001)296704_EN.pdf)

desires and characters. Along with the logic of *consumer demand*, Society is active enough to influence the contents of media since they are predominantly beset to purchase the products, ultimately media persists to cater for the community in the line of the spacious market based on consumer preferences. Thus, pluralist approach of media ownership asserts on the current media status quo that is merely anchored in public needs, insomuch as media endure to serve, as of the mushrooming of a variety of mainstream TV and online channels which yield a diversity of TV shows and programs in accordance with audience taste and perceptions.

Figure 1.3.2: The Pluralists Accounts of Media Ownership



Source: Mohapatra, 2018

Consequently, media ownership is uninfluential device, tending to be potential consent with editors' appliances so that to tactically place the news content to meet the general public market requests alternatively to reflect the apparent value consensus. In consort with *economic rationality* vis-à-vis cost-effective point of view, media corporations as profit-making businesses typically determine the outputs customized and presented in the manner that can compete in the marketplace around complex media ownership. Thus, Media proprietors might be even omitted from the editorial line due to the evolving of commercialization of the media industry taking the utilization of market standards into consideration (La Porte Alfaro & Sábada, 2001: 13). Media supposedly get involved with diverse approaches of competition into capital dominance to backup high number of consumers. To this point, any harm over audience desires might be excluded for the sake of capitalizing on revenue and profit into consumer pleasures. Another contention in pluralist theory of media ownership is about the democratic role of media, presuming that civic education is commonly served through media outlets. The installed media management is objective enough to streamline the democratic process to flourish across the community. Owing to the evolving ownership structure and control through diversified activities by few media firms with a wide range of impositions potential to create the monopoly of the

ideas spread, since all media personnel equipped to serve the exiting ownership values. Nonetheless, Pluralists contend on *economic rationality* on accounts of consolidation of media ownership as to exhaust the possibilities of profits and to maintain costs low. Insofar as political motivation has no place in the standing media operation driven by the conglomerations and commercialization.

However, Barnett (2010) affirms that media concentration turns into severe hurts to consumers in the economic stands, regarding higher prices, fewer choices, and poorer service for the monopolistic market control of the media (p. 53). While society are harmed for losing their natural rights to information keen on synthetic public opinions partial to the democratic life, unlike pluralism which embark on the decentralized power of the society (Coase, 1950: 10). The damaging consequences of concentration of ownership prompt mostly to the media industry itself that generates unfair competition for the small firms unable to contest in the market over large media organizations in terms of capital and resources allocation, with excessive media companies controls by means of multiple endeavors. The fourth problem is restructured by nationalist and internationalist who shore up with respect to regulation of concentration and conglomeratization. However, Pluralists are of view that the comprehensive measures over ownership concentration can be perceived to heighten the vital role, counting the engagement on investigative journalism in advocating the civic needs and adherence to objective reporting (Pichard, 1998: 4). The programmatic conception reviews for policy area of ownership structures, specifically on the government enthusiast degree of traditional liberalism of the local media in the line of explicit pluralism and diversity (McChesney, 2001). This indicates to the reasonable government intervention to the industry, in which deliberate reforms from structural regulation to content regulation are sufficient means of securing diversity of media productions. What's more, Barnett (2010) thinks about taking into account the competition for socially based principles of quality and diversity relatively than in view of competition on the same source of revenue (p. 36).

1.3.6 Media Imperialism and Globalization Perspectives

The globalization theory as pondered by various authors refers to the universal integration amongst the key actors, including individuals, companies, nations manifested mostly through economic compliment in the provision of information flow (inter alia Ohiorhenuan 1998: Fafowora, 1998; Mubashar 2011: Mohammad, 2014, Albrow, Martin and Elizabeth King (eds.),1990). The movement of individuals and investment in trade across the borders manifested since the Age of Extremes (1870-1945). Subsequently, in the First World War 1914, the media enterprises and overall communication industry prevailed strategically in the midst of nation state through comprehensive means of traditional information flow. Besides, the technological advancement smoothed the progress into evolving the cross-border trade, investment, and migration to convey the threshold of a new phase in advance of commercial activities. In the 20th century, globalization grew into inclusive patterns, commencing the era of the Cold War (1945-1989). The annotations on 1970s during the oil crisis as well as the deterioration of Gross National Product GNP and inflation in the 1980s, the member states relied

on the communicative diplomatic measures to restore the erstwhile global status quo. Such historical occurrences are keen to fix the global interdependence which excited further common mechanism to regain consciousness upon the diversity.

It can be articulated on globalization character regarding the interaction of people and states across the globe, the consequence of the worldwide widespread goods and services, as of the common evidence for a certain product unsurprisingly is designed in one country, in the meantime is produced or assembled to another country approaching the common brand and market. The consistence of globalization and localization pushes the brand across borders to location where the demand is in existence, as regards the company popularity to win the stiff competition in the market. For instance, many of football funnies during the world cup charm the popular national team like Brazil, whereby the motivated stances on team Jersey predominantly exposes the brand name Nike. It's typical a subject of globalization concerning the question of the primary beneficiaries whether the brand manufacturer (Nike) or the brand advocating platform (national team and FIFA). Globalization tends to challenge global phenomenon into the interconnection and interchanging the basic aspects surrounding the human being over the world. Communication plays an abundant role in the dynamics of the occurrences, whereby the linkage consists with prognostic features into inexorable consequences in culture, polity, economic, ideas as well as security concerns. Özkan (2006) views that Mass media inclines to impart variabilities athwart a variety of strategic tools like advertising and other journalistic genres keen on comprehensive information flows, reflecting the global burdens to bring about socio-political changes as well as reinforcing the massive geopolitical communication (p. 7). As a continuous process, it leans towards intensification of the momentous structures, such as economic, political, social and cultural activities across the world, from individual to nation state, community to the region, pointing on the road to commotion of the international boundaries for homogenization of political and socioeconomic affairs.

Fafowora (1998) asserts Globalization idea in term of world market, which is characterized and smitten with international trade for breaking down the trade barriers in support of assimilations among the member states (p. 3). Such kind of transformation tends to blur the boundaries among the nations over the world turned into interactive phases with collaborative endeavors in the basis of culture, commerce and communication towards interdependence and homogenization. According to Ohiorhenuan (1998), homogenization notion relates with globalization at the heart of capitalism in broadening and deepening fundamental global framework, through goods and services of national economies hooked on international market (p. 6). Yet, media communication plays a pivotal part in stretching social, political and economic activities across political frontiers, regions and continents, fostering through information technology, which impress the free movemenfact of transnational capital. The impediments can be obvious between domestic and international undertakings, due to the growing extensity, intensity and velocity of universal exchanges (p. 7). The global interconnectedness so far escalates human rights concerns in the scope of freedom of expression, productions and movement. Nevertheless, the general concerns nearby the globalization modality of

interconnectedness and intensification threatens the predisposition of homogeneity into disintegration, fragmentation, autarchy and isolation along with nationalist separatism and regional integration (Clark 1997: 1). Based on such abstract, the global political prevalence on local background turns into incompatible to foster the common affairs through universal integrations on account of dispersal cultural identity, natives are enthusiastic to shield local identity counter to radical embracement of out cultures.

Hitherto the viewpoints on modernization and industrialization, evolves into conspiracy in which some scholars contend about globalization which dictates the linkage of modernization into westernization, it typically concentrates on transforming the developing countries outlooks into the western model (Mubashar, 2011: 8). This kind of modernization remains irrational comprehensive which merely engenders western values dispersion in the name of globalization (p. 9). In this view, the third world countries paradoxically go forward into adherence with the western principles considering as the identical way to modernization. As many developing countries incline to use English languages as medium of instruction and western curriculums in schooling system deeming into the provision of quality education. Insofar, the capitalist supremacy in the world economic production and consumption, while industrialization implies on the higher prevalent entities that persistently control the global market and dominate keen on the international arenas. Equally the major western market brands like McDonald, KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken), Cola-Cola and Nike. Along with other counties of advanced technology consistently manage the loyalty around the marketplace of worldwide proportions, insomuch that indecisively prevails the local markets in the developing countries. Let's take the vivid example of China's engagement in Africa, which turned to the market potential for most Chinese labors, products and companies. China always uses to export a variety of manufacturing industries including textiles, communications and transportation equipment, clothes, electronics, and other products which affordable to Africans at low price, the move which some Africans contempt bitterly that kill the local market (Abdalla, 2015). According to Hanauer & Morris (2014) Africa's prominence in place of a market for China was significantly enhanced as a result of the 2008 international financial crisis and its direct influences on China's export industries. The Beijing's Going Out strategy has abundantly benefited many Chinese companies and their local labors in Africa and apparently increased and becomes its second-largest supplier of service contracts, in which Seventy percent always wins. Consequently, a large number of Chinese about more than one million migrate to Africa which signifies extensive inspiration for the continent.

As far as media concerns, globalization streamlines the uneven correlation of media imports and exports amongst the member states. The neo-globalization ideas as defined in Marxism that interlopes on the capitalist ascendancy, universalizing hegemony by means of ethically fusing an assortment of global entities. This includes the production and distribution of goods and services worldwide, encompassing the political settlement as well as military power from local level, geopolitical expedition to the globe. Leninist-Marxists argue on the existing imperialism that has no demarcation from the capitalist outsets, which copiously inspire the new globalization era equally a rhythm of elevation approach of capitalism now than ever happened

(Clark 1997: 11). Likewise, many other Marxists persist on the perception that imperialism is basically an economic phenomenon rather than politically oriented. As far as global convergence concerns, American alternates the current liberalism and capitalism in disseminating prominent ideals as a global merging of politics, economics, and cultural applies in a variety of forms anchored in importation (Özkan, 2006: 41).

Whilst, globalization generates the national composition into core, semi-peripheral and peripheral world. So far as rivalry by other non-western typology in the scope of cultural diversity should not be overlooked over the global imperialism of media. Rai and Cottle (2007) affirm on evolving of the world second tier media firms counter to western imperialist patterns through the regional, national and sub-national 24-hour satellite news channels tending to broadcast across the world which challenge the status-quo of giant media operation (p. 58). For instance, from the semi-peripheral dominants like Brazil-based the Globo news media corporation covers the entire South America, while throughout the Middle East, North Africa and the Central Asian states are dominated by Qatar-based Al-Jazeera with Arabic channels which current is so far growing globally with English language. The Turkey's regional imperialism falls in this category, covering the Balkan and Caucasus regions especially movie industry which now is growing globally. In South Asia, the Indian media model by dint of city-based news stations certainly subjugates the news market towards 'little cultural imperialisms', whereas the East Asia region comprises a good number of regional 24-hour news channels, including Hong Kong-based Phoenix News and China mainland-based broadcasting in English, the CCTV-9 network which now growing into international landscape.

Meanwhile, the Oceania and African regions enjoys Australia's Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Asia Pacific and South Africa's South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) Africa respectively, though they are not news content-based stations per se, they occupy comprehensive spectators over global media dominance (p. 59). This implicates to the nascent antagonism at variance with western expansionism of world media industry, insomuch as cultural imports such as the Indian music and films, traditional Chinese restaurant, Japanese cuisine and Far Eastern religions and philosophies, especially Buddhism are widespread nowadays all over the world. The emerging of multiple media strategies in the several areas still affords a great occasion for the third world countries to manipulate their own local cultural practices based on their local settings. Hitherto the internet diffusion can be taken into a comprehensive sphere, apparently catering the propagation of local values to abroad.

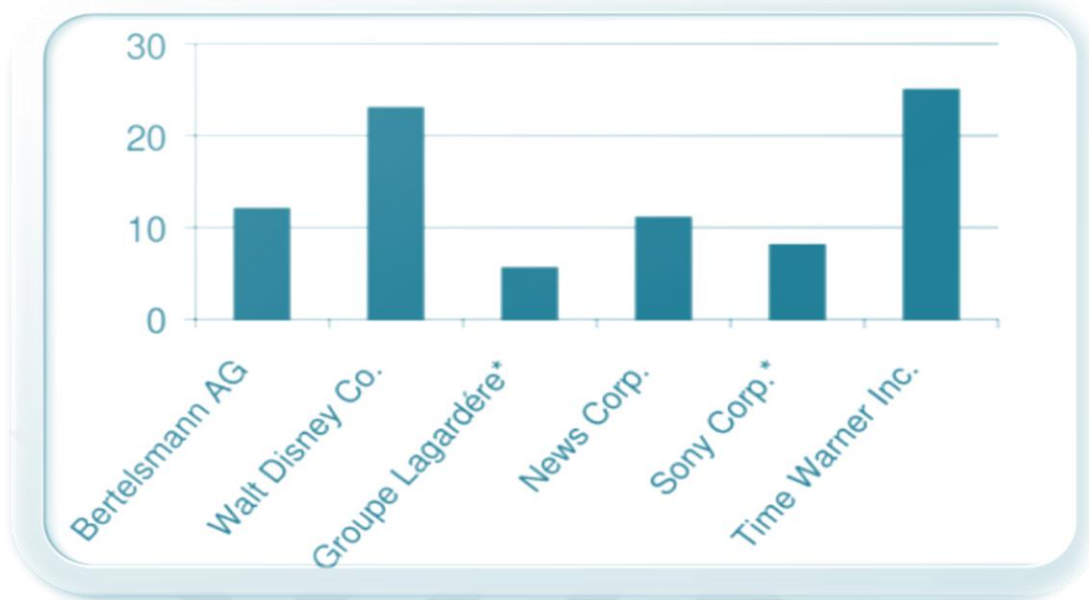
However, the synthesis of globalization still depicts the apparent western dominances, as to the approval of western motives like MTV channel likely propagate the identical third world values and cultural heritages globally through the mechanism and perspectives of western intrinsically. According to Rai and Cottle (2007) the emerging plurality of nonwestern satellite broadcasting channels are potential of localization merely over narrow 'global public sphere' due to the limited reach and access in the western world then counterpart utilize the global giants (61-67). Consistent with the scarce resources for running the media strategies as well as the compacted affiliation of capitalism in the nonwestern media firms, so far raises further discourse

concerning the aftermath of globalization over third world countries' prospects. Dorfma and Mattelart (1975) argue on international flows of media by core media conglomerates solely that merely spur the cultural imperialism to overseas, where local media firms are weakened to compete with them (p. 8). Oligopolistic industrialists who are overturned by existing policies continue to extend their forces, crossing occupants to the global reaches by means of numerous media channels to control the global status quo (McChesney, 2001). The local firms are passive in the course of oligarchy and centralization of the external forces move toward alteration of local atmosphere.

The scrutiny indicates the core country media ownership has escalated monopolies in the local marketplace for ideas in the peripheral states. Whereas the data for media concentration on global issues is still marginal than the way harming the local market like the newspaper industry (Demers, 1996). While electronic media, i.e. television stations, radio stations, and cable systems persist to the growing of Economic concentration (the creation of market power). When Time Warner Inc. purchased Turner Broadcasting Systems Inc. in 1996 by \$7.6 billion, turned enormously into the largest global media firm with powerful cable distribution, broadcasting and print divisions as signified in the Figure 1.3.4. Nevertheless, the situation today changed where the company comprises likely 50 to 60 percent each night for customers' access of its cable system, thanks to the emerging other firms of broadcast and cable networks as well as independent stations which grow to operate globally. In accordance with Globalization alike, some major media firms have grown into global space whereas foreign corporations escalate in US, affecting the prominent conglomerates based on market model, the orthodox media firms can experience conflicts of interest with respect to ideology. With the such proviso of the emergence of other media houses includes the foreign imports from Canada, Europe, and Australia, and large numbers of co-productions with foreign producers deprive the control of Hollywood from motion picture studio system operation, production and film employment (Picard, 1998: 3).

As transformation precedes throughout the countries with hug technology diffusion in which the electronic media generated market concentration in midcentury. Hitherto the provision of a global village is thought-provoking in terms of information and news flows regarding the higher intervention of news sources and distribution which so far threat towards autocracy (McLuhan, 1962). It's still inconsistent for the digital media that would forge the social cohesion and equity in the socioeconomic life like before. Apart from the raising of large volume of prints storage through technological attributions, still the demand for print visual might fulfill the needs of miscellany in the professed global sphere. To this point, the information society which is backed by current global media structure is still inconclusive without pointing up the historical advent of the print media, which twisted the global society in the midst of social being across the world. Henceforth it inclines with lack to the uniformity and *there can only be disaster arising from unawareness of the causalities and effects inherent in our technologies* (cf. p. 74).

Figure 1.3.3: Revenues of Major Media Companies, 1997 (in \$ billions)



Source: Pichard (1998; 2)

Thus, the state of affairs appeals the possible government intervention in the industry to be decisive for the successful management and transformation of media ownership. Since the deregulation adopted in many countries still grants a loophole for the giant conglomerates to operate the career in their ways of business which apparently restrict competitions over local firms. The policies here should stick at emphasizing pluralism and diversity strictly to the local context, rather than global competition, it's convenient to standardize the market power channels in due course. Barnett (2003) views on the policy shift: regulating financial muscle of global corporations into nominalizing their expansion and investment opportunities based on the local settings. Hence the slight state intervention is ideal due to the emergence of a dominant free market ideology in the course of liberalization and deregulation over the world; policy-makers should scrutinize the efficacy of any cross or intra-media regulation and technological convergence of computer, screen and print through digitalization of journalism (Barnett, 2003). The Prospect of the local ownership advocates the extensive survival of local interests, unlike the global prototype which prompts several questions on cultural imperialism.

On the subject of the globalization, it's very indefinite to outline this concept hooked on the ideal unitary global sphere on accounts of the current world status, since political agendas of the nation states have diverse influences yet to the local citizenship aftermath across the globe. Community is set up and hitherto determined over the promptness of globalization as of the individual movement to the social organizations. Regarding the sociocultural varieties such as the observance of international standards of basic human rights through social movement towards ostensible global cohesion. The globe might persist with disparity, unless deliberate attempts should be taken up on. Hamelink (1999) recommends for the media to take part as political actor

in providing education to the wide public on perceiving the miscellany at multicultural sphere such that in respect of universal human rights (p. 75). It's meant for facilitating the global citizenry by means of eliminating the violation against universal citizens' rights meant for building a perpetual global family. Thus, Mass media might play a part in forming a public agenda of the Global citizenship through local programming, catering the basic rights of the natives into global adherence, counting the propagation for the equality and equity in regards the marginal groups which suffer from the elite conducts along with traditional stereotypes. The implication of this relies on the media distinctive role in setting the agenda in the society tenable for the multidisciplinary prospects essential around incredible approaches of attracting the spectators to pursue universal competences and awareness.

Yet, the current status of monopolized global media sticks at undermining the concept of global sphere, such as the migrations policies alongside local attitudes which typically foregoing the indigenous than foreign communities. This kind of local media coverage perseveres with polarization just before incomplete global agenda concerning the social movements that merely a clue to racism, ethnic divisions and fundamentalism instead of the respect of universal human rights in the direction of global interconnection. According to Hamelink (1999) the capitalist ownership model of media is behind to undermine the worthy flow of information counter to global consistency anchored in global media coverage based in developed countries merely. The media social power inclines to subject the public into submissive yet by means of propagation of apparent global agenda. However, professional character still has the power to generate public opinions which ought to pull the communal courtesy to embark on global concentration (Currah, 2009). This is to restore the communications order, connecting the individuals *through the central meeting-ground of mass television, watching the same programmes and participating in the same dialogue about the public direction of society* (Katz, 1996:22).

The influence of professional media in shaping the public outlooks starts on abundantly changing the attitudes in the direction of forming the public opinions so that to get them involved in the critical discourse as of geopolitical integrations and global reach. In view of that, the global agenda might start here, given that some of local matters have a great influence to the universal human concerns; this may frankly pull attempt to international involvement through the local discourse (Özkan, 2006). It's so far ideal by dint of abundant information flows with reference to the social and political demands are keen to the integration of global discourse drawn from the existing local debates at variance with imperialism.

PART TWO

Regulatory Framework and Media Ownership in Tanzania

2.1 Afrocentric Media Governance in Tanzania's Socialist (Ujamaa⁸) Era

2.1.1 Emergence of Ujamaa Ideology

During the World War I the affection of public information escalated across the British colonies including Tanganyika (now Tanzania Mainland) and Zanzibar. For the world current affairs concerning the British as a Western ally over the Soviet Union' domination on Germany in Europe (Stumer, 2008; 59 and 279). In 1950s Media engagement in African liberation movement came into historical. The Press industry evolved into vibrant protagonist for two opposing sides; colonial publications stuck at servicing the existing administrative values, while the nationalist papers tended to form national unity towards independence. Tanganyika African Association (TAA) which later was renamed Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the United Tanganyika Party UTP led nationalist movement struggling for liberation over colonial rule across the country. In Zanzibar African press also went forward into a substantial platform of deliberation from both the British rule and the Arab authority, thus far several publications operated in the course of national freedom struggle in accordance with political party's ideology which persistently diversified more political contents (Hamdani et al. 2014: 37). Thanks to such mushrooming of nationalist press in 1950s, the British colony launched a massive counter-attack by means of broadcasting media namely Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) in the hegemony of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in portrayal of the colonial propaganda (Moshiro, 1990: 20). Till 1955 TBC began to air broadcasting services country-wide with innovative studios and powerful transmitters, grasped the wide geographical coverage. Similar to the growth of press industry, Zanzibar broadcast sector was pretty historical than Tanganyika. The state owned radio - Sauti ya Unguja - The Voice of Unguja in 1951 (later renamed Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar - Voice of Zanzibar) was also hastily introduced in the media system. The station used to broadcast in Arabic and Kiswahili and its programing based mainly on educational, religious, agricultural programs with commercial advertising and music inputs, covering the entire islands including rural populaces. Unlike the print media which merely catered the partial populations mainly in urban areas by reasons of the high national illiteracy

⁸ *Ujamaa*, the Swahili word stands for socialism or 'familyhood'. It was derived by the first president of Tanzania Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1964 to 1985). Ujamaa is about policies and ideology which denotes on the cultural, political, social and economic sphere along collective schemes such of villagization for rural development, and prospected on national and social self-reliance economy through nationalization of banks and other industries. In the context of this chapter, how the Tanzania mass media system was configured after Tanganyika independence 1961 to the Zanzibar revolutionary 1964 and then Tanzania formed (Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) until 1991 when multiparty introduced in the country is clearly traced.

especially in rural areas, accompanied by deficiency of public meetings in consequence of the poor infrastructures inaccessible to approach the abundant remote populations (p. 21).

When Tanganyika got independence in 1961, the TANU administration under Mwalim Julius Kambarage Nyerere worked on forging the potent national unity. The infant government deliberated the mass communication mechanism to bring the entire populations into the unitary dominion in building the national economy and to mend social life standard. As a point of departure, Tanzania embarked to African Socialism (Ujamaa) ethos to appeal all peripheral communities vis-à-vis the conception of nation building. This Afrocentric modality entailed centrally planned economic transition in which the media regulation evolved keen on the dominant one-party political philosophy to streamline the communal life in accordance with the precolonial African values living in cooperation, collectivism, egalitarianism and obligation to work for the benefit of all (Nyerere, 1967: 19). Ujamaa Philosophy natured the public gratitude of nation state contrariwise ethnic divisions due to the pragmatism on the African communities being conjured of natural ethnics (Akhahenda 1983: 89 - 91). In this new era of African independence states, the Western-model of capitalist setting was uncondusive over the emerging self-governing African countries.

According to Nyerere (1967), his philosophy rendered from the traditional household of mutual respect, partaking shared goods and services, and concentrating primarily on socioeconomic development in the basis of three fundamentals - freedom, equality and unity (p. 16). The political spectrum of socialism entailed to condensing the collective sphere of diverse social institutions, counting media in ascendancy of the state. Whilst, the Nyerere's socialist version (Ujamaa) is somewhat different from Marxist, He stressed in copious socio-economic policies to circumvent from the idealistic orientation. Nyerere presupposed on human society fundamental to acquire consistent human equal dignity among individuals through religions and traditional African values for the sake of common good (Boesen, Madsen & Moody, 1977: 12). However, Mytton (1976) brings to mind Ujamaa ideology with socialist Marxist for the assertions that Tanzanian Socialist Government used to mechanize the privately owned entities over presumed marginal peasants and works, insomuch as Nyerere restricted mass media from any criticism along the scale that *Freedom of the press must not put openly free to all sort that might threatens others freedom* (Mytton, 1976: 214). His normative framework of mass media relied merely on supporting the integration of national individuals in occupancy of political, socioeconomic, and cultural values counter foreign interference.

2.1.2 Tanzania-ization of Mass Media and Villagesation Scheme

The main focus of Ujamaa was on individual grassroots based on rural development athwart the general term of socialism in the villages (*Ujamaa Vijijini*), whereby the mass villagesation scheme was utilized keen on collective works to boost economic productivities for ecological, social and national prosperity. Besides, Nyerere traced the ideal society that from nation to international scope in a network of communities, highlighting other's liberty on the common sphere in the basis of freedom, equality and unity to all human kind counter to the

minority oppression (Boesen et al. 1977: 12). Thus, the Tanzanian postcolonial government projected to manage rural condition potential to economic transformation to foster the communal power, decision making, a network of socialization (p. 145) by means of Self-help (*kujitegemea*) pattern which promptly magnified education system for building a number of schools in 1970s in the villages (Schneider, 2014).

The typical postcolonial transition paradigm of mass media in Tanzania can be scrutinized through tactical undertakings of rural development scheme namely Villagesation. It was ideal democratic means of communication amid party cadres and government bureaucrats, signifying to grasp the remote populations through two-way communication per socialist ideology across the villages, by dint of public gatherings and training centers as well as mass media immersion (Moemeka, 1989: 11). Such model of mass communication inclined to pull the complex civility of 120 tribes of Tanzania to the inclusive realm of self-centered typology. Accordingly, government handled the inherited British colonial media outlets and other privately owned to 'Tanzanianize' (Ng'wanakilala 1981: 20) and Africanize (Sturmer, 2008: 112) them. They were consumed to afford wide national coverage in the line of convergence with the assorted empathies into solitary ideology of Ujamaa along the principles of self-reliance and socialism. Nyerere installed mass media with basic foundation of countrywide connection; comprising the utilization of national language *Kiswahili* for exterminating imperialism. It was so far ideal to crackdown the colonial mass media systems in preference to Afrocentric media typology to generate the common culture and identity. The public information was case-hardened to widespread and to promote the nationalist ideology to signify the self-reliance prototype against foreign dominations.

Tanzania-ization of journalism aimed at clearing out the colonial heritages on mass media systems in the country, the colonial department responsible for media regulation and supervision was renamed Tanganyika Information Services (TIS) from Public Relations department, and then was put under entire government control - the prime minister office (Sturmer, 2008). The same case to the Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services (ZIBS) substituted the colonial Information office and became in authority of the Revolutionary Council (Hamdani et al 2014). The autonomist measures were set out for the assurance of government, party and private media outlets to abide the common characters of Ujamaa portrayal, forging national unity and harmony on behalf of native grounds in the nation state. Likewise, the administrative restructuring took place through Public Policies, counting national and local government for safeguarding effective communication and linkage of rural-urban relations. Thus far was to entrench local-central administrative relations in order to supplant the colonial structure through chiefs and local management who were responsible to colonial bureaucrats (Wenban-Smith, 2014: 19). However, the local administrative scheme didn't sufficiently fill up the information gap on the national campaigns of public policies and instinctive participation (Ng'awanakilala 1981); as eventuated in villagization project, some inhabitants were deficient in necessary information and understanding on ideology and materials, in due course a number of famers and pastoralists

suffered from insufficient social services and immaterial agricultural production (Lorgen, 1999: 31).

Nevertheless, media were merely in adoption and speeded divisive ethos to the niche populaces with astonishing character that charm the publics into apparent cooperative life. The ideological media messages promoted public compliment in respect of their bureaucrat's ideal passions and quest to serve the communities; "*.....they realized the wisdom of President Nyerere that only in living together and working together for the benefit of all lies the salvation of this country*" (cf. Schneider, 2014: 19), some newspapers underlined during the villagazation. In 1971 more news stories about Presidents and other officials' visits and their participation in building the Ujamaa villages appeared paramount on the Tanzanian press with sophisticated portrayal image of *Ujamaa* Socialism. The media information pressed the progress of socialist modernization to the basis of thesis development whereby Society would be conveyed in a *socialist attitude of mind* as well as the entire party adoption (Boesen, et al. 1977: 113).

Imparting education was prerequisite for nationalizing the Ujamaa philosophy under the assertion of 'Education for Self-Reliance' in which formal and informal schooling were integrated into nationalistic ideology for generating individual development and socially responsible persons (Nyerere 1967: 12). Kigamboni College was designed for acquiring philosophical educations by the government and party officials upon commencement of their public duties. The dubious anti-imperialism and socialization archetype attributed on Ujamaa spectrum thwart tedious and repetitive public undertakings amid national and local proprietors. A number of local press including tribal and regional publications dematerialized soon after independence so that to evade diversity and misrepresentation of the actual political ideology. For example *the Tanganyika Mpya* and the *Bukya na Gandi* which was founded in 1955 and managed in Bukoba disappeared in 1962, its founder and managing editor Munseri later served a department of information service (Konde 1984: 27). Whereas other papers were proscribed and some were merged while the rest missionary newspapers reached their believers about harmony and obedience of regime. According to Hamdani et al (2014) all partisan newspapers disappeared from Zanzibar media industry in 1960s coping with the existed political system (p. 60). While the Association of Zanzibar Journalists (AZJO) which was established in 1963 by Abdurahman Babu for shielding the rights of journalists also terminated few months after the union of Tanzania 1964, some of its member worked for the political positions (p. 75).

Equally, Boesen et al. (1977) notes on the meagre communication that emerged during the villagazation in west lake regions of Tanzania instigated by conflict of interest; between local political representatives and national leaders which ended up with removal of one RC and one MP (p. 166). Local government bureaucrats who later (in 1972) replaced by resident party representatives (Wenban-Smith, 2014: 19) were liable on fostering the efficacy of villagazation, instead of reasonable persuasive communication they pressured the publics in line with government coercive deliberation namely "Operation Vijiji" (Lorgen, 1999: 19). Likewise, Boesen et al. 1977 discovered about the division of labor between government and party officials that was not a straightforward and frequently discernable with poor communication among the

actors (p. 155). While government officials were responsible for technical skills and management – planning, organizing and controlling of support to the villagisation process, but the project was rather orthodox due to the lack of knowledge on political and geography in their assigned working sites (Boesen et al. 1977: 155). The party cadres were deficient in political communication and language skills on expression of the ideology and encouragement on the villagers' participation and implementation in the process.

2.1.3 Political Economy of *Ujamaa* Media

The government of United Republic of Tanzania and Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar through the late presidents Nyerere in 1963 and Karume in 1964 respectively abolished the multiparty system in the country, they supposed that single party is the democratic and perfect resolution to bring together the miscellaneous communities of Tanzania (Katz et al. 1978: 107). Hereafter, the first postcolonial general election was in 1965, about 107 candidates contested athwart the constituents and 75 won seats, while in 1970 parliamentary election about 114 seats were voted and several MP missing re-elected (Aminzade, 2013; 136). The judiciary and parliamentary organs were subjective to the political Parties' oligarchy in mainland and islands. The ruling parties often exercised the approval and confiscation of parliamentary members and other government bureaucrats when found out hostile to socialist guidelines. Just soon after Zanzibar revolution followed with union with Tanganyika and formed the United Republic of Tanzania, several private publications went off due to the country shift from multi party to a single party system with centralized economic system. Several journalists were appointed to serve the posts in the new revolutionary government while others fled the country TV (Sturmer, 2008: 289).

2.1.3.1 Configuring Government Monopoly in Arusha Declaration (1967)

The Arusha Declaration of 5 February 1967 commenced efficacy of *Ujamaa* values insomuch as various policies were generated in due course. This affirmation set forth the principles and operative policies of *Ujamaa*, which chiefly sketched on the scope of economic and social independence and self-reliance, whereby a significant ideological mechanism was put forward for implementations. The focal deliberation was institutionalized appropriate the peripheral clusters in the nation for the economically emancipation of peasants through mass mobilization into agricultural transformation like crop decertification, as of 90% Tanzanians had engaged in agricultural production (Boesen, et al. 1977: 145). While socialized press statically sustained to serve the urban dwellers, broadcasting media emerged nationwide a substantial anchor of ruling elites over marginal populations of rurals in particular. It conceded numerous deliberate messages for the national widespread of socialist knowledges. Accordingly, license charges were dissolved in 1969, the move that many ordinary citizens got access to radio services, consequently in 1981, about 500,000 radio receivers and 7,200 TV sets were available in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar respectively (Mwaffisi 1985: 61).

The Arusha declaration imposed the entire government oligarchy and centered control of the economic sectors. It testified the nationalization paradigm as vital resolution via socialist spectrum in which government could supreme the financial institutions counting banks to the cooperatives. Hence nationalization occurred in all economic sectors including commercial banks, insurance companies, industrial firms, trade sectors and large-scale agricultural processing industries like wheats and sisal, touching the media business equally (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003: 65). The self-dependence classic of Ujamaa would be realized behind the government mechanism of monetary and financial system, alongside productive sectors in generating foreign exchanges and support public investments, using collective domestic capital and resources mobilization. The ruling party so far coped the authority and machinery of all local and national sources of economy encompassing trade unions; Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania UWT (Tanzania Women's Union), the Union of *Tanzania* Workers (JUWATA), the Cooperative Union of *Tanzania* (CUT) and the *Tanzania* Youth Organization (VIJANA), were conspicuous symbolic for the party accomplishments (Aminzade, 2013: 139). Nonetheless, the cooperatives' economic operations were futile to socialism which typically caused by the top-down hierarchical approach of communication and decision making. As of UWT's miscarriage to connect its members especially of rural women through information and communication network vis-à-vis the dynamic economic atmosphere over men domination (Boesen, et al, 1977: 141).

The economic reforms was ostensibly developed throughout postcolonial African nations at embracing the communication into national development. For Tanzania the state of affairs was quite intimidating to commercial media establishment due to the declining of purchasing power, bureaucracy and high taxes for business operation (Aminzade, 2013: 67). There was high printing price that streamlined the socialist ideology to persist simply through the de facto monopoly of state ownership structure, so far as self-censorship was commonly committed by journalists as a result of the party aggressiveness over media criticism (Tegambwage, 1994). Foreign companies were strictly situated around the inauspicious commercial surplus, the situation that prompted exclusion of all government and party leaders from private ownership in order to minimize their influences in market competition over oligopoly by a government. Alike sanctioned actions were taken upon any emergence of complete private enterprise; for instance in 1969, the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA) was dissolved with its assets after being found incompatible conditions out over centralized system; just for buying the crops like maize and tobacco in higher prices than government (p. 12).

Equally the private media did not survive any more, economically and politically due to oligarchy ownership; such as the transfer of Ngurumo newspaper was uneven after being sold out to Habari Printer Co-operative Society Ltd. from Thakers Ltd. ultimately its publication and content excellence deteriorated and finally gone on November 30th 1976 (Konde 1984: 41 - 43). Private Journalists were vulnerable to the socialist media economic policies in companied with draconian laws. Some more cases including; The private Ulimwengu paper disappeared soon after Arusha declaration subsequent the arrest of its publishers when the paper attempted to criticize Mwalimu concerning his socialist policies (Mytton 1983: 104). The other editor of

Catholic partisan newspaper Kiongozi was detained and charged after publishing an article claiming the high number of impregnate young girls during the national services (Wilcox 1982: 865). The ethnic print media like of Asians' Gujarati in Zanzibar vanished in 1968 while their proprietors fled the country after dropping the economic means on account of nationalization codes after the Arusha Declaration (Hamdani et al 2014: 23). Again, the weekly Africa Baraza (The African Council) which started in March 1987 was seized by the police after the first copy released following its critical article recounting over the governments of the first and second Presidents of Tanzania and finally wiped out (Hachten 1993: 38).

The consequences of Arusha Declaration spurred the massive nationalization of commercial firms across the country which had undesirable impressions to the provision of independent press in 1969. Hence, the government was mindful on the media power on shaping the public opinions and globally portrayal of the nation. What was a vibrant alternative, TANU successfully launched an English newspaper 'The Nationalist' in April 1964 just few months after the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) came into being (the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar), for spreading the socialist policies to abroad. Further to this, Nyerere nationalized the colonial inherited English newspaper the 'Tanganyika Standard' which previously was privately owned by the London-based Lonrho Company, later renamed 'Standard Tanzania' and its sister 'Sunday News' remained the same name, they were both assigned to Ujamaa policies and ideology depiction⁹. Nationalization scheme of information involved oligopoly of national and foreign news gathering and distribution through Tanzania News Agency (Shirika la Habari Tanzania - SHIHATA). This agency was the only news institution legally empowered to nurse the Tanzania Mainland media all sort of local and international news, so far monopoly of news contents continued since all media were indulged to utilize news substances by SHIHATA (Kivikuru, 1990: 293).

2.1.3.2 Centralization Typology on Shrinking Media Landscape

Tanzania centralized the press to sort out the operatives and public sympathetic of the government. Moemeka (1989) affirms on the centralization of mass media as the premeditated mechanism of development communication which is expedient mostly to the developing countries for the extensive message flow in deprived of personally arbitration (p. 16). He further insists that the centralized devices of mass communication are valuable for emerging world because of affordability and assurance of the sufficient stream of mass media message to the niche audiences, so far leans to converge heterogonous communities to common universe (p. 17). Whilst, Nyerere tended to employ a number of policies and tactical machinery on strictly and ethically controlling the mass media infrastructures and their contents so as to adventure the supremacy of mass communication towards the modernized socialist values. He meant to

⁹ Tanzanian Affairs, Newspapers and Censorship; <https://www.tzaffairs.org/1990/09/newspapers-and-censorship/>

entrench media as political actor to manipulate the masses into communal and self-reliance life for entire Tanzanians, along with fortifying in the amalgamation of Africans to comprehend liberation of the rest countries in the continent. To him *freedom of opinion should be subordinated to more important political goals, e.g., the abolishment of disease, poverty, and ignorance..... In the eyes of the president, these aims could only be secured through the nationalization of the entire press sector* (Sturmer, 2008: 120). Ultimately, the media landscape was occupied with government monopoly and the few remained also persisted earnest provision to the TANU doctrines.

The political Economy of Ujamaa Media came into centralized archetype since the beginning of independence era, as of Uhuru newspaper which instantly started publication on December 9, 1961 the day of independence, then it had been a party mouthpiece and pioneered with political content of anti-imperialism and stressed emancipation for the rest colonized African countries (Sturmer, 1998: 103-111). In April 1962 Nyerere laid the foundation of the Mwananchi Printing and Publishing Company which was administered with TANU squads escorted with government ministers. The Publishing Company succeeded to renovate Uhuru into daily paper along with establishment of The Nationalist - an English paper; both two party newspapers were significant instrument for publicizing the socialist ideology across the country and abroad as well. On Zanzibar, the pre-revolutionary government newspaper Maarifa (Knowledge) was renamed Kweupe (The Light) which later in 1970 prospered by two weeklies, the English-language paper Truth Prevails Where Lies Must Vanish and its Swahili translation Kweli Ikidhihiri Uwongo Hujitenga (p. 288 - 290). The provision of the Tanzanian Interim Constitution of 1965 stipulated implicit fundamental human rights as one of freedom of expression, the nationalization of RTD overflowed this right for government undertaking entire control of information services, hereafter self-censorship was more common among journalists (Ogunade, 1966: 54). TANU turned into more influential on the radio staff recruitment and daily programming, this happened when the mass media committee was mainly comprised by the party members (Mwaffisi, 1985: 8).

Ellul (1968) asserts that many postcolonial African nations, inclined to set press into manipulative weapons on incitement vis-à-vis the concept of nation-building (p. 75). Government would by any means pay exertions over media to cement passivity of mass audiences for internalizing public knowledge in affirmative face of ruling elites as heroes. Hence TBC was renamed Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam RTD in 1965 to drive in the Ujamaa ethos in order to mechanize the popular nationals on curtailing the poverty, disease and illiteracy as basic national enemy. While on the isles; the broadcasting radio was so far renamed *the voice of Tanzania Zanzibar* (Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar) in 1970 from the voice of Unguja (Sauti ya Uguja) (Hamdani, 1992). Likewise, to the press sector, it was in 1964 after the Revolution the de facto government's ownership monopoly on the Zanzibar print media commenced following the turning out to the one-party state, it resulted the termination of a number of the partisan newspapers ever existed during struggling for the national liberation. Supplementary, the national broadcasting policy was redefined in 1967 during the Arusha declaration to cope with

interpretation of the policies and ideologies of Ujamaa, whereby mass media was identified as distinctive appliance to internalize the socialist and communal values to the countrywide citizens.

2.1.4 Media Regulatory Mechanism: Internalizing Ujamaa Ideology

The one-party deliberation came into force after Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation Dissolution Act-No. II of 1965 enacted by parliament which granted the government undue supremacy of entire broadcasting systems. The ownership of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam opened up four channels, catering the entire national and foreign affairs under Ujamaa doctrines: national services, External Service, Commercial Service and Schools Service networks. Consistent with Reformation of broadcasting policies after Arusha declaration became a step ahead to customize political interest on the agenda of the daily media functioning.

2.1.4.1 Politicization of Journalism

Politicization of Tanzanian media in the commencement of the Ujamaa epoch was indispensable for the government devising the public opinions. The mass media was ample platform to arrange for political education through centralized newspapers and monopolized broadcasting model on the self-reliance policies of collective productions along communal works. According to Condon (1967) during Ujamaa the social life was typically overlooked of even the public figures in favor of mobilizing nationalist messages throughout the Tanzania daily journalism. News contents were abundantly politicized in praising the political leaders to large extent while the social discourse for instance “*any photographs or stories about weddings, engagements, baptisms, 'sundowners' or dinner parties*” were entirely discounted (Condon, 1967: 352). On account of the politicization propensity, poetry evolved to the peak among popular objects of newspaper columns, featuring political outlooks of the prominent national figures and party accomplishments (p. 253). However, the situation in Zanzibar was rather astonishing as of 1970s, President Aboud Jumbe halted the attempt by some party cadres to arbitrate the Radio programming afore their political interests (Karama 1990: 11).

Subsequent to the four RTD channels, the further determination was deliberated to expose Ujamaa abroad on account of the monopoly media structure, whereby the External Service channel was supplementary in politicization which was assigned to represent the image of Tanzania socialism to oversee audiences. This channel suited a spirited forum for backing other African nations in access of their liberations; it also secured high listenership from Tanzania's English-speaking minority. Various programs were also aired in foreign languages; Afrikaans, English, French, Herero, Ndebele, Nyanja, Ovambo, Portuguese, and Shona, these languages regularly materialized in the provision of independence struggle in Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (now Malawi), South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) (Mwaffisi, 1985: 91). On the other hand of print media, Nnnoli (1972) affirms about the Tanzanian media role vis-à-vis backing the government foreign policies whereby newspapers were commonly carrying provocative contents and vaguely publishing to embody the constructive aspect of regime on the international sphere. As an effect of broadcasting

partisanship, the Commercial Service station was subsequently ineffective advertising podium after turned into politically honored in socialist character through the parameter of new broadcasting policies, together with the collapse of East Africa Community led further deterioration of outdoor advertisers particularly those who were in Nairobi (Mwaffisi, 1985: 21).

Hopkins (1971) posits the historical affiliation of government missions and political rules especially after 1964 in which civil servants were obliged to become ruling party cadres. In the course of the daily institutional routines ideological division emerged between the two ruling organs (government and party) and wouldn't assure the last long collaborations (Hopkins, 1971). According to him the class conflict emerged amid the Institutional actors (government bureaucrats) who rely on obedience of economic principles in proportion to Marxist communism while moral actors (party leaders) had been ordering the ethical interest in view of political identity of Ujamaa in the face of public performance. Boesen et al. (1977) asserted on the ideology divide amongst these two institutions; unlike the government, the party cadres regularly viewed Ujamaa was all about communalism instead of being a transformative step toward socialism (p. 152). Hence media were not immune from the ideological variances of two systems. Notably the government's 'Standard Tanzania' and the party's 'The Nationalist' turned into conflicting platforms (Sturmer, 2008). For *The Standard* paper served the complete Marxists-Leninist - communism doctrines as proponent to social democrat based on western point of view. South African Managing Editor Frene Gwinala had managed to project a stage for Marxists-Leninist discussion on *The Standard*.

While the party *Nationalist* paper was in favor of the identical Ujamaa ideology, as it momentarily after Arusha declaration was publishing some Questions and Answers column concerning Ujamaa policies and ideology (Aminzade, 2013). The contradictory discussion on Marxist-Leninist was eliminated just after the merge of these two governments and parts newspapers into the *Daily News* on April 26th 1972 (Barton 1979: 113). However, through nationalization and centralization of Ujamaa paradigm, this merge couldn't gratify the party's prospect, the paper quality and editorial standards declined, consequently *Mzalendo* was issued on April 30th 1972, a Sunday edition of *Uhuru* (Barton 1979; 123). There was noble cooperation between government and party officials on international affairs like of South African deliberation movement (Hopkins, 1971: 76). Tanzanian foreign policies aimed at enduring national and social self-reliance values, as of the withdrawal of West German support from fertilizer factory and the severe diplomatic relations with Great Britain after the Nyerere's recurrent attempt of backing other African countries toward their liberations like Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) (Ravenhill, 1986: 251).

2.1.4.2 Localization of Mass Media

Moemeka (1989) posits on the localized approach of mass communication tenable for developing countries, likely to manage the two-way communication channel in respect of the insurances and aspirations of the diverse communities, for betterment and sympathetic atmosphere reasonable for rural inhabitants. Tanzania formerly in a blue moon practiced

localized model of mass media, as of its rural newspaper project a monthly Swahili; Elimu Haina Mwisho (Education has no end), generated circulation of 100,000 copies to serve the large rural populations (Ogunade, 1966: 104). Zanzibar had the Rural-Press-Project paper Jipatie Maarifa (Acquire Knowledge) in 1982 comprised the locally based articles and news stories with regard to exclusive remote dwellers' objectives (2008, 1998: 148). They were similarly the localized platforms into engendering politically and economically informed marginal groups, whereby health and other human interest articles were published. It was mostly professed that by diversification of public media would preferably fulfill the Nyerere's initial goal of converging the assorted Tanzanian communities in methodology of Ujamaa guidelines of freedom, works and unity. So far as the public information would be utilized in the war against poverty, ignorance, and disease through equal media coverage of urban-rural arenas. To this point, Development communication is generally linked to real-world activities of pertinent populations such that to afford desired information on health, agriculture, or education (Moemeka, 1989: 34).

In addition to that, Tanzania attempted to decentralize the government newspaper by fixing the administrative and news correspondents in some major cities of the country. This step furthered the quantity of news stories from other regions like Mwanza, Arusha and Dodoma apart of Dar es Salaam (p. 33). The decentralization policy for broadcasting evolved in 1981, commencing the integrated schemes of socialist and localization from 1971 to 1980, namely *recording a safari* which was aimed at standardizing the information access by the rural populations. During the course of *recording safaris* RTD intended to manage diverse broadcasting centers with seven zone; in Arusha, Dodoma, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza, and Songea for aggregating the productions of the local content based programs (Stumer, 2008: 133). However, the division of classes was persistently salient; for the urban inhabitants entertained a good number of news sources afore rural, while government and party officials override the daily programs than social based reports (Kivikuru, 1989; 65). This is due to the inherent centralization porotype of Ujamaa government which had created the audience passivity and information divide between the rural and urban as utterly communication infrastructures were set in the capital city (Moemeka, 1989: 16). Hence, the rural mass populations were ostensibly underestimated with their specifications whereby media personnel had typical command on designing message contents on behalf of the government and party's strategies. Because of such politicization, mass media recurrently played down the rural essentials with respect to urban based news sources, unless the national figures had paid visit to rural or weighty party-political occasions took place over there, then the village would receive abundant coverage on media for such particular period. Mwaffisi (1985) contends that in 1960s Dar es Salaam comprised the half newspapers market in which 40 % of its populations had access of daily and read a paper (p. 21).

The deficient patronage for the local press by government was among the reason steered to the closure of many publications and failed to streamline the information divide in the country. Nevertheless, in his Comparative Analysis study about the Mass Media Systems of Kenya and Tanzania Ogunade (1966) points out that unlike Kenya, Tanzania's communication problems are

characterized with scattered, un-urbanized populations which widen the rural-urban boundary of public information (p. 104). Whereas Kenya potential of covering certainly its populations owing to the geographically concentrated in the capital Nairobi. However, Tanzania was prospective of concurrent comprehensive messages owing to common use and sympathetic of the national language, Swahili, while Kenya doesn't generally utilize it (p. 122).

2.1.4.3 Media Content Regulation

The transition of monopolized media ownership was trendy structural designation expending ideological content to impart socialist values to the extensive Tanzanians. In a little while after independence 1961, the print media was vulnerable addicted to exhorting propensity, commonly induced the mass audiences' optimistic contemplation on the new government moralities (Sturmer, 2008). In the course of Arusha declaration, the RTD national services channel had abundant role on internalizing the inclusive spectators using deliberate contents of national sovereignty and Ujamaa building. It was vividly exercised through the daily programming, the political slogans like: 'independence and work', 'independence and unity', and for some years' popular self-reliance and national building activities commonly dominated broadcast themes of the RTD, meant for mass mobilization on appealing obedience to Ujamaa policies and system interested in public accomplishments (Moshiro, 1990: 20). Within and after the outcomes of nationalization and centralization, media legislations were put forward to cope with socialist policies and its implementation. Such laws ended up with the authoritative tendency especially on regulating the media and communication sectors. There was potential to surfacing the existed government and party bureaucrats while overlooking the media's autonomy viable a watchdog role over accountability of public officials (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 7).

Among the Ujamaa legislations which were enacted in the scope of nationalism and socialist ethos in both the government of united republic of Tanzania and Zanzibar government, to date they have been bitterly claimed over the media regulatory setting and conceptions of freedom of expression along access to information in the country; The colonial inherited Penal Code act of 1945, The Regions and Regional Commissioners Act of 1962 and the Area Commissioner Act of 1962, The Prisons Act of 1967, The National Security Act of 1970, The Films and Stage Plays Act of 1976, The Newspaper Act of 1976, Registration Ordinance of 1968, The Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA), The Civil Service Act of 1989 inter alia. They commonly spring the bureaucratic loophole such as the president, minister responsible for information, police force, the Registrar, the regional and district administrators along with institutional powers to interpret the term like "public interest", 'obscene' 'public tranquility' over media uses, without any specification as just per their opinions. Hence they normally interfere the media works and marginalize journalists after all, for instance to prohibit the importation, ban or suspend outlet or articles, Probable penalties etc. Consequently, the wide discretionary powers have been used rigorously to censor, curtail the independence and limiting even creativity of individuals on public informational materials (p. 8).

Besides, Rioba (2008) postulates about the first information policy (1970) which acted under the precedent descriptive, the central application of the policy was on the socialist values and internalization of public knowledge (p. 27). The media was sorted out to the social cohesion and political orders of the single party. As generating socialist dialogues, government party, individual sovereignty, nationalism, and Universal Primary Education through mass media were regularly acknowledged in the eyes of Ujamaa. Although, the policy ostensibly called for the extensive freedom of information, the overall practice of media was rather submissive to the system, and ownership was restricted to certain conditions. Moreover, in 1960s and 1970s Media personnel were measurably instructed Ujamaa knowledge along professional journalistic education. Meanwhile, frequent seminars were conducted throughout the country, with the purpose to embody media to play a significant character on conveying relevant messages to the popular Tanzanians over self-reliance and independence as well as to contend with the national policy of socialism (p. 29). Although, competent journalists were skeptical on existed ownership postures upon their professionalism and code of ethics. It was too abortive impressions giving to the CCM branches' endorsement for a number of media workers prior to college enrolment, whereby journalists had already become active political party members into performing their daily journalistic duties, along with trend of unprofessional journalists was so far incredible (Kilimwiko, et al. 1982).

Moshiro (1990) affirms on the Schools Service channel which strived as weapon over the third enemy of Ujamaa government the illiteracy. According to him this channel was serious pedagogy instrument and helpful for teachers to demonstrate to a number of pupils in different areas (p. 30). Together with multiple literacy campaigns in 1970s and school programs in 1960s were launched for activating the public into basic formal knowledge, in which it became substantial on raising the Universal Primary Education and literacy rate. The education campaign was commonly ruled amid the four RTD channels for youth and above niche audience with a several programs; Adult education programming as a mobilizing force was through two main methods: intensified programs for political awareness and outright propaganda. Examples the Mazungumzo Baada ya Habari (Comment after the News), Ujumbe wa Leo — (Message for Today), Ujamaa Leo (Ujamaa Today), Fimbo ya Mnyonge (Weapon of the Oppressed), uunia ya Mfanyakazi (The World of the Worker), and others like Voice 30 of the Party, Youth, Learn Cooperatives, Call From the Regions, Poetry, Face to Face, Let us Sing and Self-Reliance (not on air now). These were introduced expressly to reorientate and politicize listeners in various ways towards self-reliance and socialist democratic practice as the ultimate objective. (p. 30-31).

However, after Arusha declaration the methodological and contents switched primarily to agricultural knowledges respecting self-reliance polies of economy instead of the previous general subjects. Besides, the media content on internalizing ethos of Ujamaa was vivid through Villagization process intended for rural development by means of common expression known “Ujamaa Vijini”, some of media content were initiated to appeal villagers into communal life and agricultural works. The program like 'Man is Health Campaign' (Mtu ni Afya) in 1973 educated the mass rural dwellers on their health care and protecting environment, while Food is Life

(Chakula Ni Uhai) program was aired after food shortages hit the nation in 1973 and 1974, it was successful mass mobilization for boosting rich cultivation and crop management among peasants (Moshiro, 1993: 27). Consistent with Stumer (2008) that at the beginning of 1980s the RTD national services channel was typically dominated with economic and political news and educational program in views of socialism. Such as “Majira” (Time), “Give Me News”, “Face to Face” (Ana kwa Ana), “News and Music”, “Socialism and self-Reliance (Ujamaa na Kujitegemea)”, Regional Information (Mbiu za Mikoa), “Socialism Today” (Ujamaa Leo), “Fimbo ya Mnyonge” (Stumer, 2008).

Besides, the Commercial Service became dominant to the young Tanzanians, listening the American and European pop favorites, after the foreign music programs being moved from the National Service in 1975 and remained the sufficient platform for sole local cultures promotion (Schneider, 2014: 24). Another incident that can highlight the provision of politically manipulated content of media during the mono party system is the Kagera War in 1978. Tanzania media played excessive part of setting the agenda to the public on perceiving the Uganda government of Iddi Amini regime. Persuasive vocabularies like the ‘snake’, ‘*nduli*’ were frequently used on the RTD and newspapers to accomplish the propaganda purposes for mass support against the war. The top government and party leaders’ speeches including Nyerere and the prime minister Edward Sokoine were repeatedly edited to burden and create fear among the public so that to get involved in the ways (Moshiro, 1990: 33). Ultimately, the massive campaigns grew into efficacious for the people to volunteer to the warfare; reactions by several young people whom were immediately employed and deployed to the warzone. While other families voluntarily gave out what they possessed like cows and food crops to feed the armies headed for the battle fields. Therefore, Ujamaa policies managed to adjust the media content as per consequences, whereby media outlooks changed soon after country’s transformation to liberalism and multiparty system, as of schools services program which was said to be prosperous but disappeared in 1993.

2.1.5 Toward Democratic Journalism; Was Ujamaa Utopian?

According to Nyerere (1968) the preliminary initiatives of Ujamaa ethos manifested on establishing the communal works essentially athwart agricultural productivities among peasants of rural population in Tanzania. Indicating to the reinforcing the economic self-dependence in respect of marginal communities’ sovereignty (Nyerere, 1968: 17). As in his conception of Villagisation paradigm which fashioned the burden movement with the platform of socialization among the rural communities in which the government commenced to facilitate with agricultural equipment, fertilizers, formal education and other materials to the nucleated populations in ‘development’ villages or ‘planned’ villages. People were encouraged to form cooperative groups of land farms around a shared provision centers where government would expedite self-commitment with social services. Different data signify that Social villages were gradually created in the 1960s for 800 collective settlements, whereby unevenly 80, 000 villages by 1976 equivalent to 13 million Tanzanians, likely 90% of the rural residents had been relocated into villages by 1976 (Schneider, 2014 and Lorgen, 1999: 39). What is more, self-reliance stands for

abandoning the global capitalism in place of local dependence, utilizing internal resources, through education and other economic sectors so that to rationalize national economic independence (Nyerere, 1968: 8).

However, Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003) view that the Nyerere's Ujamaa was quite Utopian than revolutionary that could not tackle Tanzanian socioeconomic status-quo instead. It resulted into isolated state from global communities, on account of idealistic self-reliance codes of localized instruments on behalf of national and social economic independence such of its Agriculture sector. Consequently, some western countries disassociated with Tanzanian transition of nationalization which destruct the Tanzania's export economy. They removed their working support like personnel and training, and closure of three large British banks - Barclays, Standard, and National and Grindleys so that to make certain failure on public banking scheme in the country (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003: 62). Besides, unlike other postcolonial African leaders who manifested African traditional harmony and communitarianism like Kwame Nkrumah's schema for "social revolution", Leopold Sedhar Senghor's "negritude" and Kenneth Kaunda's "Zambian humanism", the Nyerere version of African socialism didn't feature class struggle, alternatively the assertion of extended family paradigm materialized in place (p. 63). As far as this, Supervisory elites emerged rapidly through the centralization and nationalization spectrum which amplified exploitation, resource wastages, bribery and inefficiency, for instance the synthetic connection emerged through *Eating by Socialism* (Kula kwa Ujamaa) scheme (Shivji, 1974: 85-90). The local administrators along the accumulation by gorgeous farmers managed to export more over small peasants, which gave rise to extensive informal and formal bureaucracy.

In due course of paradox mechanisms and typically of vertical approach of communication (deficient consultation with publics); local producers were more passive to the government instead of being ultimate self-reliant in respect of Ujamaa presumption. To this point, government abundantly used aid as incentives and at last initiative was considered as peasantry preference, for these factors by 1975 villagization scheme proved disastrous (Boesen, et al. 1977: 68). The local party cadres dictated the entire political and social sphere which then resulted to urbanization attributable to the limited rural freedom among the occupants (Lorgen, 1999: 19). As long as the government media could not fulfill the quest for two-way communication where people would get aware on their initiatives up to implementation through credible public information. Nevertheless, unlike other African countries like Mozambique and Ethiopia Nyerere's Ujamaa - Afrocentric socialist model was rather revolutionary in term of social prosperity, the provision of social facilities; social equality and harmony among ethnic groups with national identity and political stability and remarkable successes in literacy and primary education in the 1970s (Legum and Mmari, eds., 1995; Pratt, 1999; Ishemo, 2000).

Consequently, after long reluctance on the global capitalism economy athwart IMF/WB which Nyerere used to connote "International Ministry of Finance," for decades, his African socialism prototype (Ujamaa) couldn't last long survive after the world economic crisis in 1980s and cash crops price changes in the world market (Bryceson, 1990: 56). Therefore, Tanzania embarked to economic reform scheme along the global financial organizations guidelines namely

IMF/WB. The market economy oriented got entrance into Tanzania economic system in place of socialist spectrum thanks to the macro-economic transformations. Subsequently, Media sector gradually embarked to structural adjustment and liberalization, wherein the private sector came across the industry; the first notable private company was *Business Times* in 1988 which primarily focused on economic and political news. Later on, abundant number of press proliferated, amounted 180 publications in 1991 from 119 print media in 1986. In consistent with global political reforms as of falling the world communist and socialist systems commenced Eastern Europe, media regulations turned into the new era of liberalism. To Rioba (2012) Tanzania boarded to the global transformation in political pluralism, through this so called changes (*Mageuzi*) where media would enjoy mutual functioning, in place of freedom and fostering open discourse of public discussion. Journalists were so eager to put up with nascent environment which also triggered their collaboration among private and public media (p. 6).

2.2 Background of Media Liberalization in Tanzania – 1990s

2.2.1 The Nascent Dimensions of Tanzanian Media Settings

After 30 years of Tanzanian post-colonial rule attached to the “Ujamaa” framework, the state embarked on a novel dimension of political and economic pluralism and liberalization. Tanzania’s “Ujamaa” - socialist ideology declined due to the global political changes of the 1980’s that led to the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and the end of Communism ideologies in Eastern Europe. In consort with the national economic crisis of 1970s which was linked to the centralized economy structure, this situation prompted the state into market economic adjustment in line with the IMF/WB schemes. Remarkably, this endorsed the embryonic structural transformation with nascent media system. The local (workers and civil societies) and international (donors and financial institutions) strained in the late 1980s, along the political and economic reforms across the African countries, it so far entrenched the media system into comprehensive operating environment (Moehler & Singh, 2011: 277). Such deliberations comprised the critical burdens vis-à-vis the transfer of central economy and one party-political system towards liberal democratic and macro-economic conversions. Hence became professed mechanism that catered for the entire sociopolitical needs and aspirations across the continent. Tanzania was not immune to this crusade, whereby the quest for modern liberation traced on the changing of public opinion concerning the constitutions of the United Republic and which of Zanzibar from 1980s, attributable to set up the nation around nascent egalitarian culture (Rioba, 2012: 15). The critical public debates through official and spontaneous platforms were systematized by local intellectuals, by which Tanzanians responsively expressed their discomposure over oligarchy on politics and decision making under one-party regime which ensued the social disparity.

By 1980's, the few privately owned media played pivotal role of sensitizing the public and provision of dynamic contemplations with reference to the sociopolitical alterations, their contents were regularly themed exposing the political misconducts such as corruption, theft, tax evasion and exemptions etc. (p. 30). Likewise, journalists accustomed themselves with country's status quos of vibrant public information, signifying the embryonic media functioning keen on the evolving democratic culture. This however, implicates the journalists' collaborative endeavors on forging the common consensus along public and private media houses, as of Press workshop which took place on June 25th 1990 in Dar es Salaam, arranged by the Tanzania Standard (Newspaper) Ltd (Stumer, 2008: 1 71). This occasion effectively brushed out the patent ideological track amid private and government journalists, which in due course was potential to streamline their imminent professional accomplishment as per the existed ongoing promising wind of political stance. Nonetheless, the provision of one-party political dominations could not grant media to comply with a momentous social obligation to set agenda on the sociopolitical phenomenon in the basis of earnest current affairs. Due to the endowment of inimical constitutional foundation and various draconian media legislations, commonly holdup the media's politically commitment. Accordingly, journalists were very mindful on their artificial joint movement to supplement the emerging civic deliberation on the road to flourish the informed citizenry in manifestation of press freedom.

Curiously, the stirring media posture was manured in the beginning of 1990s when the second Tanzanian postcolonial president Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who succeeded the first president Nyerere in 1985, formed a presidential Commission headed by Chief Justice Francis Nyalali aimed at restructuring the political system in keeping with citizens' ideas. The commission came up with valuable allusion to the healthy democracy being, counting independent media backgrounds by depression of freedom of information, along with legal pursuit for completion of rule of law, human rights, free and fair elections. Although the commission ended up with over 77% defendants who preferred the perpetuation with constitution of a one-party system, the former president Julius Nyerere – who was the static chairman of the ruling party CCM – instructed Tanzanians to ponder “signs of the time” and related consequences which, according to him was indispensable to adopt. Thus, on July 1992 the political adjustment by the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania steered the state's adherence on multiparty system, just in the same year over six political parties came into functioning (MCT, 2013a: 4). This step was earmarked as an ultimate transformative prototype that would cement an inspiring contextual media environment to display the nascent setting and dimension towards a comprehensive social obligation. The miscellaneous actors' immersion in journalism was vivid and thrived the ownership structures from government monopoly to the diverse family owned, professional joint powers like Habari Corporation Limited), business personalities example Mwananchi Communications Limited - MCL, Independent Television - ITV and business people cum politician like Business Times Limited – BTL (cf. p. 6).

Rioba (2012) affirms that the initial transformation of media industry in Tanzania can be simply traced in the scope of neoliberal economic environment in respect of evolving ownership

configurations, multiplicity of media outlets, technological influences in term of news gathering and diffusion along with consumers' utility (p. 30). Conversely, the dramatic alterations become rather quantitative than qualitative, a mass of media outlets grew rapidly from just 5 newspapers in 1990 to more than 814 registered newspapers by July 2014, while 128 radio and television stations were registered by 2013 and over 25 cable television operators available in Tanzania Mainland (MCT, 2015: 49). Likewise, over 50 radio frequencies on the Islands had been issued by Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission (p.50). The novel media landscape takes account of broadcasting stations licensed to operate nationally, regionally, district-level and several community-based in the structure of commercial based and non-commercial broadcasts.

Whilst, in 1990s the journalism progression tended into qualitative remarks subsequent to the growing of an abundant number of training institutions in which professional journalists proliferated so far. On top of that there was a nascent and diverse media contents revealing alternative ideas on account of the changing ideological stances in the basis of economic liberalization and political pluralism derived from multiple ownerships, in consistent with commercial and political motives of respective media houses. Unlike the earlier post-independence epoch where Tanzanian media were plentifully used to mobilize the sole government typology of socialist ideology (Kivikuru, 1990: 18). The structural shift of ownership liberated the media industry into a variety of media outlet namely newspapers, FM stations, and television stations, carrying compound subjects to the extensive reach of audiences across the country whereby government oligarchy no longer survived. Professionalism emerged to speed up the paradigm transformation from the government control to the institutional and professional preoccupation, covering the multiple outlets under journalists' own mechanism. As the case of Habari Corporation Limited which was established and run by journalists themselves, in the meantime the media self-regulatory board (Media Council of Tanzania) came into being, meant for assuring the professional conducts as well as overseeing the entire industry counter to external intrusion.

2.2.2 The Collapse of Government Broadcasting Oligarchy - RTD

The Tanzanian constitutional amendment towards multi-party democracy and economic liberalization simplified the provision of private sector in the communication industry into rich intellectual capacity of national liberal democracy. The new constitution put forward a legal basis which attracted various players to take part in pursuing their assorted objectives in the marketplace. The legal framework commenced with the Broadcasting Services Act of 1993 which destabilized the government broadcast monopoly, whereby private individuals would fill up the public information gap which had been deliberated from the limited public reach of broadcasting radio, for certain areas and topics were overlooked when deemed contrary to socialist policy. Ultimately, the legislative measure transformed the broadcasting ownership structure from five state owned channels by Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam – (RTD), to the multiple owners - a quantity of private stations. Before media liberalization, RTD esteemed the vital proportion on local and foreign source of news, fortifying the mass audiences over other

existed media namely newspapers/Magazines (Barton 1979: 124). Yet, such distinctive public access of radio solidifies the dominant culture of media access and uses in Africa that radio sector persists as a major source in massive mobilizing the citizenry and social deliberation in the communities. The private FM radio stations in the 1990s proliferated promptly across African countries on account of the ample players who acknowledged the potentiality of this medium as a vital tool to propagate their classified goals and agendas (Moehler & Singh, 2011: 2).

Successively, the Broadcasting Services Act of 1993 fragmented the RTD audiences behind the diverse private radio stations in accordance with miscellaneous ordinations, captured the radio market ascendancy in the country from government solitary. To current the statistics show that there are 155 radio stations and 34 television networks registered as of 06th April, 2018 (TCRA, 2018: 2) and over 25 cable television operators in Tanzania Mainland (MCT, 2015: 49). Likewise, the Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission licensed 23 radio stations and 15 TV channels to operate on the Islands by December 2018 (Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission, 2019). For instance, the escalation of religious radios succeeded to extract niche listeners who were gorgeous through RTD religious programs. These partisan radios underwent with mixed approach of programming in news and current affairs on sociopolitical aspects with stern emphasis on genuine religious programs.

The diversified method of private ownership was strategic whereby listeners could stay long listening other informational, educational and developmental programs even after the basic religious had terminated in the same station. Besides, young listeners shifted to the lately privately owned radio example Radio One which was inaugurated in 1994, they utilized the prevalent program like pop music deeming to meet their tastes and aspirations (Stumer, 2008; 188). During the outset of transformation, the newly broadcast stations favored conventional journalism and entertainment programming, instead of critical and political depiction. However, on account of niche market demand, later on the evolved ownership strived to restructure the broadcasting modality (Moehler & Singh, 2011: 2). As Jones & Mhando (2006) contend on the media transformation through the mushrooming of high volume of broadcasting channels such as Radio which turn into more comprehensive platform with high reach and access through which competent broadcasters emerged to attract the attention of mass audience to public agendas (p.17). The local content quality considerably civilizes in Tanzanian television programming like neighborhood music videos, ultimately expands the media landscape of the local stations.

In relation to nationalization and centralization of information in the one-party media governance, the Tanzanian news agency (Shirika la Habari Tanzania - SHIHATA) was the keystone to strengthen the government monopoly of domestic and international news gathering and dissemination, whereby the Tanzania Mainland media obliged to subscribe its assortment of local and foreign news. As a result of the multiparty system and economic liberalization, the deterioration of SHIHATA underpinned the death of government oligarchy in the pluralistic media environment. The challenges to SHIHATA survival evolved on the scope of structural, institutional and economic outlooks. It was under government plan to reinforce the Tanzania Information Services over it, owing to the severe financial ailment after seizure of local media

consumption and by reason of the split-out of foreign news agencies. Along with abundant turnover of SHIHATA's experienced journalists to the newly private media corporations, seeking for adequate wages and remunerations, hence, the figure of its employees dropped from 500 in 1976 to 120 (Stumer, 2008: 164). On the other hand, the government owned radio RTD was enthusiastic in the competition emerged around the airwave liberalization, it managed to utilize the four established channels with decentralized methodology in the major cities, to overcome the lost share of audiences patterns in the market places, since the Dar es Salaam had become the basis for the intensifying large volume of private broadcast stations. As time went on, Dar es Salaam became a trivial center for RTD, likewise, several private radio stations were set up in the different regions of Tanzania in competing with the government decentralized modality. Since then the number of radios dramatically increased in which Dar es Salaam was fueled hitherto with frequency spectrum.

Nonetheless, the mushrooming of media in case of institutional structural shift by means of ownership, could not grant a vibrant picture in scrutinizing the elegant transformation of media industry without analyzing the content, quality, distribution in line with daily undertakings. To that point, there was a great concern that private media would not defy the established state-owned media, for the reason that the established authority in Tanzania was very concern about the private media power on challenging the prevailing system. Therefore, legislative means was identical to regulate this newly puzzling media clusters as asserted by the then Minister of Information and Tourism that such private proprietors are "*a group of wealthy people who could use it as a shop for business*" to mean, they used to manipulate the communities in respect of maximizing their identical interests (Patterson, 2004: 14).

2.2.3 The Press Boom in the Pluralistic Media Environment

For the scrutiny of pluralistic media environment in Tanzania, the broadcasting media cannot merely illustrate the transformative characters of journalism without tracing the press industry, which so far indicates outstanding quantitative alterations. Even in the course of socialist regime, Newspaper industry had ample attempt to conquest the monopoly of state owned media structure. Due to the meagerness of Ujamaa political economy, a number of documented newspapers such as Ulimwengu, Asians' Gujarati in Zanzibar and the weekly Africa Baraza (The African Council) among others left uncertainly as a result of the deficiency of legal framework along with economic and political features especially after Arusha declaration (1967), which destabilized the entire press prosperity. Whilst, on account of the flourish of trade liberalization policy by the end of 1980s, the privately owned *Business Times* was the first private publication company trendy the liberalized economy system which emerged to challenge the government oligarchy of media system. Such publication mostly published news stories and analytic articles on economic affairs and timidly edited on political sphere. In view of apathetic legal background which merely favored the established public media, private owners regularly conceived course of action in the basis of entertainment format, in so much that censorship and irresponsible journalism among newspapers prevailed (Tegambwage 1994: 35).

As of 1987, BTL's publications were launched and joined the industry. It was an eccentric disclosure for private press tending to confront the status quo. Accordingly, in 1990s a number of business, political, religious organizations and several individuals thrived to embark on the state's transformation through the press sector. These owners coped to establish a diversity of publications in order to illuminate identical undertakings regarding their own policies and styles. Just momentarily, a quantity of registered dailies newspapers and other periodicals grew from 119 in 1986 to over 180 papers in 1991, which reached 251 in 1994 and ultimately over 323 in 1996 registered publications (Stumer, 2008: 178). Multiple proprietors from different backgrounds initiated such papers, targeting to serve concurrent populations, whereby the common sphere of economic and sociopolitical topics were comprised in respect of the inclusive platform of citizenry. However, the partisan political concentration grew into foremost motive for press boom in Tanzania, while such tendency is inhabited to date for a paramount of press owners having decent background from politics, in which the primary interest remained to facilitate subjective political arena (Kilimwiko, 2009: 2). Hitherto election has grown into persistent intensification of press consumptions, commencing the general election in October 1995 about 45 periodicals were considerably recorded in the press directory (cf. Rioba 1996: 10).

Thus far, print media market competition became brilliant in 1990s; the BTL became a successful press company which managed to edit the standard daily *Majira*, also established an evening *Dar Leo* and later other papers were further operated including sports weeklies. While another private press, The Guardian Ltd under IPP twisted the press industry into more competitive routine and changed the taste of journalism addicted to rather challenging the status quo of political stances. The Guardian Ltd succeeded to publish a daily *The Guardian* along with other seven newspapers like an evening paper *Alasiri* (Afternoon) which was a substantial contestant of Business Times Ltd.'s evening *Dar Leo* (cf. Stumer, 2008: 181). Hence, BTL, The Guardian Ltd in consort with other newly existed private print media corporations upraised the sector hooked on modernism trend. At the same time as the commercial concentration turned out to be very normative bearing amongst the press owners, they intended to expand in the direction of the broad country coverage, encompassing main cities and insignificant regions, urban and rural populations. The media proprietors demonstrated the move to install various bureaus with staff around the enormous municipalities and cities like in Mbeya, Mwanza, Arusha, Tanga, Zanzibar, Morogoro and Dodoma. The office operators were responsible for news reporting based on their zones and for wide distribution to the niche spectators in these regions (p. 182). conclusively, the structure of media ownership in Tanzania developed 90 % of print industry into privately owned, comprising religious and commercial media and the rest 10 % as states run newsprint (Berege, 2014: 16).

Furthermore, due to the poor infrastructure in some regions, the urban-rural information gap persisted; some regions didn't receive newspapers on time, they received even after two or three days. Apart from geographical setup, like in many other parts of Africa, press industry in Tanzania is also limited with low consumption among the communities, whom may not afford the set newspaper price, on account of the high running costs for publications. The moderate

illiteracy rate among the nationals, especially of rural areas where a critical number of unschooled inhabitants resides also primes the media market to be occupied by radio through public access of information behind press industry.

On the other hand, press regulations and control were strictly monitored by the ruling party (Kilimwiko, 2009: 17). It was very alert on the editorial policy of initial private press; they were deemed a precarious platform for cheering diverse citizens' voices, speaking up spontaneously about their citizenship, the changes that government would reconsider timely. In relation to states manifestation, many newspapers were regularly evolved to be inimical, intimidating and aggressive to the political dominance. As results, a number of newly private papers were banned and some suspended while some journalists were harassed, charged and even detained through the judiciary system, as championed by draconian media laws particularly The Newspaper Act of 1976 (p. 17). Yet further concerns were around indefinite figure of opportunist journalists who speciously utilized the casual press independence in the scope of economic liberalization. They encroach upon the set professional ethics and principles in the best interests of commercial proprietors, ultimately sensational journalism went forward. Such configuration amid business and politically based ownership inclined to demoralize the social responsibility normative rules of Tanzanian media on behalf of the minority readers as well as the sectional elites.

2.2.4 The Impediments of Television Industry in Tanzania Mainland

Unlike several other African countries which were keen to utilize the broadcasting Television media in the beginning of postcolonial era, Tanganyika (Tanzania mainland) took time to operate the first TV station, even after liberal economic and pluralistic political atmosphere commenced 1980s onward. In the face of the deliberate attempts by various stakeholders, Tanzania mainland could not set up a single channel of TV broadcast, due to the loads of historical impediments. Commencing the Ujamaa government whose hesitation on establishing TV, reasoned that it was costly to run as well as an affluent based medium which could not serve the entire Tanzanian communities attributable to the meager economic scenery among inhabitants (cf. Stumer, 2008: 191-196). Accordingly, the government restricted straight the notion of TV uses and access in the country, by means of legislating on illegal entrance of TV sets in 1974. On top of that, a lot of TV Corporations were neglected licenses to launch broadcasting stations including; Development Horizon, Metro Meru Television (both based in Arusha), East African Cable TV, Hotel Karibu TV, TV Africa, Upanga Electronics Centre Cable (all Dar es Salaam), and MTV in Mwanza. Kilimanjaro Television and Radio Network (both Arusha), Hotel Karibu (Dar es Salaam), Pwani Media Corporation (Kisarawe), and the Shinyanga-based „Upendo” (Love) (cf. p. 192).

As an alternative, the government persisted to strengthen simply the access of radio which had regarded as inclusive platform across the rural and urban areas along social class existed. However, several times government formed task committees to examine the possibilities and conditions counting expenses to establish public TV (Stumer, 2008: 194). Notably, until in 1994

three TV stations started to operate in Tanzania mainland, all were privately owned channels. The first station was CTN which was introduced on March 1st 1994 with capacity of 1.3 kw transmitters. Followed by Independent Television (ITV under IPP media company ownership on June 10th 1994. Thanks to the sophisticated installations with two kw transmitters, ITVs transmission reached far regions comprising Zanzibar isles, then other established TV stations. While in 1995, ITV started to use the digital uplink facility over digital compression passing through INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite) 601 to the ORBICOM from Johannesburg which so far furthered wide coverage to the rest of Tanzania regions. The third station was Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) owned by TASIA company group which was inaugurated on December 2nd 1994. By using transmitter one kw, DTV managed to accommodate the major Tanzanian cities notably Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Dodoma, Mwanza, Tanga, and Zanzibar (p. 195).

These newly reputable televisions appeared in the substantial broadcasting competitive market with variation of ownership objectives and policies along with distinct technological power. However, the question of programming was considerable alike, insomuch as most of the programs are foreign made geared with global giant networks like BBC, CNN International, Sky News Network, Euro News, Boulevard Germany, (Deutsche Welle) DWTV among others (MCT, 2013a: 95). It's worth mentioning that DTV and ITV were mostly accessed in the economic city Dar es Salaam because of comprehensive coverage of public information relating to its populations. However, the public trust of DTV narrowed after 1995 aired the misleading information concerning the death of Prime Minister Cleopa Msuya, and the Zanzibar election results which claimed that Seif Sharif Hamad the Civic United Front (CUF) candidate had secured the presidency without Zanzibar Electoral Commission - ZEC proclamation (p. 96). Likewise, 2000 was a rather successful year for Tanzanian TV industry to exhibit progression in which there was about ten licensed operators and increased to 29 by 2006. Nevertheless, unlike radio development, there is still a delay and a number of impediments for local TV stations to proliferate. This consists of hostile legal and policy environment for pluralistic TV to stay alive, whereas on the side of ownership, operators are certainly problematic for commissioning the licensing conditions and their foremost individual maneuvering desires (cf. p. 97)

2.2.5 Zanzibar Consecutive Media Scenery

Zanzibar's advocacy for media progression and consumptions resulted from the establishment of the first country's newspaper MSIMULIZI (The Storyteller) founded on the isles in 1888 through the ownership of Anglican University Mission of Central Africa (UMCA). Subsequent to the installment of printing press in 1875 on the isles by Sultan Seyyid Baraghash which intimated the progress of modern journalism and publishing other publications like books (Hamdani et al 2014: 19). Since then a number of business individuals and family ownership came into being, catering for the commercial and social niche spectators. At that time, the government owned papers concentrated mostly on the economy, especially agricultural information like cloves, copra, and coconut oil. The regime also ran educational periodicals

which were used to cement mutual sympathies among school teachers and students. The incredible structural ownership transformation can be traced after the First World War when the intensification of public information set off around the British colonies. Hence, Zanzibar managed to circulate a quantity of publications in the dedication of religious and business values as the most owners' interest stood for. Subsequently, the political liberation movement from 1950s like in many African countries, Zanzibar politics devised the media status quo (p. 35). The complex structure of newspapers ownership operated in the course of national freedom struggle in accordance with political party's ideology which persistently diversified more publications targeting the mass readers.

Similar to the growth of press industry, Zanzibar broadcasting sector was pretty historical than Tanzania mainland. While Tanzania mainland took several decades to establish the first TV station until 1994, about 23 years after Zanzibar had already launched one in 1974, a state channel namely Television Zanzibar TVZ. With sophisticatedly equipped studio of five kw UHF (Ultra-High Frequency) transmitter and was the Africa's first color television network, TVZ mostly produced healthy, economic and educational programs catering for the wide Zanzibar populations and near of east African coastal parts (Stumer, 2008: 295). Whereas, the state owned radio – STZ (formally Sauti ya Unguja - The Voice of Unguja in 1951) was also hastily introduced in the media system than which of Tanganyika (Tanzania mainland) RTD. The station used to broadcast in Arabic and Kiswahili and its programming based mainly on educational, religious, agricultural programs with commercial advertising and music inputs, covering the entire islands including rural populaces. Notably, the cornerstone of Zanzibar media industry progression is complementarily emphasized for the first Tanzanian journalist community based on isles known as the Association of Zanzibar Journalists (AZJO). This association was put forward by Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, a politician, activist and veteran journalist on the island, aimed at organizing all journalists to protect their right and collectively fighting against offensives behind their works, undermined by the government, a then British protectorate (Hamdani et al, 2014: 47).

On the other hand, Zanzibar Media scene is multifaceted; whereby the flourish couldn't long last, over time the industry deteriorated. Just soon after revolution followed with union with Tanganyika and formed the United Republic of Tanzania URT, several private publications went due to the country shift from multi party to a single party system with centralized economic system. Several journalists were appointed to serve in the new revolutionary government while others fled the country TV. Consequently, the government ownership monopoly existed until 1980s when economic liberation and political pluralist wind came into the practice. Nevertheless, they couldn't survive until 1992 when *Nuru* (The Light) a government paper was introduced. After some time, a number of newspapers were introduced in addition to the state owned TVZ and STZ. Meanwhile, the quantity and quality of Zanzibar media was factored by the endowment of new technology, in proportion to the establishment of FM radios which so far leaned towards inspiring the Zanzibar media system into momentous modality. Currently, there are several privately owned media conglomerates especially in the broadcast industry, comprising the pay

TV corporations which own a number of outlets; Pemba Cable TV, Zanzibar Cable Television ZCTV, Multichoice Tanzania (DSTV), AGAPE Television, Zanzibar Satellite Cable Company, Zanzibar Media Corporation. The Zanzibar private ownership has also inclined to concentration structure by means of crosswise and synergy patterns around the entire journalism. The provision of private ownership has reformed the Zanzibar broadcast system to the extent that tend to subvert the government ascendancy in media market, for example Zenj FM owned by Zanzibar Media Corporate and Al-Noor FM radios have copiously conquered large audience patterns over state owned ZBC control.

In the recent time, Zanzibar Department of Information licensed over 20 new publications in 2010s such as *Mpango Mzima*, *The Coast News*, *Zenj*, *Niambie*, *Asumini*, *Ngoma Moto*, *Zanzibar Daima*, *Al-Islam*, and *Zanzibar Wiki Hi* (MCT, 2013a: 74). However, the publications' continuity and consistence is yet problematic whereby only few registered are in circulation and several others are irregularly operating. Thus, the provision of multiple privately owned media outlets slightly signifies the supposition of press independence, functioning in pluralistic and diverse atmosphere for adequate public access of information (MCT, 2014b: 54). The Zanzibar Newspaper Act (No. 5 of 1988) is regularly claimed by media personnel and stakeholders that ascends into undermining the independence and free media environment to exist. In 2003 it was used to prohibit the publication of Dira newspaper, the state officials deemed its articles have deliberation to intimidate to government. Such regulatory measure resulted ownership structure to the merely government influences. The same legal action was taken in 1996 to ban the importation of the private daily *Majira* to Zanzibar. Then again, the state owned ZBC and *Zanzibar Leo* for the electronic and the print media respectively are prospective to dominant the industry on isles, they are government proxy de facto, sticking at servicing ruling elites.

By using the current draconian law several Journalists are restricted to exercise their watchdog role of supervising against the abuses of powers. In 2007 the then Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Zanzibar Pandu Kificho allotted a mandate whereby journalist should get his permission before reporting any activities of the Assembly (cf. MCT, 2014b: 54). The constraints over free journalism such as narrow access of official records are potential to emasculate the media obligation to streamline the constitutional right to information. Consequently, enlightened citizenry prevails in the society throughout the vacuum of news arena. Whereas, the unofficial news channel would bridge the gap of monopoly or an absence of credible sources of information, ultimately, public discussion is contaminated with inaccurate and gossip flow. Remarkably, during the sinking of MV Skagit where gossips about the presence of smelling dead bodies escalated around the Zanzibar community, as a result of the scarcity of official sources of news, while the reality was the packaged potatoes were decaying on the boat wreckages. During the religious riots led by *Uamsho*¹⁰ which broke out on Zanzibar in 2012,

¹⁰ The Association for Islamic Mobilization and Propagation is an Islamist separatist group legally registered in Zanzibar, officially registered as JUMIKI (Jumuiya ya Uamsho na mihadhara ya kiislam in Swahili) in 2001 with

fixed media scene diversely with abundant coverage on spot. Subsequently, the puzzlingly disappearance of Islamic Mussa and Farid Hadi, more riots were covered in media including the burning down some individual properties including cars and a CCM local offices, as reactions led by *Uamsho* supports who demanded the immediate release of their clerics (MCT, 2013a: 74). Following the intervention by Zanzibar government to revoke all of its activities including meetings, demonstrations, gatherings or lectures, The Zanzibar broadcasting commissions issued a statement to stopover the media follow-ups and reportages of any issues related to *Uamsho* movement while Alnoor FM radio was cautioned over airing the programs concerning the *Uamsho* scheme.

2.3 Legal and Policy Basis for Institutional Transformation

2.3.1 Global Instruments towards Universal Right to Information

The public access to information is paved globally through the International instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 1948, that lays the foundation on the overall freedom of information, emphasizing that: *Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kind, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print in the form of art, through any other media of his choice*¹¹. Consistent with that, the continental organ like the African Union (AU) has further stipulates on freedom of information through AU Human and Peoples' Rights Charter (1981), to which Tanzania consented; (1) *Every individual shall have the right to receive information* (2) *Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate*¹². Likewise, the article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which also Tanzania is a signatory since 1976 has put forward the legitimate ground for citizens' right to information; (1) *Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.* (2) *Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in*

the Registration no.149 under the Zanzibar government Society Act Number 6 of 1995 concerning the registration of civil society organization (non-governmental organization). *Uamsho* seeks independence for Zanzibar from Tanzania. It has called for a referendum on Zanzibar's exit from the United Republic of Tanzania. Zanzibar and Tanzania government has criticized UAMSHO for failing to stick to its purpose as registered and instead has turned into a political group questioning Zanzibar's place in Tanzania. In April 2012 the governments of Tanzania and Zanzibar intervened and stopped all meetings, demonstrations, gatherings or lectures until further notice. The group continued to conduct lectures claiming to be exercising its freedom of speech. Several clashes between *Uamsho* members and the field force unit have been reported in the Zanzibar island of Unguja.

¹¹ Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights undertaken by UN General Assembly Resolution 217A(III), 10 December 1948.

¹² Article 9 of African Union for Human and Peoples' Rights Charter adopted by AU General Assembly, 26 June 1981, in force 21 October 1986.

*the form of art, or through any other media of his choice*¹³. According to the above authentic framework, media operation ostensibly come across the social obligation, meant for comprehending basic right to information for every person in the state. These charters commonly entail the individual right that should be assured in respect of freedom, equality, justice and dignity.

The AU in particular acknowledges the involvement of independent and private actors to operate professionally and freely without any legal snooping. Media regulation is yet essential to equip multiple players in pluralist media environment so as to satisfy the public need of news; this includes the manifestation of self-regulatory mechanism ostensible to supervise the socially legitimate in the concept of pluralistic media with diversity of voices, insomuch as professionalism is steered into central to cultivate the institutional obligations. As far as the ownership configuration is substantial to retain with editorial independence in serving the public interest foremost. Several other international legal machineries such as the European Court of Human Rights views that the “*pre-eminent role of the press in a State governed by the rule of law*”¹⁴. This implicates the induction of common international resolutions to the national state as a primary guardian of media pluralism and diversity survival, by which public are basic for determining practical views concerning the political bearings of their leaders through open debate, whereas their representatives in turn remark on the passions of public opinion.

According to Article (2) of the ICCPR a member state is required to undertake regulations that enable conducive environment potential for media diversity and independence to serve the broad spheres, instead of reliance on market deregulation which persistently favor the dominant elites. Independence does not only favor private ownership but also empower the government media, whereby the approach of public services broadcast is universally acceptable to persevere with the social accountability perspective, in place of commercial and political interests (Bertrand, 2007: 63). Mass media remains the principal instrument of rationalizing the public’s right to information, in which owners should be regulated by simply professional directives so that to prevent from individual and institutional subjectivity, which may clear out the notion of multiparty democracy to display. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights specifies further about the conception of freedom of expression by necessitating that: “*the communication media are potentially open to all without discrimination or, more precisely, that there be no individuals or groups that are excluded from access to such media*”¹⁵. It’s a vital mechanism in fortification the people access to information and widely expressing their ideas, where independent media is indispensable to cater for the wide niche populations in the scope of public interest.

¹³ Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights UN General imposed by Assembly Resolution 2200A(XXI), 16 December 1966, in force 23 March 1976.

¹⁴ Thorgeirson v. Iceland, 25 June 1992, Application No. 13778/88, para. 63.

¹⁵ Compulsory Membership in an Association Prescribed by Law for the Practice of Journalism, note 13, para.

Accordingly, the proclamations of global instruments have noteworthy implications to the provision of multiple ownership structure, stressing the pluralism and diversity of media engagements. It means that divergent ownership structure is the substantial cause to pledge the propensity for assortment of public views regardless of the class they belong. The miscellaneous approach of media ownership tends to nurture the national unity and social cohesion towards global identity. Unlike the elite minority model as manifested in the contemporary conglomeration of media hooked on market concentration and commercialization of information, which is likely to demoralize the assorted individuals and turn the overall public out to inferior sphere. Therefore, internal and regional organs commonly intend to strengthen the media power and ability to cater the desired goal in the basis of international standards (Bussiek, 2015: 6). The global charters are the cornerstone for the multicultural media operations along the national framework of media regulations into universal endeavors to streamline the access to information in the scope of human fundamental right.

2.3.2 Preliminary Legislation for Institutional Transformation

Since vibrant constitution is crucial as a national appliance of plural democracy and economic reforms. It undertakes to endorse an assortment of players necessary to restructure the media performance in the realization of democratic culture in a particular country. Given the state has integral institutional power to safeguard the media running for the wide concept of plural views to come across, especially to the public-funded broadcasters whose entire autonomy is derived from the government. Therefore, the government has to carry out liberal legislative mechanism to regulate within the normative system of media diversity for demonstrating the multiple views and channels. Yet, the conception of public journalism has legitimate to presuppose the public need of information as per national and international frameworks (Global Campaign for Free Expression, 2004: 5). It can be outlined on the initial step of Tanzanian democratization in 1992, when the Nyalali commission completed the task and multiparty state was formed. Immediately, the constitution of United Republic of Tanzania underwent critical transformative phases to enable the pluralistic media environment. Through which just in the same year, the legislature enacted Political Party Law. Among others it constituted the parliament mandate to impeach president when found contracting the constitution upon his/her own desires, and legalized no-confidence vote in prime minister. With other amendments, the constitution was approved by the then president Mkapa on April 8, 2000.

As Tanzania is signatory of (UDHR) and AU charters, constitutional adjustment was indispensable to cope with global commissions towards the comprehension of liberal democracy and pluralistic state. Then the whole constitutions of URT 1977 and Zanzibar's were amended to handle the multiparty democracy through democratic election and to cultivate the adequate freedom of opinions. The citizenry prerequisite to media corresponds to the constitutional request for human right in term of free press, information and freedom of expression as stipulated in the Constitution;

.....Every person has the right to freedom of expression, opinion and expression, and to seek, receive and impart or disseminate information and ideas through any media regardless of national frontiers, and also has the right Act No. 15 of 1984 s.6 of freedom from interference with his communications. (2) Every citizen has the right to be informed at all times of various events in the country and in the world at large which are of importance to the lives and activities of the people and also of issues of importance to society¹⁶.

While, the ironic paradigm of access to information was furthered through 14th Amendment (2005) of article 18 of the Constitution, which arrange for every person to have;

...the right to freedom of opinion and expression; the right to seek, receive and impart information, regardless of national frontiers; the freedom to communicate, and the right to do so without interference; and, the right to be informed at all times of various events of importance to the lives and activities of the people, and issues of importance to society (URT, 2005).

People are occasioned over liberty of exposing any subsistence around through verbal or writing, whether by using mass media or interpersonal communication, alongside to get informed or receive any information concerning the local or transnational happenings, currents affairs or other public matters without any constraints. Seeing that, Tanzania as a republic state is derived from participation of citizens in the election, such abstract of social contract tends to rationalize the immersion of private ownership as political actors in serving the public wills and welfares, insomuch as the constitution use the plural utterance "*We people of the United Republic of Tanzania...*" The plural term in the constitution symbolizes that citizens are the de facto jury members of the government through democratic elections (MCT, 2013a: 55). Thus, people are key and ultimate beneficiaries of whatever decisions or policies developed by their leaders. Public involvement in so forth decision making by means of expressing their opinions through mass media, they get informed on decision made by their leaders and other public undertakings remain fundamental in the utilization of democratic constitutions. Media plays a mediation and watchdog role by collecting people's voices and disseminating to those responsible in power and scrutinizing political leaders over misconducts.

The country shift from centered economy and one-party political system was stretched through the constitutional changes of 1992 to consent multiparty scheme, the consequence that replicated the media ownership structures. The constitutional amendment was necessary to induce the institutional transformation whereby social organizations including journalism segment were endorsed hastily in fostering the democratic culture and socially responsible paradigm. Accordingly, Broadcasting Services Act was legislated in 1993 to substitute the

¹⁶ ARTICLE 18 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977

multiplicity of broadcasting programming by the impression of private involvement over the government monopoly of RTD, STZ and TVZ. This legislative piece as historically remarked in Tanzania among the first country across the continent, liberalizing airwaves and licensing private broadcasting operators (cf. Stumer, 2008: 174). The Act of 1993 specified the establishment of Tanzania Broadcasting Commission, which was instituted to issue radio and television licenses, to regulate and supervise the overall programming of local and imported broadcasting, as well as normalizing the frequency spectrum on entrenching diversity of contents and insisting mostly for the socially based broadcastings.

Table3.3.1.: The Milestones of Tanzania Media Regulation progress subsequent to the Multipartism

Year	Key Legislations and Regulations on Media Structural Transformation
June 1990	Media workshop was organized by the Tanzania Standard (Newspaper) Ltd and took place in Dar es Salaam which assembled various journalists vis-à-vis professional deliberation on forging the common consensus in respect of curtailing patent ideological trail along public and private media outlets.
April, 1992	Constitutional amendment undergone, multiparty law was legislated by parliament and abolished the one-party system.
July, 1992	The political party law entered into force which steered political pluralism, just in the same year several political parties were disclosed, indicating a state political reform that would excite the media atmosphere in political immersion.
1993	The parliament enacted the Broadcasting Services Act in place of News Agency Act (1976) which was revoked, it invited the miscellaneous actors into media sectors, and thrived the ownership structures from government monopoly to the diverse family owned, professional joint powers, business personalities and businessmen-cum-politicians.
1993	The first documented Tanzania Information Policy was introduced
1994	The arrival of the first privately owned broadcasting channels; Radio One, Coastal Television Network (CTN), Independent Television (ITV) and Dar es Salaam Television (DTV).
1995	Public Code of Ethics of 1995 and The Tanzania Revenue Authority Act of 1995 were legislated which commonly affects the media functioning on disclosing the public information like the public policies, the tax evasion and exempt outrages without observing bureaucratic procedures.
1997	The Media Council of Tanzania came into being after satisfying with the official registration procedures. Since then it suited a voluntary, autonomous, non-statutory and professional institution which put into effect the professional ethics and bearings together with shielding individuals from offensives.
1997	The Zanzibar house of representatives amended the Newspaper and Book Act

	no 5 of 1998 into Act no. 8 of 1997
2000.	Further to constitutional amendments was approved by the then president Benjamin Mkapa.
2002	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) Act of 2002 entered into force, as an independent organ regulating the postal, broadcasting and electronic communications industries as well as management of the national frequency spectrum in the country, covering the registration, licenses and supervision of entire broadcasting sector.
2003	The information and broadcasting policy of 2003 turned into operational coping with pluralistic media environment, which was considered a very operative, normative, inclusive, imperative, progressive and promising for the industry to prosper in the emerging market competition.
2006	Zanzibar Media Policy 2006 became operational
2008	The new Zanzibar Media Policy 2008 was introduced by Revolutionary Government Zanzibar
2009	The Zanzibar broadcasting commission Act of 2009 came into force after amendment made by The Zanzibar house of representatives over act of 1997....
2002	The first Television station under the government of United Republic of Tanzania with thematic news started broadcasting.
2012	Tanzania suited among the first countries over the world to migrate from analogue to comprehensive digital broadcasting after proved its plan to switch-off analogue for the entire country completely by that time. The move that proliferated the assorted commercial (private) TV channel Magic Box-Star (without any legal regulation) started broadcasting.
2013	The Zanzibar House of Representatives enacted the Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation Act of 2013 through the merger of all government owned Broadcasting Channels notably The voice of Tanzania Zanzibar (Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar) and Television Zanzibar.
2014	The new proposed draft of constitutional amendment was enacted, through which the Article 38 was about promising news diversity and pluralism along with adequate access of public information through mass media. However, to date the proposal remains futile.
2015	The Statistics Act of 2015 and the CyberCrimes Act of 2015 entered into force.
2016	The Access to Information Act of 2016 and Media Services Act of 2016 were promulgated.

Source: Compiled from Composed Literature, 2018

Furthermore, the government underwent extra modification by annulling the News Agency Act (1976) in order to confer the pluralistic institutional control and independence on news gathering, production and dissemination. Consequently, the historical amplifications came into being for arrival of first TVs on Tanzania Mainland in 1994; such escalated the influx of private broadcasting as well as newspaper outlets, signifying the typical country transformation to the novel era of diversity and pluralism. The evolved configurations elicited the privately owned media with preferable institutional control on the methodology of daily media operation in respect of emerging mode and perspectives. The structural changes in mass media as anchored on the legal framework entailed Tanzania to the international sphere as the notable state concerning miscellaneous media configurations as for liberalization of broadcasting airwaves. Hence, the state turned out to be the architect of press freedom through legislations, meant for fascinating more actors to play a part in media expansion more vigorously than it was in other African country (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 7). The initial transformation was a cornerstone to the media development in the country; it was a time where people openly expressed their opinions under the then second Tanzanian postcolonial president Ali Hassan Mwinyi's connotation *freedom era*.

However, the critical professional concerns raised on privately media owners' bearings after the drastically emergence of sensationalism in press industry.... *It was a period in which newspapers published anything as long as to sell....* (Rioba, 2008: 18). The occurrence of scooping press was due to the reality that multiple private owners had misconceptualised that media was identical arena for engendering commercial interest and individual profit maximization, beyond the western based conception of objectivity and professional viewpoints of social responsibility. According to Powell (2017) the status quo postulated that journalism as a classic public good, without any demarcation and everyone got entrance into (p. 7). On account of limited number of journalism training institutions over large volume of media outlets, the media industry fueled with a large quantity of unprofessional journalists, since the few existed trained media personnel skipped to other communication posts in the esteemed organizations. There was hitherto a narrow provision of regulatory framework on media labor, ultimately, owners forwent to cheap labors who didn't receive any sort of media trainings.

2.3.3 Critical Synthesis over Inherited and Current Media Legislations

Subsequently, the constitutional amendment of 1992 compelled the liberal media functioning too tremendous towards massive institutional transformation. The existing Tanzanian constitution of 1977; article 19 solidifies the freedom of expression to all people regardless of their political, economic and social status. Likewise, Article 38 of the then new proposed draft of constitution¹⁷ of September 2014 was promising news diversity and pluralism along with

¹⁷ From 2012 Tanzania run the proposal for new constitution under fourth postcolonial president Jakaya Kikwete after perpetual legal representatives and other stakeholders' condemnations that the existing doesn't not capture the entire pluralistic environment based on liberal economy and multiparty democracy principles, conversely his succeeding president John Pombe Magufuli couldn't keep his ruling party's predecessor Jakaya Kikweke's

adequate access to public information through mass media. However, the draft became futile at the final stage of a referendum which had effect in April 2015, attributable to the National Electoral Commission (NEC) failure to grasp the entire voters' registration (Magolanga, 2016: 24). Despite the introduction of various new press laws favoring the pluralistic media environment, still a number of inherited laws persist to undermine a broad concept of media freely political engagement in this democratic transition State.

The enormous mushrooming of the privately owned media prompted the government to think about strict regulations over the precarious diversity of contents. Such government concern was supposedly pondered on the ultimate professionalism stance, whereby the free commercial entry could not ensure its provision. The media coverage was moored in inaccuracy, invasion of private, as well as absence of minimum requirement of professional entry commonly evoked the government on the establishment of a legislative regulatory board (Rioba, 2012: 25). Nonetheless, The Tanzania introductory motives were not only to strengthen the professionalism but also to control the entire industry as of evolved critical behavior among serious newspapers. They had already inclined to exercise the fourth estate notion in speculating the political misconducts among the government officials, and fared a decisive role for public information in newly political environment for setting agenda in respect of public opinions on the political winds. The government through the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, William Shija deliberated to put forward the divisive mechanism of entire private and public media and critical journalists in particular. He shelved the Media Professions Regulation Bill which among others stipulated conditions and eligibility for Journalists registration procedures and so far tended to institute the profession via a statutory media council.

The bill envisioned to protect the apparent right to information through the establishment of legal instruments. That machinery would safeguard the media operation in the scope of news gathering, distribution and flow in respect of professionalism guidelines and social accountability over irresponsible journalism. The International organizations, such as the International Press Institute (IPI) in Vienna, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in Windhoek and the Paris-based International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) were credited for their enormous campaigns, in companion with local media stakeholders, finally the Shija's Bill turned out to failure. The denial attempt got further backing from local intellectuals and some politicians who regularly proclaimed that the bill in consort with the draconian laws which had already

endeavors, ultimately he tends to revoke the draft, uttering that his primary manifestation is rather to serve the general Tanzanians who might be in need of several essentials than a new constitution.

existed would demoralized the concept of free media and freedom of expression over the novel deliberation of media industry. The private media triumph was due to the global backing in company with some annotations on the newly Broadcasting Services Act which for international human rights organizations' scrutiny is restrictive to the media pluralism and liberalization, in as much as the aspect like suspension and canceling the broadcasting license, imposing a fine and narrow foreign ownership to natives only would not meet the universal standards (Stumer, 2008: 177).

On the other side, the Nyalali commission of 1992 pointed out 40 pieces of draconian acts, citing that they are hostile to press freedom and human rights obligations in application of new multiparty democracy. Though the constitution as itself grants satisfactory media freedom and access to information approaches, there are a number of legislations which contempt the article. Numerous literature on the legal and regulation of media scenery in Tanzania attempt to scrutinize the scope that whether the fundamental right to information has been taken in with respect to media performance and independence. As the prosperity of media professionalism concerns, the prevailing media laws tend to affect from the basic practice of media and communication industry contrary to the constitutional declaration. These includes the collaborative objections by media personnel and stakeholders in Tanzania concerning some of inherited laws and latterly introduced, farseeing they are deterrent to ample freedom of expression contrary to the *ARTICLE 18*; among these laws are as follow;

The Newspaper Act of 1976; this is the foremost press law in Tanzania which control the entire etiquettes of print media including registrations, productions and circulations of publications. It literally originated from British colonial newspaper ordinance of 1928, instantly projected to regulate the native political newspapers which were normally carrying the nationalist ideology, they were keen-sighted quarrelsome to the colonial regime (Kilimwiko, 2009: 77). This Act persistently gives excessive discretionary powers to the officials, example Registrar can *"refuse to register a publication if it appears to him/her that the paper in question may be used for any purpose that is prejudicial to the maintenance of peace, order and good governance"*¹⁸. Similarly 25 (1) authorizes the minister responsible for information to cease any publications when *...is of the opinion that it is in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order.....*¹⁹. According to this article, the minister has power to vacate or invalidate a paper registration even before message being communicated. Other officials like police officers upon in receipt of power from magistrate are also vested to interact and even to snatch any publications which are deemed to contradict this act. Also it consists of seditious offence as derived from Penal Code for libel and defamation, stipulate heavy charges and imprisonment for journalist when is reasoned *"likely to cause fear and alarm"*. Such the divisive perception is often exercised

¹⁸ The section..... of Newspaper Act, 1976

¹⁹ The section 25 (1) of Newspaper Act, 1976

over journalists when attempting to embark on the public watchdog, meant for examining the state conducts by means of central government and its agencies (Powell, 2017: 7).

Above all, the president with other cited authorities in the Newspaper Act of 1976 can ban or suspend newspaper importation or local press if he/she is of opinion that such publications threaten public interest. Such to be carried out without judiciary enquiry by defendant, this typically encroaches upon the constitutional fundamental human right to information and freedom of opinions and expression (cf. Kilimwiko, 2009: 78). Similarly, *The Zanzibar Newspapers Act of 1976*, implicating harsh legislations to the media operations on the islands, granting abundant power to the minister responsible for information in Zanzibar to deregister a newspaper without proffering a natural law to the perpetrator. *The Penal Code of 1945*; under this act without any legitimate definition asserts some publications to be 'obscene'. Accordingly, the bureaucrats regularly use partial sense on identifying obscenity on the publication. In so far as it provides a wide loophole for the media content that to be improperly regarded as criminal defamation and insult. The *Prisons Act of 1967* tends to constrain the media scope of investigative reporting around the public prisons, despite the regular legality of public curiosity to clear about any rumors in the public bureaus. Media is inimically conditioned on examining and revealing the bearings of public leadership by which citizens are deprived of their understanding over common official undertakings.

The Regions and Regional Commissioners Act (1962) and *The Area Commissioner Act (1962)* grants significant power to the regional and district administrators into literally misuses of public offices into muzzling the media watchdog character over uncovering the malpractice and maladministration. Journalists can be detained for 48 hours when believed his/her reportage has potential to cause a breach of peace or interrupt public order. Thus, commonly undermine the conception of investigative journalism where community would get opportunity to extract the veiled public affairs across the government institutions. Besides, *The National Security Act of 1970* is among the severe colonial inherited law which originally was legislated from the Official Secrets Act of 1911 during the First World War under British Colony when the country was in intimidation at the time of *national Punic* across Europe by Germany and its allies. The law being to date is illogical since the state has shifted to democratic and diplomatic point of view. The National Security Act of 1970 stipulates that media are entailed not to publish any classified government documents which is deemed by authorities to be confidential, henceforth media are restricted to undergo investigation, to possess or to utilize any classified document whose information related to public institutions, authority or company. Any journalist who process information based on classified document or discloses the entity will be prosecuted and imprison equal to 20 years. The law also limits journalist to access protected places, emasculating communication with foreign agents which is reasoned contrary to the ostensible safety or national interest.

Meanwhile, *The Public Code of Ethics of 1995* restricts scrutiny and coverage of civil executives and their properties. It prevents any commissioner or civil servant from disclosing information during the course of government services without the consent of the permanent

secretary of the relevant ministry or department. This curtails into narrow press access to government information whereby people are denied the knowledge about their leaders' responsibilities. The same to *The Public Code of Ethics of 1995* which hampers any civil servant except the authorized officials to use the official documents or/and communicate to the journalists vis-à-vis the public policies. While *The Tanzania Revenue Authority Act of 1995* prohibits the media reportages or deeply inding out the tax evasion and exempt outrages on person or corporations and enforce journalists to adhere uncertain bureaucratic procedures.

Nevertheless, *The Films and Stage Plays Act of 1976* also regulates the media and communication operation in the aspects of films, theater and video. It affords too distinctive power for the minister to give out permission and outlaws from making part or supporting the productions. Kilimwiko (2009) argues that this Act typically narrows the production of "home movies" by individuals, as a form of censorship hitherto implicates to restrains the independence and creativity of individuals (p. 98). In line with this law, any stage play should be permitted by responsible minister, unless such person, who produces, directs, presents, or assist has committed offence punishable. The minister may cancel permissions; license or certificate of approval if in his opinion of such happening is contrary to public interest. The ultimate moments of this law has intensified western based cultural goods in place of local contents productions as fostered by current policies on mostly cultivating the artistic imports (p.99).

As the preliminary generator of liberal media settings, *The Tanzania Broadcasting Act of 1993* presented vital space for multiple ownerships of broadcasting outlets and hence protected the evolution of a quantity of private conglomerates in media sector. On the other hand of critical contention, this Act had numerous hostilities, warning democratic media to display; Section 4 established the then Tanzania Broadcasting Commissions (which later was annulled by The TCRA Act of 2002) whose functions were to regulate the license and airwaves spectrum as well as supervision of the broadcasting media. From the outset of media liberalization, the Tanzania Broadcasting Act of 1993 used to limit the geographical coverage of private media since it necessitated with power to plump the perimeter for each outlet to operate in the county (Bussiek, 2015: 9). Minister would revoke or decline the license when deemed such broadcasting content intimidating to national security or public interest, where perpetrator was deprived of any judiciary appeal.

Furthermore, *The Tanzanian Communications Regulatory Authority Act of 2002* established an Independent Regulatory Institution for registering, licensing and supervision of the Postal, Broadcasting and Electronic Communication industries in the country. This Act is the momentous on the structural transformation vis-à-vis the pluralist media atmosphere. Its worthy noting that originally a compound law carried its operation, counting the Tanzania Broadcasting Services Act of 1993, Tanzania Communication Commission Act 1993 and Public Corporation Order 239 of 2002 respectively. Media critics in Tanzania views the law as unsuitable to regulate the profession in the emerged liberalized marketplace (Bussiek, 2015; 9). The Minister for information is brought about with undue mechanism in the scope of content regulation by appointing member of committee, that likely to synthesize with political affiliations and may

affect broadcast liberalization settings. It's a matter of unfinished business for the recent induction and continuation of such legislative pieces untiring and unfavorable to the media role in democratization (Powell, 2017: 1).

Meanwhile, *The Statistics Act of 2015* provides a troublesome maneuver over exposing the statistical data as of any research including investigative reporting, through which the official data gathering might be endured only with grants of Director General (of the Bureau) uttering: “no person or agency may authorize the commencement of an official statistical collection except with the approval of the Director General²⁰”. The conception of whistleblowing which is professionally valuable in the analytical journalism that enables media to exercise the watchdog role over maladministration and abuses of public offices by using underground sources in the workplaces now seems impossible. This Act criminalizes any officials to communicate or pass information to the media without the sincerity of responsible leaders. It ultimately prohibits journalists to publish such public information and disclose even if the person is in a good faith. Moreover, The Statistics Act of 2015 stipulates the punitive offense and heavy fine of not less than two million shillings (US\$ 1 200)” or “imprisonment for a term of not less than six months or to both²¹” if media outlet publishes false statistical information, whereby the terminology “right” or “false were not clearly defined (Bussiek, 2015: 11).

The Cyber-Crimes Act of 2015 is disposed to eliminate the media's social device role through analytical press approach in the digital era. Section 8 of the Act features the disciplinary offence to “obtain computer data protected against unauthorized access without permission²²”. Regarding this assertion, journalists are imposed to disclose any utilized matters even though for the sense of public interest as further affirmed that officials might “issue an order to any person in possession of such data (which could provide proof of an offence) compelling him to disclose such data²³”. Along with internet house Monitors are obliged to notify the enforcement authority upon “illegal activity or information, relevant facts and the identity of the person for whom the service provider is supplying services”²⁴. Similarly, Section 16 also restricts digital content and so far inspires self-censorship and ultimately is too “much time policing speech, and not enough for fighting crime.” (cf. p. 7). Besides, Cybercrimes Act of 2015 proscribes the publish information on online platforms or computer system of which the government considered “deceptive, misleading, or inaccurate” and any “official” data that in due course the authority didn't consent. Nonetheless, the Act accord the traditional gatekeeping concept through mainstream media in relation to the digital spaces whereby publisher is required to exercise the revision of contents or opinions posted by multiple users on his/her platform before permitting

²⁰ The section..... of the Statistics Act of 2015

²¹ The section..... of the Statistics Act of 2015

²² The section..... of the CyberCrimes Act of 2015

²³ Part IV of the Cybercrimes Act of 2015

²⁴ section 39 (1) of Cybercrimes Act of 2015

the information towards the public access. It also charges thick fines over an individual who has been convicted of illegal cyber activities. As many other related media law, Cybercrimes Act of 2015 also grants too much discretionary powers to police and other law enforcement officers to intervene through searching and seizure of the journalistic and individual works which take place on the electronic platforms like a smartphone, tablet, a computer, when user is suspected to cause offense. In so much as police officers may “*enter into any premise and search or seize a device or computer system (and) secure the computer data accessed*”²⁵ if he/she has “*reasonable grounds to suspect or believe that a computer system may be used as evidence in proving an offence*”²⁶

After a long run and several re-tabling attempts, *The Media Services Act (2016)* passed in 2016 under bureaucratic pressure without the ultimate stakeholders’ enthusiasm. But it commenced ten years back (in 2006) when government intended to improve media law scenery by introducing a bill on Freedom of Information. However, it faced huge disapproval by media practitioners, political analysts, activists and other intellectuals, articulating that it was not encouraging media freedom milieus. The media stakeholders under the Media Council of Tanzania molded a coalition in 2007, comprising Media Institute of Southern Africa – Tanzania Chapter (MISA-TAN), Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA), Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), Tanganyika Law Society, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Media Owners Association of Tanzania (MOAT), Tanzania Legal Education Trust (TANLET), the National Organization for Legal Assistance (Nola), the UK-based Article XIX, and India’s Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative forged collective mechanism and replaced two bills – The Right to Information Bill, 2007 and the Media Services Bill, 2008 – aimed at advancing the latitude of public information in the country (MCT, 2013a: 58). They commonly used to justify that the provision of two distinct media laws is rather realistic and far sighted that;

.....The Right to Information law will safeguard the constitutional rights of all citizens to access information, guarantee access to information in the custody of public and private institutions, make it mandatory for public institutions to publish key information, and to protect whistleblowers. On the other hand, the law on Media Services would provide for the administration and regulation of the operations of mass media organizations and professionals working there (p. 60).

On 5 November 2016, the *Media Services Act of 2016* was enacted by parliament and two weeks later instantly signed by President John Pombe Magufuli. Among other things it’s designed for regulating and controlling all forms of media, describing “media” as “radio, television, newspaper, internet and any other related technology”. According to Powell (2017)

²⁵ The section..... of the Cybercrimes Act of 2015

²⁶ The section..... of the Cybercrimes Act of 2015

this legislation archetypally disregards media self-regulation concept which is ideal to foster the independence and freedom of the media (p. 8). As a substitute, the law accommodates government-controlled bodies, namely a Journalist Accreditation Board and Independent Media services Council (TCRA) which are commonly entailed to take legal action against media outlets and proscribe non-accredited journalists to ousting over professional misconduct (p.9). The stipulated board is given rise to regulate media content of all sorts and compromise licenses to the owners as to *cancel or suspend license(s)*; or to *“warn, suspend or deregister content providers in the event that there is violation of law as well as virtually confine the content only if they are “necessary ... for respect of the rights or reputations of others” and “for the protection of national security or of public order (ordure public), or of public health or morals²⁷”*. The council also has the power to *“issue directives to media houses”, “inspect media houses” and “enforce code(s) of ethics as stipulated in regulations”* (cf. Bussiek, 2015: 15)., Besides, the law provides substantial penalties over punishable offence of not less than twenty million shillings (US\$ 10 000) or imprisonment for a period over five years or both.

Through the Media Services Act of 2016, minister is sanctioned to prescribe the ownership structure and settings through regulations; yet the desirable structure has not been prearranged in this law. The private media are obliged to confederate with public broadcasting paradigm so as to internalize the national interest broadly. However, public broadcasting accounts are not yet entrenched to be public services through independent editorial liability in this legislation. Whilst, section 21 (3) of which Act lays good foundation to signify the professional boundaries of journalist, setting up the conditions that only persons with a bachelor’s degree are entitled to apply for accreditation as a journalist, by which the person who engaged in journalism without accreditation commits a punishable offence. The Media Services Act of 2016 also embraced divisive particles as repetitive from other media legislations including defamation and libel, ‘seditious intention’, ‘false statement’, which persistently underlines the self-censorship for newsmen that *... any statement the contents of which is threatening the interests of defense, public safety, public order, the economic interests of the State, public morality or public health” commits a punishable offence and is “liable to a fine of not less than twenty million or to imprisonment for a period not less than five years”²⁸*. This part is liable to contradict with Universal Charters and National Constitution which universally gives individuals right to express and access wide information.

Lastly, *The Access to Information Act of 2016*; this refers to the article 19 and article 18 of URT constitution and universal declaration of human right respectively, which normally grant individuals right to *“seek, receive and impart information ... of all kinds”* including access to public information from government institutions, meant for accomplishment of ideal liberal democracy and enhancing transparency in the public management. Primarily, this law obliges the

²⁷ The section..... of the Media Services Act of 2016

²⁸ section 36 (c) of Media Services Act of 2016

private and public organizations to release information for the value of general public and their target users. Although the Access to Information Act of 2016 is fundamental in this situation, there are a number of impediments which contradict to the adequate individual right to information as declared on the preceding constitutional assertions. The law restricts the broad media access of information about the economic interests of the state, which is defined as *information relating to the determination of currency or exchange rates, interest rates or taxes, including duties of customs or of excise*²⁹. Also “*information relating to national security*” as well as to “*foreign relations or foreign activities as well as “information which relates to the international relations of the State”*” might not be disclosed on media outlets. The officials who release exempt information will have committed an offence punishable with “*imprisonment for a term not less than fifteen years*”³⁰.

As per previous other media-related Acts, the Access to Information Act of 2016 miscarries the sense of investigative journalism or other sort of research based reportages. It also reverses the motives of public and access to information in constraining the uses of information as states that “*information obtained by a person requesting from the information holder shall not be for public use*”³¹. Any person who brings such information into the public sphere would be “*liable to imprisonment of a term not less than five years*”. What’s more, Bussiek (2015) identifies the content commercialization and copyright concerns to the extent that *the information holder ... may charge a prescribed fee for the provision of information*” (p. 27). Therefore, the provision of inimical laws mentioned in this part are appropriate to undermine persistently the media progression in the broad concept of diversity, pluralism and independence. It poses the massive discretionary power where responsible regulators may have their versions to define the term like *obscenity, national interest, Seditious intentions, intimidations, defamatory scope*. Henceforth a number of publications and broadcasting stations continue to encounter suspensions, banning and warnings (as the below part clarifies) day-to-day when they are deemed to reveal “*negative government coverage and damaging to the reputation of the government.*” (Kaale, 2013: 106).

2.3.4 The Scope of Press Freedom in Tanzanian Media Guidelines

Based on the above draconian legislations governing journalism in Tanzania, these regulations ideally reflect critical concerns of media position in the reinforcement to democratic state. The foremost repercussions to the status quo lean towards narrow media practice, to the point that journalists are left cautious, upon reporting in the best interest of social obligation, in preference to minority politicians survival and the owners’ commercial interest (Abdalla, 2015: 25). As far as career concerns, the ownership bearings turn out to censorship scheme, inclining to

²⁹ The Access to Information Act of 2016

³⁰ Section (6) of the Access to Information Act of 2016

³¹ Section 18 of the Access to Information Act of 2016

limit ethical performance. The management or media owner habitually reze editorial objectivity to place their business and political interest than producing quality contents (MCT, 2013a). Despite the mushrooming privately owned media outlets in Tanzania, as in many other democratic transition and authoritarian countries, media freedom apparently intensifies, particularly on political reportages, several journalists who get involved in critical journalism are either assaulted, detained, losing their jobs or dealing with legal charges rained down by politicians and government officials. Jones & Mhando (2006) asserts on the Tanzanian news people environment that are undetermined down to the mistreatment, humiliation, assaulting and even imprisoned without the accurate judiciary legitimacy (p. 8). Commencing 1990s, Tanzania stared at a potential democratic society by means of rule of laws and human rights standpoints, however there are numerous incidents over media undertakings that pointed to the obscurity with reference to the freedom of expression.

Regarding the government measures on what it called the *irresponsible journalism* and came up with a regulatory bill to introduce statutory independent media council, the move that could not succeed after media stakeholders in affiliation with civil society organizations run strategic campaign to oppose the move whereby they replaced self-regulation under own control. One year after embracing the multiparty system, the initial legal measures faced the monthlies Cheka (Smile) and Michapo (Whips), proscribed in effect from February 1993 without any justification (Kilimwiko, 2009: 78). In the subsequent year January 21st 1994, the Swahili weekly Baraza (Council) was suspended after having changed the printing company without letting the authority know the modification along with publishing seditious article contrary to The Newspaper Act consignments (Stumer, 2008; 183). Likewise, On July 19th 1996, the Swahili weekly Heko (Hurrah) was prosecuted after turning out to conflicting with government, following its publication of a reader's letter claiming that Literally means Tanzania has failed to have a government since independence (*Tanzania hatujawahi kuwa na serikali tangu uhuru*) (cf. p. 1 85). However, later on, Heko Publishers Ltd. managed to run *Kalulu* – with concentration of children's interest stories. The Newspaper Act of 1976 applies to the wide regulation of assorted publications, in so much as the then President Mkapa banned the importation of Mwembechai Killings book written by an academician from University of Dar es salaam in the course of his stay in Canada (Kilimwiko, 2009: 79). Currently, the three private weeklies based on critical journalism – *Mwana Halisi*, *Raia Mwena*, and *Tanzania Daima* have been often receiving harsh notices from the Registrar over publications that are deemed intimidating and harmful to the government (Powell, 2017: 8). While *MwanaHalisi* is regularly banned and its editors prosecuted over sedition under the Newspaper Act of 1976, as of 2012 and 2017, its articles are held of seditious, inciting, violent and likely to jeopardize peace in the country.

Hitherto the adequate assertion of constitution for right to information still doesn't reflect the practical scope of free media on the basis of freedom of expression and opinions milieu in place of current legislations. Such excessive power by government officials on interfering the journalist's duties happened to Adam Mwaibabile, a freelancer and businessman, who was charged under National Security Act no 3 of 1970 for possessing classified documents made by

Songea RC to the Regional Business Officer whose contents apparently meant for declining Mwaibabile the trade license. He was detained by RC who was also vested by Regions and Regional Commissioners Act (1962) and the Area Commissioner Act (1962) to arrest the suspect when he is opinion of such offender's act may cause a breach of peace or obstruct public order. Adam Mwaibabile was imprisoned on account of breaching the National Security Act, but later was released by High Court after legal appeal led by LCHR and other activists. The Court found him innocent since the Magistrate judge misinterpreted the Law because the document was neither in the list of confidential papers nor belong to the State. After all, the relevant document was violating the law because it was intended to restrict the applicant's right to embark on business activities.

Additionally, on 16 December 2016 the founder of the social leading platform in Tanzania, the Jamii Forum, Mr. Maxence Melo, was arrested and indicted on several charges under the Cybercrimes Act of 2015, for running of non-Tanzania registered domain and refusal of disclosing the names of his platform's anonymous users to police, together with libel and defamation charges under provisions of the Newspaper Act of 1976 (Powell, 2017: 8). Maxence todate is prosecuted with diverse court cases running alongside over 40 suspensions overall with several hearings which had effect on different times. Since the Cybercrimes Act of 2015 entered into force, there are a number of charges and prosecutions over president offensive in a WhatsApp message including University lecturers, students and politicians, who are impeached under this law which primarily aims to regulate the digital content. Recently, by using the same Act through the regulation no 18 of Online Content TCRA from the effect on June 11, 2018 prohibits the owners to run new contents on their blogs, online forum, TV and radios without silences, and required all platforms operators to get registered before June 15, 2018, unless they will be indicted for violating the stipulated bylaw. The more recent media maltreatment cases in Tanzania were experienced, example the weekly analytical newspaper *Mawio* was deregistered on January 15, 2016 and its former editor-in-chief Simon Mkina was in custody for apparently "inciting violence" based on the 1976 Newspaper when publishing a story on the Zanzibar elections. While the Kiswahili weekly tabloid *Mseto* was postponed for three years after a "seditious" article that claimed President Magufuli received campaign financing from abroad (p. 9).

Besides, the MCT (2014), quantifies the severe difficulties and violation against media practitioners in the country conspicuously for the year 2013: threats and intimidation against journalists was 48.20%, denial access to information 18.90%, banning or closure media outlets 13.40%, assault 16% and murder of journalists 2.7% (MCT, 2014a: 1). While in preceding year 2012 the report state that *...over 45% violations were recorded in 2012, among them kidnappings, denial of access to information, threats, interference by the state, harassment, assault and murder. Scene of the violations included Arusha, Bagamoyo, Bukoba, Dodoma, Geita, Hai, all three Dar es Salaam districts/municipalities (Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke), Iringa, Kahama, Kisarawe, Maletsi, Missenyi, Mvomero, Nyamagana and Zanzibar* (MCT, 2013a: 65). This has implication to marginalized media character on political obligation since most of these incidents

linked to the political attitudes, when journalists presumed to report contrary to the certain political interest, they were certainly in trouble (Abdalla, 2015: 25).

Nevertheless, the press freedom conception is persistent arbitrary and neither absolute, since there has been no single state which let its people to undertake spontaneously access of completely public information concerning the regular and veiled occurrences. Though the restrictive parameters should be clearly demarcated upon universal legitimacy. To this point, it must be comprehensively fixed upon the ultimate human rights engender freedom of expression and the right to know with various exempt phrases (cf MCT, 2013a: 58). For instance, Article 19(3) of the ICCPR put forward particular conditions for freedom of expression might be limited under legal basis. Any local margins are essential to cope with international standard as the ICCPR, instructing freedom of expression and information in universal point of view, and underlining that if any restrictions are only indispensable (a) *For respect of the rights or reputations of others;* (b) *For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals*³². The same as the African Charter on Human and People's Rights set forth constraint on Media Freedom practice on the scope “.....with one regard to the rights of others, collective security, morality and common interest”³³.

Likewise the Constitution of the URT demarcates the freedom of expression for individual is ought not to “*jeopardize the law of the country*”³⁴, and further confines *all rights and freedom guaranteed under the Bill of Rights*³⁵. For that reason, the restriction must be clearly laid down by a body of fundamental principles of the land (constitution) in accordance with legitimate aims, pressing mostly social needs (Global Campaign for Free Expression, 2004: 5). Tanzania as an emerging democratic state might not mandate undue freedom of press and expression, specific boundary should be lined to social obligation journalism, which is necessary to gratify the majority Tanzanians. Knowing that too much freedom of expression without identical reflection can be harmful to majority. For Morne (2004) consent that “*every genuine guarantee of freedom of speech is a right, but every right carries a responsibility and every responsibility has to be monitored and regulated*” (cf. p. 39). On account of the provision of outmoded legislative and regulatory environment, the quest for regulation review is ostensibly to create a culture of transparent in the public office, achieving the foremost media integrity as opposed to rumor ordination which is inimical to the democracy growth.

2.3.5 The Progression of Tanzania Media Policy Papers

According to Rioba (2008) the background of Tanzania information and media policy papers was sketched from presidential order in 1970s when the country was ruled with a socialist

³² Article 19 Of The International Covenant On Civil and Political Rights

³³ Article 27 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights

³⁴ The 18 (1) of Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania

³⁵ Section 30 (1) of the Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania

party (p.19). Even though there were no official procedures for the policy adaptation, still the pronouncement was necessary for daily media operations in keeping with the arrangement of Ujamaa ideology. The government monopoly system coped the conditions for journalist to adhere the political directives by which self-censorship became momentous driving the industry. The de facto *Tanzania Information Policy of 1970* encompassed the collective mechanism amid government and party to acclimatize media role on the manipulation of national socio-economic policies. Accordingly, the newspaper law was put in place in 1976 so that to strengthen the functioning of the virtual policy, such legislative instrument traced both local and foreign press, insomuch that prosecution was undertaken over violation of socialist principles. Although, this policy was not documented, it was vital regulator of Journalism whereby several seminars for media practitioners were organized by ruling party in 1973, 1978 and 1988, through which news people were endorsed to produce distinctive ideological messages, mobilizing the general community in accordance with party and government undertakings (p. 29).

Media were professed to form open platform for public discussion and accumulating constructive critics to the government, meant for social accountability prototype of socialist principles. For instance, the centralized approach of broadcasting enabled the solitary existence of RTD to streamline the communal life, forging the national identity and unity along with augmenting universal primary education and neighborhood. The deficiency of dispersed ownership restructured editorial stances, journalists remained the mouthpiece of the system of government and party affiliation, manipulating the public opinions on the set socialist citizenry. Commencing the paradigm shift to multiparty democracy and economic liberalization in 1992, instinctively the new media policy materialized to accustom the profession into new setting for the realization of multiparty politics. Hence, in 1993 the government introduced *the Information Policy of 1993* which stipulated rather the conducive settings that multiple private ownerships can operate to foster the democratic culture in the free media market. Together with Broadcasting Services Act (1993) exterminated the government monopoly over diversity of privately owned radio, television stations as well as a quantity of newspapers proliferated drastically. Such expansion prevailed more tremendous to the extent that media industry fostered burden influx by commercial, religious as well as political concentration that made the industry more diverse.

The Information Policy of 1993 was the first documented regulatory framework, since the previous was orally derived by the government-party officials' briefings in the scope of socialist philosophy. This emerged policy had several intentions with shedding light on the space of information and broadcasting sector in respect of favorable pluralistic political and economic atmosphere and standardized the profession in line with global information technology. On condition that the new media configurations triggered, the policy scoped the entire journalism extended from film and video to the government institutions in the provision of comprehensive private and public ownership structures (Rioba, 2008: 29). This policy entrenched private involvement in the communication and information industry in nurturing the democratic society on the road to the state democratization. However, the Tanzanian Information Policy of 1993 was not warmly recognized by the new evolved private media structures because of government sole

endowment on the formulation process and its limited operations. Thus, in 2003 Tanzania fared to release new information and broadcasting policy after inclusive negotiation between government and other stakeholders from private media, civil society, lawyers and others (p. 32).

The Tanzania Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 recognizes the synthesis embryonic media environment with ownership configuration of public, private and communality, by which professionalism and ethics alongside training and research are core to attain new mode of democratic journalism. It relies on creating suitable environment that media can operate for the progression and expansion of entire industry. This policy also stipulates the need for media laws amendment so that to enable media to play its part in social development for citizen to acquire completely their constitutional right of receiving, collecting and imparting information, regardless their geographical and social frontiers (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2003: 3). While reformatting infrastructure remain indispensable for equally access of news by the public. Moreover, the Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 prompts the dispersal ownership structures for immersion of ordinary individuals, private and community into public services, where owners might adhere to professionalism, commencing proficient journalist recruitment and entails owners to undertake progressive trainings for the entire media workers. This policy assertions do not clarify in-depth the ownership mode in which raises concerns on the tendency of market concentrations as per recently emergence of media conglomerations.

On the other hand, the conception of public information is widely covered throughout the policy, commencing on the facilitation of information units in the government institutions or agencies. Whereas the Tanzania information services department is assigned to role an anchor of information generator amid government, passing through media to the broad populations. Likewise, the media institutions with multiple ownership structures must oblige on the fixed professional codes and functioning in favorable economic condition such as reducing the access costs in which citizen might custom their fundamental right of information without frontiers. While the local programing is foremost, particularly featuring rural arenas in the basis of current affairs, agricultural information as well as covering the cultural values through the film, music, video and audio with more emphasis on local creativity (cf. Rioba, 2008: 33).

What's more, the Information and Broadcasting Policy of 2003 addresses the responsibility by government to ensure the enabling environment for the citizen right to information to display, together with Media Council and professional institutions to promote the standard through professional codes and adopting social responsibility along with safeguarding the right of media employees, whereby media owners are core to ensure ultimate productivities with fixing of professional news person. Thus, comparing to the previous polices, this document is very operative, normative, inclusive, imperative, progressive and promising for the industry to progress in the emerging market competition . It covers the concept of freedom of expression and opinions anchored on the constitutional right of citizen to receive, impart and disseminate information, up to institutional machinery in term of ownership to ensure productive information flows. The government is insisted on particular endeavors to curtail the impediments along with

actual operating environment in the aspect of infrastructures so as to abridge the information gap between rural and urban, rich and poor.

2.3.6 Policy Reforms in Tanzania Media System

The distinguished transformation of media policy from verbal presidential directive in the 1970s, the first documented policy by sole government inputs in 1993, to the ample concession of government and media stakeholders accomplished the first imperative and documented policy paper, collectively settled potential modification in the new milieu of political and economic prosperities of media. Nevertheless, the current policy paper is still partial to depict the actual media operating atmosphere, implying to the need for wider scrutiny towards novel economic and political legitimacy so as to capture the media role for the justification of genuine democratic and pluralistic society (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2003: 5). The states of affairs nurture the identical quest regarding the media policy reforms for realistic political settings and transparent economic scenario, accounting for the flow of public information which is basic for democracy persistence (Gillwald, 1993). From 2009, just six years after the second multiparty and pluralistic information and broadcasting policy of 2003 in Tanzania, several attempts have been put forward by media practitioners and other interested parties, requesting for reviews of the current Information and Broadcasting policy of 2003, especially after the government's plan to proscribe the cross-ownership of media Outlets (MCT, 2013a).

In regard with the surfacing transformative contingencies in the media industry, the political economy of Tanzanian media indicates that a comprehensive policy revision is necessary for the pluralism and diversity to flourish towards democracy dispassion. The broad concept of information control and regulation cannot be overlooked from existing political setting. Wasko (2005) sights on the political approach of communication that has virtual interrelation of political power and media into the outputs of the entire profession. The media relations in political power in terms of policies and regulations along with economic significances tend to reveal broader abstract analyses, signifying to the current Tanzanian policies consistent with dramatic transformation in the basis of pluralism, liberalization and competition around the industry. This grants a wide range of concerns in the scope of media control and communication resources with reference to the entire professional accomplishment. Its argued by Neo-Marxists concerning the political influence on the provision of social institutions with settings and ultimate welfares, which so far indicates to the professional journalists who might have some assimilations with political norms and values of established power in the society so that to ostensibly secure smooth progression of journalistic routines in catering the niche populations (Curran, 2002: 107).

Socially, journalists remain the key political actors who stimulate political communication while acting the anchor between rulers and citizens. Thus, journalists have to be mindful over government influence through legislations and policies over media practices and they have to circumvent from lobbying and advocacy strategies in order to cast a shadow of the dependency chain (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012). The excessive inclination on political dominance might treat the

industry into depression of public services, meant for impartiality and sensationalism, depriving its surveillance character owing to elusive disorder through the prevailing economic and political system. When examining the existing Tanzania Media Policy of 2003, it preliminarily leans towards activism on the freedom of expression in accordance with article 19 of URT constitution athwart professionalism and further entails owners to activate transparency in their daily running. However, the course of action was not entirely elucidated, insomuch that the accountability notion is narrow and unable to safeguard the citizen right through law enforcement over ownership structure in triggering public services (Global Campaign for Free Expression, 2004: 9).

Apart from the Broadcasting Act of 1993 which gave rise to privately owned media outlets to flourish, the subsequent regulations have inclined to keep on obstructive endeavors over the liberalized environment of media market. The current policy so far cultivates the crusade, likely to breach the international standards for freedom of expression and ruins the respective obligations between government and private media (p.2). Such blunders on the policy entail unreasonable content restrictions, *retain registration of media outlets, the desire to regulate the Internet, excessive restrictions on foreigners, a failure to recognize the need for independent regulatory bodies and a lack of commitment to public service, as opposed to State, broadcasting* (p. 3). In addition to that, the policy is silent on the contemporary debate of media concentration which is hostile to the pluralistic media outlets and a poison on democracy dispassion since its liable to eliminate the diversity of contents. Instead, the policy persists to consent cross-ownership, for one owner may possess various outlets covering publication to broadcasting media. This might nature the discretionary control of media sector by few individuals who regulate the entire undertakings of media, potential to nominalize the democratic and vibrant media sector.

As of 1990s when the private print media corporations emerged, notably BTL and followed by The Guardian Ltd to the newly existed conglomerates have massively demoralized the regular small firms in term of sophisticated facilities, by increasing turnover among journalists from small publications for convenient job security and remuneration in giant media firms. The long run government and party newspapers as well as several small presses no longer survived and ultimately began deterioration after losing in the marketplace due to the deficiency of readership and advertisers (Rioba, 1996: 11). The policy reviews might instantly think of wide-ranging aspects of Tanzanian political economy of communication as necessary to the progress of journalism in the deregulation environment of information. This includes the guidelines for owners control in respect of editorial conducts observance. It calls for more restructuring methods for analyzing, halting and scrutinizing the media ecosystem through policies and regulations and legal frameworks, mainly in handling the economic problems of information accessors and users across the country. For Pichard (1998) advocates on the establishment of a new non-commercial or less commercialized media so that the problems of diversity against cultural dominance will stay apart (p.7).

Besides, Candeub (2008) looks at the multinational media firms operating globally and across national borders which rely on the midst of their perspectives and business interests. The political settlements should address the scholarly faults commencing labor division to standardizing the trade union within the occupation and other careers from national to the multinational level so that to neutralize labor market impediments (Mosco, 1996: 145). The government has principal mechanism to activate institutions, laws and general public support to dissolve the commoditization tendency in the evolved corporations.

Whilst, the self-regulatory mechanism entails the media into a profession which has integral demarcation to protect healthier functioning through deontology and overall occupational and organizational policies such as professional codes which are keen on standardization and enhancing ethical behaviors. For instance, MCT remains the prominent and foremost active regulatory board among professional institutions in the country on supervising and regulating the practices and routines of the journalism profession. This is to ensure the professional outlook in serving the public at large and keeping the profession on the accurate manner from external occurrences like political and marketing barriers (Bertrand, 2007). As autonomous board always conducts a variety of training, seminars and workshops for media personnel and patrons, along with reviewing the policy and laws as reference to the government's provision on the treatment of media.

2.4 Tanzanian Media Market and Democratization

2.4.1 Concentration of Media Ownership

Concentration of Media ownership is growing into the substantial discussions puzzling the journalism profession in which several scholars embark on the debate of its abstract and ultimate consequences, scrutinizing the media organizational bearings vis-à-vis content discourse and audience analysis with reference to the marketplace. Based on the global historical perspective, especially after the World War Two, media consolidation by few conglomerates materialized in a wide range of forms. The emergence of global capitalism absorbed on economic liberalization has triggered the proliferation of mass media through privatization of media industries, which so far primes the wide flows of services and information in the political and commercial arena (Tilic, 2000: 237). Marketization and commodification of mass communications are the critical questions in the contemporary media industry; it's instituted on concentration of ownership and control which intensify for universal diversity of media, keen on escalating professional concerns. Mass media endow with outputs which turned into products and services in the economic point of view, expressly in the capitalist market (Mosco, 1996: 25)

2.4.1.1 Evolution of Media Conglomerates

Globally, from 1980s the unlimited transformation of media ownership in the basis of the new structure geared by latest technologies and created definite competition within the American or European media market. The growth of large global media firms was outstanding from 1980s and 1990s, having a radical transformation of the industry where at present imply more regarding the domination of a distinctive number of large firms, consolidating businesses towards their commercial prosperities. The capitalist economic dominance on the media market adopts the large news media corporations to stay alive in the market, digesting abundant returns in their engagement. Current situation of ownership for business integration on horizontally and vertically, by means of an energetic corporation tends to escalate diverse activities and accumulating a number of enterprises for abundant productivities to cater the market segment (Candeub, 2008: 92). As of American Time Warner publishes over 140 magazines owned by Time Inc. and integrated with a good number of media companies with the aid of technology diffusion and liberalized markets (Hough, 2016: 198). To this juncture, media has been overlooking its primary objective accounting for public welfare to the commercial goals.

According to the neoliberalism ascendancy in the media industry, the media of Tanzania engaged in the debate of evolving few large private media groups which are emblematic part of wider conglomerates restrained by elite class, suppressing the fundamental roles in the society. Hence the ownership concentration evolves, for multiple media outlets being under the control of a few players in the industry; they own and control more than half of media outlet such as the IPP Media Group which has interests in all three areas notably print, radio and television. Other giants are African Media Group, Sahara Communications, Clouds Entertainment, New Habari Corporation and TBC (details are found in Table Table 2.4.4). While in 2001 the Kenya's Nation Media Group consolidated power of ownership into acquiring the Tanzanian MCL which has a variety of media outlets, since then it became the largest independent media house in East and Central Africa based in Kenya (MCT, 2014;16). A great figure of the Tanzanian media corporations takes part with economic sectors like food industry, tourism, finance, auto, construction and banking, these corporations ally with the political and bureaucratic figures to advocate for their persistence. Since the legal and policy framework trace Tanzania at the position of the country which serve the nationalistic approaches in devastating the professional values. Owing to the scarce dispersal ownership spectrum throughout the regulations which restrict foreign ownership. The situation nurtures the market concerns of media contamination which primarily focus on the consumer taste insomuch as ultimate profit maximization, threatening the quality and content produced over citizenry demands (Jones & Mhando, 2006; 20). Most of Tanzanian media consistently ignores the Public affairs of ordinary citizens by excluding the critical topic such as business, culture, science, environment, health and social issues on behalf of commercialization (TMF. 2011: 6).

As the global marvel, its the same happens to Turkey, Barış (2010) mentions six major media groups in Turkey, which merely dominate the media market and own all the major print and broadcast media (p. 18). These are the Doğan Group, Turkuvaz, Ciner Group, Çukurova

Group, Doğuş Group, and Feza Group with extensive interests in other economic sectors. Likewise, Big media conglomerates own all major TV channels of Turkey: Doğan Group holds Kanal D, Star TV and CNN- Türk, Turkuvaz Group retains ATV, Çukurova Group owns Show TV and Sky Turk 360, Ciner Group has Habertürk, Doğuş Group runs NTV and Feza Group owns Samanyolu TV. Kanal 7 is deemed controlled by Milli Görüş. Star Media Group owns Kanal 24 as well as the Star daily. In 2006 Rupert Murdoch bought the majority of İhlas Group's TGRT channel (p. 19). Accordingly, few large media companies in Turkey strive to the market concentration dominating advertising revenues, Kurban & Sözeri (2012) contend on the duopoly by Doğan and Turkuvaz media groups which dominate the print market by over 80 per cent potential to device the entire press industry (p. 28). While minority newspapers including IHO and Apoyevmatini in Greek languages; Argos, Jamanak and NorMarmara in Armenian language; and Şalom by the Jewish community, their survival is often at stake (p. 29). However, the emerging of foreign investment in the media industry rationalizes the race of the content diversity with the domestic growth of coverage based on the broad marketplace.

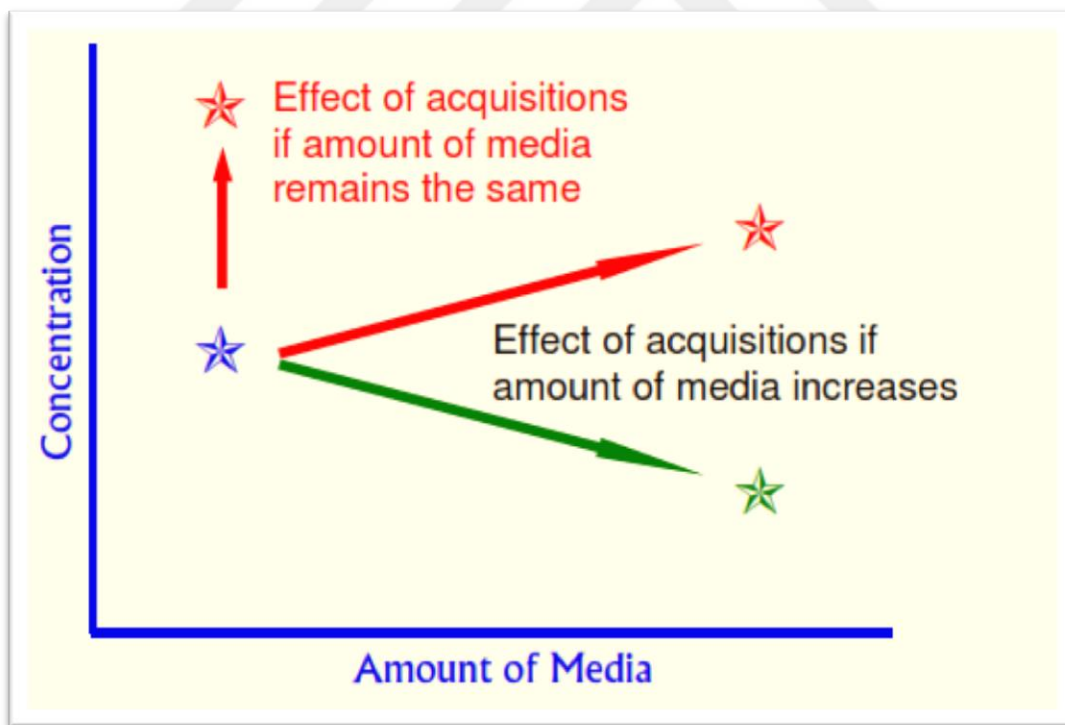
Miller (1997) uses the term "crushing power" to indicate the supremacy that large corporations override, undertaking the media industry partial to conceptualize the incredible absorption against local firms. Global news organizations are drastically unconfined with escalation of the extensive control on the production and distribution of the diversified outlets keen on the market concentration for cumulative shares in the marketplace by a small number of business elites. The stark example is of Australian media owner Rupert Murdoch having control of multinational giant media corporations across four continents notably Europe, America, Asia and Australia. He managed to influence the political stance and entire decision making on framing the particular topics like the peace movement, trade unions, progressive social programs, the death penalty, lower taxes at any cost and hawkish foreign policies (Abramsky, 1995: 16). Murdoch extends imperialism in information based in all forms of mass communication notably radio, televisions, newspapers, magazines, book publishing companies, just recent expanded in computer software, offshore oil and gas and air transport, while satellite broadcasting services are accessed in several countries (Franklin 1994: 34). His concentration includes two-thirds of the newspaper market in Australia (Brewster 1996), four of Britain's largest newspapers, His Fox network is about to be a fourth major commercial television in the US (Abramsky 1995: 16 & Gomery 1996: 52)

Picard (1998) admits that the media convergence as evolving phenomenon in the industry tends to prompt concentration as long as mergers and acquisitions increase (p. 5) as illustrated in the Figure 2.4.1 below. A certain media corporation, especially of multifaceted entertainment and information inclines to increase economic power for securing viewership and overall large public consumption, by means of acquiring other companies so as to consolidate its power and institutional maneuvers over assorted spectators. Whilst, the media company pays a variety of efforts in consolidating the hegemony around numerous media channels, counting the elimination of net neutrality on the digital multiform (Barnett, 2010: 32). In this situation, countless big

businesses have merely devastated political and financial supremacy to widespread the contents through the internet sphere which stand with their diverse commercial and political ideologies foremost. The engagement in communication technology strives to an information-based economy of media contents distribution (p. 33). The technological appliance such as the Dish-manufacturing companies instigated the process into smooth global distribution of communication varieties. Such alteration heightens the competitive media information and contents distribution for the big business catering their outputs worldwide.

Nevertheless, Picard (1998) contends on the abundant consequences of media and economic concentration in the previous decades, whereas the media proliferation has lessened the effects (p. 6). By which, the communications as well as the electronic and entertainment industries recently become more diverse and competitive, example the primetime channel shows have declined dramatically over a number of independent stations and networks. Whilst, Tanzanian media liberalization which rigorously commenced on 1990s has overwhelmed the socialist hegemony, meant for evolution of market-driven media environment based on competition, streamlining freedom of choice yet contrary to the public sphere model which stresses on “principled pluralism” (MCT, 2015: 5).

Figure2.4.1: Effects of acquisitions on concentration



Source: Picard (1998; 6)

The media restructuring suited straightforward to cope with changing of quantitative and qualitative typology, on account of a complex number of privately owned media outlets which twisted the media ecology into more astonishing. It's about the posture of free market which

enables the private actors to establish media outlet and regulate in their own athwart competitive marketplace, designed for multiple choices for individuals to utilize the liberty of information in the direction of democracy diffusion. In keeping with media policy as clarified above that seems to encourage proprietor to have any sort of arrangement for the media system, whether by retaining solitary print or broadcasting media separately or collectively through cross ownership, consequently concentration certainly got path in Tanzanian media industry.

The concentration turns out to futile on account of the emerging of independent production companies with growing imports, alongside the existence of large co-productions with foreign producers in the country which dominate the domestic and global media markets, accordingly the local big firms has crashed adopting the changes (Picard, 1998: 3) as illustrated in the Figure 2.4.1 above too. On the other side of newspaper industry, the concentration of ownership inclines across the time due to the evolution of group ownership and the decline of competition, which result to the creations of monopolies in the local marketplace for ideas (p. 4). Nonetheless, when tracing the global point of view on media convergence America has not been affected as much of other Western nations by ownership concentration in communications industries, despite its supremacy on capitalism.

In the U.S., the largest newspaper group has only about 10 percent of circulation, the top radio station owner has about 3 percent of commercial stations, the top TV networks each attract an average of less than 20 percent of viewers at any one time, and the largest cable system operator serves about 20 percent of households. In France, the largest newspaper group has about 25 percent of newspaper circulation. In Canada, the largest radio station owners has 8 percent of the commercial stations. In Sweden, the top private television network gains about 45 percent of viewers at any one time. In Finland, the largest cable system operator has about 75 percent of the households. (cf.p. 7).

The main argument will remain when concentrated ownership concerning the objectivity of the content placed on media, attributable to the synchronized owners' incentives athwart the multiple consolidated local media. Given the owner's influence to editorial up to the entire administration, contents, and presentation of the program and distribution methods, which might straightly overlook the public demands in favor of company's market survival upon media consolidation, through advertising as well as by initiating other journalistic tools to generate more revenues. Such normative assertion has been revealed through a survey of journalists and media managers on the impact of ownership on editorial independence in Tanzanian media which was facilitated by Media council of Tanzania (2013a). The study discovered the alike institutional endeavors in both private and public media which likely to shape the editorial in a certain way in keeping with proprietors' attitudes (p. 21). Likewise, a majority of journalists (87.5%) were of views that there are neither free nor independent on performing their duties, in which they cited owners/proprietors as second influence below media laws (p. 16). Yet, the main consequences from media consolidation persevere with the depriving of public right of limited informed hold

by the identical ownership of the media. Accordingly, Doyle (2002) relates media pluralism on the topic of ownership, hitherto debatable due to its dynamics to the entire media industry practices and impacting to the civic life. As far as a new form of media control rationalizes new media platforms, prompts special features to explore on administering the media profession.

2.4.1.2 The Ownership Transformation and Merger on Media

The novel ownership structure is about the transformation from traditionally journalistic families, professional and government ownership to affluent minority who made their capital accumulation from commerce, industry, and banking or construction business (Tilic, 2000: 62). The recent manifestations of giant media firms are due to the mergers and transformation of ownership intended for globally widespread their products and services. As indicated in the Figure 1.3.4 above concerning the Time Warner Inc.'s \$7.6 billion purchase of Turner Broadcasting Systems Inc. created the most prevalent media conglomerate over the world through cable network, programming and publications. Australia's News Corp. purchased Asia's largest satellite broadcasting system, Star TV, ultimately entered North America and Latin America's ventures to arrange for communication service, in addition to its existing European operations. In France, Havas increased its shares in cable services and production by solidifying its position as the largest shareholder in Canal+. Germany's Kirsch Group has purchased programming libraries worldwide and has become Europe's largest holder for film and television rights, now owning rights to more than 15,000 feature films and 50,000 hours of TV programming (Pichard, 1998: 2).

By way of a universal consequence, Tanzanian is susceptible yet in the magnitudes of neoliberal market policies, through the outset of market concentration where mogul spectrum is fashioned to compete in the marketplace. Commencing the government measure in 2002 when voted for merging RTD and national television (Televisheni ya Taifa-TvT) to form the Tanzania Broadcasting Services towards inclusive institution, for reasons to utilize the public broadcasting services. Meanwhile in 2008 the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) was molded which currently become among the most giant conglomerate in the country (MCT & RSF, 2018: 3). The state endeavors doesn't reflect the ultimate prosperity; instead the TBC quality is still questionable whereby this public corporation is said to simply servicing the ruling elites and displaying government's undertakings foremost (p.6). Similar to the case of the first media corporation under professionals' control - Habari Corporation Limited, which was formed in 1997 by native-veteran journalists in the country namely Jenerali Ulimwengu, Johnson Mbwambo, Salva Rweyemamu and Dr Gideon Shoo. The HCL combined numerous publication companies including Dimba Newspaper Ltd, Rai Newspaper Ltd, Mtanzania Publication Ltd through merging to institute the single Press conglomerate. Initially its contents quality was rather astounding in which the corporation had long intension to extend on the broadcasting, the proposal was vivid to run a radio station. Just before implementation of the project, the company was rechristened New Habari Corporation NHCL (2006) following the transformation of its ownership to a Tanzania business person-cum politician Rostam Aziz who bought it and acquired

70%, and immediately later took over completely 100% (Kilimwiko, 2009: 33-34). Yet, under Azizi ownership the NHCL - 2006 continued to publish the six newspapers explicitly *Mtanzania*, *Mtanzania Jumapili*, *The African*, *Rai*, *Dimba* and *Bingwa*, the professional quality and editorial deteriorated gradually as long as owner enforced his commercial and political interest (p. 34).

Yet, concentration inescapable occurrence derived from merger and transformation of ownership and control. When media organizations in large quantities merged across the big companies occasioning into media oligarchy, so far it raises the concerns in respect of professional standard compliance; afterward it deprives the diversity of the media contents on social contract perspective, eliminating the social needs of media as significant tools to mobilize the citizenship and social movement (Petković, 2015: 87). The critical discourse persists around the profession, for reliance on the emerging ownership configuration derived from neoliberalism and deregulation of market along with privatization of its settings and productivities. Tanzanian Journalism was so far factored through NHCL archetype, since the corporation failed to secure its previous respect of editorial excellence and enormous circulation crosswise its gorgeous newspapers notably *Mtanzania* and *Rai*. Instead, *media houses are clouded with unprofessional conduct, especially on the coverage of politics and politicians part of problem is conflict of interest by the publisher and members of the editorial staff* (Kilimwiko, 2009: 34- 35). Consequently, the publications turn out to subjective agent, serving merely the local politicians and businessmen, coating its owner, Aziz who was a central committee treasury of ruling party – CCM and MP of Igunga constituent, together with his networks, including former prime minister Edward Lowassa's *political mission to state house* (p. 37).

This modality stresses the status quo of ownership implication to the control of Tanzania journalism which twists the professional perspective on the hands of moguls. While small media industries are about to struggle strictly on the way of producing competent contents on account of limited resources and capitals. The free model enterprise affords the uses of a various communication tools like Public relations and advertising strategies to widespread the tendency of market oligopoly on both traditional and digital media. Besides, in 2001 the Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) and Channel 10 were merged to establish the Africa Media Group thereafter owned a variety of media outlets, while recently became publicly a property of CCM. The company had mainly concentrated on broadcasting journalism, with four TV networks: the predominant Channel 10 Satellite TV located in Dar es Salaam broadcasts across the beyond borders and secures over five million viewers; other channel DTV targets Dar es Salaam and neighboring populaces, CTC and Cable Television Network (CTN) broadcasting merely in Dar es Salaam. On top of that, the company owns a radio channel, Magic Radio FM, which is growing to shield the national wide listenership. The provision of market-oriented economy in the media sector perverted the primary responsibility of media into the consumers and shareholders as strategical means to secure market completion (MCT, 2015; 1). It so far nurtures the private corporate media to delineate the new concept of public affairs over traditional watchdog' role of media, since the evolving transformation is anchored on economic control of ownership such as

shareholders who twists and preoccupy with entertainment and sensational industry rather than representativeness of real world of public affairs (Curran, 2002: 220).

Consolidation also raises a question regarding the authoritarian regimes which mainly ponder to muzzle the press and pressurizing upon the particular groups which control the industry. In this way, the common good is deviated in the line of fair public discourse over media ownership dispersal. However, the arrival and recruits of Cable TV and Internet are potential of compelling the existing ownership configuration of concentration. Likewise, the structure of current ownership is likely ineffective to reinstate the journalist's independence, undertaking the investigative journalism conception due to the endowment of influential linkage between private owners and government. Wasko (2005) justifies alike approach through the analysis of media in economic viewpoint as a commodity, the industry has been abundantly involved in assorted conceptions and levels of scrutiny (p.16). According to her, commercialization of mass communication has radically evolved for the media companies treating their works as products and services designed for profit seeking. A large number of media firms are competing in expanding their coverage in an attempt to reach simultaneous consumers to take full advantage of their incomes. As far as the concentration perception concerns, the contemporary media houses incline commercialize their outputs, selling to their audiences in exchanging the information and incomes respectively. As of the film industries considerably turned into serious commercial business across the world by the conglomerate corporations distributing with strategic commercial mechanisms (p. 32).

Whilst, Tanzanian media similarly utilize the traditional methodology of commercialization, for the commercial television initiating entertainment programs to attract advertisers to sell their products so as to capitalize returns. What a critical political economy scholar McChesney (2000) considers a *media hyper-commercialism*, is also commonly practiced in the Tanzanian landscape, advertisers have dominated keen on abundantly customizing media programs and turned out into marketing platform for widely reach their clients (p, 216). Cromwell (2002) unveils that 40% out of 150 news editors in the United States affirmed that advertisers had actually influenced the news story perspectives. While 90% said that advertisers had generally attempted to interfere with press contents, and 70% terminated the news stories which were about to appear in the publications (p. 157). Hence, commercialism inclines to overlook the entire media ecosystem especially in the developed country like in America, commercial television are undue portraying the diverse viewpoints of advertisers in which every person annual viewership of commercials is 25,000 (cf. Curran, 2002: 163). As far as the inclination of multinational corporations alongside the neoliberal settings nurture the entertainment typology to *ghettoise and overwhelm* public affairs on local media (Katz 1996: 24). Hitherto "*Mass entertainment captures a mass audience and mass advertising promotes, above all, mass consumption*" (McChesney, 2001: 63).

The purchase of Jambo Concept Tanzania Limited which used to edit the Jambo Leo, Magazine Jambo Brand Tanzania, Staa Spoti, Dar Metro and Jambo Leo online by Quality Group (a multinational enterprise based in Tanzania) in effect from December 31, 2015 and completed

the whole acquisition on February 2016. The Quality Group has broad business portfolio comprises Investment, Financial Services and SPVs, Agro, Food & Beverages, Services, Trading, Representation & Distribution, Infrastructure and Engineering, Telecom, Construction, Real Estate and Contracting, Automotive and Life Sciences with various offices around the world (Quality Group Ltd, 2018). It signifies the commercial immersion on Tanzanian media ecosystem through neoliberal settings. Along with the proliferation of Tanzanian FM stations equated with such tendency of commercialization for the airwaves, by which radio quality programming like radio plays, documentaries and interviews are overlooked on behalf to please their patrons (TMF, 2011: 7). Here is to trace on the trend of commodification, consistent with integration and diversification on the subject of dynamics such as cultural creativity, diversity, equity, access and democratic ideals so as to reach conclusive results (Wasko, 2005: 17). However, the subject of consumer products incredibly increases ownership debate, which is to be drawn from shareholder of the company, editorial policy with creative financial perspective.

However, unlike the New Habari Corporation 2006, the Mwananchi Communications Ltd maintains its status in profession, even after changing its ownership formally in 2002 to Nation Media Group which base in Kenya. It focuses on more analytical stories and articles and has managed to secure high respect among Tanzanian papers in term of readership with 58.2% of newspaper readers reading it at least once a week, it is really interesting than others (MCT, 2014: 16). The transformation of MCL's ownership started in 2002 by the Nation Media Group of Kenya, whereas now has extended with offices in various regions across the country, a part of its headquarter in Dar es Salaam. Its editorial policy is prudently set in consort with owners' acquaintance and pragmatic knowledge of journalism profession as core to maintain editorial independence that journalist can exercise their professional codes and ethics in their regular reporting. In this matter, several strategic media tools prospective to be employed to boost the reputation of the organization itself in the eyes of its spectators. Some researchers view the national media policies along with managerial endeavors, including stakeholder's involvement in ruling the corporation activities like production, may further grasp the divisive news distribution and production into complex influence (Doyle, 2002, Petković, 2015: 87 inter alia). The consequences of such structural analysis can obviously grant a blank check on the literal pictures of the media ownership in the capitalism dominance of the market. Such scrutiny of the media commercialized system can help journalism authors and practitioners to contend with further challenges in the media profession in order to revive its traditional prosperity in the democratic Society.

2.4.2 Tanzanian Media Market and Advertising Power

Since the paradigm shift of liberal pluralism was imperative to the multiparty politics and novel economic system headed for distinctive mode of free market. From the outsets of transformation, the media marketplace perverted into diverse actors, especially in 1990s with reference to the escalation of privately owned media outlets, modeling the entire landscape. Consequently, the media labor market resounded tremendously from 230 journalists in 1990 to

over 10,000 media personnel in 2008 (Rioba, 2008: 44). There has been an incredible media quantity, counting radio industry in particular through its inclusive exposure and access of both wealthy families and remote populations, with 95% listenership in 2005 across income levels and locations (Steadman, 2005: 23). It's reflected to the effectiveness of the radio broadcast for both regular information access and advertising strategy contrary to publications and TV. Providing the ironic media typology determined from mostly income trends, whereas at highest income tier, radio, television and mobile phone access is vibrant (InterMedia, 2011: 8). Through radio potentiality, advertisers expand athwart geographical wise, due to the reality that there has been a progressive significance to other regions after the frequencies spectrum exhausted in Dar es Salaam, hitherto the radio growth and public access continue to be more significant countrywide. The newly established stations across the regions mostly have the same control and ownership as of the national channel operated in the major cities (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 18-19). Thus, advertisers utilize the loophole of National imperialism³⁶ for rich exposure, on the run from the small firms on behalf of giant stations which have technical strength over regional stations meant for ultimate marketing accomplishment. It so far intensifies the market oligopoly which falls on the few companies in the provision of monotony of contents; regarding the people access to FM signals is over 68% (InterMedia, 2004: 3).

On the other side, comparing to radio prosperity, the quantity and quality of newspaper titles and television channels are no longer exciting in Tanzania media market, the consumption figures are not matured to accommodate the entire inclusive arenas of 120 tribes across the country (Kivikuru, 2016: 87). Owing to the limited penetration of these media sorts in Tanzania, radio perseveres the most advertising medium (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 20). This so far implies the structural transformation athwart political economy of Tanzanian media that is not much escalating comparing to developed world, in which media oligopoly inclination perpetuate with abundant methodology, such as the Synergic consolidation in which large Media conglomerates rise to work together on comprehensive market conditions in order to capitalize profits (Mosco, 1996). For instance, the global Warner films based in US is potentially promoted via American online library AOL as well as other company-owned media outlets, serving as the basis for other media products (TV programs, books, etc.). Time Inc. has taken advantage of extensive cross-promotion with America Online. Promotions of Time Inc. magazines on the AOL services generated 1.5 million subscriptions in 2001 – about 100,000 a month, AOL discs poly-bagged with Time Inc. magazines and distributed at retail outlets led to some 800,000 AOL registrations (Hough, 2016: 73). Such tendency fosters towards the market Concentration with excessive competition over small media industries. It threatens to the monopoly in the media market de facto due to the inclusive determination to reach a large volume of audience comparing the limitation of small business which is. In this situation, media oligarchy come into sight of the

³⁶ National imperialism is commonly undergoing, for these small local (community, partisan and institutional) broadcasters use to re-transmit programming by the national channels.

productions and distribution, as of cultural industries which call for specific consideration on unequal distribution resources in the channel like the internet which so far indicate to the digital divide (Candeub, 2008: 19).

Nevertheless, the Tanzanian Television landscape is potential of oligarchy, concentrated with the few major dominants, consist of the Azam Media group which purely bases on TV broadcasting with sophisticated means hooked on a variety of channels. IPP Media has three major TV stations; Africa Media Group owns four major networks; and the state owned Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation owns other leading broadcasting channels (MCT & RSF, 2018: 2). Subsequently, the evolution of satellite is a preliminary move and landmark of Tanzania media market, streamlines the broadcast eminence along with extensive audiences' coverage of assorted television networks. In the globalization provision, the diffusion of foreign broadcasting satellite such as the South African-based satellite Pay-TV service known as MultiChoice DStv, has proliferated the audience's patterns of broadcast TV in Tanzania, they access the media infor-tain mostly (Intermedia, 2011: 19). For instance, its coverage of the English Premier League soccer has been broadly accessed in individual houses and social places. The DStv had quite captured the Tanzanian television market, it offers 64 channels for US\$70 a monthly subscription fees while the one-off installation cost of US\$225 (p. 19).

However, the Tanzanian media system remains distinct, it is merely endorsed with local control and settings due to the presence of indigenous ownership model throughout the current legislative framework and policies. Its accompanied by the stature of utilizing vernacular language Kiswahili, the listenership and readership for other tribal and English is only for community based and other related business outlets respectively, unlike other African countries where colonial languages remain the dominant broadcasting languages (Kivikuru, 2016: 88). Along with the national Migration from analogue to digital broadcasting in 2012 turned into argumentative, concerning the cynicism of DStv and other global business which rely on broadcasting satellite to penetrate into Tanzania media market. Accordingly, several local companies have emerged to undertake the business through TV boxes subscriptions, attracting numerous customers for astonishing favors. Thus far tend to overcome the Tanzania broadcasting market. For example, by December 31, 2012 there were already a number of private competing digital Television Multiplex Operators providing services in the coutry: Star Times, Multichoice Tanzania (DSTV), ZCTV, cloud media, Agape, continental and others. Conversely, the classical programming and contents are nearly facilitated alike across the private broadcasting media channels. While the commercial radios have been focusing more on entertainment and superficial journalism as dictated typically by owners' postures, instead of featuring the public watchdog, agenda setting and gatekeeping roles athwart fact-finding reportages (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 16).

Table 2.4.1: Ownership Structure of Tanzanian Media Conglomerates

Media Company	A quantity of Media operated		Mode of Ownership and Affiliation
	Print outlets	Broadcast networks	
African Media Group		Channel 10, DTV, CTC, CTN and Magic Radio FM	It s under control of Rulling party CCM
Azam Media Ltd		Azam One, Azam Two, Sinema Zetu, Azam Sports HD, Azam Sports 2	It is held under Bakhresa Group of companies, one of the leading family owned business group and Industrial Houses in Tanzania, East Africa. The Group has its operations spread in Tanzania Mainland & Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi and in South Africa. It consists of a collection of companies with investments primarily in the Food and Beverage Sector, Packaging, Logistics, Marine Passenger Services, Petroleum and Entertainment. AML is a PAY TV service, providing quality local entertainment and informative channels based in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi.
Clouds Entertainment		Clouds FM Radio, Choice FM Radio, Coconut FM Radio Station, Clouds TV, Clouds TV Rwanda, Clouds TV International and Clouds TV Plus, it also runs online broadcasting channels; Rain Digital, The Afican Box (AfroBox Internet TV &	A private commercial, chaired by Joseph Kusaga, a multi-national and multimedia company operating in East & Central Africa based in Tanzania, Botswana and Rwanda. It is a media center whose ranges in TV, Radio, Print, Digital, Event Management, Public Relations and Corporate Communications platforms along with organizing its own promotion explicitly Escape, Clouds Digital.

		Radio) and Coconut Digital, 3 Radio Stations, 9 TV Stations, a 50-Channel Cable/DTT TV Network	Rain Digital, Setup Limited, Primetime Promotions and Fiesta. It also has interest in a solar power & building solutions company while has plans to expand the reach beyond East & Central Africa and the Middle East.
Global Publisher	Ijumaa, Risasi, Amani, Championi, Spoti Xtra, Uwazi		Private sensational publications under Global Publisher chaired of Joseph Kusaga
IPP Media Group	English papers (The Guardian, Sunday observer, financial times and This day) and Swahili are (Taifa letu, Nipashe, Lete raha	ITV, EATV, Pulse TV, Capital Television, Radio One, Capital FM and East Africa Radio. IPP Media also dominates news distribution on the Internet which is generally accessed on East African region and globally.	One of the successful Private commercial conglomerate under IPP group of companies which was established by Mr. Reginald Mengi, since 1980s when emerged a Chairman and Managing Partner of Coopers & Lybrand in Tanzania. It similarly has investment in beverages, Household and Beauty care as well as Minerals Prospecting and Mining.
Mwananchi Communications Limited	Mwananchi, The Citizen, The East African, Sunday Citizen, Mwananchi Jumapili, and Mwanaspoti,	It has Digital channels includes E-Publication, Breaking News Alerts and MCL Digital. .	It is a subsidiary of Nation Media Group based in Kenya ruled by east African most prominent company Agakhan
New Habari Corporation (2006),	Mtanzania, Mtanzania Jumapili, The African, Rai, Dimba and Bingwa.		Private commercial, owned by the then CCM carder Rostam Azizi,
Quality Media Group Limited	Jambo Leo, Magazine Jambo Brand Tanzania , Staa Spoti and Dar Metro	Jambo Leo online	Private commercial media company which is financed and regulated by Quality Group led by business tycoon Yussuf Manji. Its has discursive business portfolio consists of

			Investment, Financial Services and SPVs, Agro, Food & Beverages, Services, Trading, Representation & Distribution, Infrastructure and Engineering, Telecom, Construction, Real Estate and Contracting. Automotive and Life Sciences
Sahara Communications & Publishers Co. Ltd.	Msanii Afrika.	Star TV, Radio Free Africa Star Bunge, Star Sports, Stars Drama, Star Documentary, Star Kids, Star TV Habari, Kiss FM.	Private commercial run by the Mwanza Regional Chairman of the ruling party CCM, Anthony Diallo who also engaged in various business undertakings in the country.
Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation		TBC1, TBC international, TBC2, TBC Taifa and TBC FM	State run media
Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation		ZBC Radio, ZBC TV and Spice FM	State run media
Zanzibar Cable Television		ZCTV, Hits FM, Radio Assalaam FM	Private commercial under Mohammed Aljabri Director, a businessman
Zenj Media Corporation	Nipe Habari	Zenj FM, Marashi TV, Island TV, Zenj Toto TV, Quran TV, Zenj Swahili.	It's owned by CCM carder, a former MP and ministry for information Tanzania.

Source: *Computed from Composed Literature 2018*

After all, the ecosystem of Tanzania broadcasting TV is still indefinite due to the limited facilitation, leading to the irregular viewership. The margins of Television industry in Tanzania are endorsed by various dynamic factors, counting the high operating costs to launch a network. Tanzania remains among the few countries with high cost of occupational media undertakings, despite the market liberalization boom from 1990s. In such a way that running a television station still a problematic. Unlike other part of the world many giant advertisers would make use of Television for effective message, portraying to the niche marketing. Although Television is the most credible source of information in the country, the comprehensive audience utilization is not yet concentrated (InterMedia, 2011: 9). The annual population viewership of TV is about 67% and 34% weekly in 2004. The communal watching is likely to expand the reach, which is identical by lower tier incomes households including the rural dwellers, accessing outside their homes on community halls and social places on accounts of deficient TV sets ownership by households which is caused by the lack of electricity diffusion and low purchasing power (p. 18).

Despite the reality that print media constructed to the Tanzania democratic reforms than broadcasting counterpart, it often exercises the watchdog role over mismanagement behaviors among the government officials like the exposure of Richmond corruption, Dowans scandal etc. (TMF, 2011: 6). Likewise, the newspaper industry was likely to flourish quantitatively, from the inception of multiparty and economic liberalization where the beautiful number of publication grew rabidly as resulted to mass market. The current situation of press market worsened whereby about 31% of the adult population read a newspaper at least once a week (cf. InterMedia, 2011: 20). It's merely during the general election newspapers incline to dictate the news market (Kaale, 2013: 108). When comparing to neighbor country Kenya, the private *Nation* newspaper owned by Nation Media Group reach 250,000 copies a day while the top Tanzanian paper is circulating about only 25,000 copies (TMF, 2011: 7). Normally, the advertising power among media players in print media market is deteriorating, in consequence of the government policies, a main advertiser along with low circulation of newspapers.

The market of newsprint industry is nominal on account of the low advertising power, which is attributable to the country's geographical futility and distribution infrastructure, insomuch as no any single newspaper that manage to operate countrywide. While the daily operating costs like gathering, production and diffusion stay awkward to the display of industry. Thus, there is need for the policy review and the legislations on taxation which seems too restrictive to the media development. The restructuring should comprise also towards foreign journalists licensing such as charges for press cards are more expensive, resulting to many international media organizations use Nairobi based correspondents to report on Tanzanian affairs. In addition, there is tremendous variations in the marketplace in terms of circulation and readership in the basis of publication policies and sorts. For instance, the Global Publishers which bases mostly on sensational publications with six Kiswahili papers and two English publications becomes the major player in the Kiswahili press market (TMF, 2011: 6). The IPP Media owns eight daily and weekly newspapers in Kiswahili and English and The Mwananchi Communication Ltd under Kenyan Nation Media Group supremacy has two dailies and three weeklies. While various other nonprofit periodicals are produced and controlled by government

through the Ministry of Information or by public organizations together with religious partisan oversee a number of Swahili publications so far have factored the press landscape.

Reliably, the market control and diversity of Tanzanian media need additional scrutiny, from political economy approach to the scope of geographical, demographic, general cultural sceneries as well as the public readership behavior such as the aspects behind the readers' preference to the yellow papers than analytic publications. It is useful to understand the habitation which media assigned in the raised capital market, including the administering and overall media house policies, given that journalists are set in the condition which might depict primarily whatever owners adore along with advertisers' deportments for economically media survival (MCT, 2015: 49). While many media institutions have collaborative deal with businessmen, in turn to fascinate the infrastructures and marketing goals respectively. Whereas, the rest unbiased media are potential to lose the advertising control because of exoticism with backers, resulting to the limited circulation and even gazing to a natural death. Therefore, the interdependence assertion of media and advertisers implicates to the policy stance, alarming the borderline between advertizing regulations and media settings so as to deter intervention of entire operations (p. 50). Tanzania needs to set media apart from commercial and political pressure, by means of national policies and media houses strategies to focus on the media financial basis for the professional accomplishment and democracy enthusiasm. It's not enough for the Regulatory obligations to necessitate public broadcasting as of Tanzania Broadcasting Act of 1993 which required broadcasting stations to perimeter below 30% advertisements of entire regular broadcast programming, for prioritizing indigenous development of Tanzania and Africa for maintaining national and cultural identity (cf. InterMedia, 2011: 9). But the legislative regulatory framework must feature the existing market deregulation in the scope of ownership diversity, information pluralism and overall media economy. To this point, Curran (2002) views on the archetypal policy development and reforms in respect of alignment with both government and private corporations to streamline the media welfare in the fairly market competition (p. 219).

2.4.3 Media in Democratization Movement

2.4.3.1 Media as Civil Society

According to Layton (2006), civil society refers to *“social organizations occupying the space between the household and the state that enable people to co-ordinate their management of resources and activities”* (p. 11). The diverse inferences of civil society should be consequential with the theoretical synchronization; it might be ideally defined as the institutional form which distinct the ruling elites, households and the economy (Gramsci, 1971: 87). Another social scientist Edwards (2008) contends that the historical transformation of civil society conception to the current impression is eventually a remote, narrowing the nascent social settings and ultimate contingencies (p.15). To him, it's justifiable for comprehensive revision so that to come across the essentials of general construction of civil society assertion into political practices, tracing the commitment on social movements and adoption to political cultures as of public policy, that's

truly cannot be overlooked with other social institutions like media (p. 68). Edwards' contention had been hitherto maintained by Layton (2006) about the embryonic notion of civil society organizations that is politically incomplete and ostensibly generated from commercial capitalism to internalize the capitalist objectives across the globe instead of social rationality (p. 42). He warns about the alternative outset would be a reflection potential over the exclusion of other social clusters like minorities from the political sphere, with practical demarcation of the emerging voluntary associations fashionable around entire political undertakings, consistent with all forms of human society reflecting to the evolving economic and political cultures for the sake of civil order (p. 45-46). For the normative and contextual insights, to the social deliberation, the civil society is ought to replicate the democracy widespread, with the intention to shelter the free space which implicates to the civic accomplishments, in regards of developing countries in particular (Warren, 2004: 37).

The delusion of civil society entails scholarly reconsideration in a broad sense vis-à-vis the world status-quo with reference to the mushrooming of NGOs on behalf of civil society provision. In the scrutiny of the birth and movement of numerous civil society organizations in Sub-Sahara Africa which commenced in the 1990s. They were primarily designed for combating against HIV/AIDS, the key role was dominant in activating the public and decision makers with international efforts in respect of the cynicism counting the major diseases. Thus far, Pan-African pervasion was on behalf of social elite's minority who raised to rationalize their prestige, by means of instigation for apparent citizenry with aid of foreign donors' foundations relatively, having limited decisive impressions to self-servicing nationals (cf. Bondarenko et al. 2014: 101). In that decade, including Tanzania as well, in the practices of multiparty democracy along economic liberation, the position of media into civil society observance materialized accordingly and prompted the dramatically emergence of NGOs over the time. A new collaborative culture emerged amidst Tanzanian media institutions and civil society organizations per se in streamlining socio-political accomplishment and their beings. Surprisingly, NGOs were regularly backing the media survival from legislative impediments, for example they commonly proclaimed the wide concept of press freedom and freedom of expression and advocated for existence of journalists' conducive working atmosphere (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 27). It has been promoted to date through seminars, press-release, international meetings and other activism tactics for the sake to create proactive media scenario and socially accountable institutions.

The joint action by media and civil society organizations (CSOs) in common thrived and addicted to social movements, they endeavored collaboratively in advocating the citizenship about human rights and rules of laws. In supporting this, a number of CSOs came forward with own media outlets campaigns, catering for the betterment of entire community. For instance, Tanzania Media Women Association TAMWA which is largely formed by media women professionals and comprises several expert members from other careers, by using its newsletter namely "Sauti ya Demokrasia" (The voice of democracy), TAMWA focuses on advocacy about gender violations, and liberates women against social stereotype, subsequently mobilizes to their civic rights like to vote. Whilst, the immersion of third party media outlets is justifiable, due to the reality that mainstream media outlets in the country are merely controlled by business and

ruling class, they offer prime time and space to the elite minority as loyalty for advertising and legal backing, while passing scarce coverage to the general public (Christensen 2007 and Mrutu 200). Hence, there is a rapid quantitative growth of Tanzanian CSOs and NGOs, at large signifies the country's measurable acknowledgment to multiparty democracy and liberalized economic scheme. The number of registered CSOs in Tanzania has risen from around 200 in 1993 to more than 2000 and 4,000 NGOs active (Mkwazu, 2009: 13). That is to say the state's transformation has to some extent smoothed the restoration and progressions of modern version of civil society in the country in which their movements and involvement in the political sphere is reasonable.

Some other civil associations commonly spotlight on social responsibility in creating public debate through civil society-driven media platforms. For example, Femina HIP of Tanzania focuses on young people in building supportive environments by devising their views exposed throughout the country. But mostly school young students are niche audiences, whom consisted of 500 Femina HIP clubs and nearly 100 for out-of-school youth are tackled on sexual health and life skills, headed for thriving citizenry assignation and economic empowerment on mainstream media (TAMPS, 2010: 7). Femina HIP has potential to run its programs in popular radio and television, along with two prevalent magazines which reach to 2342 secondary schools with 180,000 copies, while SiMchezo Magazine consist of messages which delicately designed for out-of-school youth run of 175,000 copies (Femina 2010; 10). These are the paramount models of civil society conscription to civic deliberation in Tanzania, serving the society on the basic rights. So far, the use of social media tools is one of their comprehensive measures reaching the large number of youths, which now seems to squeeze up their daily routines upon digital involvement, as argued by Edwards (2008) on the potential of modern civil society as engineer to determine the scope of ideal citizenry through technology diffusion (p. 337). Thus, the social movements in many developing countries are evolving, as long as information infrastructure gives the pass for civil society to reach the wide virtual publics in the various approaches of citizenship (Lunat, 2008: 3). Nevertheless, the involvement of rural communities has been uneven yet due to the limitation of technology infrastructures which would cover the remote areas (p. 9).

However, there is a certain gap of public obligation over political repercussions of CSOs in relations with state awareness on the national economic development as endowed with self-reliance typology during the Ujamaa economic principles (Bondarenko et al. 2014: 101). Mukandala and Mamdani (2000) argue about the deliberative politicization and nominalization of the CSOs on political and social movement respectively, insomuch as political arena is bestowed to the particular institutions with certain conditions like the provision of political party in bureaucratized demeanors, meant for limited public access (p.232). In Tanzania there is intensification by official concurrence that such registered social organizations (CSOs) should not engage in "political" activities explicitly (Kiondo, 2007: 8). They are merely obliged to initiate and drive on the societal aspects in line with government standpoints. It's reasonable for ideal reconsideration of media as civil society on behalf of social accountability, commencing the potential materialization of media on political and social opinions in sensitizing the civic consciousness for consolidating democracy. This can be drawn from professional perspective by

means of self-regulatory framework, heading for free functioning from government and market interventions, comprising the structural basis in term of ownership and institutional framework. The inclination of private media conglomerate and state owned media parastatal might be reviewed keen on public services so as to set media at civil society atmosphere catering the equally citizenship.

To shadow the misconception, Edwards (2008) views that, it's pertinent in respect of the modern context that civil society should be stressed and integrated into three schools of thoughts (p. 311). Firstly, it is about associational life, meaning to common views that association role to harmonize the heterogeneous entities of the community in the course of fundamental assessment like tolerance and cooperation, along with diverse understandings as essential cause for existing a democratic life (p. 314). Secondly, Edwards (2008) affirms civil society as the good society; a vital in which voluntary associations have to endow with comprehensive settings in favor of social, economic and political changes, responding so far to prominent operating systems notably government and commercial elites (p. 318). Lastly, civil society as public sphere, signifying the pitch in civic engagement through deliberations and criticisms anchored in common goods and shared interest, ultimately to reach consensus of civil grievances for invaluable polity and social interest ahead (inter alia, Gramsci 1971: 87, Edwards, 2008: 343). Regarding on these three school of thoughts, particularly, the convention of associational life which tends to generate the good society, the development of shared interests, a submission of differences and working together– all these are crucial attributes for effective governance, practical problem-solving, and the peaceful resolution of our variances (Edwards, 2008: 348). Despite the fact that the heterogeneous social groups might not capitulate to common interest, its countersigned in Tanzania upon the national interest discourse come across, for examples, during the amendment of new constitution in 2012, there were at least 40 CSOs led by LHRC collectively endeavored to sensitize public awareness and abandoned the government bill, which seem to further the presidential power (Mkwazu, 2009: 24). Other CSOs, for example Oxfam, engaged mostly in publications with intents to enable rural people have access to written policy on the movement of sufficient service in their areas. Thus, alongside media, the capitalist civil society prototype is ostensible to form public opinions, pursuing debate and awareness to Tanzanians through a wide range of media outlets towards good governance, human right and rules of laws.

2.4.3.2 Media Accountability in Democratization

Subsequent to the economic and political liberalization, media turns into inclusive public space which reinforces citizens to voice up their aspirations. It inclines to restructure the fundamental and natural right to express their feelings in affirmative or critical revelations in the provision of multiple media channels. When public get involved in their citizenry and polity affairs it has signified to the spontaneous embankment of their natural rights of variation in exposition. As Tanzania reformed into the multiparty democracy in 1990s, the utilization of media for entire state democratization is an ideal function to generate civil consciousness on the way of consolidating democracy. Hence democratization is initially anchored on the process of democratic transition, the state moves from authoritarian to an elected government on the road to a full democratic political system. In due course media take part as political player to gather

multifaceted social entities into the political arena with comprehensive affection amongst several political elites and marginalized (Hynes, 2001: 38). With the understanding that the outset of economic liberalism from 1980s nurtured the impression of globalization as an alternative term to express the notion of democratization process in the developing world under the global capitalist principles. Modernism curiously emerged for media democratic accountability changing to the expansion of private media corporations internationally, tracing the investment of communication products and services like music and films. The provision of satellite broadcasting systems enabled the distribution of news information and entertainment program across the world, where customers targeted with contents respecting their alike values.

Candeub (2008) affirms on the media position among momentous institutions to internalize the public natural rights in the democratic society to sustain a comprehensive political regime (p. 16). Thus further, equality among the social entities might fundamentally be installed to attain sociopolitical accomplishment. Citizens are embodied to political arrangement for self-determination typically to revive their political life. In this way, ownership has to be determined in views of the public sphere for the democratic institutions to meditate and grant arena for the public discourse. Media outgrowth keen on facilitating the informed community with substantial governance suitable to the manifold contexts that constitute political life (p. 16). In the public sphere theory media treat people as the primary forum to expose their political views and pass them to the political institutions, deliberating them with adequate freedom to raise their concerns about citizenship and get much involved in the political debates. The ownership is essential to sustain such cohesion between citizens and their political figures in the democratization of the state (Kivikuru, 2016: 83). Whilst, the ownership assertion to the social obligation come into vague on the line of civic engagement. The immense encounters still on the way of the large firms which control enormously of what we see, hear or read about the civics. Several studies found that in Europe and America where countless effects of media ownership and market concentration are vivid, nowadays the government accountabilities are mostly reinforced from left and centrist political parties, trade unions, journalists 'associations, and consumer groups rather than media power intrinsically (Pichard, 1998: 7).

Other various studies affirm on the global media has increased the standing of monopolies in the local marketplace for ideas (Candeub, 2008: 14). Consequently, the democratization process over traditional notion of liberal democracy which would rationalize the free and independent media system has been wiped out through capitalist system. It's anchored on minority privately-owned mass media which threaten the wealth and diversity of media outlets, potentially promoting the owners' welfares. When Tanzania embraced into multiparty democracy system in 1990s, in the end of 1980s there had been already the media significant role on supervising over the government especially to the corruption scandals like tax invasion and theft. On this outset of democratization particularly privately owned outlets were very excited vis-à-vis connecting the opposing views for the sake of regime transformation alongside the affirmative press. Regarding the dominant power of ruling elites during the transition period, that might not handover easily to the public sphere, hitherto media tend to play a pivotal part as comprehensive realm that integrate majority towards the political sphere for common prosperity

and interests (Hynes, 2001: 38). Consequently, media have a duty of being alert on exercising the public information role, such as sidestepping manipulation and propaganda strategies among the political players, given to the elites' control of state machinery during the multiparty elections that might undermine the disadvantaged majority (p. 39). For instance in Tanzania the National Electoral Commission (NEC) fallacy cannot be tested in judiciary procedures once after announcements of presidential results³⁷. Such legislation escalates in line with snooping propensity, given the provision of 'formalisms' of democracy version across African continent which is inimical to the Political and legal reforms, where the democracy ground is not well utilized on behalf ruling elites.

The democracy abstract is all about substantial demands from economic to the social crusades, in which the provision of ownership and control of resources is the subject matter of understanding democratic institutions as to media system. In addition to this, an ample scrutiny around the role of media in democratization can be inclusively elucidated per critical frameworks of the political, economic (ownership of media), technological and cultural. Whilst, civil society as inclusive realm typically concerns on the country shift to adhere into real democracy. Meaning that, the democratization should involve the nationals including journalists, intellectuals and other social entities, in company with modeling the media conducts in the process, apart from the legal traditional benchmark of media system. Subsequently, in the fashionable political world, a lot of premeditated groups emerge with diverse interest around the civil arena on accounts of democracy. However, it cannot evade the supports of individual intellectuals including academicians, researchers, media personnel, religious leaders, lawyers and others available in our societies who independently might posit their views for the interests of the voiceless, the oppressed and exploited on the road to democratization (Barya, 2010). To this point, Goldfarb (1998) views that intellectuals are more concern with ordinary and public life at large. Whereby they should engineer and actively participate in civic debate on the horizon of struggling against the lack of seriousness and non-ideological democratic discussion dissolved by vain political cynicism in democratic societies (p. 217).

The main concern of Goldfarb is about his concept 'deliberation deficit' in which the political life is distorted with futile democratic discussion, accordingly, intellectual becomes politician with the intention to form a civil discussion ostensible to nurture an "*autonomous non-partisan public space*" (p. 101). He justifies that intellectuals are intermediators who would utilize the media space and he further elaborates that they are "*special kinds of strangers, who pay special attention to their critical faculties, who act autonomously of the centers of power and address a general public, playing the specialized role in democratic societies of fostering informed discussion about pressing societal issues*" (p. 37). Moreover, Goldfarb consents the potential challenges for the intellectuals on imparting the political empathies over the political

³⁷ Tanzania Elections Act No 1, 1985.

system alongside the ideological settings in the society. To this point, he puts forward the intellectuals' dual function of "*civilizing contestation and subverting common sense*" (cf. p. 206), which typically refers to the persistently liberating the society from erroneous beliefs. Some of Tanzanian academicians with comprehensive specializations in the course of democracy explicitly during the general election in complement with media are apt to arrange for incredible political discussions, the voice for political change and social progression.

Media organization like TAMWA makes use of social experts in prompting the democratic rules in the basis of gender issues and good governance. They use to cognize and translate concepts of human rights into contexts that people can relate with. In 2008 Vicky Ntetema a BBC Swahili reporter investigated on the killings of people with albinism in Tanzania, she finally came up with findings indicated that some of the politicians and businessmen are abundantly allied with murders in belief that albino body parts can bring position and wealth respectively as instructed by witchdoctors³⁸. To this instance, many lawyers and human right activists came across on attempts to change the mind sets and reinforce the novel laws against the embarrassment of the subordinate cluster, accordingly a number of hunters were arrested for further legal actions. Likewise, recently there is a portion of politicians who curiously come up with supporting evidence on the misuses of public funds and some arguments over unequal services distribution to some regions of Tanzania. In 2008, former Tanzania Prime Minister Edward Lowassa stepped down and three cabinet ministers resigned after several politicians and frequently media highlighting on the blunder, commonly indicated his fraud scandal immersion on energy deal. Similarly, back to President Benjamin Mkapa's Government three cabinet ministers gave up their positions, subsequent to the critical media reporting on scandals (Rioba, 2009: 64). While recently several former cabinet ministers in Tanzania and a permanent secretary were bought to court over mismanagement and maladministration during their Office tenure.

Since mass media turned into the embryonic informative tools on the way of the political communication covering the public life. Hitherto, the mushrooming of private press has vital notes on the democratization in prompting accountability of government officials contrary to propaganda tool of state owned media soley. Whereby, remarkable progress was for journalists' accountability in exposing corruption, inefficiency and abuse of human rights in the ruling systems while offering abundant coverage to the opposition. While, corruption in many countries including Tanzania is measured a dynamic hindrance towards sustainable development. Tanzania established an accountable board PCB striving on abundant efforts against poor management as of the local level to the central government. There have been also collaborative efforts by government and other organizations figuring out and clearing any roots for bribery and self-interest in the public and private institutions. So far as the fifth phase government led by president Magufuli has put forward political deliberation, counting the launch of an anti-

³⁸ Vicky Ntetema (2010) wins bravery award for BBC albino investigative report, she found that Some Tanzanian witch doctors say magic potions made with albino body parts can bring good luck and wealth. Current, more than 50 people with albinism have been murdered in Tanzania and several others in neighboring Burundi in recent years.

corruption war by establishing anti-graft special court for curtailing exploitation, and he has been also dismissing from their positions all official figures alleged to be corrupts, this is to create favorable civic atmosphere for validating all citizens equally benefit the national cakes. With the proviso that media and other social organization has imperative role against exploitations and promote good governance. In the developed countries such as Japan, Italy, Great Britain and other use media independently in identifying corrupt conducts and their main actors.

However, according to the survey by PCB and the Institute of Development Studies based at the UD (2006), pointed that during the general election in Tanzania gravely remains the highest time bribery ever practiced (p. 8). Many politicians use to distribute some monetary grants and other belongings to constituency members in the preferential and parliamentary poll. During the general elections, Tanzanian Media become strong weapons exposing the corrupt leaders who attempt to give out some money and other goods to voters for humbly get elected, for instance, in 2000 election compgain Tanzanian mass media played an imperative role in the covering political instances (Mrutu, 2003: 43). According to MCT (2013a) media coverage has typical influences on political accountability such as to promote transparency including exposing misuses of public offices and coverage of corruption is obligating a positive consequence which reveal leaders more accountable, notwithstanding that the media still does not oblige an egalitarian platform (p. 125). Hence, Tanzanian media constantly submit to general election coverage when it comes around, where news bulletins and articles are complementary twisted than ever normal while. In keeping with Kaale (2013) there is a substantial connection between Tanzania news election exposure and polling results, in which she finds that frequent media portrayal of a particular party's candidate is potential of public voting for a particular candidate (p. 84). In her quantitative analysis depicts that as far as the only three Party's candidates notably Kikwete, Slaa and Lipumba in the 2010 presidential election in Tanzania who received great media visibility, are the ones who got recognized by public and scored large amount of votes than other candidates (p. 104). Meanwhile, Media motivation to voters' participation in 2010 was astonishing than general election 2005, rolled a major source of their political and development information and an agenda setting institution (MCT, 2013a: 125).

Media accountability refers beyond the legal and institutional mechanism of media itself; civil liability is core on the assumption that media literacy is crucial. Pluralist ideas should refer to what is constructive to societal welfare rather than flooding complex contents. Likewise, representative mass media endow with multiplicity of ideas with reference to the marketplace, dealing with multiple audiences regardless their social status (Candeub, 2008). It implies to not only public awareness about their government information fostered, but also might be in receipt of sharing their diverse views towards deliberative democracy and its varieties on the aftermath of the polity.

The Media role of social equality is a dynamic function of mass media in which the conception of media ownership takes part in miscellaneous prosperity to advocating democracy in the community. Mass media endow with various strategies to nurture the societal outlooks in structuring the sense of transparency and freedom of expression. This commencing the totality by the media itself before attainment of its purposes set to the target audiences, meant for fostering

in the democratic methods. Thus, media communication is ought to be structured with multiplicity of activist approaches along with adoptive common expressions and intellectual heritage in realizing the widespread effects of its contents delivery (p. 87). Whilst, the Tanzanian media industry of young democracy state is still struggling for freedom, independence and transparency, the phenomenon are still under attack of politics and economic interference which restrain the notion of accountability in the democratization (MCT 2015: 11). So long as the industry is sandwiched between politics and economy, failing to appeal a vibrant depiction of 120 ethnic groups in the country. Politicians have been normally using stick and carrots model of de/regulating the journalism which miscarries common accountability to their constituents, including professionals themselves, audiences, sponsors and advertisers, news sources, peers and regulatory authorities. Thus, the persistent inclination that the Tanzanian media primary obligation pay to ownership components as opposed to collective responsibility by liberal democracy ideas which entail to general public (MCT, 2013b: 21).

Besides, the current political economy of Tanzanian media reveals that majority of media conglomerate's powers are politicians and businessmen who communally use the legal system to foster self-censorship against socially accountable journalism. It's not surprising that most of media owners in the country still uphold on the existing media ownership structure which allow them to possess multiple channels through cross ownership. To them, such configuration is valuable to the flourish of their commercial welfares, while to the counterpart is hostile to journalism propensity of fourth estate. On the supposition that the only independent media can archetypally play part of spontaneously setting agenda in respect of public ingredients as well as creating the inclusive platform where people can have wide access of information and expressing their opinions for the citizenry richness. As argued by Jean Bertrand (2007) through his version of Media Accountability Systems (MAS) that only way for media to play normative position in democratization is by self-governing means of market regulation and freedom from restrictive legislative control, with adherence to the deontological support of daily journalistic operation, meant for professional codes and ethics to be developed by self-regulatory organ, which might expose the public services (p.56). Therefore, the ultimate role of media is to serve the social responsibility, potential to generate the public trusts and entails journalism as service rather than a commodity vended by influential minority, it may only have rendered in the course of free media assertion.

2.5 The State of Institutional Media and Professionalism

Institutional mechanism is the fundamental for prolific information flow to flourish across the community. This goes aboard commencing the government initiatives, especially through communication divisions crosswise the public institutions, whereby mainstream media might embed the government – public communication channels in keeping with the constitutional pursuit for comprehensive citizens' access to public information. Likewise, the provision of Press Organizations role as a dynamic arbitrator amongst media and served society, it's so far suits a

self-determination classic for the news institutions and overall journalists not only to detect the professional and national guidelines on the ground, but also rationalize the journalistic working atmosphere aimed at smoothly partaking the social accountability in the democratic society. Whilst, the structure of ownership and control entails the institutional manners and nascent settings towards the media functioning vi's-à-visa expediting the news industry scenario. In this respect, Tanzania media policy and legislations necessitate to restructure the ownership patterns in which the autocracy among the owners tends to nurture transformation into their manners, contrary to the sociopolitical needs of industry. Whereas, advertisers get the most out of the overall social aspirations keen on the national divide through the power of media. They routine into promotional tool to achieve extraordinary characters, ultimately media have a burden to abide the established values so as to secure the advertising boom over economy deteriorations. Hitherto the institutional mechanisms such as self-regulatory instruments are potential to curtail such divisive inclinations.

2.5.1 The Institutional Support; Private and Public Media Dichotomy

The concept of *institution of the press* ends up at editorial team as an absolute decision maker on what to publish and in which way, meant for top-down style unlike participatory framework among other media personnel particularly reporters (Gnonzio, 2011: 79). It signifies the limited journalists' influence on the news stories outlooks. It has extra implication to Tanzanian media scenery, when journalists are sanctioned to attend some events organized by particular institutions, and if they do so institution of media likely to ignore what they write, while for those who may be assigned to be there, their reportages have to conform the media houses polices and styles in which editors are pioneers. Nevertheless, there are incredible consequences in recent times; institutional support is glowing for mutual support brought about by various organizations in which editors and ordinary reporters are acquainted with their professional contacts. For instance, the formation of media human right class is ultimate for objecting the ideal importunity of institution of media, whereby journalists might cooperatively work with their editors concerning the human rights issues (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 80). This also fostered through the upward universal perspective on the scope of cooperation between Tanzanian media houses with other countries to form regional players operating amid Tanzania and other member states (p. 81).

The institutional provision of the Tanzanian media house is still idealistic, for lack of specialized training like analytical reporting on gender issues; it so far becomes pessimistic around the ground as a result of the poor institutional livelihood for media persons when covering the public affairs. Unless by means of professional media organizations, such as the TMF since 2008 inclines to take part in institutional means like to organize dedicated training, including investigative journalism on extractive industries in 2016 (TMF, 2011: 1). However, the application of such instruction in the field has been uncertain, due to the lack of managerial support, to the extent that the graduates are still assigned on pressing issues in due course (Powell, 2017: 9). This is attributable to the policies and interest of media houses, including the executive editors in which some have ideal political agenda contrary to the betterment of the

general public. Whilst, self-regulation is more about the institutional mechanism to enable the professionals independently achieve the social accountability unlike legislative machinery. According to Mfumbusa (2003) the self-regulation as institutional methods are still futile to enforce journalistic codes of ethics in Tanzanian newsrooms and potential to spur unethical journalism (p. 11). The MCT goes forward on regulating the various journalism activities and contemplation to retain public journalism model in view of professional standards.

Notwithstanding there are conspicuous undertakings among media houses in Tanzania in supporting their reporters, catering the overall community, such as IPP group of companies through its broadcasting channels notably the ITV and Radio One. They have institutional initiatives which provide funds about 20% of their annual budget, supporting the social based programs to sensitize viewers and other companies vis-à-vis critical subjects such as HIV/AIDS (Powell, 2017: 42). These media institutions had also ever encouraged football fans and general Tanzanians to donate to a football team of under 17 ages, a Serengeti Boys, as motivation for better performance in their champions. Likewise, the MCL through its Kiswahili daily newspaper, *Mwananchi*, and one of the major English-language newspapers in the country, *The Citizen*, collectively have strategic measures in editorial policies on mobilizing the public concerning gender-balance per daily reportages (MCT, 2014: 16). To the extent that, the company has been honored a Tanzanian gender equality network GEMSAT award for its deliberations on curtailing gender discriminations across the national clusters. According to the audience survey and content analysis conducted by committee formed by MCT, the *Mwananchi* newspaper remains identical objective adhering to the prevailing laws and ethics in the country, despite the government's intimidation during general elections in 2010 (Rioba. 2012: 145). On top of that, a MCL is progressive so far in term of capital in which by 2013 grew 29% in effective incomes (Mwaijega, 2013: 73).

Besides, the newly TV broadcasting operator a Azam media established in 2013, under ownership of a business mogul Said Bakhresa, has comprehensive institutional endeavors, the line of management is equipped with high profile commissioners, counting high-ranking journalists from global media like BBC's Swahili service (Powell, 2017: 11). Azam Media initially evolved to change the Tanzanian and overall East African media scenario keen on thematic coverage with rich public life exposure of local and international current affairs like general election, political rallies live reportages. However, recently the episodic approaches across all Azam channels persists as it's manifested with motto *entertainment for all* (burudani kwa wote), popularizes the distinguished functions of celebrities, football tournament, boxing and other elite local taste programs. The emphasis is still put on promoting local mass productions through movies, reality shows, family entertainment serials, educational programs, sports among others. It has acquired the exclusive rights for telecasting of Tanzania Vodacom Premier League, the Azam Uganda Premier League, the FKF League in Kenya, and the Primus League in Burundi (Football) and has effectively transmitted the matches from the beginning of its launch (Azam, 2013).

The editorial policies are the dynamic phenomenon for Tanzania Media Institutions to progress in accounting for the benefit of general public, whereby the boundary between

entertainment and educational programmes is quite unclear. Other efforts rest on the mechanism by individual Media Houses for putting forwards various policies and professional strategies to ensure the media persons abide to ethical principles and values of journalism. This involves the provision of media ombudsman initiative liable to sustain the quality of contents produced within professional framework, in an attempt to detect ethical and technical errors as well as to advocate for the audiences' utilities; hitherto certainly constructing the portrayed messages into relevant to niche spectators. Also, the press ombudsman system stands for preventing and clearing the complains from audiences over media contents as well as its useful contrivance to cement mutual benefits and trust between media houses and users. However, MCT (2013a) argues on the limited utilization of ombudsman office among media house in Tanzania, signifying the indefinite mechanism of media institution (p. 70).

The assertive peculiarities concerning the institutional acquiescence to professionalism also depict the approaches' dichotomy in public and private media institutions. The publicly-owned media organizations consist of TBC, ZBC, TSN and ZNC; which they operate semi-autonomously. They are yet at the mercy of ruling minority, since their Managing Directors are of President Appointees and their expenditures of generated revenues keep on strictly underneath government accounting procedures (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 9). In this context, the prototype of public media becomes the government operatives attributable to the critical synopsis by government bureaucrats and political cadres' influences into the institutional subjectivity. Moehler & Singh (2011) postulate the conflicting scrutiny concerning the state owned whether are more gifted over private media in Africa; since government has entire regulations and control of all form of mass communications across the borderlines (p. 276). Taking into account that public media abundantly receive the government subsidies and advertising from public and private institutions along with the provision of professional and trained staff, infrastructures, and other workwise resources. According to their studies across African media ecosystems Moehler & Singh (2011) indicate that government presses uphold an interesting number of circulations over private counterparty newspapers (p. 277). Ultimately, private media are vulnerable of lesser quality and unable to challenge the prevailing system of state-run media, whereby the political economy ostensibly reveals on unethical and inconsistent broadcasts (p. 277).

It similarly implicates to Tanzania media panorama, the state-owned TBC which encompasses TBC Taifa, TBC FM and TBC 1 are among the few broadcast stations in the country which able to expand completely to the national geographical coverage. On the private counterpart, only the giant private commercial stations have significant nationwide reach like Radio Free Africa, Radio One, Clouds FM, ITV and Star TV (InterMedia. 2011: 36). Whereas several other privately owned are incapable of covering the whole country due to the technological resources that inhibits their coverage, so far, they are less to develop behind the public media owing to the scarce competing power over advertising deal on account of their marginal resources' provisions. Nevertheless, Moehler & Singh (2011) contend that the mushrooming of privately-owned radio with a variety of news sources indicates the typical dichotomy that private media played considerable character of the democracy objectivity and overall economic development in Africa over monopoly of government in media market (p. 276).

Moreover, there are identical bearings among private and public media houses over proprietorship on treating the editorial conducts. According to the Survey of Journalists and Media Managers conducted by MCT (2013b) on the Impact of Ownership on Editorial Independence in Tanzanian Media discloses the alike institutional mechanism which influence the editorial behaviors in both private and publicly owned media. It found that government figures frequently speak their mind to the editors about the entire public media programming and even pointing out some ostensive blunders that would be corrected or removed, the juncture clues to the confiscation of some programs which were deemed on intimidating the public to those in powers (MCT, 2013b: 21). Meanwhile, in private counterpart proprietors go far even to sack or side-line their media personnel who attempted to focus on objective journalism for writing up the news stories contrary to their concentration (p. 22). That study stipulates the harsh conducts experienced in private media by owners, through corporal intervention of the editorial works, imposing indefinite proofreaders who may change some articles on spot over all sets approved by editor in charge for publication yet, it just to humor the owners' interest. Sub-editors are not freely completing their journalistic works per professional and ethical guidelines in which managing editor are potential of censoring everything in the newsrooms so as to please the proprietor, this is due to the number of pressures executed by media patrons (p. 22).

The further synthesis around private and state-run media about the institutional appraisal rests on the inconclusive abstract vis-à-vis the public trust dichotomy. Once again Moehler & Singh (2011) matches the Private versus Public Media in Africa, stressing the historical *despotic and corrupt regimes* assertion of media mistreatment, meant for publicly owned media dependence to the state and apparently were twisted as a régime mouthpiece (p. 276). It reveals the public trust substantial in private media which is approachable to the community with utilization of alternative sources of news, and that's ideally exercising watchdog role in democratic wise, by means of investigative reporting over government abuses of power (p. 243). In consort with capitalist notion of market competition on advertising, unlike government media which are simply empowered with public resources and consequently widespread bureaucratic information which commonly would deteriorate the public trust. However, by using the survey method Moehler & Singh (2011) reveal unexpected results that state-run broadcasters secure higher levels of public trust than private broadcast media outlets (p. 279). By using the sample of the sixteen countries, they found that only five states the private media sheltered citizens trust; Benin, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, and Zambia, while the rest nine countries including Tanzania, and others; Cape Verde, Ghana, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia the government broadcasters trust are considerably greater than their private rivals (p. 283).

This notion implies that Africans facilitates democracies on public media, given to government powers of controlling all social institution and Economic methodologies where private would not survive efficiently on utilizing the official sources. In addition to the study on the audience scape by InterMedia (2011), the government source of information is more reliable than radio, television for Tanzanians, while friends and family information trust is marginal (p. 33). Nonetheless, the enigmatic results by Moehler & Singh (2011) on public trust contention has

based merely on individual personas, comprising low political sophistication in views of civic knowledge about liberal democracy abstract, autocratic and credulous arrogances concerning political power, and pro-government institutions in view of partisan coordination are commonly occupied in widespread distrust for private media in excess of public media (p. 280). While national-level inspirations in regards with political culture and political Partisanship entails trust on public media, and not by reason of the undeveloped and low quality of private media outlets (p. 283). Therefore, the trust assentation is not a supportive signal to the flourish of media industry particularly private sector. Instead, other factors should be taken into consideration upon enhancing the quality of broadcast or cultivating press freedoms, with the emphasis of the precise political culture for miscellaneous media system to prosper, triggering on to promulgating egalitarian and desired professional reputation.

The private media in Tanzania has historical implications of public trust, commenced on the outset of media liberalization in 1990s whereby a load of privately-owned media outlets were forefront on sensational and entertaining genres. Recently they secured significant trust after exposing multi-billion corruption scandals steered to the dismissal and resignations of senior government bureaucrats in 2000s. As the general concerns on the institutional mechanism dichotomy amid public and private, differing in the manner of contents productions and ways of propagation, due to the contrasting ideologies in the basis of political and economic affiliations as mostly anchored on ownership structure. Consequently, the two media styles are absolutely engendering unlike agendas with diverse ultimate goal of shaping public opinions in the same nation. Magolanga (2016) affirms on the provision of editorial policies dichotomy in Tanzania media system; for the government owned media always remains pro-government (p. 23). Such a *Habari Leo* carries content which is responsive to the government and the ruling party CCM and unlikely to criticize over whatever government bearings (p. 23). While private media are rather impartial, such as *Mwananchi* editorial policy remains critical to the government (p. 29). On account of capitalism modes of economy, still the private paper is determined by market forces, it's used for commercial curiosity, in which the press inclines to base more on political stories in order to sell the paper over a good number of audiences as well as to attract advertisers in maximization of profits, rather than focusing on development journalism-based topics (p. 76).

2.5.2 Press Organizations and Quest for Journalist Wage Board

Tanzanian journalism encompasses a number of organizations under journalists' supervision for the professional accomplishments. These include professional associations, trade unions, ethics and freedom fortification-based organizations, femininity interest centered associations along with press clubs athwart several regions in the. Press club have become dominant centers for gathering journalists across the country, enhancing professionalism and economic development to the general public country (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2003: 5). The information services department (habari maelezo) is the major government institution for generating the public information, subsequent to the SHIHATA dissolution Act no. 7 of 2000. This public institution has various offices in mainland regions, while the Zanzibar information services department operates merely on the isles. The provision of communication/information

managers in various public and private agencies is the step ahead for the media industry in engendering public information, whereby officers are liable to utilize mass media for social contract point of view, with the intention of maintaining mutual empathy between government and overall citizens. The chronological framework for Tanzania Journalist Association can be traced in 1963, when the founder of Umma Party and editor of *Sauti ya Umma* on Zanzibar, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, formed the historical Journalist Organization in Tanzania based on isles namely the Association of Zanzibar Journalists (AZJO) (Hamdani et al. 2014: 75). It was chaired by Jamal Ramadhan Nasibu and Salim Ahmed Salim a secretary with aims at protecting their rights from predominant encroachments.

The association advocated not only for welfare of national journalists but also treasured a vote of confidence from East African journalists and wide African journalists' societies over government depression against the fundamental rights to enlighten the public, in which the British regime reacted accordingly, insomuch as confiscated the passports of some association's members, then still the AZJO got globally backed up (p. 76). As happened to the gradual death of press industry during the Tanzania's Ujamaa epoch, AZJO scheme came to an end in 1964 just after the United Republic of Tanzania was formed, whereby most of its members were co-founders of union government and hence others were designated to serve public posts (p. 77). When the MCT was formed in 1995, there had been already several national and regional media professional organizations in which to large extent paved the way for MCT initiative, following the common denunciation of the government's proposal to enact a Legislative Media Council.

The media institutions under umbrella of civil society organizations outstandingly MISA Tanzania branch, MISA-Tan, Association of Journalists and Media Workers AJM which was formed in 1994 and Association of Tanzania Journalist (TAJA) have been forefront on shielding free media and augmenting ethical foundations of journalism practice in the media houses and individual journalists. Example, TAJA remains significant in safeguarding the interest of Tanzanian media workers. While MISA-Tanzania is a regional panel which conveys journalism practices and acquaintances among the member states (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 25). It concentrates on: *freedom of expression advocacy and lobbying; media monitoring as a tool to gauge the degree of media freedom; campaigning for broadcasting pluralism and diversity; general media support; and, a legal support and defense fund for journalists and media houses*. Additionally, MISA-Tan endeavored to comprehend the set objective by using deliberate implements, like conducting training workshops, exchange programs within the region and arranges awards for journalists, for example, the annual Edward Moringe Sokoine Award for journalists who have succeeded in highlighting development issues (p. 25).

The Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) was founded in 1987 and got registered as an NGO in 1988. This gender-based organization focuses on femininity liberation, meant for media advocacy on promoting the visibility of women in development; reviewing the Law of Marriage Act 1971; eradicating child labour; and, campaigning against HIV/AIDS and female genital mutilation (FGM) (TAMWA, 2015). Henceforth, TAMWA is influential not only on endorsing female media workers' constructive appearance over male dominance but also tends to feature the media role on women emancipation from social stereotypes. These includes

promoting the news coverage of women and children, especially from remote areas alongside their basic right through legal backing, by using its own media strategy such as the journal *Sauti ya Siti* (Madam's Voice) which imparts sufficient knowledge on gender issues (Kiondo, 2007: 8). Besides, there are also international media monitoring agencies in Tanzania, including Africa Media Portal and the Steadman Group in which among others they deal with the proposition of media programs like advertising and monitoring of journalistic activities like news coverage and public access (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 25). The Tanzanian press clubs are significant machinery for regulating media issues by means of top-down and bottom-up approach of administering and installing satisfactory network amid freelancers and permanent media persons. There are about 23 regional press clubs around the country with managements whose role is to represent districts, regional and national level, through which private and public media houses are involved to cultivate a communal progression and converse the journalists' aspirations in the direction of supplementing professionalism (MCT, 2013a: 14).

Since, journalism is an inclusive line of work anchored in various specialties, the provision of dedicated media organizations is dynamic on safeguarding the professional performance towards the social obligation. For instance, the Tanzania Sports Writers Association TASWA is a core expediter for crucial characteristics of sports journalism in Tanzania. The Association has more than 90 members and branches in some regions, endures to bring together the main actors of sport commentary through decisive occasions like sports media bonanza, whereas over 1,500 participants played, ate and drank together (p. 16). TASWA has good link with other global based sport pioneers like the Tanzania Olympic and the International Sports Press Association in which TASWA regularly attends annual general convocation, it also has been working closely with Tanzania Football Federation. TASWA organizes training for its member and presenting annually awards of the Sportsman/Sportswoman in which various champions in sports categories are contested (p. 17). However, due to the financial constraints, TASWA persists ineffective throughout its deliberations, hence merely depends on sponsors which might depicts reproach on the objective journalisms. As Sports journalism is still deemed a populist element of profession in the country, the association inclines to craft the independence among its member by initiating savings and credit cooperative society (SACCOS), along with placing other various projects headed for financially supporting themselves with respect to welfare and professional sustainability.

Knowing the financial limitations as a cynical burden for the professional accomplishment in Tanzania, the Tanzania Media Fund TMF was established in 2008 pointing toward at financing journalism activities in the best interests of setting up independent media milieu, necessary for an accountable, transparent government and a democratic society (TMF, 2011: 1). It's meant for precautionary legitimate over ownership comforts and overcoming other ethical challenges around the structural conditions such as brown envelope journalism. Thus, TFM which is managed by skillful local administrators is disposed to trace accountable and free journalism scenario, focusing on individual journalists and organizations to restructure into analytical and public interest reporting systems. Tracing the grassroots individuals to the mainstream media house, TMF covers endowments to over 347 individual grantees and 58

institutions from the first phase (2008 -2012) (p. 9). By which about 2388 of media productions were featured in newspapers, radio and TV which exceeded the original targets of (2008-2012) plot. Thanks to the high number of award applicants, the press sector was the major beneficiary during the second scheme 2012 – 2015 *for 74% with over 2000 articles were published of which more than 50% related to transparency and accountability*, likewise 18% broadcasted on radio, and 8% secured on television (p. 10). The TMF inclines on popularizing the local programming with relevant quality, for example there are a number of popular local programs which are aired in major TV stations of Tanzania, like the documentary of ‘*Chief Mkwawa*’ produced by Alkemist Media, and the satirical puppet show ‘*Pikabom*’ as well as 2011’s ‘*Nchi Yetu*’ series produced by Maa Media (p. 11). Such programs and other localized projects foster the diversity and plurality of contents, as a matter of course tracing the marginal populations in particular like gender issues and rural remote populaces.

As stated by MCT (2013a) that through mentorship programs TMF managed to cover 306 individual journalists and 14 institutional grantees accompanied by Investigative Journalism and mobile reporting trainings, intended at improving their journalistic capacity, understandings and ultimate quality (significance, sourcing, viewpoints and in-depth reporting) (p.22). However, the analytical journalism is not yet recognized well by journalists and media institutions comparing to public interest reporting scheme (p. 23). While the second phases 2012-2015 was redefined for the miscellaneous grant categories and set more realistic targets, which mostly focuses on institutional alterations of media industry vis-à-vis serious journalism counter to exemplary yellow. Thus far, TMF equipped journalists with structural environment emerged around the industry using audiences’ mentorship methodology. The TMF prototype is the convenient institutional support in boosting the circulation of press, viewership and listenership for broadcasting channels. Such media development organizations are very influential on adopting the institutional mechanisms over upgrading the operational transformation with regard to accountability schemes of media, including the watchdog role that might reinforce transparency and independence. To this point, the Networking among media institutions like TAMWA, MISA, JET and TAJA, ascends to confluence and deliberate about the essential agencies to consent professional excellence and neutralize inimical legislations into conducive settings of responsibility and transparent to prevail (TMF, 2011: 12).

The media organizations are hitherto very persuasive of protecting media not only professional legality but also are potential of fortifying the labor right over structural severance. Such professional societies and trade unions have incredible character to organize journalists to protect and defend their rights in eliminating the high labor disputes including turnover amongst media houses. The study by MCT (2013a) discovered that about 98% of respondents are member of media professional organization in which Regional Press Clubs secure 88.3% of participants (p. 70). While there is exoticism among journalists towards trade unions utilization, despite the common provision of the ILO Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and Part III of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977. In this provision workers of any sector have the right to join and set up trade unions to gratify for their welfares and aspirations. Nonetheless, it normally turns out to fallacy

on the subject of media occupation as far as many media houses don't have even schemes of service and contracts for employees (p. 71).

Hence, the press clubs are the just basic for merely professional progression and harmony, rather than championing their members' right, accordingly, journalist become disappointed of defending their privileges over disputes through trade unions (p. 70). The studies further consent the absence of journalism related trade union and Minimum Wage Board for Media Industry, though the Labor Institutions Act, 2004 here-in after referred to as LIA, 2004 (Part V of the Act, especially S.34(b) provided for wage boards, which would set up minimum income/wages. It's ideal for journalists to make use of shielding their rights a potential convergent sphere, holding the depiction of mutual interests of the employer and employees, by which permanent employed, part-timers and freelancers would be beneficiaries in accordance with Contract of Service. Due to the lack of knowledge on labor laws, whereas journalists cannot even differentiate the trade unions liable for protecting workers' rights in respect of remunerations and working conditions and media associations which primarily concentrate on professional disputes and accomplishments (p. 72). Despite the fact that they are proponent to generate public awareness on labor laws, they are so far not aware of their own rights and services. The persistency of normative discrepancy by professionals on Wage Board in the media industry is in the cards to impair the common prosperity in which *a loop hole has been created for employers to maximize profit at the expense of poorly motivated journalists* (cf. p.73). Therefore, utilization of labor laws through trade unions are essential accouter over labor disputes in favor of journalists as well as for promoting efficiency and professional excellence athwart media organizations.

2.5.3 MCT as Self-Regulatory Device for Institutional Transformation

Subsequent to the breakdown of Statutory Media Council Bill which was projected by the government to regulate the journalism and its affiliations in the country. According to the late minister of information and broadcasting Dr. William Shija the Media Profession Regulation Act of 1993 was destined as state machinery to professionalize the media sector from intervention of immature journalists who used the loophole of free market to destabilize the profession. It would have safeguarded the fundamental public right to information as well as holding media free and publicly accountable. Among other utilities the bill was premeditated to entrust the board on regulation and controlling the entire media operation, counting registration and even to deregister news people as per prerequisites. Contrary to the views of many media professionals who contemplated that, the proposal was another deterring legislative device and aimed to hamper the functioning of independent media which was basic for initial democratization struggle. However, the historical concerted action by various stakeholders to oppose the bill was fruitful. Since then professionals from media institutions managed to found the Independent Media Council of Tanzania IMCT in June 1995 in the course of an inclusive resolution, it was officially launched in February 1996 while started operation effectively on May 22nd 1997 after official registration (Stumer, 2008: 186).

IMCT, which was constituted as a voluntary, autonomous, and non-statutory body, aims at enforcing professional ethics and protecting individuals

against invasion of privacy. Although the council's power is based on moral authority, it can be given legal weight if IMCT testifies against an offender in court. The council has 13 members, seven from media institutions and five public representatives, and its chairman is the vice-chancellor of the Open University, Professor Geoffrey R. V. (cf. p. 189).

Afterwards, MCT grew into the professionally administered organization, which is pointed at undergoing self-regulation principles athwart institutional incentive afore legislative enforcement, in an attempt to enhance ethical behaviors in the media houses and inspiring the provision of free press. MCT has endeavored to maintain public trust and freedom of media institutions rather than governmental contraption which normally seems to destabilize the media significant role to the society on behalf of servicing ruling elites. The independent, non-statutory and voluntary media council is ideal to set up promising milieu over legal and market constrains, to the point that responsible media are designed under concrete ethical groundwork attributable to the democratic society rations. Through the paradigm of voluntarism, all media institutions are potential members and owe a courtesy to operate the body by financial backing via annual membership fee. The MCT objectives were set to hearten the broad professional undertakings including;

...to assist, safeguard and maintain freedom of the media in Tanzania; to oversee that journalists, editors, broadcasters, producers, directors, proprietors and all those involved in the media industry in Tanzania adhere to highest professional and ethical standards; to consider and adjudicate upon complaints from the public and amongst the media against infringements of the code of ethics.; encouraging development of the media profession in Tanzania by undertaking activities including, but not limited to, training of journalists, overseeing press clubs development, to conduct various media freedom campaigns, seminar, workshop and/or symposia; to maintain a register of developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance, keep a review of the same, and investigate the conduct and attitude of persons, corporations and governmental bodies at all levels, towards the media, and make public reports on such investigations; to promote and defend the interests of readers, viewers and listeners and to promote gender sensitivity, equality, equity and balance (Cf. Rioba 2009: 186).

Likewise, Bertrand (2007) affirms that media industry can archetypally survive in the emerging settings of capitalist market merely by means of self-determination through own professional conventions, due to the inclination of ownership concentration and hostile legislations (p. 28). He justifies on the changing current model of news into;

Iceberg journalism, which consists in covering only the small visible part of reality; in ignoring the much larger part that is under the surface... *Infotainment*, the common confusion of information and entertainment, of what is interesting and what is important and a regrettable attitude and *Negativism*, which consists in judging most positive news as uninteresting, and in always, showing

the half-empty glass, focusing on decline, conflict, violence, suffering, disaster (p. 29).

The critical dissertation persists on the political, economic and other social powers that might deter the aptitude and archetypal functioning of self-regulatory machinery. In Tanzania the delusion sticks around media houses which are systematic MCT members, the anomalous predisposition by editors in some newsrooms and managers reiterate unscrupulous performances, especially by sensational press after arbitration cases went through them, in due course they withdraw from MCT supervisions as their disappointment over arbitrary decisions upon them (Kilimwiko, 2009: 91). In consequence of the complex ownership structure rooted in state owned, commercial privates and partisan media varieties commonly tend to reveal contrasting ideas about self-regulations spectrum which might provoke the stern violation of profession based in divisive interests. Kilimwiko (2009) argues on the fallacy of self-regulatory model that is mostly owing to conflict of interest in the contemporary media industry in the basis of ownership and organization policies (p. 91). Owners tend to institute their orthodox journalism persona de facto in prioritizing the commercial and political interest, the situation which led the exclusion of some members (p. 92). The owners' control of entire media functioning implicates to the truncated public trust whereby MCT rests reactive organ – event-oriented potency on the ethical violation cases, waiting for complaints to fill up the intercession form.

Accordingly, MCT perseveres in defiance with such media organizations, the typical examples are of Global Publications Company which publishes a number of tabloids; *Uwazi*, *Risasi*, *Amani*, *Ijumaa* and *Champion*, issued a common statement over the then MCT executive secretary Antony Ngaiza, accusing him of having had a secrete agenda over publications, so they would keep on nonmembers. As of 2009 two media institutions refused to comply with MCT's ethics committee and one of them withdrew its membership with MCT (cf. p. 92).

Another dubious instance was for a critical Zanzibar Newspaper *Dira* which suspected the MCT executive to devise with government on proscription of the paper (cf. p. 93). Such myths by MCT members clues the dismissal of some cases, since the editors had declined to join forces with Ethics Committee whereby complainant are asked to look for another legal alternative (Cf. Rioba 2009: 190). Hitherto it entails for the synthesis of socially responsible journalism, meant for self-disciplined among media houses and their journalists per professional principles. Nevertheless, the arbitration spectrum by dint of Ethics Committee is liable for griping and facilitating complaints with reference to abuses of media codes of ethics along media houses and its publics. MCT achieves high public trust, by which several individuals and institutions continue to make of use the Committee for handling their objections, ultimately it serves a court of honor thanks to the punctuality and affordability of arbitration procedures, unlike law court protocols which may take some years for the cases to terminate (MCT, 2013a: 68).

MCT (2015) affirms concerning the conjoint individual journalists' gratitude of MCT position in excelling their daily ethical undertakings (p. 41). This is due to the certainty that the individual professionals are always eager on the ethical tendency over external muggers. However, according to the study MCT (2015) there is a common longing among media professionals about (71.9%), would like to see more efficiency per deliberate mechanism to be

applied so that to magnify self-regulation system. A good number of research participants think that media self-regulation would be rather effective for embedding socially accountable based journalism in Tanzania than government legislations (p.33).

Table 2.5.1: Strengths and Weaknesses of the MCT in Force

Strength of MCT's self-regulation	Weaknesses of MCT's self-regulation
1 Has proved even to government that it can serve as a regulatory mechanism	MCT's decisions are not binding because it lacks sanctioning powers
2 Has gained credibility because of the calibre of persons serving on its board and secretariat	MCT is not sustainable because about 90 percent of its budget is funded by donors
3 Its activities, including arbitration, research, publications, public education are visible to the public	Most ordinary citizens are not aware of MCT activities and can hardly access its services
4 Has conducted periodic trainings to many journalists in the country on issues of professional ethics, investigative journalism and other topics	Some of MCT courses are not needs based; MCT does not always involve targets of its training about their training needs
5 Arbitration process is educative and leads to conciliation of parties allowing them to continue working together if need be	MCT not being neutral particularly in its relationship with the government. MCT may not be fair because of its activist approaches to media policy issues
6 MCT does not slap media outlets with hefty fines as is the case in courts of law	MCT is not proactive and does not address grave ethical violations until someone or institution complains
7 Costs of arbitration are low because the process takes a shorter time and does not involve lawyers	Some media practitioners complain that MCT is closer to media owners than to ordinary journalists
8 Has contributed to promoting media accountability and press freedom for example in establishing and enhancing Editors Forum, Press Clubs, codes of ethics and leading a coalition for Freedom of Information legislation	The quality of MCT's publications (<i>Media Watch and Barazani</i>) need improvement. The content should not reproduce what is published in other newspapers. They should also carry reviews of ethical performance of media
9 Has been preparing events for professionals to debate on professional issues of contention from time to time	Media owners do not expect to pay subscription fees to MCT only to be condemned by the same organisation for ethical misconduct
10 Top government leaders (up to a level of Vice President and Prime Minister) have taken their complaints to MCT	Self-regulation appears ineffective because media owners, editors and journalists are not sufficiently aware of their role in Tanzania's democratization

Source; Rioba (2009; 159)

On the other side, due to the meagre running of MCT to reinforce the free and effective press alike, in place of it some stakeholders think of legal enforcement to entrench punitive powers (MCT, 2014: 58). Since the framework of democracy would needs the legal compulsion with certain exceptions on the pillars conspicuously freedom of expression, that's to fashion accountable and transparent environment where media has humble obligation to work for a legitimate concentration of the social needs and aspirations. The statutory machinery may validate the provisional power of administering and regulating in particular conditions, such as deregistering any journalist who may violate the set ethical codes and standards (p. 58). Whilst, the presence of inimical law might pressurize the subjective undertakings and push state elites prosperity, as of the state establishment of the statutory organ to counter MCT.

In his PhD dissertation about Media Accountability in Tanzania's Multiparty Democracy as the case of self-regulation, Rioba (2009) finds that the Media Council of Tanzania has been endeavoring to set journalism convenient in the country for the better performance, it so far has been honored regionally and globally attributable to its institutional structure of self-regulatory mechanism as well as its acknowledged with high respect from journalists (p. 190). In his analysis about the arbitration, Rioba discovered that most of the incidents are about ethical faults in the scope of defamation, libel and innuendo which are mostly filled by individuals and institutions (p. 191). Through qualitative analysis about MCT's arbitration cases in the ten-year period (1997–2006), he further found out the supreme defendants of 92 percent used to complain over newspapers, while radio had only six percent of arbitration cases and the rest are about plagiarism and others (p. 192). While About 87 percent of protests were about false, untrue or malicious information as reasoned by complainants. Surprisingly, in this study Rioba (2009) catches that serious newspapers are the foremost potential of complaints rather than tabloids (p. 193). This is due to the reality that broadsheet newspapers are always politically analytic and tend to cover the real life of human stories including the social and economic arenas.

MCT undergoes with a quantity of encounters plus strengths as illustrated on table No. 2.5.3 above. All the same, this organ is the only prominent institutions in the country even out of media industry, which has efficaciously managed to reach and serve the niche publics, where by about 2000 workshops and seminars in 10 years were conducted to media owners, administrators, editors, journalists and other stakeholders, together with over 1000 beneficiaries were reached throughout the county on the scope of basic journalism, ethics and investigative reporting trainings (p. 211). Moreover, it sets up about 23 press clubs across the regions and developing code of ethics especially during the general elections, while its publications *The Watch* and *Barazani* have become significant tools in the media practice and academia in Tanzania (p. 211). Therefore, there is a need of deliberate mechanisms keen on institutionalized approach with the purpose to enforce the ethical journalism to prevail the trendy profession. The MCT professional legitimacy compels further imperative institutional adherence in term of ownership, and instant structural reform in the newsrooms in an attempt to streamline independent and responsible journalism.

2.5.4 Technological influences on Tanzanian Mediascape

The provision of the new constitution in 1992 obsessed by multipartism has expanded the Tanzanian media landscape triggering the diversity of content compassions and informative model, together with limited censorship and control from the state. Hitherto the emergence of alternative media particularly *pavement radio– informal channels* is essential for the real world of pluralistic media attributable to the evolving of complex ownership postures (Ekström et al. 2012: 165). Accordingly, the manifestation of new mediation over digital sphere has emanated to cement the traditional African oral circulation of informal news over the tendency of low professionalism, self-censorship and government interference across the mainstream journalism (p. 172). When examining the antecedents and consequences around the transformation of media structures as militarized by means of economic and political liberalization, so far technological

determinism is another dynamic factors behind the crusade, in which technology diffusion had great influences to the modeling the presence configurations. The initial landmark which elicited towards current Tanzania media ecosystem was noticed through the satellite evolution, when broadcasting etiquettes was much factored in the way of digitalization keen on communication technologies. Satellite broadcasting is ideal progressive movement for media industry, enhancing the broadcasting quality, in addition to the expansion of audiences reach in a given extensive geographical coverage of the television channels. There is also an escalation in the number of people receiving television channels through satellite, and thus being able to watch international channels such the DStv spectrum (InterMedia, 2011: 19).

The Migration from Analogue to Digital Broadcasting is the historical milestone of Tanzania mediascape, which has coped with the free media market scheme. Its rationale for content quality, overall effective productions and transmissions which pass very far and less expensive operating in term of human, capital and material resources. Digital broadcasting seems preferable with audio-visual quality, high storage and persistent, so far its pertinent for statistical data and interactive services as long as it utilizes economic power energy in the television, radio, and internet broadcasting. Thus Tanzania decided to shift from analogue transmission into entire digital information and communication technology through telecommunication and internet in proportion to its signatory to International Telecommunication Union – ITU, Geneva in 2006 which meant by 2015 would be the last time to utilize analogue (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, 2003: 25). The government commenced migration deliberation on July 1, 2011 for the transmission of UHF Band IV and V; while analogue systems for range VHF band III is utilized by 2020. The present media policy paper appeals the owners to switch into digital and confiscate analogue equipment in their studios in place of digital transmission. Meanwhile, the policy called for digital legal reasonable for damping the demonstration of analogue, while public are entailed to use TV box under major Multiplex Operators for distribution of television and radio programs (p. 27).

Therefore, on December 31, 2012 Tanzania suited among the first countries over the world to migrate from analogue to comprehensive digital broadcasting after proved its plan to switch-off analogue for the entire country by that time. However, the initial scheme covered only in Dar es Salaam on account of inadequate digital signal installation, while other regions like Dodoma and Tanga would have utilized on January 31, 2013; Mwanza on February 28; Kilimanjaro and Arusha on March 31, Mbeya on April 30 and Zanzibar on February 28, 2013 and other regions would be later upon completion of the installations (MCT, 2013a: 69). The Tanzanian fixings to roam the digital broadcasting was forefront three years ahead of ITU treaty which had set 2015 as the deadline for terrestrial television stations around the globe to transfer from analogue to digital systems. Although, it was a historical progress for media industry, conversely for audiences and general media users were very shocked since they got used of free services diffusion, whereas this novel transformation obliges them to buy top box for television access (p. 70). To this point, the evolution of digital broadcasting services turned into an additional cornerstone for communication divide, due to the reality that most target users are in

urban, whereas rural dwellers would not access in consequence of the low purchasing power and electricity difficulty.

Besides, the mobile phone has risen amongst the most influential tool and supportive to the economic, political and social communication needs. Kivikuru (2016) cites on the Africa service typology of mobile phone like Ushahidi, the crowd-mapping platform, mobile money projects like MPesa, and the so-called MHealth projects are among the widespread ventures of mobile utilization in Africa (p. 87). Similar to Tanzania which according to TCRA has over 40.00 million mobile phone subscribers as of December 2017, from whom around 21,889,618 users have Mobile Money Accounts and about 19 million consumers use their mobile phones to access internet (TCRA, 2017). With the advancement of usage by 62% household across the country, while for Urban Mobile Phone Access is 82 percent and 54 percent for Rural (InterMedia, 2011: 9). While the mobile reaches and beneficiaries might be more than numbered due to the *communal usage, where a phone belonging to one family member serves the entire family as well as neighbors, is especially common in rural areas* (cf. MCT, 2014: 45). By reason of the competitive market in telecommunications industry, the mobile services has become rather affordable, hence incline to blur the informational gap amid urban and rural populations as well as marginal and privileged class. Thus far tends to replicate an alternative space for journalism, designed for the expansion of broadcasting means and overall information access, since it remains a convergent tool, accessing multiple channels such as radio news, online TV and social media newsfeeds. Though the prevailing users are among a group of urban and affluent Tanzanians, retrieving and circulating copious format as videos, text, pictures, live television and radios along with reading newspapers on their mobile phones (p. 52).

It hitherto signifies the identical media development and growth in the country with convergent values of access and consumption of mainstream mass media by using mobile and the internet in convenient locations. Yet, the SMS are potential of boosting public access of information per communal information sharing amid friends and family (InterMedia, 2011: 33). Nonetheless, the empirical study through AudienceScapes survey in Tanzania exposes the minimal radio listening behaviors through mobile phones, whereas only 35 percent and 13 percent of all mobile users use SMS text for news and information and stay tuned to the radio on a mobile phone weekly respectively. While public trust for SMS as a credible source of information is miserable and most of receivers are undetermined to share with fellows, on the other hand of internet trust is quite high among Tanzanians (p. 34). Likewise, telecommunication industry greatly hasten digital technology as of broadband where spectators' flavor are enriched per quality and local programming via cable networks, binding the global satellite cable players by reverence of media owners' control which accelerated the move (cf. MCT, 2014: 48). The Tanzanians' conviction on the wired news and information is ideally imposed by the attempts through multiple platforms like blogs; Facebook, YouTube and tweeter, now tend to increase public interactivity with political models rather efficacious than in traditional means of political communication.

In provision of the technological determinism model, commencing the advancement of computer which has fashioned the communications system per social usages in Tanzania. It has

changed various forms of mass communication, counting the journalism profession is ultimately factored by this fruition. The Tanzania media landscape is potentially entrenched with arrival of new mediation, which is consistently utilized in filling the gaps for news gathering from the reality of incredible sources in natural setting and circulated rumors. Example Twitter, SMS and email on compatible devices like smartphones, users have enough control to file some data from multiple dimensions based on the natural environment of the events. Considering the natural adjustment of breaking news in the contemporary journalistic practices; in the provision of huge news feeds on various new media platforms, a large quantity of media outlets are competing each other to be the first in exploiting (Asough, 2012: 4).

Likewise, nowadays people may speed up and spend more time on internet than staying tuned on radios or Televisions or other traditional media, thinking that they can secure more with timely news alerts on their computers, smartphones or other digital devices. For easier news productions, a large number of journalists in the technological world count on the attempts of the news feeds available on their multiple platforms, and helping numerous mainstream media to receive the tipoff diversity of news events in a specified times and locations. Users who post on Facebook or Twitter to what's happening in the eyewitness prompt journalist to verify the headlines from diverse sources in the basis of the profession principles. Ekström et al. (2012) affirm the potentiality of new media in Tanzanian mediascape expansion, citing the case of February 17th, 2011 the series of explosions which hit in a military base Gongo la Mboto residential area, on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam, citizen media was active typology in filling the limited information of global mediascape and the declination of national mainstream coverages (p.165). In their qualitative study, Ekström et al. (2012) discover that on the spot public debates were run on social networking like JamiiForums - a popular Tanzanian online forum, through which the thread secured about 1109 comments in two days, and by mid-June it had been viewed 37,248 times.

In addition to the individual Facebook and Twitter accounts were timely loaded with multifaceted photos of the explosions, damaged houses, wounded people, people sheltering as well as President Kikwete and other party and government officials visiting the site. Along with various NGOs such as the Tanzanian Red Cross and AMREF facilitated the same on wired media (cf. p. 166). Nevertheless, that study contends regarding the Social media compression with thematic approach like mobilization on victims' assistance and human aids and sharing information (p. 166). On the other hand, like many years ago during the single party regime when rumor industry persisted across Tanzanian public life passing through oral tradition of street gossip (Mwaffisi, 1985), still such endowment has transpired through social media in the long-lasting scope of diaspora and those on motherland implying the 'globalization of the pavement' (Ekström et al. 2012: 165). So far as every media houses in the country attempt to make the vibrant customs of social media accounts.

Subsequent to the proliferation of social networks, Tanzanian journalism confidence is so alarming on ensuring the online platform remain safe for national security and avoiding libel statements over government and public figures (MCT, 2015: 46). Thus, government thinks about

digital regulation in which from 2012 the TCRA grew in to legal machinery of nominalizing the internet such as holding the National Internet Governance Forum (NIGF) at its headquarters in Dar es Salaam which assemble bloggers and operators of social networking sites who are trained and Establishing a code of conduct (p. 47). Furthermore, in 2012 TCRA with aid of ITU managed to set up a national Computer Emergency Respons Team - CERT to serve as a central coordination point of contact for cyber security for digital regulations over immoral and unethical contents via internet and broadcasting channels (MCT, 2013a: 46). The legislation yet fails to enhance the quality and local programming, qualified professionals, ethical malpractices especially in internet practices (p. 47).

Nonetheless, TCRA recently through the regulation no 18 of Online Content TCRA from the effect on June 11, 2018 prohibits the owners to run new contents on the their blogs, online forum, TV and radios without licenses, and required all platforms operators to get registered before June 15, 2018, unless they will be indicted for violating the stipulated by law. Whilst, the question of online copyright enforcement is evolving along with consequences to freedom of expression and media freedom given to its concern not only on technical, but also political, legal and social. Nevertheless, the conception of network neutrality embarked to the legalization of pluralistic entities and their conducts so to reinforce freedom of speech and the plurality of voices. While policy and legal measures are yet convenient to promote the structures and prosperities of technology as well as to nominalize the problems encountered exclusively to the ethics and professionalism (Kivikuru, 2016: 95). This includes the wide access of public information for the government where media has to play part and increase access and trustworthy information. This is the duty of government to make sure information available on the digital domain ethical and constructive to good governance.

2.6 Structural Conditions over Ethical Conviction in News Media

The successful operation of media industry is determined by various factors regarding the existing political and social system of the state. The daily ultimate journalistic performance conveys on the structural settings along cultural standards anchored in the historical and political stability. During the Ujamaa journalism under the typology of communal life, the mass media system was fixed to facilitate the socio-political norms based on the socialist ideology, later on the economic and political reforms were utilized whereby mass communication coped on free market and political liberation environment, they were typically assigned to proclaim the customs of privatizations and conglomerations. Taking into account the inheritance of socialist principle, the Tanzania media have been constantly influenced with such chronological antecedents equally happened in many African countries, signifying the dubious adoption into multiparty democracy, subsequent to the forces from donors and international financial institutions (Powell, 2017; 8). Hitherto the prototype of independent press is factored on the unethical behaviors such as corruption, plagiarism, conflict of interest, sensationalism, intimidation of sources, and paid write-ups persist to wear down the ideal public trust in the Tanzanian media industry (Mrutu,

2003: 67). The conglomerate media continue to serve the commercial interest, reflecting the institutional fallacy counter to the ethical observance. While media illiteracy is another aspect resulting irresponsible journalism in which audience are more willing of gossips and sensational content insomuch as the yellow newspapers are leading in Tanzanian newsprint market. Media irresponsibility persists crosswise practitioners, whereby political system facilitates athwart restrictive media legislatures. Likewise, sociopolitical and economic settings hinder the effective protagonist of media as well as watchdog roles.

2.6.1 Chequebook Journalism and Lack of Journalists Welfare

Tanzanian journalism is under attack by certain group of news sources which grant prize incentive so as to advance their favorable coverage in media. Such tendency of ethical violation has resulted into extensive misinformation in the society. Some studies found that media houses at editorial level are vulnerable to advertisers who make use of journalistic objects notably advertising, PR and other promotional materials to earn positive coverages of their business (TMF, 2011: 8). There are a lot of circumstances by local journalists who ever prosecuted over bribery; example in 2008 Zephania Musendo the editor of *Family Mirror* newspaper based in Dar es Salaam, was charged and sentenced to five years in prison for asking monetary courtesy upon publishing a story (Changarawe, 2014: 30). However, there is no further study yet to ascertain the extent of envelope journalism since journalists themselves tend to disagree to commit unethical journalistic maneuvers (TMF, 2011: 8). Expressly, the idea of *chequebook journalism* concerns with institutional level where media organizations incline to pay the sources for facilitating required information, whereas the *envelope journalism* concept relies at the reporter's level (Kasoma, 2007: 28). It has become pessimistic practices in the media industry for the words like “*takrima*” and “*mshiko*” are well-known in Tanzanian journalism society for demanding bribery in the course of their workings. Through the corruption syndrome, the predisposition of partisanship exposes to the unethical conviction, for journalists who intensively ask for monetary sustenance from news sources so as in turn grant them positive coverage on individuals or even defame others just after paid (Changarawe, 2014: 29).

However, in Tanzania even institutional “envelopes” is still a marvel (p. 29). There is inclination by certain media to use press releases and corporate stories issued by local and international organizations amid NGOs and companies, through which some media houses or reporters ask for payments upon utilization of the news entry in a journalist's name (Powell, 2017: 93). Among the consequences of envelope journalism is destabilization of the media role of holding the government accountable, in place of servicing the corrupt leaders. As regards politicians and government officials regularly facilitate the journalist's daily routines, using financial and logistical supports such as paying transport expenses and other stipends to cover their incidents, with the intention of maintaining positive portrayal over public criticism.

In the long run of such unethical behaviors among media practitioners, the contemporary journalism sticks at the miserable states where investigative, analytical and thematic reporting are overwhelmed in preference to episodic version, on the basis of press releases and conferences synopses in which news source predisposes to delineate the considerable angle for a news story

(MCT, 2014: 46). Accordingly, there has been rising a question of eroded public trust across media institutions vis-à-vis free market media provision which merely serve the minority elites, even in the current regulated market settings where public media is conditioned with authoritative source whereas citizens are supposed to trust whatever uttered (p. 45). Some scholars contend that commodification of news has resulted the ATM journalism in which news genres are constantly controlled in respect of money values (cf. Changarawe, 2014: 9). Most of envelope journalism players use poverty as an excuse since some media houses pay low wages and narrow remunerations, in view of that, journalists '*serve other masters*' with the purpose of compensating their missed earnings.

Lack of moral consciousness in the newsroom is mostly attributed to low level of education and lack of in-house professional training among media houses to equip their journalists with moral and ethical values. So long as profession concerns much on the social obligation rather than justification in respect of values of minority wealth. As far as this can be argued over the postures by certain journalists who rely on high salaries compromising social accountability, it may attributes not only to public distrust of media house but also for own career towards trivial accomplishment. Meanwhile, further threats to journalists come from social level when some traditionalist attempt to struggle for changes, as happened during the *Uamsho* scheme in 2012 on Zanzibar archipelagoes (MCT, 2013a: 77). Whereby a dozen of reporters regularly receives scare messages, harassments, assaults and often their instruments were confiscated by movement supporters over reportages in the course of demonstrations and aftermaths. Along with angry villagers who had decided to boycott the 2012 National Population and Housing Census, the information denials by sources were also commonly experienced at that time (p. 77).

The Tanzanian journalism is conditioned in the unfortunate operational environment, despite the Provision of Social Security to all employees under the Social Security Amendment Act, 2012, through which entirely workforces as long as are employed by the government or private companies, in casual or formal sector, have the right to join one of the prevailing social security funds notably Public Service Pension Fund (PSPF), National Social Security Fund (NSSF), Local Authority Pension Fund (LAPF) and Government Employees Provident Fund (GEPF). Thus journalists might benefit their social rights of medical services, compensation in case of accident and maternity leave payment. Mistreatment by media management and owners continue to hit the occupation, in which there is a high number of media personnel who don't have formal contract, particularly freelance reporters who occupy about 75% of the Tanzanian journalists and contribute to 20-40% of the content of the newspapers (TMF, 2011: 8). In addition, about 83 per cent are paid irregularly and majority of them are remunerated minimum wage contrary to labor law. Poor working conditions among media houses are the basic to the labor turnover to other communication posts such as public relations and advertising agencies (MCT, 2014: 48). So far as Powell (2017) views Tanzanian Media capture paradigm is further embedded in the economic circumstances in which journalists operate, with unconducive working conditions, deprived of insurance, job insecurity and missing other occupational benefits (P. 11). On the other hand, Media proprietors endure to place the hostile policies which unfavorable for the individual newsmen and professional prosperity. Whereas reporter depends

much on their own means of transportation in performing their duties, giving to many Tanzanians are living in extended families, this become stark challenges to practice the field ethically. Consequently, majority of reporters take part in envelop (*Bahasha*) rehearsal which is attributed to poor social accountability on behalf of newsmakers welfare (MCT, 2014: 51).

Apart from deterring scenery through media legislation, Tanzanian Journalists are also encountered with non-regulatory impediments; clue to divisive working conditions such as harassment and assault attempts along with unfriendly occupational settings. Most of the incidents are linked to the political outrages, when journalists presumably report contrary to the certain political portions' curiosity is ultimately in trouble. In 2016, Tanzania dropped at 71 positions over 180 countries according to the World Press Freedom Index, which indicates the cumbersome atmosphere touching journalists, where by two correspondents were exterminated as 2012, and several have been attacked or threatened. The historical obliteration happened to journalism career involves the assassination of photojournalist Daudi Mwangosi by police while covering an opposition party rally. The then chief editor of *Mtanzania* and the chairmen of editor's forum Absalom Kibanda was attacked and severely tortured by unidentified people just was close to his home. While on 21 November, 2017 a MCL reporter Azory Gwanda mysteriously disappeared from his working station in Kibiti Township by anonymous abductors, Gwanda had involved in investigative reporting concerning the Kibiti puzzling massacre.

2.6.2 Political Clientelism and Self-Censorship Syndrome

Politics has undue position on influencing the practice and structure of media in both public and private organizations. In many African countries for example Ethiopia is said that government employs diverse mechanisms to interfere journalism outlooks (Kasoma, 2007: 54). This embraces the external actual control by government strategies of sustaining the ownership structure, meant for oligopoly on manipulating the sources of information along with patronizing the entire management in line with dominant values and perspectives (p. 54). The study by Magolanga (2016) which traced about development journalism reveals that the local politicians and government officials control about 60% of Tanzanian newspaper (p. 78). Similarly, the survey by MCT and Reporters without Border (2018) show that about a third (13) over 36 examined media outlets are maintained by elite politicians and government with great political affiliations, though they are limited on shaping public opinion due to the small audience coverage (p.1).

Hence, the concern is yet regarding various journalists over the evolving new kind of journalism; centering on the individuals and event oriented rather than facts based. Such exemplary journalism is nothing but only serving the fascination of minority politicians who are about to accomplish their political missions. Unsurprisingly, Tanzanian media are always loaded with assorted media contents but remain nothing in quality and relevant to the community. Hitherto, Powell (2017) comments on the Yes-Led-Model in Tanzanian mediascape (p. 11), whereby it obvious that politicians are held to play the game, controlling the information all the way through Tanzanian mass media into made views rather than social ends.

There is a politician cohort which roles as masters in expediting de facto journalists' welfare through financial support just for healthy coverage in their events so that to concentrate public agendas on their bearings. It means that they have instantly taken over the media power of setting agenda on public concerns. Thus, public information threatens keen on manipulated issues of certain group in the society, which at the end of the day revealed keen on impassioned public opinions, whereby the red line is clearly described within the political sphere that journalists should not object. The journalists are depoliticized into passive undertakings under minority control that tend to manufacture the consent as Boorstin (1962) argues about pseudo-events for journalistic genres being perverted on the ways of polluted political goals (p.34). Political cadres along with businessmen put forward distinctive institutional mechanism so as to attract journalists on their way. Since the political economy of Tanzanian media in the scope of ownership and finance is not yet in-depth studied. Yet it grants us some sort of scrutiny on the patronage viewpoint regarding the financing system of media landscape in the country.

Seeing that media are biased portraying the messages in accordance with owners' political aspirations, and ignoring the counterpart politicians, especially during the election through the seasonal press which propagate the presidential post or parliamentary seats for certain candidates or fictional political rivals, and they vanish as soon as election terminates. As long as the political fascination has been the ultimate variable for media practice, this indicates the industry dependence on the politics, following the recurrent submission on political reportage more in place of public affairs. It begun on 1990s when political concentration materialized the press boom in Tanzania, in approaching the general election in October 1995 in which about 45 periodicals were considerably recorded in the press directory (Mrutu, 2003: 32). Such newspapers which are owned by local politicians or their colleagues disappear from the landscape soon just after elections terminated (Kivukuru, 2016: 87). The tendency is inhabited to date for a number of press owners having decent background in politics, in which the key absorption remains to facilitate political arena in their perspective, news bulletins and articles were complementary twisted during the election than ever before, the social and human-interest stories are marginally covered (Kilimwiko, 2009: 2). However, in 2010 when country was approaching the general election, the government put off the registration of any newspapers so that to halt the operation of provisional newspapers during the campaign (Kaale, 2013: 106).

According to Kilimwiko (2009) political intervention of media industry stands for pessimism, by which ownership is the center of discourse, although these owners are not identical political party members, still they have in/direct connection to at least one party, while more than half owners of big media corporation are active members of political parties (p. 6). They make use of existing media policy loophole in the ownership structure by multiplying miscellaneous media outlets. It includes Sahara Media Group which is owned by Anthony Diallo, the Mwanza Regional Chairman of the ruling party CCM, New Habari Corporation 2006 is kept by the then MP and active CCM carder Rostam Azizi, Uhuru Newspaper is retained by the governing party (CCM) and Free Media Company belongs to opposition party's (CHADEMA) Chairman, Mr Freeman Mbowe and his wife, Swahiba FM is under ownership of the Zanzibar CUF deputy general secretary. Consequently, the overall editorial policies with reference to political coverage

portrays the political stances of the owner through supervisory constraints and intimidation, marshaling to subvert the networks and mutual trust among media management, including editors on one side and other staff notably journalists on other side (Powell, 2017: 11).

Meanwhile, Kaale (2013) reveals the ownership of political affiliations have abundant impressions in respect of a certain candidate exposures in the course of political arena particularly in general election (p. 93). It connects the newspaper's election campaign coverage and voting outcomes of individual candidates, namely; the partisan newspaper Uhuru, the government owned Habari Leo and Zanzibar Leo and privately owned Mwananchi, Nipashe and Tanzania Daima. Tanzanian press ownership always underlines the political agendas over other competitive political party - for example Tanzania Daima, which is owned by the Chairperson of CHADEMA, is generally critical of the CCM, with 62 % of its coverage on CCM (the ruling party) denoting a negative or critical Orientation in the general election 2010 (p. 98). While Uhuru run by the ruling party (CCM) and Habari Leo published by TSN, a government publication commonly labeled other political parties as opposition and portray them adversely (Kaale, 2016: 98).

According to her the institutional mechanism especially by private media lead the media to expose the only tprominent presidential candidates in their own ways (p. 96). Likewise, the survey of Journalists and media managers undertaken by MCT (2013a) on the impact of ownership on editorial independence in Tanzanian found that the media ownership in both government and private has excessive inspiration on the particular way of news coverage and reporting, as the worst is about the straight intervention of editorial works (p. 21). The survey shows the horizontal interference of newsrooms by other department like advertising unit within the media house which is disposed to compromise the professionalism in the best interests of advertisers. As a result, the outlet navigates substantial stories about sponsors in positive face, while any contradicting ones might be ignored throughout the publication or broadcasting channel (p. 22).

The previous studies discovered that both public and private media houses have a tendency of political partisanship, favoring more the ruling party (CCM) while pass scarcely air time and space to the opposition parties (Shoo, 2006; Kaale, 2013; Changarawe, 2014). For instance, Shoo (2006) on the side of TV broadcast in 2005 general election campaign period found that CCM secured 77 hours and 114 minutes on private and government televisions from 18th August to 31st October (p. 32). Followed by CUF which got just 19 hours and 6 minutes, while CHADEMA secured only 17 hours and 40 minutes, while the rest parties were entirely ignored . Equally, for the October 2010 Changarawe (2014) indicates that the ruling party CCM received about auspicious coverage by government broadcasting TV; TBC and ZBC, followed by CHADEMA for TBC and CUF became second for ZBC while small parties obtained marginal of the political reporting in both TBC and ZBC (p. 10). The similar tendency found for privately owned TV channels on Tanzania mainland dedicated a large part of their political reporting to the ruling party, with 60 percent to CCM, 13 percent to CHADEMA, 16 percent to CUF and 11 percent to other political parties, respectively (p. 11).

However, some studies depict the ethical dichotomy for the private and state-owned media and go further to conflict of interest by journalist themselves (Kilimwiko, 2009: 65). While the government media are rather partial than private owned ones, as in the Tanzania's first multiparty elections on October 29th 1995, the state broadcast channel RTD's political coverage was rather objective over all presidential candidates and parties (cf. AJM, 1995: 1). Surprisingly, a leading opposition presidential candidate, Ibrahim Lipumba was given 28 % of the coverage of all candidates, followed by Augustine Mrema (25 %), John Cheyo (24 %), and Benjamin Mkapa (23 %) (p. 3). Conversely, the MCT study on 2000 general election reveals that civic education through public media was vividly undermined while private were rather fair and of inclusive electoral campaign. It's with high diverse concerns that, during the electoral campaign, state owned media merely reported ruling party vis-à-vis ordinary political incidents than fraud attempts due to the editorial affiliation by government and politicians (MSI, 2011: 11). While a large number of private radios and newspapers covered the entire political affairs with real sense of objectivity and impartiality.

Likewise, there is predisposition of thematic sceneries in place of episodic journalism might persevere as of 2010 presidential election coverage. However, recently *there is a general feeling that the media conducted itself with a reasonable degree of professionalism, objectivity and credibility during the 2010 election compared with any other elections* (cf. Magolanga, 2016: 58). Accordingly, MSI (2011) stresses the remarkable concerns on the state-run media's electoral reporting and coverage that is well improving; *"Unlike in past years, the state media now grants airtime to many opposition media reports"* (p. 12).

Media proprietors are core for self-censorship, by which they place more of their business and political interests in profit than producing quality publications and relevant programming. The concept of self-censorship is a debate for hindrance to quality journalism caused by a number of reasons, including untrained media personnel who are employed in regards of owner's kindred or cheap labor motives (p.13). Meanwhile, journalists feels that self-censorship is about an enforced factor and they are incapable to combat it (Barton, 1979: 123). In the provision of restrictive legal framework, the government surveillance affecting the outlook of news reporting, whereby most of journalists are not confident on their reporting on certain subject, while a number of them have changed the common journalistic methods of news sources, and others have transferred to other communication posts in esteemed organizations (Kivikuru, 2016: 103). In short, such political influx in the Tanzanian media ecosystem has interrupted impartiality and fact-based journalism. There is critical observation with reference to the readership preferences regarding news on politics; it's found as not the primary favorites by many newspaper readers, radio listeners and TV viewers as it's always deemed. Instead, social subjects, health and educational news are the most desirable subjects by Tanzanian audiences (TMF, 2011: 3).

Thus, sociopolitical environment continues to treat Tanzanian media industry addicted to ethical dilemma, whereby journalists are no longer independent on deciding what to write and distribute. So far as the political settings of post-colonial government place journalists at uneasy state of speculating the details for news stories in favor of their patrons. Many factors are

attributable to the dysfunctional media system in Tanzania where clientelism is among the cynicism, as a result of the fallacy of institutional machinery to normalize the journalistic behaviors. While media patrons are principal of partisanship and clientelism upon their subjective assertions, the provision that designates individualistic characters in the media houses. media industry is about to bump into crisis, by means of media war amongst the the major Tanzanian media institutions at the level of ownership among the giant proprietors. It turns out to the level of employees; editor and general reporters were enforced to put in practices the partisanship beyond of the professional principles and code of ethics (Barton 1979: 126). Consequently, Clientelist journalism is the latent of journalist divide in the country in the provision of inconsistent political and commercial fascinations per their owners.

2.6.3 Urban Centered Media and Information Divide

Despite the presence of free market which ostensibly restructures media landscape vis-à-vis the explosion of an abundant number of private press and broadcasting stations to ultimately cater the community more broadly than it was in socialist government. The question of equal and adequate coverage of inclusive social clusters tends to reveal the monopolistic attitudes over social groups on the basis of ethnicity, religion, political affiliations and locations. The legacy of Ujamaa journalism depicts that in 1986 through the decentralized and localized approach of RTD in seven zones of the country, the rural coverage of news was quite astonishing than in the existing free market media. Jones & Mhando (2006) assert on the state owned RTD programming that regularly steered the rural populations than the current privately commercial owned like Radio One merely caters for the urban masses (p. 16). There is also a diversity of media audience dichotomy in term of ages as of Clouds FM and East African Radio targeting typically the youths. Media liberalization endures the illusion over equity and equality on the subject of information flows, whereby institutional facilities are tactically aimed at serving certain portion of citizens, conspicuously manpower and financial resources are situated merely in urban areas.

Unlike the normative liberal theory necessitating that Media would grant the economic platform for the marginal class in the provision of marketing system especially for the production of crops, fruits and vegetables by which Dar es Salaam remains the central market. It would thrive the small farmers prospect with useful information on utilizing both the self-sufficiency in subsistence and commercial farming in respect of adequate storage and marketing knowledges such as demonstrating the transport means to the major cities (where significant marketplace available) simply for the farmer's economic development. In spite of the gradual transition of investigative and development reporting over government and party-based stories, the in-depth reporting for rural populations is insignificant, this undermine the 21 century goals of media to empower the citizens to participate in development process (Magolanga, 2016: 34). In turn, the urban populaces are ultimate politically sophisticated than counterparty as prearranged by wide access to more multiple sources of information.

The situation for broadcasting is rather encouraging such as TBC and ITV have national exposure as well as several other stations facilitate the same. Nevertheless, the household ownership of TV sets is more limited in rural areas than urban (cf. InterMedia, 2011: 8). Dar es

Salaam enjoys the highest level of television access (71 percent) than any region. Other regions with moderately high access including Arusha (43 percent), Kilimanjaro and Mwanza (41 percent for both), while other regions are far behind. Whilst, more consternation concerning the present media policies have failed to streamline the social equality on the way to democracy advocacy. Tanzanian media are deficient with recognition of multi spheres devised with social groups as stipulated on the constitution, in which there is scarce treatment of media on marginalized groups. Msoka (2013) argues on the 'male-dominant' of media economic and political reportage that persistently treat women submissive and obedient to men actors (p. 31). Such as media constantly narrow political coverage on women, commencing during the general election, as found by Tanzania School of Journalism (2000) in the 1995 general election, in the face of more than 50% national voters were women, the media coverage ignored them; as a result, many eligible voters unsuccessfully participated.

However, in its annually media report for year 2012, MCT (2013a) contends on improving women coverage and portrayal on the Tanzanian media even though affirms on the ownership harsh policy on providing capital and logistical backing to journalist upon covering rural news. It's in the recent years through the growing of community media dedicated to serve the particular rural regions potential to fill up the gap of social equality. Under the post-1992 journalism environment nurtures the development of community media embryonic to set the agenda for local niche populace. They can role as credible sources of information, education and agent of social change for community welfares (MCT, 2014: 36). Although its utilization is still problematic for the budget dependence on donors merely and presence of poor working condition, while their ownership structure is also uncertain by which mostly are operated by local government which have tied up with political agendas that might deprive the established goals of serving the local community.

So far this is not a case, and thus a crucial information gap exists due to the national imperialism, whereby the so-called community radios persist to utilize the same deficient preference of niche tastes, counting the limited use of regional languages. Most stations broadcast in Kiswahili and some in English, until 2010 there was only Radio Orkonerei based in Manyara, which focused the Maasai people in their indigenous language. It provided national coverage through national broadcasters which broaden the coverage and local taste, catering for the populations based on geographical and demographic considerations (p. 38). Moreover, Jones & Mhando (2006) affirm on the contribution of Tanzanian amateur radio stations which typically cater the needs of local communities (p. 50). Amateur radios are legally operating after passing an examination set by the TCRA; nevertheless, the stations hardly grow since they are restricted not to broadcast news, advertisements and communication tactics for commercial interest.

The discourse of institutional contrivance among media houses is fundamental in the provision of urban based journalism, whereby MCT (2013a) finds that most of rural stories reported in 2012 were not typically initiated by media institutional endeavors, rather by civil society organizations like TAMWA or by individual activists.....*TAMWA contends that the root of the problem lies with the media owners, particularly the nature of their policies and the*

inadequacy of resources journalists would need to cover stories about women in the rural areas (cf. MCT, 2012a). Thus, there is need to redefine media policies especially for remote area inclusion where public news might exhibit, the current news prototypical tends to ignore them. It calls for development of more community-based mechanism to determine the strict media anchored from the family to the general community.

2.6.4 Glocalization of Broadcasting Contents in Tanzania

The utilization of communication tools is expedient in the manifestations of wide spread pop culture like music and films, in consort with other journalistic genres in advocating the global cultures to multinations, cities, villages and worldwide at all. This implies to a large extent that the contemporary world pay loyalty to the imperialist, still inexorable (Gillwald, 1993). The media imperialism is linked to the prominent culture through premeditated methods in spreading values to the developing worlds. Western media, notably America, endeavor trendy the imposition of goods and cultures, designed for the intervention of the Third World cultural values, by which television programs are principal in this global convergence. The dependence of media globalization is vividly exploited in Tanzania, through importation and re-broadcasting programming from giant global media players such as the DW, CCTV, BBC and CNN normally (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 20). Whilst, Güneş (2006) views that Pluralism as generated from industrialization and urbanization grants definite concerns to the mass media, which are explicit to evolving of folk culture, representing postmodern consumer culture and information culture (p. 35). The "cultural exchange" is not a new phenomenon in the concept of globalization, cherishing the interaction process across the globe (Ozcaglayan, 2016: 7). With the downfall of the "Soviet imperialism" Russia-centric Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc countries complimented abundant mechanism by neo-imperialists in the political reform of colonialism to surmount the globalized capitalist economic power. Hitherto, the western supremacy over military and imperative aptitude in global political agenda endow with capitalist approaches, scheming across the world counter to the eastern communist mode of productions and consumptions (p. 9).

At the global level, media industry has typical faith in capitalist ownership structure derived from liberalization and deregulation of market, privatization of settings and contents, in conjunction with adherence to the technological diffusion. It's reflecting the vibrant practice of the global model, where the local society still trembles from the media social commitment. This hitherto has undue implications to the contemporary Tanzanian deregulated market environment, unlike in socialist era where media government monopoly resisted the global methodology over the nationalist setting of mass media (MCT, 2015: 49). Subsequent to the manifestation of private sectors in the field, notably privately-owned television stations are momentous agent of western music such as American soap operas and Mexican telenovelas, despite the prevailing medium of broadcasting being Swahili language (Kivukuru, 2016: 85). These televisions pass on the glocalization outset of programing, by means of mixed approach of global - English to local news bulletins in Swahili as well as some phone-in programmes for elite viewers, together with Swahili rap (cf.p. 86). On the course of the Wilk's (2010) idea of the *globalizing the local and localizing the globe*; literally individuals tend to struggle in the exposition keen on typical identification while respecting others' differences. By way of sharing personal information, for example on the

social networks like Facebook enable users to recognize others' social backgrounds and personalities. While Global media also attempt to spread widely, the global miscellaneous information with the linkage of the local settings. As a main instrument of globalization, media inspiration plays a noteworthy portion to propagate economic information vis-à-vis the nature of global market in relation to a range of transactions, facilities, and manufacturing processes.

Hitherto, information has incredible role to globalize the local and localize the globe as a case of Mcdonaldization, through Economist magazine there is a "McDonalds index," which compares the cost of living around the world by looking at the local price of a BigMac, which has become a kind of universal currency³⁹. Team Bergin (2009) notes that McDonald uses television programs and movies with Fast-food symbolic restaurants along with diverse effective advertising strategies in approaching the market in respect of cultural diversity over the world, in such a way that the world leading multinational organizations have adjusted the traditional outlooks of nationals yet (p. 54).

It similarly has classical inference to Tanzanian media scenery, whereby local radio broadcasters take advantage of live program in the account of the 24- hour news cycle of the global news networks, transferring into their local stations in order to secure the listenership through globalized audiences (MCT, 2015: 49). What's more, some kind of local cultures like music are scattered overseas, even around the streets in the higher developed cities and found in the public areas like on railway stations as well as some photos of some prominent traditional arts found on the billboard or through other outdoor media. The emergence of typical Tanzanian pop music and film *bongo flavor* and *bongo movie* respectively, which spread worldwide through internet channels and massive artists' abroad trips which are mostly facilitated through diaspora communities and other global pioneers. Besides, glocalization can also be viewed through the concentration of ownership and control, it turns into the critical issues which intensify the universal diversity of media reflections to the professional practice. To this point, InterMedia (2011) illustrates about Tanzanian TV broadcasts carry on subjectivity concerning the foreign broadcasters in preference to slight focus of original content, consuming supplementary entertainment than articulating local views (p. 9). Yet, TCRA assures that the registered media might adhere to the local needs over globalization threats. The authority is legally empowered to oversee the operations of the broadcasting media especially after the country's shift from analogue to digital broadcasting (MCT, 2013a; 5). Hitherto TCRA has set the guidelines that all local radio and TV stations are obliged to undergo with over 60 per cent of local contents in their programming (p. 6). The legality still depicts to the local media control in the aspects of political economy of communication in which Mosco (1996) denotes in the production, distribution and consumption of resources from the equally organization of the social relations, particularly power relations.

³⁹ Where Does Culture Go In Globalization? Mcdonalds employs various media strategies to localize and globalize its products and services. <http://sds.parsons.edu/transdesign/where-does-culture-go-in-globalization/>

In accordance with technology diffusion as the characteristic of economic globalization, it grasps trivial boundaries amongst mainstream news media in the basis of information and cultural industries, which have opted for routinization, standardization, and homogenization of media content (Özkan, 2006: 21). In Tanzania the local media grow into idle on producing the irrelevant programs as per their niche audiences, on reliance of importation which is speed up via internet multi-channels, ultimately the content quality is yet worsening. According to the State of the Media Report – 2012, by Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) the poor quality of local production is endorsed with unsophisticated equipment like camera work, production costs, the beyond local taste programs, and traditional superstitions like (witchcraft) in line with social perspectives (MCT, 2013a: 6). In addition to that, TMF (2011) identifies low qualifications including basic journalism education and short-course training, in company with theory orientated methodology in many journalism training institutions, commonly lead young journalist's incompetent to cope with routine challenges of professional journalism and overlook the specialization and investigative Journalism (p. 8). Though currently, the profession is promoted with a good figure of media personnel in the newsroom with over 70% are graduates and diploma according to UDSM Economic Research Bureau in 2005/6. Subsequently, recently MCT in cooperation with National Council for Technical Education (NACTE) have reformed the competent based curriculum from knowledge-based journalism learning in Tanzanian higher education institutions, aiming at imparting the journalism students with adequate practical skills so as to put up with emerging structural working environment upon completion of their studies.

Whilst, multinational companies seem to forge a monopoly by using technological dominance in preventing competition in the market, as well as financial power is universally used by competitors (Özkan, 2006: 26). As of Europe encountering with the market fragmentation, challenging consequence of the neutralizing the power of the North American in the audiovisual industry stems, where host countries receive scarce revenues from films and television programs, mainly because of the linguistic issues (La Porte Alfaro & Sábada, 2001: 17). The economic liberalization activated into the commercialization of media industry, which so far deprive the platform for the social belong or public good, the political implications evolve for misusing the power of reinforcing the quality. This doesn't only intensify the fundamental roles of media; voicing up public opinion in the democratic society, but also limit the natural laws of man from perfect manifestation, reflecting the narrow socio-political arena. In this view, the statutory regulatory institutions such as the Tanzania Film Company, Film Censorship Board, and National Arts Council (BASATA), together with other independent organs like MCT have a collective duty to put more efforts in determining the actors to produce more local programmes in accordance with local prerequisites, instead of domination of foreign productions like 'Isidingo' of Far Eastern soap operas and South American telenovelas which have conquered the Tanzanian television film series over local made.

Besides, the local media institutions with high self-determination have to reorganize on improving the quality of local programs instead of dependence on importing programs as an effect of globalization. The deliberation has started yet, thanks to the provision of media organization like TMF which grant financial and technical livelihood to pave a way for localizing

the media structure and programming. The scheme entails to reduce the bare bones of the information gap around the society beyond the urban centered, by dint of massive projects via indigenous producers such as *Bongo Star Search* on ITV, *Daladala* on ITV, *Usiku wa Habari* on TBC, *Chief Mkwawa* was aired on ITV, '*Nchi Yetu*' on Channel Ten, and '*Pikabom*' on Star TV (TMF, 2011: 20). Consequently, TMF affirms on the improvement of local productions aired on Tanzanian TV (p. 21). In addition, there is a courage for institutional policy, a number of local programs and content like local soap operas and popular East African music which mostly attracting youths, 'call-in' programmes, tend to feature audiences more cooperative with broadcasters based on interesting subjects. All the same, policy reform is indispensable to the local level, since media structure and content provided through ongoing ownership are uncertain yet, spurring infinite coverage specifically to political issues, for the corporations to represent the society in their economic and political desired manners. As far as Candeub (2008) suggests the media researchers to focus more on relationship of geographic media market areas, the legal creation and content that will set off the extensive political coverage, along with providing political knowledge for the sake of citizenry representation (p. 48).

Interestingly, the radio industry in Tanzania is said rather local set than Televisions sector in term of local taste in productions and programming. In consequence of its modest being the most accessed and source of information in Tanzania, it has been a strategic tool to reach the inclusive domain commencing marginal citizens like rural audiences, educating about human rights, gender violence and negative traditional practices like albino killings (TMF, 2011: 8). Furthermore, Barnett (2010) advocates for state regulations should strictly deal with contents focusing on media structure and productions on the basis of diversity of ownership to produce miscellaneous viewpoints in the competing market. Whereas the further policy structures should stress on international ground, in which Currah (2002) refers to the outstanding global transformation in the news business anchored in the advance technology resulted with sundry forces (p. 74). For instance, incredible setting through central conversion of the business into the local and regional level and advertising revenue shift in the wired platforms along with market fragmentation for the spectators embracing the digital consumptions. Such growing transformation ostensibly renders the entertainment-based programming, as long as the policy making should suspiciously exercise the adaptation, which streamlines the pluralism and diversity, without the existing profession challenges like redundancy. All these can be scored with government moral intervention as per subsidization to enable local media firms to equally enter in the market completion for the sake of hastening the diversity of opinions in the society, ideal to foster active citizenry which is vital for democracy growth.

- Knowledge Gap

As discussed above the studies about media ownership in Tanzania commonly reveal the postcolonial orthodox role of mass media as to ascertain the national integration, cohesion, identity, unity and development, whereby the rural populations were central focus of socialist (Ujamaa) government through decisive mechanism of massive communalization like the villagisation scheme. In that era, the existing small number of private notably the missionary press utilized alike to spread the gospel message, but dabbled into politics in proportion to regulatory system of socialist regime, so far as the overall media structural outlook was almost identical, whereby government was a basic producer and regulator of both press and broadcasting media on the scope of quantity and quality of outlets. Whilst, the economic liberalization from 1980s onwards cherished diverse regulatory structures where the embryonic media ownership got entrance with astonishing agendas. The historical structural transformation of Tanzanian media industry turned into rather exemplary landscape in term of quantity, while there is still a qualitative gap of knowledge with reference to social provisions. The dysfunction of mass media is mostly derived from the prevailing institutional postures meant for ownership structure and control through legislations, neoliberal environment and structural conditions.

The contextual socioeconomy of Tanzania media tends to intensify the information gap, amid the lower status segments and elites as of urban-based media system, despite the fact that majority of nationals 70 % are in rural areas (Wenban-Smith, 2014: 4). Likewise, even the urban populations are informed around a number of structural impediments such as corruption, plagiarism, conflict of interest, sensationalism, intimidation of sources, and political interference commonly continue to undermine the notion on media as fourth estate in Tanzania. This calls for the in-depth scrutiny on operational settings to enable free and independent media, which ideal to engender an informed and responsible citizenry. Although there are handful of national researches on the subjects of media regulations, control and overall institutional structure, most of them focused on audience behavior upon the demand of sponsors of the survey. Such as advertisers apropos marketing analysis pertaining to their products and services in a given region, instead of academic perspectives and the ultimate impression of media intrinsically. Such studies are disposed to infer merely a particular social segment, insomuch that the local research on internet and mobile telephone control and usage are still marginal (Jones & Mhando, 2006: 25). Similarly, there are scarce media statistical data which are regularly conducted by transnational organization like Steadman Group, they are so far narrow to the key economic regions beyond the national wide (p. 30).

Nevertheless, the straight study of ownership conducted by MCT (2012b) found the alike editorial reliance on both government and private ownership stances (p. 21). According to this survey, a large number of journalists (86.5%) specified that proprietor's interests have caused to the exclusion of several news stories. Likewise, media personnel are of view that Tanzanian media ownership along with others institutional machineries like media house's policies and styles commonly determine how stories are covered and likely to reveal the political and commercial agenda of owners in due course (p. 16). In proportion to Mrutu (2003) views that the government or media owner habitually interfere with editor's duties generally, demonstrating the

lack of editorial independence (p. 26). Meanwhile, Smeltzer (1998) stresses the consistent media ownership structure in Tanzania in which the media outlets are situated to safeguard the ruling system of government and party (p.47). Kilimwiko (2009) affirms on the ownership patterns entail the media ecosystem of Tanzania as structured mostly on the political and ideological affiliations potential to alarming the diversity and inclusion of ordinary voices (p. 1). Whilst, the evolving corporate journalist's awareness advances vis-à-vis the hostile structural media environment in relation to the media owners and proprietors' influences and control of editorial autonomy, to the extent that professionals are indisposed to the media houses rules and policies which seem contrary to ethical and professional standards (MCT, 2013b: 25). Thus, the gap is clear in the study of media ownership, control and regulation, regarding the evolving advertisers' influence on news room still intense attributable to the determined networking obsessed by organizational behaviors in media houses. As far as conglomeration, concentrations and commercialization of media industry incline in the course of neoliberal policies along with political dominance which restructure the entire media configuration and day-to-day operation. Subsequently, this thesis intended further to figure out the highlighted portents which appeal the reflective professional scrutiny in view of academia.

This study is conducted primarily to fill up the knowledge gap from previous studies concerning the journalism impression on the structural changes of orthodox media ownership structure from family and individual oriented to current corporation prototype through cross ownership. It examines the institutional mechanism within Tanzanian media network, through miscellaneous approaches, counting the political economy method by means of market forces and political influence on the news industry apropos the economic liberations scheme from 1992 to 2017. Alongside instrumental arguments over elite control of news media and contents through policies and laws on media regulations and ultimate consequences fond of information divide. It as traced media undertakings athwart sociology accounts of Tanzania media over occupational setting of journalists in relation to the none legislative impediments, as well as normative theoretical framework of liberal democracy and social responsibility of media functions in democratic transition in Tanzania context. It intends to search on the owners' strategies by means of initial set up for occupational atmosphere, for instance the hypothesis on the recruitment conditions based on the proximity with broadcasters who don't have competence, in view of broadcasting as voice talent oriented. Conversely, such as live programmes carry identical impressions to the media houses and the entire population so far entails the basic knowledge of journalism for every newscaster, unlike press news production in the mainstream newspapers where editor is final trial of what public to read. Hitherto this study is designed to stipulate over conflicting acquaintance of previous literature around the Tanzanian journalists' sensitivity on proprietors' interests and agenda in mind, meant for correlation amid ownership bearings, management and ordinary journalists over what's produced athwart media organizations as collectively institutional and individual professional machinery to portray agenda on shaping opinions.

PART THREE

Findings and Discussions

3.1 Presentation of the Qualitative Findings

This subpart presents the data collected from qualitative instruments namely in-depth interview and focus group discussions, which involved 92 participants notably media owners, media managers, veteran journalists, academicians, managing editors, representatives from media organizations as well as young practicing journalists plus mass communication and media students in Tanzania. Though the target samples were of 100 participants, eight were missed because of some respondents had a tight schedule to be interviewed. This presentation aimed at reflecting the research hypothesis through the overall assessments, knowledge, sympathies and practices of media specialists and stakeholders, regarding the impression of journalism derived from the transformation of Tanzanian media ownership in accordance with political reform and liberal economic rise from 1990s onwards. Through exploratory data, the study also reveals comprehensive depiction concerning the technological incentives especially blogosphere and online social platforms with their inferences to magnify the mediascapes, and challenges over the mainstream censorship and control of news production and distribution.

Despite the fact that in this subpart the methods used for data collection were typical qualitative, designed for exploring the broad understandings and mindfulness of respondents on the phenomenon, it so far entrenched the autonomy of speaking up their knowledges concerning the transformation and related consequences. Nevertheless, in this presentation, researcher tended occasionally to quantify some data so as to determine the level of occurrence through calculation and computation into conclusive results. While the main prominence remains on the descriptions through qualitative analysis for purpose to expose detailed understandings of participants and developing further initial empathy. The mixed methodological accounts were put under consideration to testify the data from respondents, as so far, the researcher examined the premise on the state control of the media. Together with market concentration and political influences keen on the provision of nascent media landscapes potential to mystify the ethically functioning of journalism in the country.

3.1.1 The General Views on the Current Media Ownership in Tanzania

This study featured at presenting the actual interpretations on the current media ownership structure comparing to the period of before economic liberalization and multiparty political system. In the course of in-depth interview and focus group discussions the preliminary question was posed to every respondent which sought to find out their understandings and opinions about the changing structures of media ownership in relation with the professional undertakings in the country. The question was; how do you assess the current media ownership structure comparing with the pre-economic liberalization and multipartism? Every respondent was initially supposed to rate the present configuration by using the values notably Excellent, Very Good, Satisfactory,

Fair or Poor, and then they explicitly uttered their concerns keen on broad clarifications. The inclusive results illustrate insignificant varied views on the way they ponder the current ownership among media owners, corporation managers, veteran journalists, academicians, chief editors, representatives from media organizations as well as young journalists. Firstly, the data is presented in computed values and statistical test then narrative analyses follow to expose compressive insights and understandings of informants. The due variance was yet noted on the transformation from the orthodox media ownership to the existing multi private structure athwart a variety of concerns among the group of respondents.

3.1.1.1 Views of Media Owners on the Current Media Ownership Structure

For media owners, the study targeted ten samples across Tanzanian media institutions; however, some owners frequently denied to be interviewed, reasoning to have too limited time to share their thoughts. Thus, some owners were personally covered and others appointed some to speak on behalf upon their consent. In this case seven respondents as owners, making 9.6% out of seventy-three valid informants for in-depth interview technique were reached and therefore the study analyzed them as owners' accounts (see table 1.2.1b). The results display that 42.9 % of the participants equally believed that the current ownership structure is excellent and very good while the rest 14.3% pondered satisfactory and no media owner who sighted the existing media ownership structure is fair or poor as illustrated in the following table.

Table 3.1.1.1: Media Owners' Views about the Current Media Ownership Structure

Response Category	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	3	42.9
Very good	3	42.9
Satisfactory	1	14.3
Total	7	100.0

Source: Field Research 2018

Respondents further expressed their opinions instantly in proportion to the above quantitative assessments. Many of them affirmed that there are substantial variations which have been taking place since the country adhered to multiparty politics in 1992, viewing that the current ownership has fair-minded to counter the grain of government monopoly, it streamlines a diversity of voices as alternative over government dominance. Dr. Mohammed Seif Khatib, the owner of ZMCL who is also a former Minister of Information during Kikwete government and a lively CCM cadre, recounted that the current media ownership has spurred creativity among journalists towards competent media institutions. As long as government news monopoly exhausted on behalf of multi private media provision which activate diverse viewpoints to modify the preferable taste of journalism. For Iman Due, a director general of ZBC and at this point the study considered her as representing government ownership visions. Iman expressed the enormous changes in the course of current ownership through media content in term of ideology and entire operations as follows;

Before the liberalization of the broadcasting waves all media houses regularly used to portray the same ideology in their operations. The government had full control of news and imparted alike public knowledge, after all there was no choice and lack creativity by journalists, but currently there is a variety of information sources throughout the plurality of broadcasting channels, in this competition users are beneficiaries (Due, a director general of ZBC).

This view was also affirmed by Hussein Bashe who represented NHCL (2006) and a member of parliament from the ruling party CCM, observed that on account of the national transformation of economic system, changes in media ownership structure is inevitable phenomenon, whereby an abundant number of individuals engaged in media for three purposes; propaganda, services provision and religious motives. However, Bashe was concerned with the challenges that might persist over entire regulations and owners' objectives which commonly miss the mark to reflect the public interest, all together might shape the ultimate ownership structure and entire media system in the country.

The question of media regulation with influence to media ownership was further discussed by other owners; For instance, the ZCMG, Said Hamza a head of technicians sees the current ownership structure being partial in view of media economic sustainability. He stated; *"Subsequent to the government involvement in TV HD box business with identical marketing strategies, as of ZBC to compete with other private media companies, selling at low price like 60,000 per set"*. Hamza argued about the competition between state run media and privately-owned firm is unfair in economic point of view, since the government media don't pay tax as well as they receive subsidiary assistance from annual budget. He said; *"Hitherto regulations tend to favor them over us for entirely, look at their working forces for example ZBC has nearly 200 employees"*. The owner of Swahiba radio, Ahmed Nassor Mazrui added to the unfriend regulation over media autonomous operation and he related to the political motive which leads to unsustainability of media welfare notably irregular incomes among media corporations. He uttered; *"Go into many institutions now generally hastate to advertise with us private media for the afraid of disconcerting their business by government officials who are most them are CCM cadres"*. However, Mazrui who is also a deputy general secretary for opposition party CUF affirmed that current media system has played pivotal role in political reform compared to one-party epoch;

Media since during the Zanzibar revolution such as the voice of Zanzibar (commonly Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar) had significant political role, like John Okelo of Uganda origin was frequently coming on-air and calling the suspects of anti-revolution by names to surrender.....at that time media was more politicized as it is now, whereas before revolution was rather social and turned again into social by 1970s (Mazrui, owner of Swahiba FM).

3.1.1.2 Views of Media Corporation Managers on the Ownership Structure

Corporation manager in this study refers to any administrator in media house except editor and owner, such as general managers, program manager or human resource manager. In

this category nine respondents were reached over ten targeted samples, equivalent to 12.3% of seventy-three valid informants for in-depth interview as table 1.2.1b signifies. To this question of views concerning the current media ownership configurations, the table 3.1.1.2 shows that 22.2% of corporation managers who were interviewed said the current ownership is excellent, 33.3% was the uniform representation for very good and satisfactory while the remained 11% considered its fair and no one among general managers who said the current ownership is poor paralleling to the previous one of pre-economic liberalization and multipartism.

Table 3.1.1.2: Media Corporation Managers' Views about the Media Ownership

Response Category	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	2	22.2
Very good	3	33.3
Satisfactory	3	33.3
Fair	1	11.1
Total	9	100.0

Source: Field Research, 2018

A general manager of ZMCL, Ramadhan Senda was of the views that the current structure indicates to the professionalism, triggering information diversity in different media and subjects of news. Insomuch as no bureaucratic procedures for news management like his radio station Zenj FM is deprived of interference of any administrators including managers or owner. Nassra Nassor a general manager at Swahiba FM also sighted on the professionalism in view of analytic and social accountable journalism that unlike before media were biased to expose the government good deeds only, the current media shaped with criticism and analysis for the public interests will while the scope of news expanded too. She added; *".... even the profession at large got to advance as you see several journalist grassroots get platform to practices thanks to the presence of a large quantity of media houses"*. Mlekwa Muhidin of Al-Noor FM saw that the recent ownership is rather granting plural voices and low censorship as he specified; *"....during the government monopoly the existing media merely expedited the party prosperity, just recently apart from politics being dominant in our coverages, other arenas like, religion, sports, entertainment and activism also came up to establish their messengers for advocacy and to foster their manifestations"*. Mlekwa also uttered that due to the presence of many media outlets also professional education develops because journalism students got easily field training to practices during their learning and secure employment upon completion of their studies.

3.1.1.3 Views of News Editor on the Current Media Ownership Structure

For chief editors nine respondents were interviewed out of 10 target samples, this corresponds to 19.2% over 73 informants for in-depth interview as found in table 1.2.1b. In the Bar Chart 3.1.1.3 the quantitative data shows that 35.7% of the editors opted for the current ownership structure as satisfactory; whereas other respondents with varied perceptions had a representation of 28.6%, 21.4% and 14.3% for very good, excellent and fair respectively. Editors explained their familiarities concerning the ownership posture in their daily undertakings as

overall assessment of media landscape in the country. Denis Msaki from Mtanzania sees that the existing ownership has generated some improvements in filling the gap when state media failed.

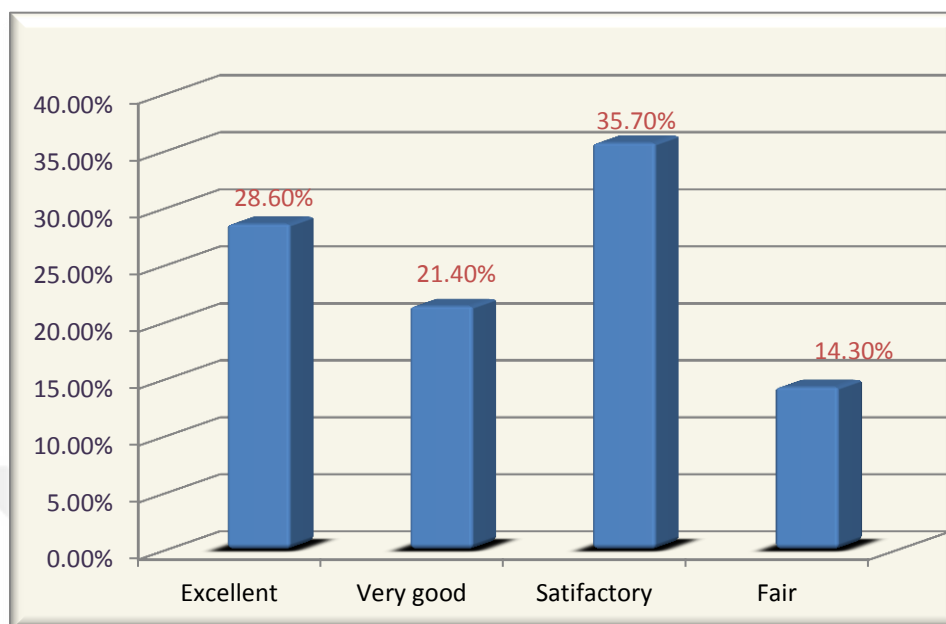
There is a variety of news circulated in contemporary mainstream media and are enough balanced. We raise many public problems from remote populations to urban, whereby decision makers take part to elucidate. Therefore, Private media become alternative platform for public exposure where government owned media cannot play such roles (Msaki, a chief editor from New Habari Corporation (2006).

Nonetheless, Msaki was concerned with some damaging consequences as the rise of unethical practitioners in some media, it's now hard to differentiate the truth and fake news which might condense the public trust of journalists. An executive editor of Mwananchi newspaper, Rashid Kejo said that despite the restriction on foreign ownership in Tanzanian media system, present ownership pattern is not uniform, encompasses a diverse number of players such as business tycoons, politicians, activists and others, but most of them have motive behind their involvement in media sector.

Prudencia Temba from Daily News commented; *“the existing ownership structure is healthier because it leads to journalistic competition among actors. It also pledges the security of employment as many media personnel get diverse and alternative working places”*. The ideas of occupation prospect and professional competitions were also stressed by Betris Bangawe, a chief editor of Nipashe Newspaper who affirmed that the manifestation of pluralism and diversity of media outlets expands expertise and experiences among journalists since there is an adequate choice for stuff to opt for which kind of media they prefer to work with. Besides, Jabir Idrissa, an editor from Hali Halisi Media Group observed that the current structure is rather developmental, since it triggers efficacy through a diversity of outlets and contents in which there are some media outlet which decide to be anti-government and others are pro-government. *“Through such kind of contest there is high flow of contrasting ideas which make the mass media to be more dynamic wherein publics are ultimate beneficiaries for extracting detailed public information”*. Idrissa also was of the view that technology has advanced the distribution network more than before.

Rural-urban access of information now is outstanding than previously due to the presence of eccentric distribution network. For instance our Mwanahalisi newspaper in the past we used to publish it two days before its exact day of departure then we transported by car to distribute various places, but now general accessibility is sophisticated across the country through the advancement of technology (Idrissa, a chief editor of Hali Halisi Media Group).

Bar Chart 3.1.1.1: Editors' Views about Media Ownership Structure



Source: Field Research, 2018

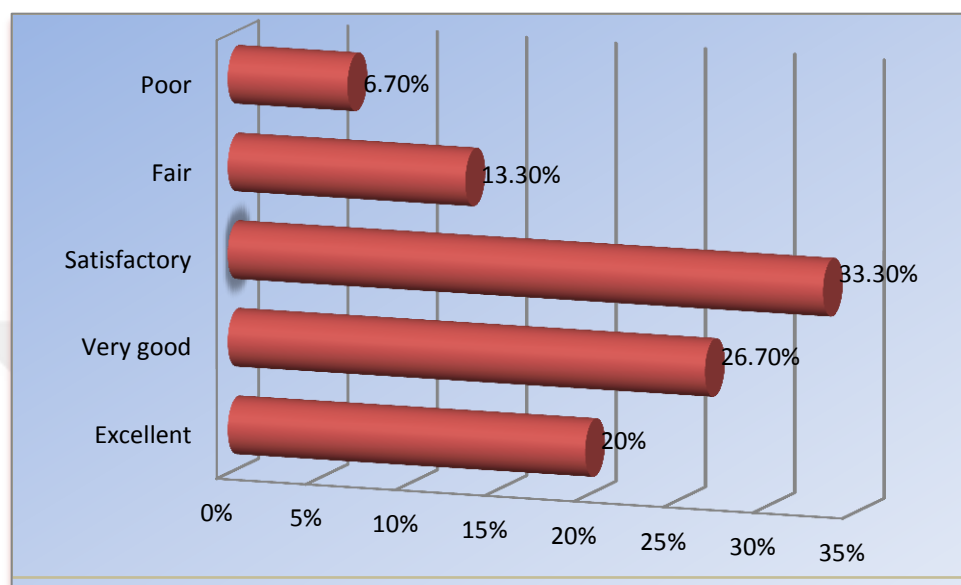
3.1.1.4 Views of Veteran Journalists on the Current Ownership Structure

Another group was of veteran journalists who consisted of journalists with experience of more than 20 years, retired journalists or a person who ever worked on regulating journalism in the country for a long time. In this study about fifteen respondents were reached as it was targeted, making 20.5% of all reached seventy-three informants for In-depth interview as demonstrated in table 1.2.1b. The computed results depict that the highest score was 33.3% of veteran journalist who viewed the current media ownership as satisfactory, followed by 26.7% very good, while excellent as 20%, fair was 13.3% and poor was 6.7%. Further to this, the qualitative data reveal miscellaneous descriptive opinions from participants who witnessed both the government monopoly journalism and the recent mixed structure. Paul Mapuge a senior journalist with over 20 years working in different TV stations in Tanzania, he interpreted the Tanzanian media owners in diverse dynamics; political influences for clearing themselves in front of the publics, using media into propaganda strategy. *“Some are established religious media but behind there is commercial interest and business motives contrary to public views”*. He additionally asserted that in the past Tanzanian media system had the matured contents and advertising but now media has turned into fake entity. Another veteran, Enzi Talib a retired journalist who ever worked with various media in the country and abroad and served various posts in the government on regulating the media. He regarded the present ownership structure as inappropriate to the entire journalism undertakings. He mentioned among the critical moments as;

Journalists are more dependent to their patronages, unlike before investigative journalism is no longer in practice now, owner's interest is more common in the media contents, while many owners tend to employ unprofessional

as cheap labors who hitherto deteriorate the overall quality of press, as so far many newspapers end up into commercial concentration, (Enzi Talib, a veteran journalist).

Bar Chart 3.1.1.2: Views of Veteran Journalists on the Current Ownership Structure



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Dr. Omar Shajack who was a secretary general for Zanzibar ministry of information for several terms also affirmed about commercialism in Tanzanian media system. He outlined that from 1992 when changes in media ownership were inevitable due to political winds commenced at that time, whereby media was inclusive platform to facilitate the reform by dint of critics. He pointed up;

1992 onward various types of ownership such as private and community came into being, in 1995 the first general election in multiparty politics was primarily blared by media involvement in which NEC and ZEC developed codes for electoral reportage and figured out time commission for all political parties. However, for media owners considered it into commercial strategy by which only wealth parties secured airtime, consequently commercial journalism and scooping reportages commenced. It has ironic legacy to the current ownership system which is not journalistically configured. For example, when I was general secretary for ministry of information, I argued several times over ZBC to be a public corporation because it's too much dependent entity, now the marketing strategy is about 30% free to air policies which is not compatible (Dr. Shajack, a former minister of information).

At this point, Dr. Shajack perceived that there are so many things to note in the current ownership, though it is inclusive by means of public, private and community media and hence they have vital role in the society like religious outlet now serve many audiences in the country. In addition to commercial point of view, Maryam Hamdan a media author and

retired journalist stressed that the multiparty journalism is more commercial oriented unlike before 1990s. She said;

I remember during our time no commercial advertisement intrinsically operated in Zanzibar media, most were about death announcements; it was absolutely free to air. In 1968 when Bizanje (the state corporation for import goods) existed the popular business was about clothes like kanga and other dressings but not much advertised through media, until 1990s when Bizanje went then no popular business on isles, (Maryam Hamdan, a veteran journalist).

Similarly, Hamdan described enthusiasm before liberalization of the waves that many people wanted to establish their media but laws restricted them, when right time came to consent private individuals so it can be assessed in a different way. She expressed;

Since now business is everywhere in the country in which our mass media have coped with that setting, such as Telecommunication advertisements have dominated media program and so far has changed the scope of media functionality into more commercial and entertainment, while the rest of the programs are mostly about immoral songs. This is because of many media owners prefer to employ unprofessional who regularly use jargons (Maryam Hamdan, a veteran journalist).

Maryam Hamdan finally suggested for media authorities to develop abundant evaluation and follow-up strategies over media undertakings for betterment of public utility. While media institutions should manage active libraries and develop annual and quarterly reports through regulatory bodies as it was before. Absalom Kibanda a senior journalist affirmed that recently there is a huge expansion of ownership to mean dispersal ownership structure; including the mixture of community media run by district councils and private individuals which have distinctive implication to the entire journalism in the country. Whilst, Ali Rashid a retired journalist was concerned with media economic and content structure. He referred to the initial transformation in 1980s through WB and IMF structural adjustment, whereby political economic reforms caused the entire media economic transformation, he elaborated;

The typical transformation of media ownership was derived from *Zanzibar Declaration* (Azimio la Zanzibar) which came to liberalize the industry, through which a number of media outlets increased dramatically. Nonetheless, currently when we trace content analysis to my opinion it's only about twenty percent is local, while pseudo is common practiced across media system in Tanzania, along with digitalization of industry came into practices to challenge the profession (Ali Rashid, a veteran journalist).

Salim Said a seasonal journalist and trainer, had opinions that ownership structure can be assessed on editorial freedom in accordance with the government phases under the presidents who ruled the country as he described;

During the Mwalim when I was working at party's newspaper Uhuru then at the government Daily News, I didn't see him interferes the editorials, even

though he was an executive editor of the publication. He let us spontaneous perform our duties as watchdog over the government officials, likewise the few existing private presses during Nyerere did a good job”. Even in Mkapa, Mwinyi and Kikwete governments the situation was practically alike, but now it’s worse; analytical stories are not common. The government embraces media ownership for those who are obedient and submissive and finally gain rich advertising in their media (Salim Said, a veteran journalist).

Nevertheless, Salim affirmed that there are also critical media nowadays to government and he specified that it doesn’t mean that to be critical meant to criticize everything done by government, even when government did well mass media have to acknowledge too.

Another prominent person in Tanzanian media, Jeneral Ulimwengu who was also a co-founder of Habari Corporation Ltd in 2001, comprehended that the current ownership has undue role to play in the society in which he stated; *“unlike during the one party system where media was a property of government to portray the party’s ideology, recently the ownership is varied, it means that not just party cadres or government officials can have access to media, but public can be represented in different ways”*. In other side, Rafii Haji a retired journalist and who worked in various positions with the government his ideas were quite reversing with what Ulimwengu said and assertion of Jabir Idrissa about distribution network, as entire public is not served. He contended that the current ownership is still partial to community exposure in view of demographical reach. He clarified;

It’s geographically unbalanced, most of owners invested in urban, for example in Rufiji till now there is hard access of radio. The circulation of newspaper doesn’t reach rural promptly. To my observations, many things can be assessed, but for broadcasting aspect firstly we have to look at the emergence of Frequency Modulation FM transmission structure, it’s required to cover only 10 km for every station; if you want to expand to reach wide coverage you are supposed to find a booster which is very expensive. In view of that, only urban populaces enjoy the exciting structure while rural is still debatable. It implies that general public has no voices; media merely dominate in urban for making business and profit maximizations (Rafii, a veteran journalist).

To him the rapid national utilization of digitalization and FM transmission was not revolutionary since Short Wave (SW) and Medium Wave (MW) broadcasting transmission have broad access across continent and country respectively. “Though FM has good quality but coverage is meagre, before you reach into quality, firstly quantity matters. As a result, there are so many private owned FM radios but many are hopeless to entire community”.

3.1.1.5 Views of Representatives from Professional Media Organizations

The study proposed to interview ten executives of media organization. However, it reached eight representatives from substantial media associations in the country, constructing 12.5% of interviewees as table 1.2.1b mentions. The initial target was to get top leaders, due to

their busy schedules they appointed some administrators to speak on behalf. Thus, these representatives include president or managing directors, program managers and executive secretary. For quantitative data, among respondents 50.0% had views of satisfactory, followed with 37.5% and 12.5% of very good and fair respectively. The common descriptive interpretation demonstrates the conformity of existing structure, though there are varied assessments accounted from their supervision of mass media in the country. Samuel from Tanzania Media Women Association TAMWA based in Tanzania Mainland, noted that the more plurality of media, the more partisanship in their entire undertakings as he explained; *“There is some sort of partisanship in the media operations as long as the ideological outlets rise such as religious and political newspapers which typically portray propaganda of their masters. They ultimately divide the public, since they don’t trace the common culture and contradicting the ethical journalism”*. In other side, Samuel considered the current ownership brings good collaboration with global media which might streamline professionalism to the local broadcasters. Whilst, Pili Mtambalike a Programme manager for MCT and a senior journalist who worked in both government monopoly media and the current environment, she distinguished the present ownership structure from long ago during the socialist supremacy in views of functionality, control and freedom. She said;

I remember well at that moment there was an editorial freedom especially on exercising investigative journalism for the best of all. For example, in 1980s during the scandal faced Sugar Development Corporation (SUDECO), all media were let free to expose all concerning the issue which finally led to resignation of some ministers who took part in this corrupt action, as well as the entire organization were restructured due to the media coverage on happening. Now the situation is far different, concentration exists at nonsense circumstances, insomuch as the state media are no longer public, while private are targeted, (Mtambalike, MCT Programme manager).

Table 3.1.1.3: Views of Representatives from Media Organization about the Current Ownership

Response Category	Frequency	Percent
Very good	3	37.5
Satisfactory	4	50.0
Fair	1	12.5
Total	8	100.0

Source: Field Research, 2018

Hawra Shamte from TAMWA based in Zanzibar had diverse understandings on the ownership. She said it’s good phenomenon since anchored in plurality, by which there is high competition and widespread employment, whereby the state could not enter new world without having such modification in media landscapes. However, Shamte argued that some media owners are not willing to demonstrate ethics and professionalism athwart the industry, they incline to impose unconducive atmosphere in their institutions such as they employ armature staffs

(Makanjanja) without any professional background and qualifications. The MOAT executive secretary Henry Muhanika was concerned with media concentration and state control of profession. *“The recent structure indicates that the massive private corporations overshadow small operators, its merely for big companies to flourish while small suffer a lot as a result of ownership concentration”*. He added that now Tanzania is dramatically shifting from plural media setting into few controllers. Besides Muhanika prophesied about stiff state control as of a recent regulation on newspaper registration which entails all newspaper to reregister every year, its potential to kill the small firms deemed are unqualified because of low capitals. Another severe state control is about advertising regulation in which he contends that advertising is not powerful in Tanzanian media system, since government is main advertiser but the director for information department tends to act as advertising agency to allocate the adverts to the entire media outlets which so far impacts the editorial contents.

3.1.1.6 Views of Academicians on the Current Media Ownership Structure

Member of academia includes all media professionals working at high learning institutions such as professors, lecturers, tutors and others. Through this account ten as all target samples were reached, forming 13.7 as valid percent over all touched seventy-three informants for In-depth interview as shown in table 1.2.1b. The table 3.1.1.6 illustrates that 40.0% of academicians thought the current ownership structure is satisfactory, 30.0% was very good, 20.0% and 10% scored for fair and excellent respectively. Coming to the descriptive presentation the results depicts some alike assessments among respondents of this category, mostly abstracted media as institution tending to sort out its self into pivotal character to the society, while others relate media transformation to the political system existing. Dr. Ali Uki from Zanzibar University traced media from initial transformation during President Mwinyi when newspapers got criticizing frequently and other progressions, to the current state where a number of expedients face the profession. He expressed;

Though the transformation came to kill the national media like Daily News, it grew to some extent such rural coverage expands, training institutions increased, choices on diverse portrayal of same event, investigative and independent journalism is vivid. However, the media contents are still poor, lack of analysis, corruption or cheque book journalism is much practiced (Dr. Uki, an academician).

Jabir Abdallah a part-time assistant lecturer at Muslim University of Morogoro MUM, supplemented other view on the media encounters in the country. He noted the incredible changes in recent ten years from president Kikwete to Magufuli regime where now media freedom deteriorates. *“This government imposes strategic measures in the media into omission of some contents, in such a way that no exact strong media entities in the country even online media are vulnerable”*.

Table 3.1.1.4: Media Academicians' Views about the Media Ownership Structure

Response Category	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	1	10.0
Very good	3	30.0
Satisfactory	4	40.0
Fair	2	20.0
Total	10	100.0

Source: Field Research, 2018

Whilst, Charles Irigo from University of Dar es Salaam regarded privately owned media are developmental, rather infotainer oriented, whereas the government owned tend to fill up the gap. He maintained; *“The provision of this mixed ownership is ideal for national development especial by public media. However, the shortcomings in government media are about being challenged of their popularity which is rapidly going down now”*. Juma Simba from Zanzibar ZJMMC, who is also a veteran, served various government posts elaborated;

What I remember all about Tanzanian journalism in one-party system that, there was no consumer choices, it means audiences had no alternative media, contents and even timing to watch. Many programs relied on government principles in accordance with traditional function of media to entertain, information and education, but now many changes have occurred, there is a variety for the whole media ecosystems. In other face I may appreciate the previous structure as was constructive to society. There was a remarkable boundary for children and adult program, 70% were local based program, while day parting schedule were observed and there are open note guides, unlike now no regular format as well as some program don't have any focus over society just to flourish owners' interest (Simba, a media cademician).

Dr, Suleiman Seif of Zanzibar University ZU related directly the Tanzanian media ownership and concept of free press which commonly tends to reflect to the national stances and owners' treatment. He stated; *“To be frank, the media personnel welfare is not worthy across media intuitions as its in many institution in our country, professionalism is vanishing due to the provision of high cheap labor working as DJs as well as commercial contents persist especially in private media, though there is a good number of graduates from academic institutions and plurality of media”*. Dr. Seif further believed that owners dictate everything in this kind of media; accordingly, private media become unreliable to work that's why many local journalists prefer to work at public media due to the economic crisis.

3.1.1.7 Views of Bloggers and Online Platforms Operators

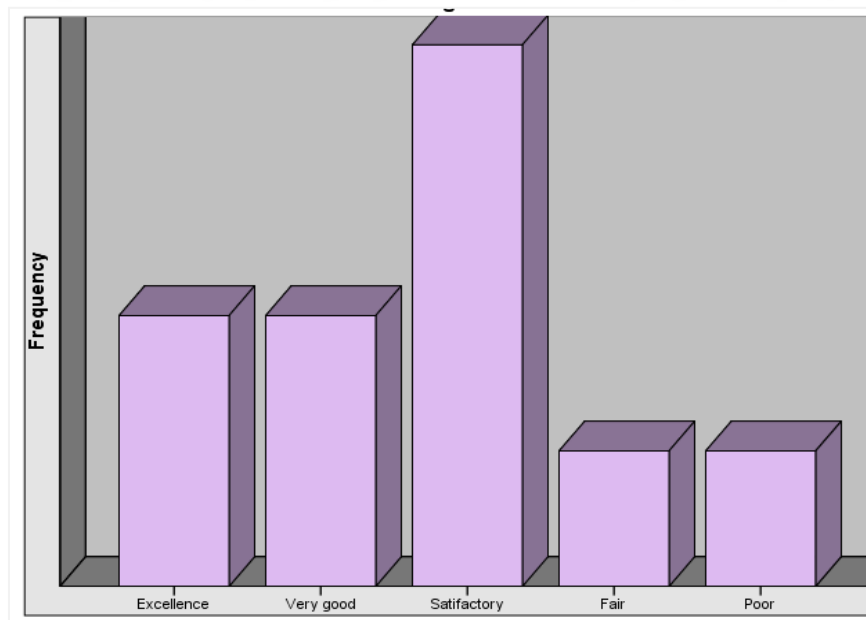
The sample of bloggers and online forum frontrunners covered ten informants, equivalent to 13.7% valid out of all participants in interview technique. The involvement of this category was purposive to explore their understandings about the structural changes of ownership, as most

of them are also active journalists working at different mainstream media. Also, their inclusion to the study enabled to test research hypothesis on technological influence that has adapted the orthodox ownership structure along entire practices of journalism. The results display the good figure 40.0% of respondents opted for satisfactory, whereas 20.0% was an equal response for excellent and very good as well as 10.0% appeared twice for fair and poor. Based on their familiarities on this subject, the participants perceived the transformation as driven by dint of technology is helpful spurring likelihood for assorted journalists to practice the field broadly; it rather streamlined the media role of sociality responsibility in a broad sense though internet means than traditional media. Salma Said, an operator of *Zanzibar Yetu blog* assessed the recent ownership variations in different ways. She said;

To my opinion not only structure has changed but also the entire operation, formerly ethics were observed in many media houses among journalists themselves but now owners are commanding. Though, it was very hard to get byline in newspapers for young journalists because of few press existed, now the provision of varied owners tends to widespread the opportunity for emerging journalists to practices wherever they want, the situation encourages many to get involved in the industry, (Salma Said, a blogger and journalist).

However, Salma affirmed that today generally quality is another case; as there are so many media scholars like PhD holders but professional efficacy is still poor.

Bar Chart 3.1.1.3: Views of Bloggers and Online forum Operators about Media Ownership



Source: Field Research, 2018

Maxence Melo a founder of JamiiForum had more observation on the assumption that government was main regulator and controller of media in Tanzania but technology diffusion emerged to demoralize the system and boosting the media power into more democratic in which he stated;

The history shows state had entire control of all media in our county; likewise, the government media were also very powerful for everything. The government failed in that monopoly through this transformation, subsequent to the big media corporations to grab all competent employees and served better the community. I accented the scrutiny on the transformation through internet like online social network, example our platform, Jamii forum has brought genuine revolution to the news industry. It cultivates the media autonomy especially on social accountability, as of EPA scandal in 2008 when mainstream media were severely censored, but JamiiForum was forefront to uncover all affairs related to corrupt politicians who were apparent in exercising corruption (Melo, a founder of JamiiForum).

Besides, Khelef Nassor who operates Zaima Media Online perceives the transformation of media system is inexorable phenomenon especially after coming the new media and fill up the gap of information, such as breaking news industry flourish easily across the country. To the extent that many people run to social media so as to exploit the current affairs and public information such as political gossips. Khelef explained;

By using our online media, we managed huge public information. The best example was about the mismanagement of Chake Chake Market, following our analytic coverage the authority took quick actions to clear out the misconducts among officials. Although scooping journalism is very common in online practice than in traditional media, since many operators do not have enough journalism knowledges who tend to twist the profession.

3.1.1.8 Views of Young Journalists on the Media Ownership Structure

The next category is of young journalists who got involved through focus group discussions which took place in Morogoro and Zanzibar. There were about twenty target samples for this type with equal number of ten for Zanzibar and Morogoro separately. However, one respondent was missed from a group of Morogoro, consequently, nineteen young journalists were accessed, making 95.0% of respondents in this method of data collection as demonstrated in table 1.2.1c. Henceforth researcher used the same value to quantify the expression from respondents, the results indicate that 31.63% thought the ownership is satisfactory and fair were 26.3%. The scores were 21.1% of young journalists viewed as very good while 10.5% twofold signified excellent and poor values respectively. The exploratory results also reveal varied views among participants of these two groups in which the discussions mainly centered on critical and affirmative assertions on the journalism impression over current media ownership structure. Hence, some participants had views that institutional machinery persists influentially through owners who tend to factor the entire professionalism as most of owners are unprofessional on media having vital character in business and politics; they strategically enforce their motives into media undertakings. While others considered government as the sole key determinant on restructuring the media landscape and ultimate functionality.

In Morogoro sitting Mugin Singira, a third-year student who pursues B.A mass communication at MUM, stated that the Tanzanian media system is inconsistent, changing over the time where in socialism media played alike role of spreading ideology of the regime, while in multipartism the manifold ownership structure also transformed the functionality consistent with the integrity of owners. *“The same newspaper cannot be as it was yesterday, just for the reason of changing it owner”*. He meant that owner’s perception has great part of media performance. Yusuph Kayanda from MSJ called the current ownership is a property of businessmen and politicians. In this view, Ahmed Meena from MUM FM sighted that many private media are established by unprofessional businessmen and politicians who don’t have any idea about journalism. *“Their objectives will merely remain in servicing themselves; today we witness serious conformation in some media institutions between owners and managers in one side over editors and ordinary journalist in counterpart”*. Whilst, Jackson Monela a Star TV correspondent based in Morogoro region had critical observation that the current ownership structure is abundantly determined through state mechanism, dictating to large extent many happening in our media, to him owners are powerless so far.

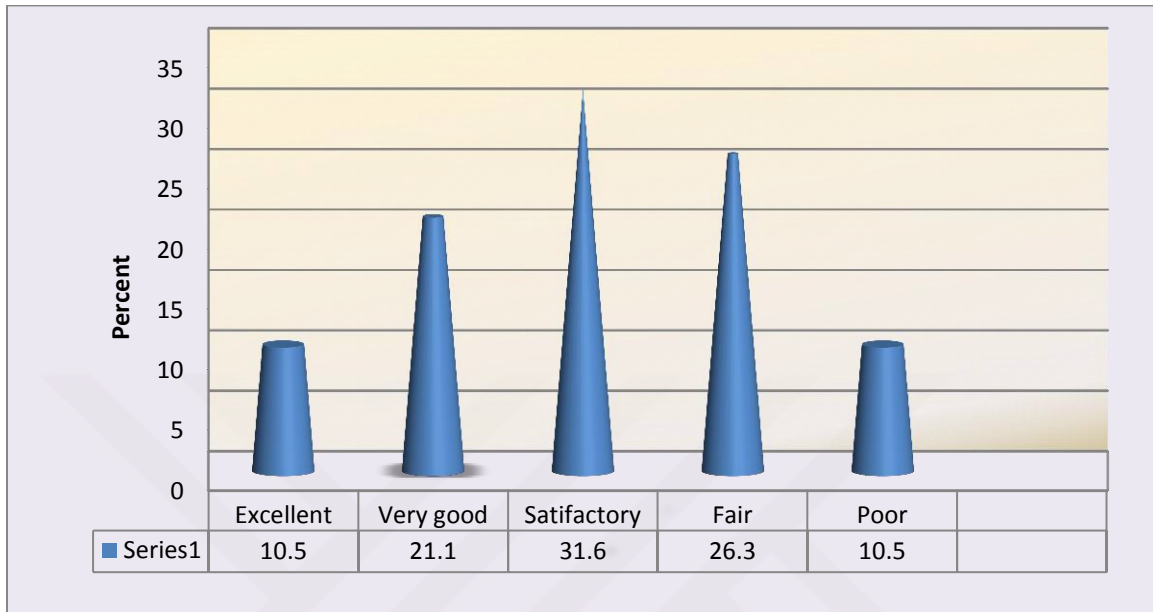
It’s a state which decides what to publish or to air, we see frequently the government interfere direct media content. For example, the documentaries which propagate the president activities produced by the statehouse’s communication directory section and distribute to prominent media stations in the country. It’s made obligatory for the target media to air such program without editing, even if some of its components may contradict with journalism principles or institutional guidelines (Monela, broadcasting reporter).

During the Zanzibar session Bakari from Chuchu FM said the career has developed a lot, though there are some encounters on news gathering, production and dissemination. Similarly, Mwajuma Kombo from MSJ asserted that the existing media configuration has brought progressive outcomes to journalism outlook. To her, unlike before, now the government has no direct power to muzzle the press, in view of that now media turned into platform for public to acquire diverse knowledges. Adhila a student at ZJMMC described some differences from erstwhile experiences in which the government decided on the whole media ecosystems but now the freedom is upon media itself to perform the media roles in the society. Abubakar Harith a broadcaster of Adhana FM observed that through current ownership arrangement there is simplicity for news gathering due to the presence sophisticated tools and public awareness on media power. However, the way to deliver the trustworthy and reliable information is still problematic; it’s rooted from laws and the system of news structure since the elite’s minority brutally regulates the news industry. Nonetheless, Sada Kombo from ZBC had feelings that the current ownership is merely anchored in the prevailing inimical laws which govern the press in which she articulated;

Despite the fact that at the outset of media liberalization demand of news matured tremendously and for that reason media outlets mushroomed rapidly, as per economic perspective that as long as the demands expands the products become valuable. But everyday there are new draconian media laws, spring up to distort

the welfare, as we are talking now there are so many media outlets were shut down and harassment is every day (Sada Kombo, journalist from ZBC).

Bar Chart 3.1.1.4; Journalists' Views of Young about the Media Ownership structure



Source: Field Research, 2018

Talib Ussi who reports to Tanzania Daima based in Zanzibar during the discussion traced the irregularity of media structure in Tanzania. He said that before the structure was rather independent for practitioners, at the beginning of multiparty politics and economic liberalization many owners established for miscellaneous deliberations. Talib expressed;

At that time the regime was not interfering as much as the government media themselves were impartial, but recently the government has robust control of media and they become dammed as if they belong to one owner. I remember just in recent times the house of representative passed the law which enforce all media housed to feed the public by using ZBC reportage (Talib Ussi, a newspaper correspondent).

Another participant with critical assessment was Malik Said Shakhran from ZCMG who put more stress on what Ussi has uttered during the discussion concerning the state deliberations which challenge the profession to work accurately. He elaborated;

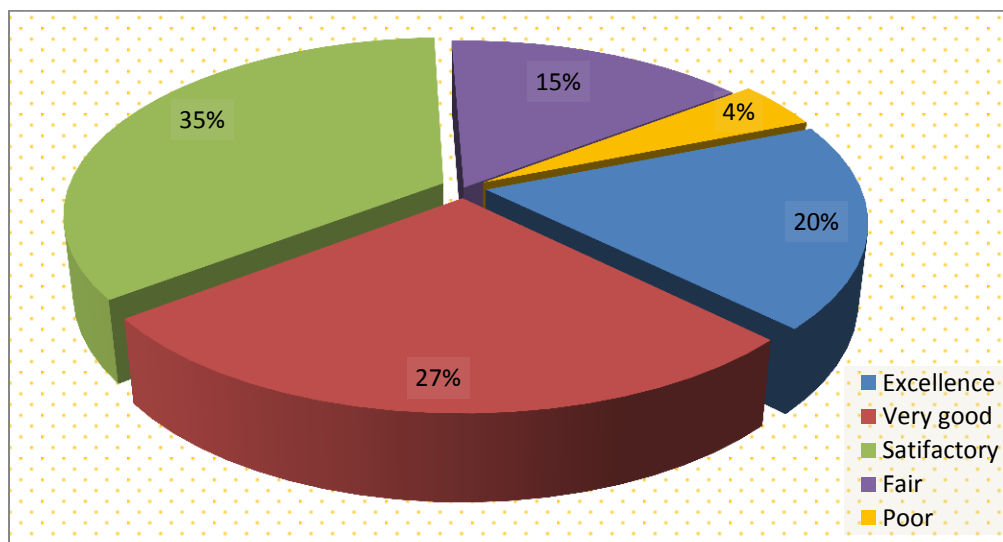
You know, when initially commence the journey you get pleased but whatever you move you become disappointed. It means that through liberalization policies at the outset even private media in the country were in stiff competition producing quality program. I remember it just ten year ago the professional competition happened among media houses, but now the situation is worse. Our government thinks we have reached the real democracy that's why they regularly impose heavy regulation on us. Actually, there is severe deterioration of news

affairs in our media, for example; let's know here decide to go out for corruption news coverage, most of us we cannot write it objectively". I believe that journalists are weak thinking that if they report impartially then they get targeted by unidentified aggressors as many cases happened to journalists in the country. As of recent event in one village here in Zanzibar where women were assaulted, unfortunately, until now no media reported about that matter, if anyone had an attempt to develop analytic story on that affair will be in trouble. In view of that I would like to say we are very selective on our works because the industry is in excessive control than ever been before (Shakhran, a broadcaster).

3.1.1.9 The overall Views on the Current Media Ownership Structure

The Pie Chart 3.1.1.2 demonstrates the overall views from 92 research respondents concerning the comparison of current ownership structure and pre-economic liberalization and multipartism. After computing the results from media owners, corporation managers, veteran journalists, academicians, chief editors, representatives from media organizations as well as young journalists the findings indicated that the common value was 34.8% of all research participants who sighted the current ownership as being satisfactory, Yet those who thought the structure was very good and excellent were 27.2% and 18.5% respectively, while the figures for fair was 15.2% and poor was 4.3% discerned by overall respondents from in-depth interview and focus group discussions. Whilst, there were common concerns about the current ownership from research participants that has fostered diversity of contents in all arena.

Pie Chart 3.1.1.1: The overall Views on the Current Media Ownership Structure



Source: Field Research, 2018

It was also articulated that multi ownership structure has prompted creativity and competency for journalists and broad media institutions to prepress, while employment opportunity is wide presented and hence media become accessible platforms for young journalist to practice. However, there were some undesirable outcomes generated from the transformation of ownership structure which clue to demoralize professionalism and socially functionality of

mass media. On this side, respondents frequently spoke about the inclination of commercialism around media organizations, deterioration of content quality and media personnel welfare since the owners are not professional derived mostly from politics and business. While government regulations and political interference was frequently augured by respondent as suppressing the media economic sustainability and general journalism prosperity.

3.1.2 The Inclusive Perceptions on Media Outlook in Politics

Supplementary to the views on the appraisal of current media ownership in comparison with previous structure, the study also aimed at probing the coherent political journalism subsequent to the structural transformation. The question was; to what extent the existing multiple ownership structure has changed the media outlook into rational political obligation? All 92 respondents through focus group discussion and in-depth interview were asked to express their understandings concerning the way ownership alteration has so far reformed the media functionality in secured political accountability in Tanzania. The findings for this question indicate varied remarks among media owners, media managers, veteran journalists, academicians, editors and representatives from media organizations as well as young journalists. However, the outstanding viewpoints reveal some significant alterations of media role in politics for twenty-five years of media liberalization in annotations of ethical journalism, editorial freedom, and the diversity of political news content as well as journalists' prosperity towards professional performance. Ali sultan a media consultant who has practiced journalism for 27 years, during the in-depth interview he affirmed that the shifting of media ownership structure has streamlined the practical editorial freedom in the Tanzanian media landscapes, while rationalizing into nationalism. Sultan said;

Subsequently now our media are reasonably free to uncover the political affairs than before, they have played distinct role into political stability. There are no vivid hate speeches attacking other social groups through media which would clue to discrimination and civil conflicts, this implies that the nationalist ideology just as in socialist epoch is persisted across both private and state-owned media (Sultan, a veteran journalist).

The contrary opinions on the idea of nationalism was put forward by Ali Shaban an academician at ZJMMC, uttering that under current ownership media there is huge uniformity among public and private media on revealing the national strategies, mostly is the miscellaneous political ideologies which is potential to damage the profession. Such view was furthered by Kelvin Kazimoto from MSJ during the focus group discussion went on in Morogoro, he noted about the media deprived function of setting agenda and patriotism by elite politicians. He expressed;

Since we can't separate media and politics, then if media is merely controlled by politicians, it's over, our media fail to set agenda, to the degree that they become anomalous entities, not functional point of view. Unlike Kenya where the mass media tended to set agenda on nationalism amongst political

actors, Tanzanian media are much opinionated platform, no media house which is safe (Kazimoto, a journalist).

Kazimoto went forward to condense that all types of media are unimpressive and said; *“even community media are still not social based per se, they are politically biased too”*. He cited an example of political conflict which he witnessed in one radio station in Tanzania between managers and editors who were supporters of different political parties. Through this focus group discussion in Morogoro, some participants commonly argued the question of managers’ ironic character on twisting the daily media content on behalf of proprietors. Ahmed Meena stressed the ownership posture in this dispute that owners cannot hesitate to fire the managers or editors when contradict with his political ideology. *“Especially for political reportages the media system typically inclines to suit the owners’ political affiliation, to the extent that some managers are changed after the new ones for the intention to cope with owners’ ideologies”*. He said that some of journalists tend to embrace these politically motivated owners for the sake of acquiring prime civil posts, in view of that, objective political journalism remains a day dream. Abeid Dogoli a senior journalist based in Morogoro said many media owners employed not only the media managers and editors but also all other media personnel simply who fit in their political aspirations as long as journalists themselves abide to be slaves servicing their masters.

Respondents also commented about the ordinary journalists compromise of their professional ethics over owner’s political missions. Through the group discussion in Zanzibar, Abubakar Harith remarked on the provision of political camps existing in Tanzanian media landscapes undertaken by journalists, supporting a particular candidate during election known as ‘team’. He thought that mass media doesn’t have a preferred space in Tanzanian politics, since journalists just follow the wind, they are not critical in their reporting. In the same way, Nassra Suleiman related the current ownership with existing political atmosphere and the autonomy of journalists in which she uttered;

There are so many things that we can assess our media position in politics, some journalists forget their social responsibility particularly during the national electoral campaign in which they turn into agents of political parties in respect of economically survivals. Briefly we can say that our media mostly perform PR activities designed for political parties’ manifestation (Nassra Suleiman, a broadcasting manager).

On the other side, Nassra considered government has some sort of intimidation to journalism prosperity which make journalist worry about impartial political reportages. She said it’s rooted from the constitution which consists of vague lexicon such as *without compromising the law* which endorses a political loophole for rulers to translate pertaining to their partial enthusiasm. Such kind of legal observation was also given out by Hawra Shamte uttering that due to the presence of elusive legislations the political affiliated media are common in Tanzanian media landscape, whereby some owners merely demonstrated their propaganda motives as she said.

Here our laws undermine the industry not to prosper, the constitution tends to be double standard, given and taken; in one side it pledges freedom of information, on the counterpart various laws deprive the freedom. Likewise, the term like public interest and national security are uncertain yet just it's upon the definer like a minister or other authority, (Hawra Shamte, a TAMWA representative based in Zanibar).

However, Charles Irigo is much confident on the private involvement into media sector as well as the presence of government owned media which jointly play great part in entrenching developmental civic agendas for national development. He is so far assertive on the guiding principles set by government since no freedom without boundaries. Whilst, Ulimwengu affirmed that the current ownership demonstrates some inspirations to political journalism. He stated; *"it's more plural by structure and content of politics, now the diverse voices are represented in different mode of owners who have assorted political ideologies, and these media are wide accessed from rural to urban"*. Yet again, Denis Msaki pronounced that, in spite of media noticeable performance into political prosperity, government imposition is still too divisive to let media operate democratically, whereby just in recent three years almost five dailies were penalized; *"it indicates intense pressure from authority especially when you criticize the regime"*. The alike considerations were expressed by Pili Mtambalike who deeply specified her concerns on both the government burden and private owners' unwillingness on protecting balanced political reportage. She elaborated;

We expected to witness pluralism and diversity in the media system but there is archetypal deliberation by government such as Media Services Act which endure ambiguous expression, along with Newspaper Act which now entails owner every year to reregister a publication with one million fees. Whilst, government and owners play the common game, I remember in January 2017 the government charged 60 million for four broadcasting networks namely ITV, channel 10, Azam TV, Star TV and EATV using the draconian media laws. In this matter, as media supervisor MCT we advised the owners of these stations not to comply with decision made by authority, because the authority doesn't have such mandate to fine the channels. Surprisingly, some of them paid the charges just quickly and the few owners appealed to court (MCT programme manager)

She uttered that this implies that there is high business and political affiliations in Tanzanian media system, such owners are too frightened, they can do whatsoever to please the governing authority on behalf of smooth progressing their commercial concentration devoid of government inquiries. In addition to that, Enzi Talib contended that there is a tiny character of media in rational politics. According to him it's the owners who place their interests in order just to support the ruling political system for their survival; hence Tanzanian media are very affirmative to the government, circumventing any critical and analytical political reporting. On the counterpart, Nadir Mahfoudh owner of Al-Noor FM said that though his radio is religious, he believed other private stations along with government media foster impartial political depiction through which people are aware enormously crosswise media political exposure and ultimately

government becomes accountable. Yet again, Dr. Shajack is uncertain of the current media outlook in political fairness as he maintained;

The core liberal determination here is to have media with impartiality for general utility but our media are rather constructive in political maneuvers, they are not accountable to public in such, most of them are established with furtive agenda of owner and patrons, after all they are not health to democracy.

Citing examples of his own Jackson Monela was of the opinion that the media watchdog role wiped out in Tanzania media system. Uttering that many media have subjective political responsibility, as of their example of Sahara media in the recent general election all staff including him were supposed to be so selective producing news program which favor the party of their owner. Whilst, Jeneral Ulimwengu affirmed that the current ownership demonstrates some inspirations to political journalism, *“it’s more plural by structure and content of politics, now the diverse voices are represented in different mode of ownership whose owners have assorted political ideologies, and these media are widely accessed from rural to urban”*. James Justine from MSJ considered the multi ownership structure as potential of political diffusion to the entire communities. In the same way, Iman Due had optimistic interpretations on the current media ownership configuration on entrenching balanced political enrichment;

Social responsibility has nurtured keen on a large scope, various program on private media are profound enough to pay loyalty to the public foremost, even the exposure of remote populations now is richer than before which so far activate towards social development perspective. Example ZBC we had analysis of unconducive location of chicken market at Darajani Zanzibar, after few days later the municipal council took action on protecting the market environment favorable for consumers (a ZBC director general).

On the other side, Salma Said perceived that there is still a social gap between political elites and ordinary citizens in media reportages that most of political news sources are dominant politicians and urban residents while general voters especially rural populaces are not deliberated. She said; *“In spite of entire society being aware now on political affairs than before, the main politicians commonly prevail media publicity through this ownership and financing system so as to acquire public trust contrary to social aspirations”*. Nevertheless, she affirmed that the situation is changing now gradually unlike before at least public have voices in media. This ending remark was stressed by Omar Chunda a retired journalist who had the views that the current ownership inclines to widespread the dispersal mechanism in approaching the public on expressing their viewpoints based on heterogeneities. Besides, Ramadhan Senda observed that the present configuration has nurtured editorial freedom on political affairs, whereby balanced political information is offered across media operation; though he affirmed there are still some partisan media. *“Unlike other media stations, we are too open to very party, just if you come with beautiful money you will be aired for sure, it doesn’t matter which political party you are”*.

Another critical issue rose in the discourse of media position in politics was about elections. Some respondents took it as measurement scale to understand to what extent Tanzanian media play parts in developmental politics. In an in-depth interview Dr. Ali Uki commented;

The actual picture of media political responsibility can be assessed during the general elections when a variety of partisan outlets proliferate drastically. Now every political party has its own mouthpiece, example Uhuru and Tanzania Daima belonging to CCM and CHADEMA respectively. Therefore the patrons and proprietors merely utilize the media strategies toward their predisposed political goals.

Talib Ussi uttered; *“owners are politically motivated even before they establish their media, they identified as politicians, hence owners enforce their ideologies into owned media operation, ultimately these media turned into political party platforms such as Swahiba FM propagating CUF, radio 5 Arusha for CHADEMA, Bahari for CCM and others”*. He so far contended about the state tendency to frame the political issues and to twist the media setting into more soundless, as it happened during Uamsho movement that all media in Zanzibar were warned to report any article about the crusade in which he clarified; *“even the president when he was asked about the matter, he told the reporter not to repeat such questions”*. Fatma Fadhil a student at ZJMMC observed that during the election Tanzanian journalists working in private media are in troublesome political atmosphere.

The Media electoral coverage tends to be vibrant only during the election campaign, but situation changes dramatically in the time of electoral results whereby only state run media are allowed to question about the results. There was a case in the recent election for some private media were seriously fined after announcing the opinions of some politicians concerning the results. Journalists become vulnerable to the government treatment; along with owners' stark conducts to their employee regularly prompt many journalists to shift among media houses every day (Fatma Fadhil, a student at ZJMMC).

For Nicodemus Ikonko a chief editor at Habari Leo newspaper grasped this transformation as an awakening bell which stimulates objective functioning of media in politics. It reminds the government media to be aware on political reportage, since they run around a number of private ones as alternative to disclose the incomplete information when state owned outlets fail. To him it's upon journalists to find out the entire impediments and suitable measure over regulatory difficulties. Hence, Ali Mjaka from Zanzibar department of information (habari maelezo) had view that by using various journalistic strategies media can revive its portion in social accountability; *“I remember in 2014 when general election was approaching, the United of Tanzanian Press Clubs UTPC initiated 2014-2015 project for enhancing political content during the election”*. He believed that the project to large extent was fruitful; it fostered impartial programmes in the media, since owners were commonly involved during the training. They were informed that every media should provide accurate coverage to every political party. However, Saada Kombo had different views over Mjaka proposal that in spite of having integral deliberations by journalists themselves on improving the impartiality and professionalism in

political coverage, it still might be ineffective. She conceptualized that since the social life is inherently politicized, so long as every institution is also politicized including media, accordingly media cannot address audiences without speaking about politics. She described;

Without portraying politics in your media, you cannot secure a good number of readers, viewers or listeners, in a certain assumption we can therefore say our media have improved in political journalism because it's the most subject or topics revealed, but the question of ethics and professionalism is controversial because there are various external impediments accounting against the flourish of rich political journalism in the country (a journalist).

Bakari Masoud considered the major source of media failure is about political system through the legacy of one-party which demoralized the inclusive social accountability of media. He contended;

I can say our political structure is too much satirical for ethical media to prosper and for public welfare at large. When we refer to 1992 about 80% Tanzanians opposed multiparty politics, this legacy is lively until today for some people have negatives attitudes over the oppositions, the same implicates to our media if you report anything against the ruling party, then you are in trouble (Bakari Masoud, a broadcaster of Chuchu Radio).

He was concerned with the provision of public media but to him it's just theoretically, saying only ruling party get coverage to proclaim their manifesto and policies in these kinds of media while opposition are never considered. Whereas when private media offer balanced coverage to both opposition and governing party ultimately, they become under attack. Bakar meant that government and citizens in general are not primed to cope with multiparty, that's why there are so many challenges that encounter media practitioners. Juma Simba had thoughts about the failure of national policies guiding keen on media political impartiality in which he said; *"when wave liberalization begun Tanzanian media operated in line with the set national objectives which adopted the political balance through media coverage for all political parties"*. Juma Simba who was a ZBC TV (formerly TVZ) said that he remembers well as among founders of broadcasting policies on political reportage at ZBC TV, unlike now, at that time they put emphasis for every part to propagate its manifesto explicitly. He expressed;

Currently, the situation has changed; there are so many media stations which don't let some political parties to pronounce their strategies to public. Its due to the fallacy among authorities such as Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission and TCRA have blessed that every media should run with respect to their owners' policies, ultimately, political clientelism rooted everywhere in our local media (Simba, academcian).

On the face of new media particularly blogosphere and online forum, the participants had assorted views on the liberal political journalism nurtured as consequences of media ownership transformation. A machinist of Michuzi blog, Issa Michuzi maintained that there are radical

changes for portrayal of political miscellany on the same political phenomenon and he spoke about the proliferation of practitioners who have habits of compromising ethics. He stated;

In the past when you missed to listen news bulletin in RTD, it was over for that day, but now there are various channels that you can access news at any time you wish so, from mainstream to online media. You can see people have graduated today and by tomorrow they become editors and some have nothing about journalism qualifications, they tend to obey the principles only during the registration as required by regulations, and you can find high profiled editors in registration paper simply for smooth obtaining the license (Michuzi, operator of Michuzi blog).

Likewise, Salmin Juma an operator of Pemba Today blog regarded the ownership transformation as useful phenomenon in political responsibility especially through the emergence of online media which turns into alternative civic juncture. He said; *“For example, some politicians now utilize the online platforms to manifest their voices after the government sanction of live coverage on parliament sessions”*. Maxence Melo talked about his online forum and its power to political accountability;

Jamii Forum we are rather influential in term of political coverage and geographical reach than mainstream media in the country, let's take example of the leading newspaper, Mwananchi circulates not more than 12,000 copies a day across the country, while our channel reaches almost 600,000 users daily. I am self-assured that it implies as actual political actors especially on streamlining social accountability. That's why in 2008 I was arrested subsequent to the widespread information on Richmond scandal through online channels originated from our forum. In short we have a huge figure of followers in our platform including politicians and other officials in the country (Melo, a JamiiForum executive).

3.1.3 Ownership Deliberation and Journalism Performance

This is the continual section which unveils the data from in-depth interview conducted to explore the broad understanding on the owners' comportments in relation with the momentous alteration of media landscape in Tanzania. The hypothesis of Institutional imperatives on entire media operation especially on production and management of news have been traced commonly in several studies such as Ericson et al. (1987) urge; *“It is the organization of news, not events in the world, that creates news”* (p.345). The world occurrences are restrained through bureaucratic maneuver in respect of ideological stance. The following findings are presented in the views of the hypothesis designed for diagnosing the comprehensive sympathies from the media patrons in regarding the abundant consequences of ownership structural transition, featuring the journalism outlook into astonishing manner.

3.1.3.1 The Owners' Primary Motives into Media Sector

In examining the entire posture of the structural transformation of media ownership, it's so crucial to understand the factors behind owners' engagement into media sectors. The question concerning the motives was preliminarily probed to all individual owners along with representatives who were appointed to speak up on behalf of owners who were too busy. It requested; What the influences behind your involvement into media sector? Although, there are some variances noted consistent with the type of media ownership, the results for the stipulated question displays closely concerns among respondents in respect of their involvement in journalism undertakings. Iman Due spoke about the primary motives for the government to establish the television channel ZBCTV (formerly TVZ) in 1972 along with inherited colonial radio station; the voice of Zanzibar which was found in 1952. The identical objective was well noted for mass education as the motto frequently acknowledges that *education through television* (Elimu kwa Television). According to her it was the central incentives for the government media that constantly inclined as inclusive platform for youths, adults and children whereby various programmes are produced to all sort of target audience as to cater the general community. Whilst, the private owner of Al-Noor FM, Nadir Mahfoudh stressed his partaking in broadcasting as mostly anchored in religious purpose, despite the fact that he had such intention to establish radio station some years ago as he expressed;

Before I become a religious person I was so much impressed on consuming several media outlets in the country and abroad. So far I had a great ambition to establish mine, because this device of communication remains the conventional platform for the community. Accordingly, our major objectives now keep on serving the community in the course of religious viewpoints (Nadir Mahfoudh, owner of Alnoor media).

To Hussein Bashe directly articulated that the focal determination of their purchase of New Habari Corporation in 2006 from the professionals' possession was about to progress in business operation. *"You know brother, our organization sticks at the central motivation of the profit maximization ...hence we are businessmen"*. Another private owner, Dr. Mohammed Seif Khatib said that his involvement in media sector as owner was greatly disposed with his qualification background in media as practitioner. He commenced as a freelancer to Kenyan Taifa weekly newspaper, then he was a reporter of government Daily News and a party's Uhuru newspaper in Tanzania, subsequently he was a minister of information. Through his government post as minister, several owners influenced him who managed a number of media houses in the country at reasonable cost. He uttered;

When I was a minister I got surely impressed by other investors in media after I long sighted them that they succeeded to run different media outlets in the country, at that time I asked myself why shouldn't I launch mine as a future investment upon my official retirement. Since our radio namely Zenj FM under the Zanzibar Media Corporation was the first station to exist in the isles, it brought vital changes to the entire community (Dr. Khatib, owner of ZMCL).

Besides, the ZCMG was inaugurated in 2001 mainly for the massive entertain and education. On the word of Said Hamza that since their corporation was the first cable operator in Zanzibar, it significantly touched the society using the multiplicity of contents for the benefit of all.

I dare say that before 2001 the community was in darkness, there was no any single cable operator, then we emerged to set up the proper transmission with novel creativity, offering various channels in a single decoder. It accommodated the public aspirations as the instant and alternative channels over the sole government owned Television networks (Said Hamza, a chief engineer at Zanzibar cable Media Group).

Whilst, Ahmed Mazurui stated that his media bases much in propagating the human right and democracy affairs to the general populations. *“I realized that there was no a comprehensive platform for civic education designed for equal access of our society, that’s why I certainly engaged in media to get my dream alive on serving our community towards absolute democracy”*. However, Mazrui contended that it is hard now for his station to realize the democracy proposition since mass media are maltreated instantly by the ruling authorities when they attempt to arrange for the appropriate civic education.

For further scrutiny of media ownership bearings and to crosscheck the responses from media owners, the same question about motives was supplemented to the managers and editors who were derived as case studies. It was convenient to find out the sentience among decision makers in the media institutions regarding their daily editorial outputs in relation with the owners’ motivations. The variable of the specific media type hitherto firmly tends to inspire the editors and managers to work in particular media behind the distinctive motivations. Most of respondents from government media viewed that their choice to work in such public institutions is customarily generated with ultimate labor prosperity, while in private media sighted professional excellence as a primary motive to their adoptions. Nicodemus Ikonko from Habari Leo newspaper was of the thoughts that state owned media institutions are healthier for protecting labor rights and effectiveness than private counterpart.

Unlike us, in private media there is no division of labor; most of editors in private media work in hurry mood, as they don’t know even their exact position in the organization. I may recommend the upcoming editors that if they want to exercise the substantial journalism they have to opt for state-run media outlets, since they can work comfortably up to their retirement. (Ikonko, a managing editor of Habari leo)

The same ideas was stressed by Prudencia Temba an editor of Daily News who detailed that job security and retirement benefits in government media were the major factors for her to work in that publication. Temba reasoned that owners in private media institutions always tend to censor some issues related to their business or personal life. She cited the example on the death of Reginald Mengi’s (a proprietor of IPP media) wife, through which all his media outlets didn’t disclose the certainty that the late was a Mengi’s real wife, and she was not just his

business partner as his media frequently reported. However, for Ghazal Abdulkadir, a program manager of ZBC sighted that his presence in public institution was chiefly for the reason of professional incentive around technological revolution, he meant to bring about digital changes in the station as a computer expert.

On the side of private media the drives for editors and managers also vary in accordance with the media ownership patterns. Daniel Msaki a chief editor from NHCL (2006) maintained that his working preferences in that media house was typically due to the distinguished organization's editorial policies and presence of adequate independence from proprietors. He illustrated that he can practice free journalism effectively and shapes the content in professional way because owner always stays at a distance from the editorial works. It enables him to cope with changing global environment of journalism practices as well as to monitor upcoming journalists. The alike impression was specified by the general manager of Swahiba Media group, Nassra Nassor;

My manifestation in this private working place is primarily to transform the broadcasting network into professional point of view, as it previously was an entertainment oriented station. I have come to fuel the professional views; before I came here it was like an individual entity, no respect around operational environment... that's why now I endeavor day and night to reinforce all related necessary changes keen on professionalism, (research respondent).

Rashid Kejo from MCL was of the views that his working media is the most serious media house in Tanzania and has respectable editorial policies. The general manager of Alnoor FM Mlekwa Muhidin said his connection in that radio station is due to the media types as religious and he was advised by previous manager to take the position. The editor from IPP media, Betris Bangawe related his working experiences in government run media and other privately owned media corporations along with the current private media house. She differentiated;

In IPP media the management structure and its general editorial policies are convenient for my professional accomplishment but in government media I was not free intrinsically,... and unlike many other private institutions here as a staff I can develop my career through education and organization can support you in your personal endeavors at any time (editor of Nipashe).

Likewise, Jabir Idrissa of Hali Halisi Media Group uttered about his familiarities in both private business and partisan media's job sceneries as he said;

Now I decided to work in this critical private media outlet in order to contribute the typical outcomes in views of national prosperity. I ever worked at the Uhuru newspaper which belongs to ruling party but I was certainly subjective to portray the biased political comforts of the party and government. Alternatively, now I shifted to the open and a leading critical newspaper in the country for the purpose to exercise the watchdog role of media over the officials' mismanagement (chief editor of Mwanahalisi).

Whilst, many other respondents from private media private stuck at journalism perspectives; Ramadhan Senda of ZMCL maintained that his corporation encompasses self-determining channels which are the central motivations for him, whereby they are politically free to comment on any political party so long as no influences of owner and they work responsively. The human resource manager of ZCMG hereafter a general manager for all media divisions in the organization, Salum Omar believed that to work in his current institution suits the employment benefits;

The main reason for me to work here is just for the sufficient wages; I worked in the government before, after my retirement I was asked to be here to help the organization to move on dramatically, during my stay here I realized the clear separation of duties and no discrimination at all, (Salum, human resource manager of ZCMG)

3.1.3.2 Recruitment of Media Management and Staffs

Staff management in media houses is anchored in the recruitment process of journalists who are prospective portrayers of the corporate image in the course of daily media undertakings. This study sought to observe the distinctive criteria which put under consideration among media corporations to enroll their staffs. The question was; how have you recruited the present editorial team and overall staffs in your media? For the government media, Iman Due stated the official procedures for employment in accordance with the legal routes and regulation which are clearly transcribed through the Labor Act which regulates the entire occupation affairs in the country. Nonetheless, the state media as corporation has also some decree on highlighting substantial employees, considering the journalism qualifications largely under the supervising panel, while for the post of managing director remains a presidential appointee. Obviously, there are notable differences from the private institutions where owner or commanding board set up the formality for organizational enrollment. The situation for the private media institutions' procedures was noted diversely by various research respondents during the in-depth interview. The owner of Al-Noor FM Nadir Mahfoudh said that he regularly used to announce the vacancy through his radio station then interview follows for ordinary staff but for manager he use appointment model too as government does. *"Our procedures for media staffing are very clear; we just prepare advertisement then we call the only shortlisted for interview, for a managerial post is another case because he is the master of all personnel"*. For Zanzibar Cable is unlike, seeing to observe the typology of separation of power among the divisions which form the organization as illustrated by Said Hamza;

Since we have many independent media sections in our organization, for the case of occupation each unit is obliged to supervise the whole process of enrolment. Yet, there is advertisement, interview then probation period starts for three months, but mostly we consider their academic qualifications (a media executive).

The poaching method is one of the common strategies utilized in private media corporations which makes typically different from government recruitment. Hussein Bashe

believed that this technique is much fitting keen on generating productivities because it enables to acquire most competent personnel. He stated; *“For enrollment of our staff we generally prefer to use poaching from other media institutions for better assurance of employees performance to our society, along with methods of advertisement and interview”*. Whilst, the ZMCL tends to use further various methods in media staffing. According to Dr. Khatib, there are some employees who were recruited through advertisement followed with interview under panel of experts. Poaching method is also utilized to convince those talented broadcasters as well as the emerging journalists from journalism academia who come to organization as field student or volunteer and finally get employed. He so far assumed that the recruitment process in his media is all always done plially, but for general manager he confirmed that he constantly retain the enrolment without ceremonial interview. *“I never interfere the recruitment process, even some I know little concerning their being here until today, except the general manager I am much concerned”*. However, Mazrui claimed about the poaching method that for him was initially deficient to his media achievement as he expressed;

Before we used to pick up all stars from prominent broadcasting stations, but the management and entire employees turned into improper which resulted to the deterioration of whole media operation. Later on, we restructured the entire organization through announcement technique. But for manager enrollment is quite excluded from this procedure, since she was just recommended by someone to me, no formal interview conducted upon her recruitment (a media owner).

Apart from the initial recruitment systems, this study also traced the further managerial instruments applied on maintaining the staff competencies and working atmosphere. The respondents of this category were patrons in the media organizations who were mostly apparent to deliberate and to equip the entire workforces interested in social obligations. This question used variable scale to measure the mechanism addicted to numerical form in order to embody the results into the national journalism career. The table 3.1.3.2 illuminates the diverse deliberation among media houses in Tanzania in the aspect of institutional mechanism on fortifying the media management and inclusive staffs into professional achievement throughout the daily routines. For the segment of in-house training 42.9% of respondents confessed that they almost never organized any in-house training in their media institutions for the entire employees, 28.6% mentioned that they frequently conduct the programs, 14.3% of the research participants equally held for sometimes and once in a while on steering the training schedules for their media personnel. In the clarification, only one media owner who described that his organization is obligated to train out the professional workforces, using the collaboration with other media institutions such as the program of BBC Media Action whereby trainees are liable to produce the various local based media programs. In the interim, another media patron talked about his institutional initiative was to search the talent broadcasters across the country and develop their skills before getting hired in that media but the determinations turned into failure.

The table 3.1.3.2 also reveals 42.9% of participants have never supported any worker to pursue regular educational program in journalism such as certificate, diploma, bachelor’ degree, masters’ degree or PhD. While 28.6% cited that they frequently ensure the employees pursue

extensive academic qualifications, while 14.3% they similarly said that have steered almost all the time and once in a while respectively and no media owner who determined for almost all the time responses. Through expressive results in in-depth interview one media owner contended that the staff can get permission to study only by means of vacation without payment. Another instrument is concerning the editorial policies, code of ethics and styles on civic deliberations as found in table 3.1.3.2 that 28.6% indicated to the media institutions have almost never set up the journalistic rules which correspond to the civic deliberation, again 28.6% were equally designated for sometimes and frequently and only 14.3% was for almost all the time concerning the restructuring of editorial policies suitable for civic obligation. There are good results among the respondents who avowed that they use mostly carrot and stick model over the journalists who perform well or who breach the ethics; 57.1% was for frequent and 42.9% for almost all the time in utilizing this typology. The open responses display that punishment is commonly endorsed than reward pattern. Majority mentioned the stick exemplary like to fire or postpone several journalists from their organizations. *“There is significant record of fired employees but we strictly observe all labor regulations in our decisions”* (one media owner cited during the interview). While some few respondents asserted that they offer the motivations and morals for the best recruits like means of transport such as motor circle and monetary award.

Table 3.1.3.1.; Owners’ Considerations on the Institutional Mechanism to enhance the Media Management and Overall Personnel

Response Category	Values	Almost all the time	Frequently	Sometimes	Once in a while	Almost never	Total
Organizing in-house training programs for entire employees.	Frequency		2	1	1	3	7
	Percent		28.6%	14.3%	14.3%	42.9%	100.0
Supporting the personnel to pursue regular educational program.	Frequency		2		1	3	7
	Percent	14.3%	28.6%		14.3%	42.9%	100.0
Setting editorial Policies, code of ethics and styles on civic deliberations.	Frequency	1	2	2		2	7
	Percent	14.3%	28.6%	28.6%		28.6%	100.0
By using carrot and stick model to journalists who achieve the set objectives or breach ethics.	Frequency	3	4				7
	Percent	42.9%	57.1%				100.0
We conduct post-mortem and editorial meetings to talk over news stories and related comments.	Frequency	1	4	2			7
	Percent	14.3%	57.1%	28.6%			100.0
Employing the ombudsman to enhance the media liability to the public utility.	Frequency	1				6	7
	Percent	14.3%				85.7%	100.0
Fixing to the collaboration with professional media networks (organizations).	Frequency	1	2	3			7
	Percent	14.3%	28.6%	42.9%			100.0

Source: Field Research, 2018

About post-mortem and editorial meetings many respondents agreed on this initiative which contracts the staff autonomy to talk over news stories and related day comments. In this category demonstrates that 57.1% of respondents said they utilized frequently, it’s yet about 28.6% and 14.3% were for sometimes and almost all the time correspondingly. Whilst, the

mechanism of ombudsman only 14.3% of the media samples have marked to employ in their media organization for enhancing the media liability in respect of the public utility, whereas the main figures of 85.7% have not enrolled such vacancy. The last instrument for institutional deliberation was about the collaboration with professional media networks (professional organizations) in which about 42.9% of media owners' sample recalled that they sometimes interact with professional organization, while 28.6% and 14.3% were frequently and almost all the time respectively utilizing the network. In the course of the in-depth interview one respondent mentioned about their solid partnership with global media like BBC and DW to large extent entrenched the compressive accomplishment of their media outlets covering technical division to the broadcasting and news section. Another one said that the cooperation with professional media organization is outstanding and promising the media rational performance.

3.1.3.3 Owner's Enforcement on Editorial Contents

The question about ownership inspiration was deliberately addressed to the media owners for scrutinizing their compassions on the editorial stance across media houses in Tanzania. It stated; how do you sort out and sidestep your commercial or political concentration from the editorial content and general media undertakings? Respondents were let narratively elaborate their machineries on protecting the content from professional abuses. The results for this question vary among ownership varieties, yet the majority of respondents commonly contended that they don't have deliberate interference of the content produced in their media houses. Hussien Bashe from New Habar Corporation (2006) trusted indeed the existing group editors consisting of the decent profiled editors who abundantly take part to overcome all happenings and shortcomings of newspaper content and structure design before publication. Henceforth proprietors are out of changing the items in the publication, except the general management of institution as he said; *"Only in the case of financial system I am responsible to allocate the resources... as much as our media outlets never write anything about me especially I am politician"*. Iman Due said that they endeavor to ensure their coverage remains balanced though she didn't express about the identical instruments used in her organization. She also spoke about using the verification of various sources to achieve analytic reportages and expending the code of ethics for professional standard. While Said Hamza stressed;

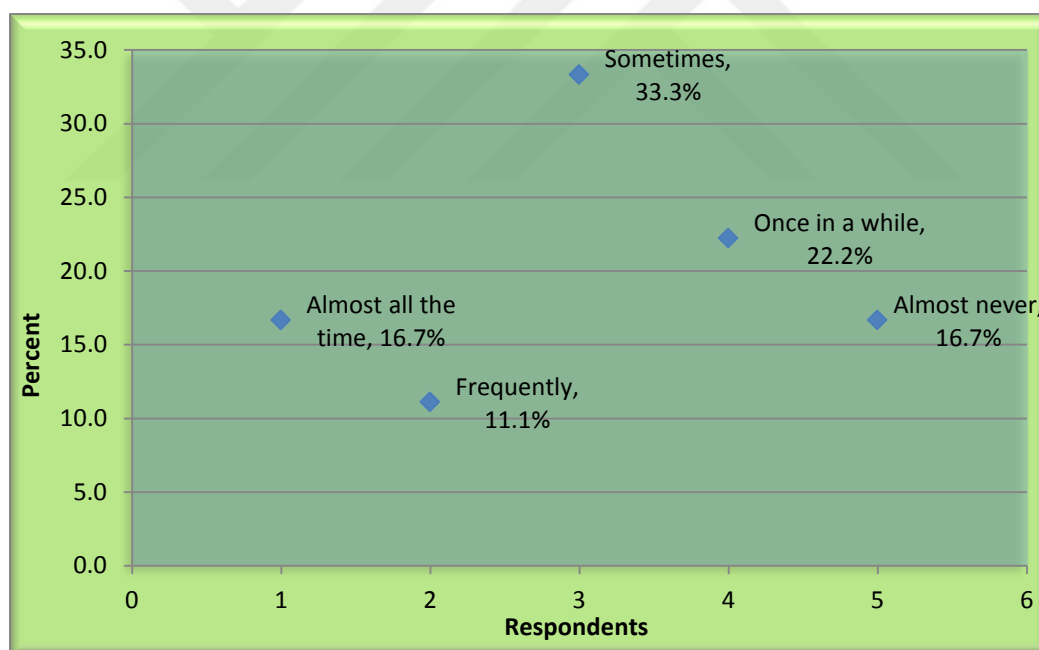
We primarily strive to produce the services which meet the public demand, no direct interference of any patron over anything happening in our media. It can take even one month or more without the owner or other executives being mentioned in the news bulletins (A research respondent).

Another media owner, Ahmed Mazrui also uttered concerning his broadcasting network that he doesn't have any sort of intrusion insomuch as he doesn't straightly contact with ordinary broadcasters with reference to the scheduling or journalists' performances without passing information to the manager. Mazrui who is also a deputy general secretary for opposition party – CUF determined; *"If the content is standing for public opinion even the ruling party - CCM I will let them produce program in my station"*. The idea of prescribed actions was similarly stipulated by Dr. Khatib for ZMCL who affirmed that he is just a subscriber like other public and he never

intervenes the programming structure and regular journalist undertakings without observing the set procedures such as through the specified meetings.

In the utilization of tranquilization method, this study went forward to retest the results derived from the participants of media owners' category. Thus, nine news editors and fourteen general managers were involved in this method, making total twenty three informants. The question was; have you experienced any owners' instructions in the course of your professional being that led to change the contents or programming structure of your outlet? The outcomes for this question were presented in numerical values to signify the decisive consequences of general media operation in the country. The table 3.1.2.4 shows that the popular number of respondents affirmed to get instructions from their proprietors, through which the leading score was 33.3% for sometimes. Whereas, 22.2% of research participants stated that they received orders just once in a while and the 16.7% equally received almost all the time and almost never correspondingly, and the rest 11.1% opted for frequent got instructions from their bosses about the media undertakings from their patrons.

Bar chart 3.1.3.1: The diverse Observations of Editors and Managers on the Owner's Editorial Interference



Source: Field Research, 2018

In addition to the computing results, the research also reveals the expressive data from the partakers of the study among media managers and editors. In generally, the respondents from government media commonly affirm that they almost all the time contract some guidelines from state officials over the structural programming or edition of their contents. However, to them this is neither a kind of censorship nor interruption, instead a reminder in their duties. One research entrant noted; *“even sometimes I am called to see a general register concerning the previous edition.... But to me it’s just a normal thing... I don’t care after all. I take it easy because as proprietors they have to remind me when I go astray from the set organizational goals”*. Another

informant from state owned media recalled the instructions that he ever received were so material to professionalism and appropriate to the society and he can't consider it as interference;

There were some orders concerning the media digitalization in the country, since before we based much on entertainment programmes, so the authority gave us notice to restructure our programming. Another instruction was about utilizing the local content during the harvest of national crops (a research participant from government media).

On the side of private media managers and editors generally tend to disagree on the provision of heavy interferences of their owners, one editor stated; *"the owner is also a journalist who takes part as editor we work as team, he is open to truthfulness and only interferes for professional way"*. While one media manager said; *"only by dint of formal procedures such as in weekly administrative meeting the boss can simply talk about his media operations then we follow the formal procedure to correct the highlighted mistakes"*. Similarly to another manager who noted that the owner is only involved in programming structure once a year when annually evaluation meeting takes place and together they discuss the prospective yearly calendar in the panel of all executives. Besides, one editor noted that only once in while experienced her patron to correct about the broadcasting schedules subsequent to the news bulletin failed to go on air in that day. Another executive editor in private media asserted that it's very hard for anyone to hamper the editorial work because of the editorial structure setup in that organization;

According to our management structure even managing editor cannot impede the content into his manner. We have a decent protocol management for the entire journalistic performance.....It matters only to follow the editorial policies, no abundant editorial pressure so far over journalists from any person (a chief editor).

3.1.4 The Identical Cognizance of Editorial Management

The study went forward to find out the editors' individual exertions on demarcating the editorial content from owners/proprietors' interests, it's meant to validate the findings on the above owners' accounts. The question said; How do you endeavor to detach the editorial content from owners/proprietors' interests? The findings here indicate that several editorial managers articulated that they have a great tendency of observing the professional ethics and the set editorial guidelines which exhibit them to disperse the owners' desires from content outlook. The again, there are some editors especially from government media constantly thought that it's not obligatory to contradict with the owner's interest because for them owner's interest are keen to represent the public welfares. Jabir Idrissa expressed that it's only the fixed journalistic rules which oversee their publications, to him their policies mainly focus on sincerity of the national interest. *"As we work in a team, when something in crisis we used to vote and then the majority execute, even owner cannot enforce over whatever the judgment was. ...here I mean only our market determines the news and not an individual"*. Nevertheless, Editors from government owned media institutions commonly affirmed that it's about dispensable for the editorial to reverse with owner's concern because they were of the views that the owners' interests typically

symbolize the national interest. Prudencia Temba from Daily news uttered; *“the Interest of government as our owner is to promote economic and national sustainability, so we are proud of implementing such policies”*. Ghazal Abdulkadir viewed the ZBC programming structure is in lieu of public aspirations and doesn't rely on owner's viewpoints as he elaborated;

We produced various program for target audiences such as for youths, children, women, religious, music in desired time, for example educational and agricultural program are featured in evening, while news bulletins in prime time and entertainment program at mid night (a program manager of ZBC).

Salum Omar of ZCMG maintained his cognizance over owner's control and said that the social oriented program especially educational ones are rather arranged through their broadcasting networks. He mentioned a recent example in which they offer a free time program to State University of Zanzibar in one of their TV channel to propagate their educational affairs, it's because the owner is neither politician nor businessmen per se. For Nipashe newspaper Bangawe revealed that they work hard as not to reflect typical owner's interest in their publication, *“We don't give him a lead story”*. To conclude Bangawe avowed that it's so tough to avoid archetypally since owner has many approaches that why sometimes he appears in front page. A general manager of Al-Noor, Mlekwa Muhidin said that in his media journalists are considerably free to produce any programs they prefer, whereas owner only tends to contact with him direct upon jargon languages used. Nonetheless, about advertisers he affirmed that they have bit reflection of owner's reflections. Another editorial deliberation over owner's enforcement was illustrated by Nassra Nassor who held;

Our strategy for cutting off the owner's interest from media content is sharpened by means of the dynamic teamwork ... we work together until the midnight to reassure that the news bulletins do actually reflect the real social life instead of the owner.... We so far use to negotiate each other upon the controversial items (a research participant).

In the same way, Rashd Kejo noticed for the Mwananchi newspaper that owner is an institution and not a person intrinsically like other media institutions, they hitherto work as a team while no deliberate influences behind the news production. Similarly, Ramadhan Senda mentioned the public based initiatives as the distinctive approach to overcome objective journalism in his media. He said;

We offer internal training by using global media experts as well as we frequently use to exchange some local experts who role as analysts and news sources in our programs. The finest deliberation is to remind all journalists and broadcasters through our regular meetings and postmortem concerning the impartial reportages in our media as per our news policies (Ramadhan Senda, a general manager of ZMCL).

Besides, the research examined the gatekeeping role among news editors and general managers regarding their diverse cognizance for daily news publication/broadcast, specifically on determining the political news produced in their media. The question was; As main gatekeeper

for daily news publication/broadcast, what do you consider mostly in determining the political news produced in your media? The prevailing points related to this phenomenon commonly indicate about the institutional adherence to editorial policies and code of ethics. As for ZBC, Ghazal Abdulkadir said that they incline to maintain the transmission technicality for the quality of pictures and sound in regards with comprehensive political contents which comply with overall media ethics. The editor from IPP Media, Betris Bangawe maintained that their core deterrence over editorial devastation is only to demonstrate their faith in objective political reportage and to observe the entire journalism principles. Moreover, the impression of utilizing of balanced stories especially in political affairs was frequently spoken by many media gatekeepers. Nassra Nassor from Swahiba stated about their preference for political news; *“Not just every news item comes to us we broadcast, actually we are very selective to the extent that any story should be balanced and include the diverse sources”*.

Nicodemus Ikonko said that their publications strictly avoid all news which signifies to divide the public in term of religion or individual clietalism. Another idea was from Mlekwa Muhidin of Alnoor media who regarded the accurate news in their radio station as those which avoid social divisions and defamation to politicians. Several other respondents uttered about political contents which embody the social cohesion; Ramadhan Senda regarded the affinitive news which requests the society into harmony and *integration* as the primary criteria of their broadcasting inclusion;

As it once happened through island TV which is found in our TV box when one politician provoked about the *idiot* politics which tended to intimidate the public, and then we attempted to confiscate that network from our decoder’s channel list, but we didn’t make so far since they take action to restructure the content perspectives (research respondent).

Jabir Idrissa from Mwanahalisi held that they only choose the political news which are essential to reveal the national interest rather than undue market interest. For ZCMG, Salum Omar viewed that the political news aired in their media merely portray the social interest towards unity instead of inviting the social divergence as he maintained; *“We insist our reporters and general editors for the news bulletins to be aired are firstly should be for the social purposes and not for someone else”*. Prudencia Temba vowed on the political stories published in her publication that abundantly call towards patriotism, peaceful and to build the inclusive sphere of community.

3.1.5 Substantial Operational Network in Media Houses

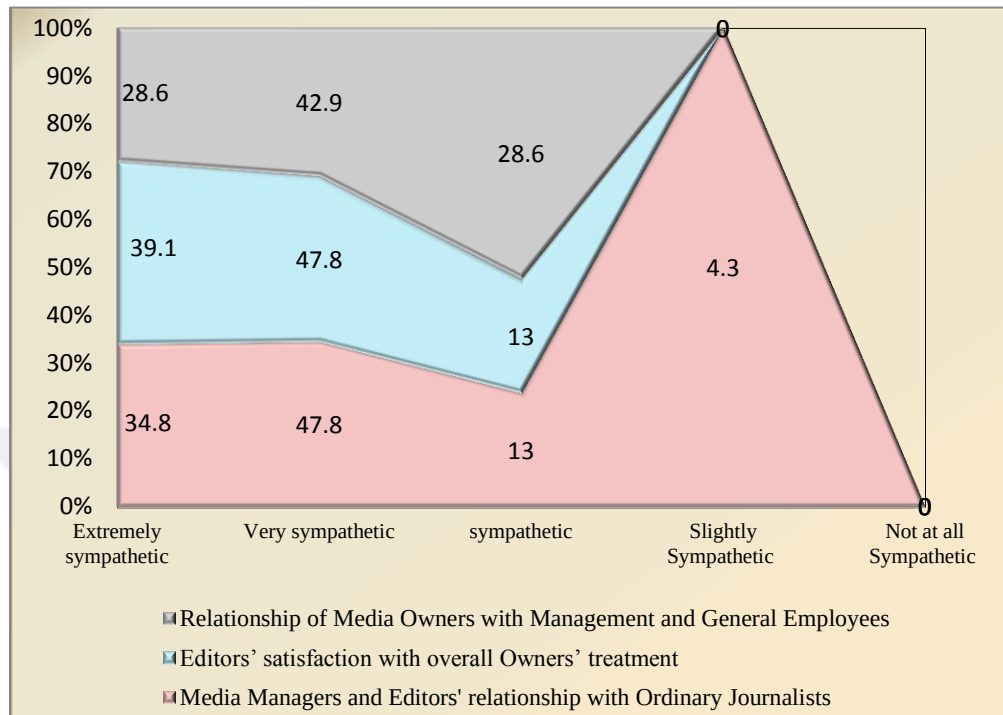
The study sought to find out the operational connection inside the media house among media owners, management and general employees in line with professional viewpoints. The bar chart 3.1.5 elucidates the diverse views concerning the mutual sympathies between the entire media management and general staffs. In this category, owners were initially drawn through in-depth interview technique to assess their observations about relationship with editorial management and other personnel in the course of decision making along daily media operation. Besides, general managers and editors were further asked about their satisfactory degrees over

the inclusive owners' treatment in respect of their journalistic performance. It also reveals their rapport with ordinary journalists in managerial perspectives, in observing the professional principles over the ultimate commercial and political interest of the owner. The quantified results about the media owners' observations vis-à-vis their relationship with media management and general staffs disclosed that 28.6% of respondents marked for extremely sympathetic.

While the highest score was 42.9% of owners who thought that their conducts with other employees were very sympathetic and the rest 28.6% opted for sympathetic considerations. Through the descriptive data owners commonly expressed the communicative tools and methods which they utilize to cement the internal relationship in the media organizations. This accounts for the means of general congregation for all employs at least once a year and weekly management meeting with administrators and editors. One respondent mentioned annually farewell of dinner as a communal gathering encompassing all employees to share their working familiarities. While several others pointed out division of labor and managerial hierarchy in which every department deliberates to schedule its own meeting for its workforces headed for broad-spectrum gatherings. One media owner noted; *"I don't interfere the wide-ranging undertakings of any journalists, I only communicate directly with manager and editors"*. Another one so far contended that he doesn't use his political position to influence whatsoever aired in his station, instead, all decision is made in collaboration. *"There is independent management and moderation committee which I am just a member participating in this session, if any decision might be made in collaborative consent"*.

Subsequent to the owners' affirmative responses on their relationship with media management and other staffs, the researcher went further to crosscheck the results by using the mixed techniques of quantitative and qualitative to the media managers and editors. It meant for scrutinizing their satisfactory values on the eventual owners' treatment in their journalistic performance. As stipulated in the bar chart 3.1.5.1 that the large score was 47.8% of respondents who acknowledged their owners' conducts as very sympathetic, followed with 39.1% for extremely sympathetic and others maintained sympathetic for 13.0%. On the complement of expressive data, most of participants avowed that their satisfaction is due to the presence of open model in their management designed for performing their duties explicitly. One broadcasting manager clarified; *"I can't remember when he imposed divisive control or orders over my decision, I made to the media operation, that's why I certainly appreciate his handling to the entire media operation"*. Another editor said; *"we finish everything through our weekly management meeting with consensus prototype"*. Besides, the study examined the relationship of general media managers/editors with ordinary journalists in perceiving the professional principles over commercial and political interest of the owner. The numerical data in the bar chart 3.1.5 demonstrates that t 47.8% of respondents opted for very sympathetic, 34.8% thought their relationship is extremely sympathetic, while 13.0% and 4.3% reacted for sympathetic and not at all sympathetic respectively.

Bar Chart 3.1.5 1: The Inclusive Views of Media Owners, Managers and Editors on the Mutual Sympathies in Media Corporations



Source: Field Research, 2018

Qualitatively, responses for the category of media managers/editors' relationship with other media staffs exposes the assorted means of internal communication applied to sustain the mutual accomplishments. It included commitment on the set organizational regulations and policies along with observing the separation of powers in which the particular sections work across their borders as well as utilizing the power delegation typology. Another common concern was about consuming the teamwork model through subeditors, editors and general reporters for newspaper and producers, production managers, news editor and presenters for broadcasting. As a one informant celebrated; *"As a coordinator I incline to solve some workers' problem through monthly meetings, while each head of unit reports to our general management meeting"*. Another stated; *"Through our staff gathering its free for any employee to speak up about management conducts, we have weekly meeting for all staffs, postmortem every day, and heads of departments twice a week"*.

Whilst, some managers said that they take responsibility of entire organizational management as one stated; *"since we don't have HR in our corporation, I am liable to organize meetings for conferring about the programming structure and contents productions in common"*. Likewise, one editor asserted about utilizing further method of maintaining relation through online and social media platform; *"our employees' family covers correspondents, reporters, section editors, subeditors and other employees, apart from monthly general assembly we also have various groups on Whatsapp, Facebook and Instagram"*. More concerns were traced in respect of professional observance when controversial issue come across in which one

editor outlined; *“Since fighting against corruption is very sensitive deliberation, especially for the reporter who gravely desire to accumulate bribery, we called back to the sources frequently so as to clarify the facts”*. It was only one station manager who affirmed that his relationship with ordinary employees is entirely worse, he said; *“honestly speaking, I sometimes contradict with my staffs in some issues concerning their manners in this organization, for examples some of them don’t observe working punctuality and shift arrangement as well as they are very averse to our decision making”*.

The study also involved the veteran journalists, academics and representatives from media organizations through in-depth interview in order to test the scrutiny about the substantial network in media house as derived from existing multiple ownership configurations. The popular concerns indicate that though there are dramatic changes of media ownership structure, the owners are still more influential on the entire media organization manners to the ultimate contents manufacturing. While some participants observed that the catastrophe of media management is initially determined from the recruitment procedures, whereby several proprietors attempt to employ casual administrators and editors to assure that their interest are explicitly portrayed in the course of daily media undertakings. Jeneral Ulimwengu sighted that the operational network of media houses in Tanzania differs from one corporation to another in proportion to the established objectives of that media institution. For example, with his colleagues instituted the Habari Corporation so as to serve the society mainly along the standard journalism in which the managerial network was compliant with those set ideas. He expressed;

....when we assess the current ownership structure in term of cooperative networks, actually it depends on the organization types, as we know there are some media which are largely managed by popular businessmen in the country whose commercial interest are pushed straightly through media strategies, in this view even the management is made to correspond alike owner’s comforts. While other media owners try their best to improve the organization management (Ulimwengu, a veteran journalists).

To this point, Paul Mapuge was of the ideas that the management shortcomings are simply generated from the unsystematic recruitments. He maintained; *“Most of media organizations become family entity since several proprietors endeavor to employ their relatives and associates customarily, then the complete organization structure turns into autocratic system”*. The same thought was stressed by Ali Sultan, a media consultant who uttered that the family-oriented structure and control model of media system typically demoralizes the social based journalism in the country. *“Owners employ their family members to run the media house; it rationalizes the existing management into their personal benefits counter to public journalism prosperity”*. Dr. Suleiman Seif regarded the current media management as disorganized structure, whereby some owners have conventional connection with general reporters without the recognition by managers and editors. He elucidated;

... for example through single media event like in press conference you can witness more than two journalists reporting to one media, it means that there is no effective internal communication in that organization here the ownership is

problematic as it is commonly known that some media proprietors have abundant sexual relationships with their ordinary staffs, while some personnel are regularly transferred to another media division with aims to hide their agendas with their bosses (Dr. Seif, Zanzibar University) .

On the side of employees, Hawra Shamte articulated that there is an astonishing tendency for some media recruits to forge plentiful proximity with their patrons in realizing their desires as far as owners predispose to occupy those who are utmost proper to accelerate their agendas. Whilst, Mayram Hamdan exemplified the current media institutions as hatred prejudicial organs keen on tribalism and injustice which are controlled by minority elites. She maintained;

In some media you can merely find the workers who belong to owner's tribe or political affiliation. As much as a politician gets a hold of abundant publicity in the entire media operation, nowadays everything aired must be approved by them; for example, one broadcasting corporation manager planned to initiate the serious news program covering the national hospitals but when he was about to implement his proposal got severe intimidation, consequently he quitted the project. Here the root causes to inaccurate substantial working media network, rests on the lack of knowledge among owners about journalism and management skills. As many proprietors run the media unsystematically, in absolute rules, owing to the deficient ideas of management, nowadays there is huge job insecurity, most journalists in the country work without labor contract (Mayram Hamda, veteran journalist).

Salim Said, a veteran journalist generalized that the deficiencies are regularly embedded by media owners and editors who are not responsive to their duties, to the extent that there is no a straight labor discipline across the media houses. He contended;

You can find the media owners or other boss provoke openly to other staffs. There are many cases for several journalists who are punished for nonsense, no impartial treatments for reporters in which some editors have preconception to assign the same journalists for certain news event, while others always remain in the offices (Salim Said, veteran journalist).

Simon Mkina, the president of Tanzania Journalist Association (TAJOA) argued that the present media houses don't perform as institution, because there is no identical operational system and unity among key players, while owner inclines to dictate everything in publication and in broadcasting channels over editors and other journalists' ideas. Another critical view was voiced by Enzi Talib, a retired journalist who expressed that the egalitarian mode is no longer healthy within the media corporations in Tanzania. Consequently, he contended that the largest part of media outlets now evolves to praise the government rather than exercising the constructive critics over the regime, whereas owner may fire journalist when deemed that has contradicted with his fascinations. The executive secretary of MOAT, Henry Muhanika affirmed certainly on the Enzi's ideas that state penetration is vivid to demoralize the media management. He stated;

There are confidential state sponsored newspapers whose owners in reality are incapable intensely to run such kind of media; accordingly, the governing system oversees the internal media performance. Therefore, we can categorize the media management bearings into diverse ownership maneuvers; such as NHCL (2006) and MCL owners don't have time to supervise the daily media operations. Unlike other owners have special cases inquiring all details on whatever happens and they hitherto demonstrate precarious censorship in their media functioning. While there are small media firms whose owners are de facto editors and the majority of them tend to manipulate the contents especially during the national election (Mohanika, executive secretary of MOAT).

Muhanika avowed about the Advertisers' influence on media management as well, to the extent that many media institutions fail to exercise the investigative journalism on major business company like telecommunication companies for fear to lose the economic powers (advertising). He additionally spoke about the concealed agendas of some media owners in the religious standpoints. He said; *"There are nominated outlets as religious media but there is intimate agenda of personal interest behind, they emerged as NGOs for fund raising simply"*. Absalom Kibanda elaborated further on initial Muhanika's assertion concerning the types of media owners in Tanzanian journalism as indicated by his working experiences in different media houses in the country.

There are owners who control the daily entire contents; they even send a specific person at the desk to supervise whatever to be published or aired. Some owners exercise silent censorship, some publications are yet self-independent but sometimes are strained too, and there is also the best model for editorial independence in Tanzania (Kibanda, a veteran journalist).

Another representative of media organization Samuel maintained on the management uncertainty in the media industry such as the presence of unknown media owners for certain outlet for political motives. As well as the provision of pervasive conflict of interests among the owners and shareholders of different media such as the controversy between Wasafi and Cloud media in which he said;

It implies that media management and all-inclusive personnel are typically affected with owner's enforcement to the extent that the media institutions play significant part in the personal controversial issues of the owners. The businessmen like Bakharesa you can never notice any advertisement in his Azam media which attempt to compete with his products, even nearly all of his employees behave according to his ideology from dressing styles to the entire journalistic performance (Samuel, TAMWA Tanzania mainland).

In the same way, Charles Irigo recognized the current ownership bearings in term of biased media productivity, for the private owners' deliberations to push their feelings in media operation which reflect their actual life, for example in the news program they consume more time while their business or political competitors are typically undermined. He also exemplified

the state-run media that tend to report whatever president does, while some broadcasters frequently sell their shows to prominent advertisers. Besides, Dr. Ali Uki, an academician from ZU reflected to the expertise perspective, in which the private media owners' have unlike comportments that in one side tend to nourish their media management in profession point of views. Subsequent to the private overwhelming of the government owned media prosperity such as poaching the competent staffs, they so far used to develop their personnel through staff improvement schemes to contend the government monopoly. On the other side he said that the private owners become destructive force and much powerful to sway whatever happening in their institutions, and firing some competent editors and other journalists. Dr. Uki believed some media associations play pivotal role to advocate the owner's maneuvers, since they endorse to the media workers to abide with the directives given by their patrons. Ultimately, he concluded; *"in general owners' treatments are overdue"*. Ali Rashid considered the owner's power is uneven, ruling like a king in the media institutions of Tanzania, imposing abundant unlikelihood addicted to the organizational culture, insomuch as all editors might speak the languages of their owners.

Similarly, Dr. Shajack professed the owner's supremacy into divisive contention across the media corporations and potential to distort the media messages. He maintained; *"Do you think if the owner is politically affiliated with ruling party, how he can let free the media personnel in his organization to propagate critics over his party or government, the same to proprietor from opposition party can't allow his media to report any deficiencies of his own party"*. Likewise, Rafii perceived the network of media operations in views of self-control of Media Corporation through the set institutional objectives, staff regulations, financial policies and regulations and editorial policies that are no longer observed. Jabir Abdalla a MUM assistant lecturer, viewed the collapse of considerable working system in media organization has resulted to the deterioration of social responsibility and fourth estate accounts of media.

On the side of focus group discussion, there were miscellaneous expressive results in supplement to the above numerical and descriptive presentations concerning the existent multiple ownership structure in cementing the substantial network amongst owner, media management and ordinary journalists. During a focus group discussion in Morogoro, many participants conveyed their familiarities on the newsrooms, indicating the trivial relationship across media organization in Tanzania. Kelvin Kazimoto, a participant from MSJ noted his experience from two identical publications which he ever worked as a news reporter regarding the working collaboration and efficiency. He expressed;

By understandings anchored in these two newsrooms reveal the insignificant running connection among editorial management and reporters, I witnessed several times that owners typically apply the editors' influences to publish his favorites and discourage all critics over him. As a journalist you can write news stories about gorgeous phenomenon and bring to the editorial desk ready for edition, but upon publication you hear that editors have disqualified your items simply because of the instruction they got from the patrons. They

vividly violate professional principles for the sake to favor the owners (Kazimoto from MSJ).

The matching acquaintance was shared by Mwajuma who ever worked in one broadcasting network where she found intensive confrontation among editorial members based in their different political ideologies. *“In one happening every editor wanted to shape the content according to his political opinion, while we journalists were in certain dilemma upon which exact criteria to consider in writing the stories, hence every editor diversely used to instruct us on how the news story should be in line with his/her biased concepts”*. She further explained concerning the undue separation of duties in which editor can be a reporter at the same time, twisting the news bulletin in his way. Another issue which hit the debate in the focus group which took place in MUM was about the lack of labor solidarity in media organization. Jackson Monela from Sahara media held that the collaboration from media management is very limited especially for the correspondents allocated out of the corporation’s headquarters. According to him as correspondents have to facilitate many things by their own means, counting the transport and production such as photographing, editing and reporting the news. Yusuph Kayanda affirmed; *“I experienced in one media institution which I ever been, the one who wrote the news was far different to the one who appeared in byline name; it was commonly practiced there that, you can write good news with deliberate efforts but the byline is named to another person who didn’t contribute anything to your writing”*. Moreover, Eusebia Mbele from MSJ stated that in some media houses few persons dominate the whole activities in the newsroom while others become useless in decision making.

Turning to the discussion which set in Zanzibar, the major ideas on the subject matter of network in media operation were about inferiority imposed to ordinary journalists by media management along with unprofessional media managers who undermine the prosperity of personnel in the organization and general profession in the country. Malik Shakhshan a broadcaster, voiced his concerns about the severe working network in many private organizations lacked with professional skills and mostly managed by individual fascination. He stated;

In my opinion we are indeed required to restructure the management in many private media houses; quite a lot of owners tend to install the awful supervision and they trust them too much like the holy book. These executives including editors and program managers who chiefly expedite their personal obligations to demoralize the employees, they normally create problem and conflicts among staffs for their own benefits, insomuch as they humbly hate some professionals just for their competence. Surprisingly, when you report to the boss about their misconducts, as a complainant you are not considered basically since they have mutual agenda with owners over you (Malik from ZCMG).

He pointed out another issue which constantly happens in the media management is concerning the partition among employees which lead to the detestation of aristocracy in the daily media performance. Abubakar Harith from Adhana Radio Station specified about the owners’ tendency to employ unprofessional managers who have missed the credibility to

oversee the whole media personnel, they are deficient with the clear concepts of journalism and management expertise. *“Owners regularly enroll managers who don’t have any ideas about media, how do you think they can correct my journalistic performance whether I am wrong or right?”*. He maintained that these types of administrators are potential to distort the content and programming structure. However, Abubakar stressed on some journalists’ inclination of excessive confidence and discourage the profession account which also causes the conflict and improper organization achievements. In the equivalent scrutiny, Abubakar Kisandu from ZBC contended that most owners recruit the unprofessional administrators who verbally comply with organizational settings without any criticism. He said;

When you graduate from journalism school, then you get employed in one media institution and you serve there for a long time, but when the management position is near to you the owner conversely appoints the untrained staff who don’t know even how to write news and produce a program, it’s basically to assure his concentration dominates in the media (Kisandu from ZBC).

Equally, Sada Kombo assumed that the management treatment in the government media resemble the private settings. She said that in the state-owned media house since the top managers are directly appointed by the upper government officials; in this sense the directors tend to gratify the governing authority in forcing the entire management. In turn, the core administrators and editors in the media typically serve the directors on behalf of government’s courtesy and overlooking the general employee’s welfares. Likewise, Faki Mjaka uttered that the provision of diverse version of efficacy definition in the media house among owners, managers, editors and journalists in general nurtures the different consideration of exact media operational network into daily undertakings as he specified; *“ For example in Zanzibar Newspaper Corporation most of staff want the publication to be free from the state enforcement but the government as owner also thinks about the particular ways as appropriate to propagate the merely government activities”*. Mjaka further avowed that the most vulnerable are underground employees due to the stipulation of the troublesome management system in the media organizations. He said; *“As sometimes you can discuss the serious issues with manager or executive editor for the benefits of all, but they turn against you after communicating with owners”*.

3.1.6 The Regulating Aspects in Tanzanian Media System

In this research, the regulating aspects were designed to observe the state of media control and regulation in accordance with ownership trends in the country. This segment involved about thirty-two respondents as third-party professionals counting fifteen veteran journalists, ten media academics and eighty representatives from media associations, besides the primary practicing journalists and media executives. The following Table 3.1.7 presents comprehensive statistical findings from the research informants concerning the regulating machineries on the complex system of the current multi ownership structure.

Table 3.1.6 1: The observations of Veteran Journalists, Academics and Representatives of Media Associations on the Regulating Features through the Current Ownership Structure

Response Category/ Regulating Aspects	Values	Strongly Agree	Agree	Moderately	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
The media legislations are still inimical to accountable and free journalism practice.	Frequency	12	11	7	2		32
	Percent	37.5	34.4	21.9	6.3		100.0
The political and commercial agenda of owners/proprietors tend to influence the editorial contents in Tanzanian news media.	Frequency	17	12	3			32
	Percent	53.1	37.5	9.4			100.0
The self-regulation is the imperative resolution for socially accountable journalism over current ownership structure led by deregulation market environment.	Frequency	4	15	5	8		32
	Percent	12.5	46.9	15.6	25.0		100.0
The media professional organizations have significant role of confronting the inferences of ownership in Tanzanian media.	Frequency	5	11	3	13		32
	Percent	15.6	34.4	9.4	40.6		100.0
The power to regulate media behavior persists on the hands of Public through subscriptions and buying.	Frequency		9	4	15	4	32
	Percent		28.1	12.5	46.9	12.5	100.0
The free market environment is still problematic to set up free media atmosphere and journalist adherence to code of ethics.	Frequency		8	11	13		32
	Percent		25.0	34.4	40.6		100.0
The set media houses' policies and styles are dynamic with the journalistic characters in the democratization.	Frequency	2	10	5	15		32
	Percent	6.3	31.3	15.6	46.9		100.0
Editorial managers have the entire control around the dictation of day-to-day news stories.	Frequency	2	5	3	19	3	32
	Percent	6.3	15.6	9.4	59.4	9.4	100.0
Politicians investment and control of media led to the high professional abuses.	Frequency	10	15	2	3	2	32
	Percent	31.3	46.9	6.3	9.4	6.3	100.0
The general Journalists have heavy-duty to determine the daily media contents.	Frequency		7	3	18	4	32
	Percent		21.9	9.4	56.3	12.5	100.0

Source: Field Research, 2018

3.1.6.1 Media Legislations and Free Market Environment

The table 3.1.7 above illustrates that 37.5% of respondents strongly agreed that the existing media legislations are still inimical to accountable and free journalism practice; another 34.4% opted for agree, while 21.9% and 6.3% preferred for moderately and disagree values respectively. In the in-depth interview various entrants expressed their concerns about the existing Media Acts that are uncertain to the flourish of accountable and free journalism in the country. Paul Mapuge stated that the large amount of prevailing Media laws tends to limit the professional prosperity to the extent that journalists cannot perform their duties well. He said; *“These laws are really unfriending to the media progress; although in some situation they can slightly affect the profession such as for developmental issues journalists may participate without legislative restrictions”*. Absalom Kibanda mentioned the provision of heavy fines to the media corporation deemed to violate the laws; they encounter the sustainability of the industry. Such

idea was also broadened by Enzi Talib who uttered that Tanzanian constitution implants unnecessary punishment to journalists, which so far nurture them to work in anxious mode. Dr. Suleiman Seif held about the contradictive state of affairs for the media laws mostly in recessionary power such as National Security Act. Whilst, Jeneral Ulimwengu was in favor of the common judiciary procedures over inimical media laws in which he praised some stakeholders who demonstrated the prosecution over recent passed media laws without the considerate views of stakeholders. In this case, the three bodies namely MCT, LHRC and the Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition (THRDC) commonly contest the Online Regulations of the Electronic and Postal Communications Act (EPOCA). While the primary defendant in the case are Minister for Information, Youths, Arts, Culture and Sports who was accused of having the overdue powers in defining content contrary to the embryonic definition in the decent Act. Other respondents are the director general of TCRA and the Attorney General.

Other research participants unanimously agreed on the partial involvement of main stakeholder during the configuration of various Media Bills; it's the foremost factor behind the provision of hostile press laws to journalism practices in Tanzania. Dr. Uki said stakeholder cannot provide constructive ideas in the formation of media Act since they get involved merely in the final stage. He maintained; *"Even if we offer our potential contributions on the bill, it always becomes late almost is about tabling in the parliaments and so far, no changes can occur"*. Yet, Rafii contended that even sometimes they get full participation in the initial arrangement for legislations but the stakeholder's inputs are less regarded over the state determinations to control the media. Nonetheless, Salim Said reasoned that the recent media laws are far better than the previous legislations especially before multi-partism, he expressed his concerns on the regulations generated from the basic laws. *"To me it's rather developmental than before normally the laws can be encouraging to the diversity and freedom but the regulation enacted by ministry of information come to curtail the entire press freedom"*. On the other side, Charles Irigo believed that the undue press freedom is not alternative for favorable media operational environment, hence there is nothing such absolute free media exercised all over the world.

For the aspect of political and commercial agendas of owners/proprietors, 53.1% of informants strongly agreed that they tend to factor the editorial contents in Tanzanian news media, 37.5% marked for agree and the rest 9.4% for moderately agree. In the descriptive results many research participants affirmed that the editorial independency is weakened to overflow the owners' aspirations. Paul Mapuge gave example of his own in which the patron constantly used the media strategy as self-defense mechanism over his opponents, interfering the media undertakings for his owner benefit. *"I worked in one TV station whose owner was in business conflict with one prominent figure in the country, thus he was frequently imposing to our editorial conducts to restructure some news contents keen on his manners over the entrepreneur"*.

Likewise, the findings varied over the assumption of politicians' investment and control of media as ideal to the high professional abuses, in which the highest value was 46.9% for agree, followed with 31.3% and 9.4% for strongly agree and disagree respectively, while 6.3% similarly appeared for moderate and strongly disagree. The entrants clarified that the political motivated

channels are potential to pollute the community with comparable ideologies through propaganda machineries, since they are not liberal to comprise the diverse viewpoints in their daily operations. Juma Simba noted; *“I know some media don’t broadcast even the messages from prominent religious leaders seeing as they contradict with their fractional ideologies and values”*. Whilst, Kibanda regarded the phenomenon of politicians’ investment and control of media as generally occur during the election through the seasonal press for a certain portion of politicians to expend the media supremacy in order to win the presidential post or parliamentary seats. To Hawra Shamte saw that the Tanzanian media are much politicized because of this group of statesmen who invest and control the media system; *“Politics is everywhere and every time in our media landscape”*. However, Rafii presumed that the politicians’ engagement in media practices is not an abnormal issue because they have the right as other civilians as more stipulated in the constitution. Moreover, Muhanika said that the political figures to endow with media influence is not a novel phenomenon and he professed that the current settings of media may not prompt them to attain their political goals. He stressed; *“....but things are changing now.... these politicians may not sustain in media industry in the near future thanks to the abundant legal and economic constraints”*.

The question about free market environment in accordance with current media ownership posture was posed to almost respondents, except the owners’ category. It was aimed at assessing the views on the accounts to free media atmosphere and journalist observance ethical codes. The quantitative results which involved veteran journalists, academicians and representatives from media organizations are clearly demonstrated in the table 3.1.7, depicting that 40.6% of respondents disagreed on the free market occurrence as problematic, the next score was 34.4% for moderately agree and the last value was 25.0% who indicated the agree response. On this subject there were different observations from respondents; Ali Shaban, a media instructor from ZJMMC was of the opinions that the free market media system contributes to the manipulative model applied in journalism, whereby many practitioners incline to compromise code of ethics on behalf of owners’ commercial and political concentrations. Another academician from MUM, Jabir Abdalla sighted a trivial concept of free market in Tanzanian media environment, to the scope that all organization are narrowed on reporting certain subjects and they are much submissive to the government. He specified; *“it’s not a free market per se because register is there to filtrate the number of outlets to see the sun, while nowadays there is reregistration method for each publication annually”*. Samuel from TAMWA believed the problem merely persists amongst media organizations and general journalists themselves who unconditionally emphasized on insignificant contents such as gender violation and sedition, that’s why many media outlets are punished for violating the professional principles and laws of the countries. On the counterpart, Dr. Shajak regarded free market environment as very constructive to the free media and general sustainability as he mentioned; *“it can afford free editorial and integration, signifying the rich political reportage”*. The same views were expressed by Rafii who uttered; *“the more pluralism in the free market the bigger choice to public”*. However, Juma Simba contended that since the liberated market encourages many actors into the journalism practices with abundant undertakings, the question of quality is still problematic to the entire journalism prosperity. He reasoned;

Community is much affected by free market consequences, for example now there are a number of 24 hours broadcasting networks, but the simple question here is; who follows the program circles throughout the day, especially in the night? They just operate without excellence motivation as much as there is no specialization in their programming (Juma Simba, ZJMMC).

From the two focus group discussions there were also miscellaneous thoughts concerning the free market environment as challenging the journalistic ethics in news media over owners' commercial and political interests. The ideas about changing the journalism perspectives and disproportionate advertisers' power were much discussed in the Morogoro session. Ahmed Mena argued that in the open market environment the concept of objectivity is constantly diminished along with suppression of critic atmosphere especially during the general election as he outlined; *"Consequently, the ruling party always secure winning majority because of attaining huge media reportages"*. Mena also stressed about advertisers' enforcement on the daily media operations as more dominant which resulted to dismissive contents to counter the public utility. He further illustrated that the free market environment gives the advertisers abundant autonomy on producing the adverts by his own ways as much as some media loose the opportunity to air the advert since the structure and content don't meet the policies of some media. Similarly, Kelvin talked about the inclination of commercialization of journalism which widespread in Tanzanian media system by dint of the deregulated market, insomuch as it frightens the public credibility on the media uses. He expressed; *"Owing to the commercialism the industry lost the hope to the society; as long as owners in abundance focus on their organizations' prosperity instead of public standpoints, this is outstanding to the presence of unconditional settings for miscellaneous owners to take part into the sector"*. Sikudhani Mussa from MSJ was of the views that on accounts of liberal media settings owners have abundant power to employ unprofessional manager and entire employees and running the station according to the divisive rules.

In the sitting of Zanzibar the question of subjective journalism and disruptive manners of media owners were commonly debated in views of free market media environment. Abubakar Kisandu viewed the Tanzania media settings as undue free whereby businessmen and politicians inline to demoralize the ultimate welfare of the profession. He said;

Nowadays the journalism practicing atmosphere is of very inferior quality caused by the collective snooping in media industry by businessmen and politicians. They persistently recruit only those who fit to propagate their troublesome agendas and disqualify others who are even components. I know someone who works as broadcaster in one media here in Zanzibar who is a degree holder of procurement and supply, so he was probably enrolled to this media for supposition to stabilize the proprietors' interests, while many other qualified are not employed in this media, simply because they can't be a source of professional violations (Kisandu, ZBC).

Another informant, Sada Kombo manifested that the Tanzanian mass media are not stable because of restrictive control of economic means. She contended; *"We are supposed to abide*

with the direction of winds, as many media outlets were inappropriate subsequent to the deterioration of advertising, now they become nonsense in economic and functionality". Malik Shakhshan affirmed about the partial media political reportage as the consequences of liberalized media settings that public are manipulated, deterring some views along the dominance of governing authority. Likewise, Faki Mjaka thought on the dramatic transformation of current trend of journalism on accounts of businessmen and politicians with aid of state motives. *"When we talk about the current state of affairs for our media, most of them stand to please the existing system, no critical reporting"*.

3.1.6.2 Self-Regulation and Professional Media Organizations

Subsequent to the above remarkable presentation on free market media environment, the study so far agreed with the supposition that self-regulation is the imperative resolution for socially accountable journalism over current ownership structure geared by deregulated market environment. The results as mentioned in the table 3.1.7 depicts that 46.9% of respondents agreed, while those who disagreed were 25.0% as well as 15.6% and 12.5% of entrants marked for moderate and strongly agree respectively. Through descriptive approaches, Charles Irigo believed the current self-regulatory machinery steered by MCT is the best model in reinforcing professional accomplishments with respect to the media management and general reporters. He said; *"Good journalism practice could be entrenched by means of self-control contracts under the professionals themselves counter to commercial journalism"*. Salum Said conceptualized the self-regulatory mechanism that should be brushed up for the best interest of journalists and profession at large, through which he proposed the advanced disciplinary actions might be put forwards over those who breach the fundamental ethics of the profession.

Nonetheless, Dr. Omar Shajack, a former general secretary for ministry of information was of the apprehension that the state machinery persistently shrinks the space for journalism to prosper, to this point self-regulation in Tanzanian media system turns into more speculative outlook. Enzi Talib sighted the MCT deliberation such as arbitration scheme is marginal to safeguard the professionalism without the explicit judiciary foundation. Juma Simba noted that the self-supervisory approach is unmanageable until the inimical laws are reformed so that journalist will become confident and safely operates the profession. He whispered that the current version of self-regulation is pitiful by which journalist fail to regulate themselves, they work under stern pressure and fear. Whilst, Henry Muhanika thought that the self-regulation application in Tanzanian media system is at death bed subsequent to the government deliberation to introduce the statutory MCT instead of the current independent organ. He said;

MCT was a dynamic exemplary to critics, but in this regime now media associations have nothing to do in challenging the ownership patters, the bill of legal media council escalates the journalism mistreatments, through this bill president appoints director, it spontaneously the council will turn into a political entity (Muhanika, MOAT)..

Maryam Hamdan turned the discourse into the prospect of media owners' bearings, uttered that they have excessive power and control to encroach upon the model of self-

regulations. To her, self-ruling system of mass media should be explicitly aligned with the state supervision over owners' misuses of media; *"to my opinions our media can't control themselves; I would suggest for the state authorities such as TCRA and Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission to conduct various scientific research for the public to acquire their basic right to be informed"*. Moreover, Rafii believed that self-regulation in Tanzania media system is utterly dreadful since the professional themselves encounter journalism with a number of difficulties such as self-interest, low level of education and political interest. During the Focus group discussion in Morogoro, a number of participants drew attention to the necessity of self-regulatory mechanism for secured media professional undertakings. Ahmed Meena perceived the media self-governance is the vital determination by journalists on behalf of communally accountable journalism over current ownership configuration. He maintained;

We reach to this point of contention owing to the disorganization revealed with diverse discursive dynamics, such as legislations severely mislead the profession. While politicians tend to plays trivial characters to destruct our industry obsessed by their control; as we recurrently witness during the general election campaign that they abundantly facilitate means of transport for journalists to cover their events, at that time they become really passionate to our media. Then things grow into worse after winning the elections, they treat us very undesirable. To this point, I dare emphasize that self-regulation is potential to maintain accurate journalism (Meena, MUM FM).

Nevertheless, Kelvin Kazimoto expressed about the deterrence of the current provision of self-regulation in Tanzanian media system. He said the failure emerged from the existing mixed ownership structure between private and state-owned media. It's unbearable for the self-control to operate under the MCT version, since the state-owned media always have their ways to run. It's hard so far for owners to submit their diverse interests and let journalistic principles to rule the profession. Mwajuma Kombo recommended that the proposition of self-controlling devices should start with the setting up the conducive environment for the effective solicitation. She uttered;

Since many journalists are not aware of the self-regulation model, the deliberation should be accommodated through massive education among media practitioners and general public on the expediency of this mechanism. Along with adjusting the obstacles such as legislation and compulsion of single instrument to oversee the profession, instead of the current provision of countless media organizations (Mwajuma, MSJ).

Similarly, focus group discussions in Zanzibar yielded diverse views concerning the suitability of self-regulatory instrument in the Tanzanian media landscape. For instance, Talib Ussi considered the self-regulation as revolutionary appliance for the independency widespread into the media institutions. Hence the constitution springs the right for every citizen to be informed and impart information to the public, hitherto MCT has been safeguarding this stipulation into wide concept of press independence. He stressed; *"With the understanding that we have several media organizations which oversee the media undertaking, I believe that nothing*

harmful will come across when we work together". Another favorable observation was articulated by Faki Mjaka who maintained that on the applicability of self-supervisory devices is vivid in the career due to the authenticity that journalism is autonomous profession which has enormous contribution to the society by using the set professional principles. Sada Kombo believed that media can survive healthy through self-parameter of media practices for the betterment of communities. However, Adila Najim said that the self-regulation will reveal contrasting policies among individual media institutions and journalists which so far recall for the contradiction among themselves. Similarly, Abubakar Harith was of the views that it's unnecessary phenomenon for media self-control, thinking it may lead to the stern violation of profession keen on individual interest.

To my opinions it's inappropriate to let particular group in the country regulate their occupations, even the laws and government in general don't comply with his suggestion, ultimately, some practitioners will cause severe tortures to the community and professional itself (Abubakar Harith, Adhana FM).

The views on the endowment of professional media organizations varied among the research participants. Some had understandings that the associations have significant role of confronting the inferences of ownership in Tanzanian media system, while others viewed the organizations rather manipulate owner's concentration into the media undertakings. The table 3.1.7 clarifies that 40.6% of informants disagreed the prospect of media organization on defying the structure of media ownership in Tanzania. It's followed with 34.4% indicating to agree, 15.6% for strongly agree and moderate responses were 9.4 % on potentiality of professional media organization. In addition to that, the descriptive results revealed both the affirmative and critical claims concerning the potential of media associations over the diverse conducts of media owners in reference to profession. Paul Mapuge regarded some of press organizations as advocator for the owners' interests over the journalist welfare. He said; *"for example the Media Owners' Association of Tanzania MOAT tends to push owners' concerns, frequently speak much about owners' comforts instead of the functionality of media; they largely compromise the journalistic issues"*. Juma Simba said that the organizations have limited enforcement over general media prosperity, especially when journalist is assaulted or media ban;

For example, when the Dar es Salaam RC Paul Makonda attacked the TV station which belongs to Cloud Media Group based in Dar es Salaam, no action was taken against him, though there was supporting evidence to his occurrence. Press organizations motivated everyday against such manners but no lessons taken out by governing authority and other aggressors (Simba, ZJMMC).

Similarly, Jabir Abdalla exemplified the media organizations' fallacy in the course of various incidents faced the journalists such as the mysterious disappearance of Mwananchi reporter, it's only his publication which strongly fight until today, while no serious backing from other media associations. To Charles Irigo some professional media organizations are active enough but they are limited to overcome the challenges derived from owners' comportments. Whilst, Henry Muhanika an executive secretary for MOAT thought that the media organization

in Tanzania commonly demonstrate the potential characters in respect of the journalism welfare, yet he proposed the establishment of a federation of Journalist Labor Union to counter the problems facing the journalists from their media proprietors. Maryam Hamdani contended on the variety of media associations but their efficacy is still datable in which he argued.

Some organizations like Tanzania Media Women Association TAMWA doesn't stand for its members' prosperity, ...they frequently advocate for the general gender issues based in social prejudices up to the court ...but women clashes in the media institutions are very critically escalating. TAMWA doesn't develop any studies and follow-up cornering the female labor disputes in the media house as mostly prompted by owners' misconducts (Maryam Hamdani, a veteran journalist).

However, Hawra Shamte from TAMWA- Zanzibar countered that her organization has played a pivotal role in improving the female journalist wellbeing, in which the women position in media decision making is rather retained now than before, they utilize training and education scheme for female journalists. Whereas she maintained that advocating society remains their main objectives since the community is the root cause for gender violation into media houses portrayal. Likewise, Samuel from TAMWA based in Tanzanian Mainland stated that their organization is forefront to support the media women personnel to realize their achievement. He specified;

We endeavor to back the female journalist, we have online broadcasting network for advocating the gender subjects not only in the media but for the sake of general society, we also have noteworthy collaboration with other media on sustaining the women status in the media and across other social institutions (Samuel from TAMWA).

Salim Said affirmed that Professional media organizations are very useful to the credible media performance in the country. He further suggested for self-reliance amongst media organizations such as MCT should establish itself to manage everything by its own means including to have sustainable financial resources, this will trigger to systematic complement, streamlining the analytic journalism at the media houses. Moreover, there were different observations stipulated during the two focus group discussions of Zanzibar and Morogoro on the dynamic role of media professional organizations in antagonizing the implications of media ownership in Tanzania. In Morogoro, most of participants talked about the mismanagement in the media organization and other discursive factors are potential of curtailing the functionality of media associations in Tanzania over the experiments of the current media ownership. Kelvin Kazimoto referred during the election of one media organization whereby politicians participated entirely to hamper the process, imposing the management to rule the organization in line with their comforts. He further held; *"These politicians constantly used to push the members to elect the leaders into their perspectives, in view of that, the elected leaders miss the legitimacy to oversee our profession, ultimately our organizations are utterly controlled by media patrons"*. In the same way, Mugiri Singira expressed about the inefficiency of Tanzania Press Club especially in Morogoro region for embracing the governing elites. He clarified;

“I remember during the world press day here in Morogoro, the club was absolutely dominated by government officials including Regional commissioner. Surprisingly, in his speech, RC who was not a journalist but instructed journalists on how to write tourist news, on that day he was like a media lecturer. Before him, all other speakers didn’t talk about the challenging questions to journalists in the country like low salary or job insecurity as well as other encounters to the general nationals. To me it was not a world press day as such, it was a typical day to muzzle the journalists and put more restrictions on mass media (Mugin, MUM).

Mugin so far believed that the myth of press organs in Tanzania is rigorously factored by unprofessional conducts from the inherent executives whom most of them don’t have any journalism ideas. He cited the example of MCT which was primarily chaired by unprofessional media frontrunners such a former Prime Minister Joseph Warioba who is a lawyer by profession, Kondo and others. Jakson Monela held that journalism associations are too powerless to put down the ownership misconducts thanks to their management structure in which most of them are not nationally widespread, example the Editor’s Forum all of its leaders are centered in Dar es Salaam. Ahmed Meena thought that journalists are rather suppressed through press organizations in which there are so many associations which become toothless when their members are sternly abused. He emphasized; *“Such as the press club tends to monopolize the issue when solid incident exists in the country, only reporters who have their IDs are allowed to cover the event and excludes others nonmember journalists”*.

In a focus group discussion, which took place in Zanzibar, Faki Mjaka the executive secretary of Zanzibar Press Club viewed that the professional media organizations have vital starring role to ensure the ethical journalism comes into being in the media industry and to entail the owners’ optimistic manners keen on media undertaking though trainings, visits and consultation with stakeholders, though the organizations don’t have straight mandate to discipline owners or any media personnel. Abubakar Kisandu from ZBC believed that press organization are potential of unifying journalists from different media institutions in the country along with owners on discussing the better way of resolving the encounters derived from the current ownership structures for the progressive journalism. On the other side, Abubakar Harith said that it certainly difficult to confront the owners directly using media associations due to the facts that many members and leaders are media staff where by owners have crucial control of their organizational undertakings. He stated; *“The associations can only advice, but no extra action might be taken to proprietors whom in one side are their own bosses”*. Harith once again referred to the Paul Makonda invasion in which several organizations commonly agreed to boycott his exposure in media until he apologized, but the deliberation turned into fruitless.

Another participant Sada kombo assumed that the Zanzibar based media association are rather weaker than mainland counterpart. She contended; *“they are afraid of government and politicians, to the extent that they merely advocate the communal issues daily, but even the social subjects linked with governing authority or prominent figures they ultimately report nothing”*. Talib Ussi a chairmen of JUWAHAMAZA- the Zanzibar Association of Environmental Journalists (Jumuiya Waandishi wa Habari za Mazingira Zanzibar) understood that although

some associations play huge role on maintaining professional sustainability, majority are yet ineffective to implement their set objectives. He elaborated;

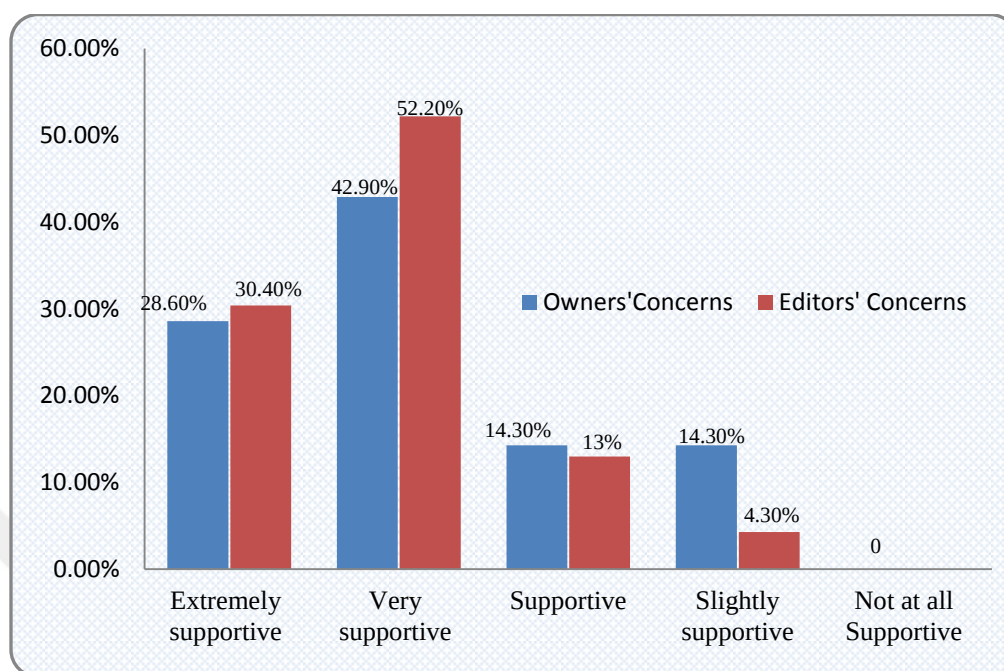
Most of our press associations work as NGO, meant for feeling up tour stomachs; we don't have any exact strategic plan to prosper the journalism standard in the country. As one day I was arrested by police officers following my coverage of land conflict in Tomondo, unfortunately during my detention in police station for several hours, as a chairman of one media organization and a journalist there was no any organization which attempted to offer a statement accusing the government suppression on me until I got released (Talib Ussi, journalist).

3.1.6.3 The Set Editorial Policies on Democracy Diffusion

The probe about the media role in democratization process involved the entire research samples except the category of bloggers and online network operators. It was initially posed to media owners as primary setters of editorial policies. The question was; do you think your media have played pivotal role in democratization process in Tanzania? The alike question was examined to editors and media managers concerning the editorial policies and linkage to democracy dispersion; do you think the set editorial policies and styles in your media house correspond to the long run journalism characters in the democratization? Through these queries informants were independently supposed to rate their media position in streamlining the civic deliberation on the road to real democracy. The bar chart 3.1.6 reveals the inclusive thoughts from the media owners' category together with executive editors and media managers, through which the data displays that 42.9% of media owner believed that their media had very supportive role in democratization whereas for the counterpart of editors and managers it was 52.20%. The succeeding figures were 28.6% and 30.40% among media owners along with editors and media managers who viewed their media having played extremely supportive role in democracy respectively. For supportive and slightly supportive, the media owners scored 14.3% equally while the chief editors and general managers' category got 14.30% and 4.30% in that order. There is no response from both categories which indicates for not at all supportive about the position of editorial policies in democracy diffusion.

Whilst, the affirmative accounts from media owners were not yet recognized except two respondents who uttered that their media didn't take part well in state democratization due to the state and social impediments. One respondent said; *".....the government is very restrictive to the free media functioning toward real democracy revelation"*. While another informant mentioned; *"we don't have any program which propagate about democracy simply because the term politics in our country is very provocative, to the extent that if you speak over the other political preoccupations you are typically in trouble"*.

Bar Chart 3.1.6 1: Observations from Media Owners and Editors on their Media Role in Democratization



Source: Field Research, 2018

On the side of editors and general managers illustrated diverse endeavors on the way to national egalitarianism, which they mostly endow with the observance of journalism principles. Denis Msaki from NHCL (2006) noticed that his publications exactly practice civic journalism, tracing the bottom up model from underground concerns, while the only challenge is lack of capital. Betris Bangawe who works with IPP media said that their editorial rules are sufficient to propagate the democracy in the country, with the exception of the gender policies which are very insignificant to foster gender equality in politics. Another chief editor, Jabir Idrissa from Hali Halisi newspapers affirmed that his media steers with main objective to fulfill the public hopes, utilizing the media fourth estate concept against the grand corruptions in the government, meant for the broad national benefits. Nonetheless, a general manager of Swahiba, Nassra Nassor stated that there are no specific editorial policies in her media which guide into democratization. However, they have only job description which outlines the entire media personnel duties and organization ethics, they are in process to establish the diverse program as alternative to spread the civic education and advocating the citizen right and responsibilities. Likely, Mlekwa Muhidin of Al-Noor radio said; *“since our radio is religious oriented, it’s hard so far to portray the explicit political messages unless it comes to the religious perspective; in short no archetypal political programs in our programming”*.

Coming to the side of veteran journalists, academicians and representatives of media association as indicated in the table 3.1.7 that 46.9% of respondents disagreed that the set media policies and styles are not vibrant with the journalistic characters in the democratization. For those who agreed with it, were 31.3%, for moderately agree were 15.6% and the last 6.3% of informants pointed to strongly agree. The descriptive results elucidate the more concerns from

the respondents on the deprival media role in democratization that constantly inclines. Ali Shaban, an academic staff at ZJMMC sighted that the current media programming structure lacks constructive civic education especially during the electoral campaign by which some social group are normally ignored. Ali Rashid pointed that the current government tends to dictate the entire media ecosystem in which the mass media turn into unsympathetic platform to journalism prosperity and for general political propagation. He stated;

Nowadays there is no free and strong media house in Tanzania, they became like an idiot dog which is just barking no biting, there are beautiful press regulations in written form but there is nothing in actuality because of the control of government and media owners (Ali Rashid, veteran journalist).

Whilst, Samuel representing TAMWA based in mainland believed that the private media rather plays notable role in democratization, unless the partisan media whose policies are very mysterious and politically biased. A prominent media figure in Tanzania, Jeneral Ulimwengu was of the views that there is distinguished inclination of media role in spreading the democracy in the country. However, some structural problems persist among media institutions based in the ownership varieties. Salum Said was concerned with some media houses which have neither editorial policies nor code of conducts as he stated; *“....our media should be reorganized by the inclusion of the various experts delivering in house training, as far as the young journalists should be sharpened in their performance”*. To Maryam Hamdan the reason for the insignificant media character in democratization is customarily engendered from the structural changing of media uses and access, such as the transfer from community hall viewership to individual home and mobile phone. She expressed;

Many years ago, communal viewership was used to assess and monitor various TV programmes, because during the watching people gathered and discussed various aspects of a particular broadcasting network. Unlike now, no serious public evaluation, to this point many programmes are useless to society, they only reveal about love affairs and entertainment (Maryam Hamdan).

From the focus group discussion several participants regularly spoke out on the owner's influence concerning the media role in democratization. The question to this category was; how do you asses the set media houses' policies and styles in line with the journalistic characters in the democratization? Bakar Masoud from Chuchu FM believed that the set editorial strategies are prodemocracy but the encounters are typically derived from owners who impose their fascinations through the daily media operation. He said; *“many of our media are owned and controlled by certain group of politicians who have specific version of democracy which is contrary to the liberal media role in democracy. In view of that, journalists are usually enforced to portray the owners' assertion of democracy”*. Another concern was revealed by Talib Ussi who alleged the media houses on overlooking to internalize the democracy principles in their organizations as he maintained;

Since our media structure is not democratic, this comes to reflects to the general contents delivered to public, hence every political party has its own media

as platform for propaganda and manifestation. Example the state-owned broadcasting channel ZBC can never report any progressive news about opposition parties (Talib Ussi).

Talib also suggested that Tanzanian mass media should be restructured on delivering the civic message, by utilizing specialization prototype and analytic reportages. Abubakar Harith considered the editorial policies in regards with owners and journalists' deficient understandings of democracy;

Let's scrutinize our most media programs are not in lieu of democracy since the producers and broadcasters are not knowledgeable to democracy concept, thus, our media can't participate effectively in democratization. While those who have enough ideas of democracy also don't portray accurately to the public, most of them underlining democracy as freedom of speech (Abubakar Harith).

Malik Shakhsan was of the opinions that the media houses have adequate guidelines for democracy distribution since there are number of media programs about civic education. He clarified;

"We can produce attractive programs about democracy.....The problem is not about our policies, it's who controls and manages the mass media in our country, and the dominant portion is of our patrons who are not willing to see the programs about democracy are overwhelming on their media".

Shakhsan mentioned the example of his media when he announced the news bulletins about sheikh Ponda, then his manager ordered him to express himself through the letter; *"I though the reason was that the boss was not aware about the exact concept of democracy and he was over-afraid of his media to be punished by the government"*. Another participant voiced that the editorial strategies are much correspond to journalism character in Tanzanian democratization but policies implementation turn into deficient;

For example, the contemporary media houses tend to prime the news only from press release and conference, they are not analytic and most of news bulletins are publicity oriented for manifesting certain political parties' ideologies. I remember one day there was a press conference when I attempted to write analytic stories a person in charge directed me to write in affirmative way... it pained me until today because he interfered my duties and freedom into subjective (research participant).

The Morogoro discussion debated much about the institutional failure in realizing the editorial policies into democratization. Mugin Singira from MUM was of the view that the media miscarriage of democracy dispersion is anchored in managerial mechanism, commencing the recruitment viewpoints hallowed with owners' accomplishments. He said;

Many media proprietors have a habit of employing their relatives and friends who don't only have journalism knowledge but also the democracy ideas,

just for their voice talent. Every owner concentrate on his ideological vision; there are partisan media outlets such as religious and political are more dangerous whereby owners recruit only those who fit their biased manifestation (Singira, MUM).

James Justine from MSJ talked about the government interference to media such as the ban of live parliamentary coverage that undermine the media power in state democratization, while journalists are so far affected by partisan winds of political coverage. Whilst, Kelvin Kazimoto observed the media role in Tanzanian democracy in term of the concept of press freedom and policy reforms and expressed;

It's ideal that free media are potential of sustainable democracy, public can acquire the democracy platform, simply if our media are practical free and not just any media can be an inclusive manifestation into democratization. Also, we have to ask ourselves who makes journalistic policies in our media corporation? Here journalist is not a policy designer, he is just a presenter. Actually, the current situation intensifies the media role in democratization, as the civic education is no longer served, it's only the state-run TBC that has inclusive political legitimacy (Kazimoto).

Besides, Jackson Monela opinioned that Tanzanian media landscape is not a comprehensive democratic platform per se, hence there is no identical political reportage among the media outlets. To him some political parties are demoralized to report on their political issues such as during the general election it was only the ruling party CCM which different in media outlets used to broadcast live their public rallies. Conversely, Mwajuma regarded the current media policies to large extent are parallel to the media character in democratization. *“Such as in the recent general election mass media played key role on spreading the civic education, nonetheless we have not reached the real arena of democracy”*.

3.1.6.4 The Power of Editors, Journalist and Public on News Content

Subsequently, as indicated in table 3.1.7 in the previous sections, the numerical data vis-à-vis the varied observations from veteran journalists, academics and representatives of media organization on the subject of the autonomy of Editors, Journalists and general public on the detection of regular news contents in the course of current ownership arrangement. The study found that the disagree responses scored the highest figures of 59.4%, 56.3% and 46.9% meant for the control of editors, journalists and overall public respectively. Other identical marks were 28.1%, 21.9% and 15.6% intended for agree over public, journalists and editors' power on media content in turn. The respondents additionally cited to strongly disagree with 12.5%, 12.5% and 9.4% for journalists, public and editor respectively, its only editor category which got 6.3% of informants who opted for strongly agree. The more results were 12.5, 9.4% and 9.4% of respondents who voted for moderate agree indicated on public, editors and journalist inspiration of day-to-day media contents correspondingly. In addition, the expressive results provide the miscellaneous views on the power of editorial managers, journalists and general public over media substances. Ali Shaban said that the current ownership configuration indulges the editor

into submissive to their bosses with less freedom to produce the partial messages. A veteran journalist Enzi Talib thought that the editor control is accustomed within the self-censorship imposed by owners. The same ideas were released by Ali Rashid who uttered that editor has no control on the content produced since all editorial team are symbolically institutionalized, subjective to obey the national leaders. He stated; *“every media house and several other offices you go, you find the photo of national leaders on the wall as national icons which psychologically administer you to observe in your writing.*

Whilst, Paul Mapuga talked about the position of general journalists under the condition of institutionalized scavengers, their duty is to determine the daily media contents for the finest curiosity of their proprietors. He maintained; *“Many Reporters in our media houses have slight influences of journalistic inputs; most of journalists are scavengers for foods”*. Additionally, Hawra Shamte regarded the journalists as absorbed group of media personnel which seek for servicing others while they stay in indefinite prosperity, insofar as their mindset are for securing high posts in the country. Nevertheless, Dr. Seif was confident that the current system of coaching the underground journalists on news stories by running editors tends to streamline the distinguished contract with reporters into realization of professional achievement. Likewise, Rafii considered the reporters as influential operators of daily news contents through their noticeable involvement in producing the news and distinctive impression on reporting in which he emphasized; *“as they go to the underground, they can twist the news regarding the flow of languages”*. Ali Rashid also sighted general journalists as autonomous participants, having spirit and moral conducts endowed through journalism education.

Besides, this study makes uses of the pluralist accounts of media ownership which assumes that mass media tends to cater the public tastes and needs, it destines that public have market power to punish a media if contrary to their aspirations (Mohapatra, 2018). However, there are assorted understandings from research participants concerning the public force on media contents. Ali Sultan contended that community is undermined through accessing inappropriate services and have no platform to evoke their right;

“Example, previously Azam media provided local channel in their decoder but subsequent to the government reforms they detached all local channels without any official notification and reimbursement to their customers who had already paid for the national channels. It means there is narrow public consensus, when decoder gets technical difficulties its advantages for them because you might buy a new one”.

Paul Mapuge noted that globalization had attempted to authorize the public in dominating the media outputs. However, he resisted that through this globalization concept some inopportune has occurred, example the widespread of nonlocal programs, such as the TV series which accustom to import uncultured material to our indigenous viewers, which so far tempt the immoral conducts like albino killings. Salim Said observed the same ideas that digitalized media has liberalized the industry to the public control as he elaborated;

Yet public don't have the substantial impressions to the media contents, because they don't have the alternative methods to react due to the deficiency of legal procedures which requires any plaintiff to contract the consent from DPP for filing the case (Salim Said, respondent).

Samuel regarded the governing authorities such as TRCA and MCT having significant measures to revive the public utility of media, while he recommended for media owners to turn their media into social accountable platform through professional creativity for the common interests. Ali Rashid stressed on the poor public control attributable to the incredible provision of digital divide and meager media literacy in the society; *"the large quantity of public is ignorant on the civic journalism and their general rights"*. Omar Chunda affirmed that public is powerful to test the general media performance since they get abundantly involved in the formation of media bills potential to generate the inclusive and vibrant media laws. Moreover, Rafii beheld the public influence on media contents as persistently inspired through mobile phones, online comments and letter to editor. He finally said; *"after all the public trust can so far change the media outlook in term of economic viewpoints"*.

3.1.7 The Impression of Online Channels over Traditional News Ownership

This subpart highlights the inspiration of technology, especially the blogosphere and online social networks on intensifying the Tanzanian media ownership patterns and control. It's aimed at testing the research hypothesis apropos the new media supremacy of the media landscapes growth and beyond the mainstream operating system in views of the conventional censorship and control of News in adopting the political information efficacy. Thus, the study examined the audiences' autonomy on the consumption, production and distribution of news over the editorial along the general institutional control of news in consideration of professionalism and economic viewpoints. The findings for this fragment are primarily generated solely from the research's technique of interview and focus group discussion. It involves the understandings from bloggers and social networks operators enormously, along with the inclusive concerns of the editorial managers, veteran journalists, representatives of media organizations as well as young journalists who were in consent to provide their occupational observations on the phenomenon.

3.1.7.1 The varied reflections on Mainstream Journalism

Research participants revealed their abundant concerns on the journalism practices through new media regarding the escalation of mainstream editorial supremacy. The primary question was addressed through interview instrument stated; what is the general position of technology diffusion on the Tanzanian media landscapes? Through which the expressive data signifies the distinctive transformation in term of professionalism, ethics observance, economic point of views as well as contents structure and distributions. During the interview Ali Rashid viewed that the new media has become the enormous source of information in the Tanzanian news industry, since it affords for novel interactivity among spectators and story tellers. Nonetheless, he was much concerned with assimilation tendency into journalistic undertakings epitomized by users. Mlekwa Muhidin uttered that for radio industry technology have good

impression through news gathering, productions and distribution to the wide exposure, but for print media affect undesirably as the print orders has declined intensely. Likewise, Jabir Idrissa from Mwanahalisi expressed the challenges to mainstream journalism in views of the economic and quality especially to the print media. He said;

Nowadays, for the press to flourish you have to be real creative since your readers have the genuine picture of what happened on the occurrences, unless you will endure the duplication of what the online multiple channels have reported. We are certainly required to endorse with unique marketing strategy in order to revive the newspaper market (a chief editor of Mwanahalisi).

This idea was furthered by Salim Said who noticed that the press can only sustain in the media market by utilizing the analytic news reportage. To this point, Absalam Kibanda thought that the challenges can be productive to the traditional media journalists in expanding the rich coverage, by dint of exercising the investigative journalism and beyond for the sake to shelter the abundant publications' readership. Besides, Dr. Suleiman Seif mentioned the phenomenal impacts in digital journalism encompassing unqualified practitioners and the spread of scooping journalism. To Betris Bangawe was of the views that mainstream editors have heavy duty to verify the news source through the spectrum of breaking news in accordance with online circulated rumors in speedy and punctual dissemination. Thanks to the quick public reach of blogosphere and other online networks, Mapunge sighted that they become great contestant to the traditional media, whereby the definition of news tend to change in Tanzanian media system, since social media endow with more detailed contents with users' utility. Another research respondent, Jabir Abdullah talked about the quality problem in professional perspectives in which journalists become uncreative relying on plagiarism in course of internet manifestation, to the extent that media archives and other public libraries are not much utilized by journalists in facilitating the analytic reportages.

During the focus group discussions there were also varied views concerning the inspirations of the blogosphere and social online networks to the mainstream journalism. Jackson Monela considered the new media emergence as a severe challenge to the Tanzanian professional journalism practices as he expressed; *"Previously in tradition media we regularly used embargo on particular event coverage but now we cannot utilize this typology due to the presence of multi-channels of reporting the event"*. Whilst, Kelvin Kazimoto affirmed that there is high accessibility of news though the content quality become the challenge in which he proposed for the provision of technical professional board which might oversee the online content apart from the government authorities. In addition, Mugin Adam said that the digital journalism become enormous contests to professional journalists as their owners are not professionals who demonstrate the gossip inputs widespread to mainstream media. *"As professional journalists we have been affected a lot as the spectrum of fake news embraces the industry, example when TBC broadcasted the fabricated news about the US's Trump congrats to Tanzanian president Magufuli"*. Samuel from TAMWA was much concerned with economic viewpoints that the recruitment of media personnel provoke in mainstream media which deteriorates the proficiency as far as scavengers embrace the profession in costless running.

On the other side, Hawra Shamte considered the digital power as the static and ineffective liberalization to the wide information access in Tanzanian public sphere by reason of the limited uses of internet; *“I dare say that there is vivid information divide since Tanzania is too customary to utilize the wired information access”*. Other research participant who long worked in the media commented that his media outlets are not affected so far by the waves of online media. *“No abundant challenges to us”*, said Ramadan Senda, a corporation manager of ZMCL. Denis Msaki stated that his publications compete hugely with online media since they have a good number of editorial professionals to draw the public attention, unlike the wired news frontrunners who simply fuel the casual public information. Similarly, Rashid Kejo noted that his publication inclines to facilitate the news distribution through various online platforms, in that case they cannot be much latent. Salum Omar from ZCTV uttered; *“although it can be a divisive encounter but for us we endeavor abundantly through various technological strategies, such as now we have good collaboration with Telecommunication Company to restrain the online impediments”*. Henry Muhnika was confident on the traditional journalism that can cope considerably with recent undertakings on digital trends. He stressed’

There is dramatic and distinct transformation of mainstream journalism; Business now is moving to online operation liberally, despite the fact that it affects the orthodox ownership structure where by the Mainstream Corporations take part in both sides. It means that the publications now can diversify to online version without the boundary to run the outlets, since the online cost is significant cheaper” (an executive secretary of MOAT).

For examining the comprehensive observations of technology diffusion, bloggers and online social platform operators were covered. Salma Said who run the Zanzibar Yetu blog thought that blogosphere has unlimited powers on conveying the abundant information landscapes since it streamlines interpersonal communication. Issa Michuzi believed his blog namely Michuzi nurtures undue challenges to mainstream media outlets in term of readership and ultimate economic perspective. He clarified;

For example now there are virtual copies of daily newspaper patterns in my blog, through which you can read the newspaper online. Apart from this, the readers can also buy the full version online from my blog page, it’s also revealed by other applications like Dondosha, Tigo app, the price is only 500 for any local newspaper (a founder of Michuzi Blog).

Michuzi also held that his blog expands the print market in due time, through which they are read all over the world. Another operator, Khelef Nassor of Zaima Media online was of the views that his networks have inclusive audiences attributable to the growth of smart phone ownership in Tanzanian society, assuming that the internet cost is considerable cheaper than mainstream media access. Maxence Melo, the pioneer of JamiiForum maintained that his online platform has derived the complement to mainstream journalism since it indefinite to convey a broad picture of public life as so far people cope to utilize persistently. Further related question to the bloggers and social networks operators was meant to assess the mutual understanding and traditional media in the utilization of journalistic outputs. It inquired; how is your relationship

with other mainstream Journalists? Melo talked about the mainstream journalists' perceptions to his platform;

Previously, the JamiiForum was categorically strange to media industry in Tanzania, the mainstream journalists regarded us as antagonists to journalism prosperity and they wished us to be in ironic trouble. I remember for the first time when I was arrested concerning the privacy disclosure of our anonymous users' data many journalists were very cheerful. They wished the persistent termination for our platform, thinking that we hampered the journalist undertakings (a founder of JamiiForum).

Maxence believed that now the situation has changed because public acknowledge the journalistic supports of their platform as long as it is accessed everywhere. It has remarkable collaboration with different media outlets across twenty three regions in Tanzania, sharing news inputs from each other's. Khelef Nassor said that their cooperation with mainstream journalists is well noted although there is no formal contract with any media institutions. *"There are some mainstream journalists use our news items, pictures and video clips without notifying us, but it doesn't matter to us"*. Salma said viewed his relationship with other journalists as noticeable;

There are some journalists who consider me as brave woman and even use my blog to deliver the critical news reportage which are unfavorable to their working media houses. There are also who view me as opposition when my blog become vibrant platform to render the political accountability. In fact, I can't stop so far to implement my social responsibility on advocating the poor's desires (a journalists and blogger).

Likewise, Salmin estimated that about 70% of Tanzanian media outlets considered his *Pemba today blog* as the useful functioning news portal for Pemba coverage; *"I know many people including journalists and government officials in the country who have to visit our blog every day to extract the accurate news from Pemba Island so as to get informed and learn many things"*. Salmin further articulated that they don't have any official contract as far as they take it as public good. Michuzi also observed that his relationship with mainstream journalists remains potential; *"my blog takes part as sources of news; several journalists extract and distribute news texts and pictures across the multiple channels"*. Talking about the individual property right Michuzi explained that only the international media like BBC, VOA, UN radio international frequently call him upon consumption of his blog outputs. While he mentioned the local media such as EFM radio, ITV, Chanel 10 and Azam TV use to broadcast with verbal agreement whereas the rest others consume his inputs without any consent. The same observation was stipulated by Suleiman Is-haq, an operator of Zanzibar24 who blog uttered that they have decent liaison with other journalists through casual settlement and the few media call him upon utilization of posted news.

In the further scrutiny of new media influence over mainstream journalism, it's ideal to examine the gatekeeping character of traditional journalist. Jeneral Ulimwengu considered the gatekeeping functioning in new media landscape as problematic due to the excessive power of

users who are sanctioned to spread the replica information. Mwajuma from the focus group discussion which took place in Morogoro assessed the position of blogosphere and social online platform through traditional gatekeeping that the profession turns into incomparable stance since the wired audiences are free to practice addicted to their manners. However, to the main online operators thought that they still have abundant power on the media content portrayed through the online channels. Salma said articulated;

I have enough control on the content, since my policies are clear that no tolerance over some users who tend to abuse others, I initially ask the offenders to remove their comment and apologize over the disrespect, unless I take actions quickly to block the aggressors (an operator of ZanzibarYetu blog).

Salma yet affirmed that user-generated-content prototype affects a lot in her general journalistic undertaking since some followers know nothing about media ethics and some don't trust her because of the comments posted by partisan users which have no relation with her entire political stance. Besides, Michuzi maintained that he cannot entertain the hostile comments in his blog to others in which he uses the direct communication to warn the provokers. He described that his platform persists very popular and respectful owing to the good discipline along the fans. Whilst, Melo considered his network is rather spider which just afford the information source and not a complete journalistic information generator that they cannot utilize the concept of gatekeeper. Suleiman Is-haqa said that he has occupied with entire control of content produced through his blog with no effects to the entire message. He said; *"But on Facebook we face such challenges, though we delete and chunk some assailants as of the comments about the Jozani in which users forced us to change the mode of the topic in which we deleted from our wall."*

3.1.7.2 Wired Political Deliberation and Demographical Coverage

Ali sultan regarded the social media as politically constructed networks with little concentration of genders and family issues; *"it expands the scope of political coverage in Tanzanian media operation and they are supportive for follow-up of the public events, however political information mostly remain subjective to certain social groups"*. Abeid Dogoli affirmed that the wired platforms have the abundant power to broaden the horizons of the political contents through the multiple media exposures. Jabir Idrissa acknowledged the blogosphere and online platforms as the vital public alternatives for political deliberations, tracing the flows of breaking news on internet into incredible contribution on real democracy in the country. However, Yussuf Chunda believed that the internet civic information is not substantial to inclusive political deliberation since most of circulated information anchored in rumor ordinance. Whilst, Dr. Shajack viewed the current cybercriminal laws have massive tendency to twist the social media operation in politics, such as security and surveillance are against the media critics.

Besides, the bloggers and online social platform operators were involved in scrutinizing the hypothesis of technological influence on political deliberation, the first related question was meant to examine their considerations initially on producing the political news in their platforms. Suleiman Is-haq mentioned his institutional endeavors to demonstrate the objective political journalism in his blog that comprises the separation of duties. *"Unlike many other blog in the*

country, we have distinguished news room with vibrant policies for source clarification and detecting the code of conducts alongside the observance of state's legislations". Suleiman further outlined the criteria for reporters of his blog; should have good educational background and being a professional journalist. *"You must be a journalist to write for our blog we decide by team work on what to publish and not, as well as we have in-house training twice a year"*. Issa Michuzi avowed that his blog chiefly looks at the audience's necessities, it rather perseveres the civic issues than highlighting individuality as journalistic strategy to detach the personal interest. However, Michuzi contended that his channel so far is fluttered into the high volume of political news of conflicts and event centered mode since the analytic political journalism is poor in Tanzania media system. Salma said illustrated that her blog usually concentrates on the topics on politics, followed with sports, educational, economic and religious information, she stressed on resolution typology; *"it's not just I present the topics about the politics I am a believer of reconciliation insomuch as whatever the news I post should not divide the public, unless I will not report on my blog, ...after all media ethics guides me"*.

Similarly, Maxence clarified the editorial guidelines for JamiiForum that are archetypally counter to the political rumors and biases while accentuating on accurate and dispassionate political exposures;

We accommodate to ensure the equal political coverage for all political parties whether its opposition or ruling party, for example we are very conscious on the propaganda about Lowassa or any other dominant politician in the country. We primarily stick at the national interest, as now we have the manifesto of all registered political parties on our page in order to remind them and pull public attention concerning their accountability. In addition to this, we have the strategy of chief editor and quality controller on detaching the editorial content from the individual political and commercial interests. We stay in observing the journalism principles keen on protecting the individual privacy as well as we make sure that all advertisements correspond to our media rule in lieu of rational political accountability (a founder of JamiiForum).

Another blogger Salmin outlined the type of political news he uses in his platform that should have the constructive impacts to society, truthfulness and multi sourced. He explained;

We do emphasize on liberal political journalism but we attempt commonly to expose for equal welfares among the social domains. For example our blog covered story about the one of leading constructor of Pemba's state house who was later turned into poor life. Just soon later, this person got his basic rights from the government subsequent to our documentary ... to this point it's the news source that represents focal interest on our blog and not by dint of our political or commercial agenda (operator of Pematoday blog).

Apart from the deliberation of operators, this study also found out on the side of users concerning the common topics they comment through the digital networks. The question was; which topics your audiences commonly prefer to read and contribute? There is an identical result

from this question in which the majority respondents mentioned about politics as the dominant subject preferred by the users. There is only one respondent who stated that his followers opt to read firstly the informative stories followed with the social issues. Behind the politics, other preferred topics are about health, culture, heritages, economic against poverty, family affairs and educational sorts. Nevertheless, the research entrants were of the views that their wired channels have pivotal role in democratization. *“My blog has made vibrant effects to social accountability”*, cited Salma Said, while Michuzi contended that his blog concentrated more on political and government news which become predisposed, however, now he is in deliberation to diversify into wide-ranging topics keen on social prosperity. Another scrutiny was on the key news actors and sources in political news stories. Khelef Nassor mentioned the major political news sources are ordinary citizens, politicians, villagers and he has special coverage on femininity namely *Malkia wa Zaima* (A Queen of Zaima) which simply shields the female news sources and actors. Maxence Melo asserted that his platform is much inclusive since public in general has widespread opportunity to share their ideas rather than elites sole.

To Pemba today blog Salmin mentioned the most emphasized sources are women, children, and social issues. Michuzi held that his main news sources and actors are typical political parties’ leaders due to the limited resource to include the nationwide players. However, he was of the deliberation that his blog constantly attempts to cover the inclusive public life besides the elites concentration, insofar as now profile of all MPs and executives of political parties will be available on the blog. Salma believed that her first priority is public, while Suleiman said that he involves the inclusive class through political reportages. For the category of demographic characteristics of niche audiences, the study reveals that most of studied platforms are accessed in Tanzania than other abroad by youths aged 18-45. The second viewers’ classification is of diaspora sited in United Kingdom, followed in Oman and America. In more elaboration Melo stated that his online network is used by 83% in Tanzania with the first portion of the 25-35, 16-25 then 45-60. Likewise, Khelef Nassor reflected Tanzania for 80% followed with Oman, UK and US with the ages of 18-35 shadowed with 35-65. Is-haqa considered the 26-42 ages are the most users of his blog which is accessed more in Tanzania particularly in Zanzibar. Salma said cited the supreme viewers of her blog are politicians, youths as well as women for social news. Whilst, Michuzi said that previously, his blog was generally accessed more in US, UK and East Africa but now Tanzania is leading. He expressed;

It’s about 15 years now since my blog saw the sun; I established it for the civic demand on wired pubic information, especially the diaspora to feel up the mainstream gap on local news access. Then in 2006 during the death of Amina Chifupa, the breaking news generated in my blog overwhelmed across the earth, whereby the death happened at 21.00 while by 21.30 the diaspora all over the world got informed. My channel hit a lot because the local media could not confirm as quick as I did. Once again, it devastated abroad during the Mwakiembe’s speech which led to Lowassa’s resignation from prime minister position with other three ministers, since at that time I got embargo news and posted on the dot in parallel with the occurrences in the parliament.

Additional to the demographical coverages, the research portrays the deliberation by online channels operators on the date-line and areas which they recurrently cover the news stories. The findings show that the majority avowed to report on urban phenomenon than rural concerns. Maxence said that his platform is accessed everywhere from urban to rural in the country but the most topics are remain from urban customarily. Salma said pointed that her blog persists on promoting social accountability by which she deliberates to cover the all-encompassing public sphere. She stated; *“After every three I use to go Pemba Island to expose the rural minority, because I know that the rural community is typically marginalized by our mainstream media in Tanzania”*. The same observation was revealed by Salmin who uttered that his blog is made certainly for serving the local news especially from the villages.

3.2 The Presentation of Quantitative Content Analysis

This study utilized content analysis to complement the descriptive data collected through the reviewed literatures and the above primary findings generated by dint of in-depth interview and focus group discussion. Unlike the preceding, this subpart grants the typical quantitative findings through statistical analyses derived from the three studied local newspapers namely Mtanzania, Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo. This provision aims at testing the hypothesis of owner’s supremacy on the news contents and examining the relationship between variables (Creswell, 2009: 87), whereby the main focus was on diagnosing the impression of journalism in consideration of political reportage anchored in the current Tanzanian media landscape. Hence, the study mostly scrutinized the newspapers’ portrayal of political contents vis-à-vis the diverse genres and themes of articles. Especially, the general character of the objects, placement of photo and articles, news actor and source cited, dateline and geographical concerns. It also probed the direct owners’ manifestation such as placement of their photos and articles which represented their personal and practiced outlooks in the publications as well as the overall editorial perception and ideology on fostering the political parties’ prosperities.

3.2.1 The Structural Overview of the Studied Newspapers

This study also recounts the variation among the researched newspapers in views of ownership positions to the content productions and structural design. Starting with Mtanzania which was established on September 11, 1995, as the first daily and distinct publication under the ownership of native professionals. In 1997 alongside Mtanzania newspaper, other publications emerged notably Dimba and Rai newspapers and formed a single Press conglomerate known as Habari Corporation Ltd. The archetypal ownership transformation underwent in 2006 in which the company was renamed as New Habari Corporation (2006) subsequent to the purchase by a Tanzanian businessman and politician Rostam Aziz (Kilimwiko, 2009: 33). As illustrated in the research methodology the study proposed to draw the samples of total 90 issues with 33.3% as equally representation of each publication. However, in this dissertation the valid samples for Mtanzania newspaper was only 28.9% editions whereas four issues 4.4% for January, March,

May, July 1995 were not explored attributable to its first issue was on September 11, 1995. Structurally, Mtanzania initially operated in Tanzanian media landscape with 16 pages in which only title was colored while other features were colorless. It constantly produced sixteen pages as of March 2005, but in this study it's some editions were studied with 24 pages along the special journal inside.

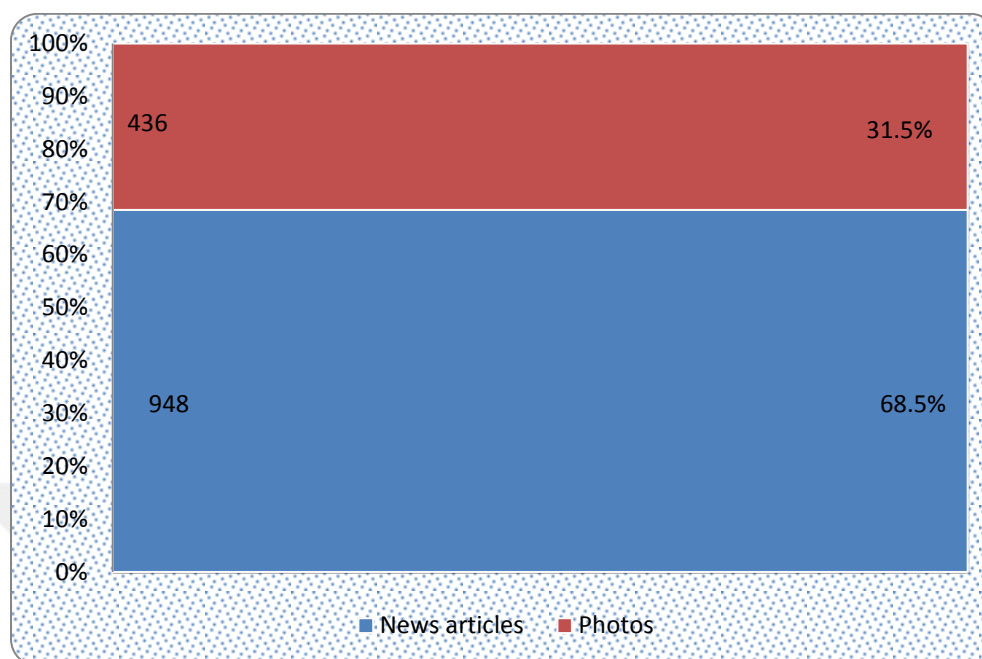
Nipashe is another newspaper sampled in this study. It commenced publication under The Guardian Ltd. (the press division of IPP Media group) on April 21, 1994 as a daily newspaper (Sturmer, 2008: 244). For the period of this study in 1995 Nipashe had sixteen pages. Its structural design was also colorless, except the major headlines especially in front page were colored. Some changes remarked in 2000 when it continued to publish sixteen pages while the whole publication was colorful. Hence its structure was inconsistent, whereby the studied paper of 2005 Nipashe had twenty pages; likewise, from 2010 to 2015 it normally had thirty-two pages and in some special editions had up to forty pages. In this research Nipashe occupied 33.3% issues as illustrated in the table 1.2.2a among 95.6% shared editions with other two publications.

Zanzibar Leo is another newspaper considered in this study, it is run by Zanzibar Newspaper Corporation that belongs to Revolutionary government of Zanzibar, came into being on January 12, 2002 as official successor of Nuru newspaper. Nuru was also a state-owned publication by revolutionary government of Zanzibar, started in 1992 during the press liberalization. In this thesis Nuru, was supposedly reviewed with its annual issues of 1995 and 2000 by name of Zanzibar Leo. The analyzed editions in 1995 Nuru were in twelve pages, published twice a month and sometimes was a weekly, while its structural design was a colorless broadsheet. As of 2000 it had 16 pages, after it's renamed as Zanzibar Leo, the study also examined the copies with 16 pages in colorless and were occasionally colored, until 2010 to 2015 became entirely colored publication.

3.2.1.1 The Composition of Newspaper Contents for Study

The study accounted the overall 1384 items which were drawn and coded by using the coding matrix framework as found in the appendix two. In regards with the total number of journalistic substances the study explored the publications in two major classifications notably 948 (68.5%) news articles and 436 (31.5%) photos as illustrated in the following Area Chart. Accordingly, the total 1384 news articles and photos were analyzed in accordance with research hypothesis on examining the ownership viewpoints on media contents. The distribution for the selected newspapers was not uniform due to the structural variation amongst them. As mentioned below Nipashe exceeded the other two in term of number of objects which normally and sometimes reached 32 and 40 pages per edition respectively.

Area Chart 3.2.1.1: The composition of contents in Photos and Articles (N=1384)



Source: Field Research, 2018

Consequently, the table 3.2.1.1 indicates that the Nipashe's number of articles and photos are considerably bigger consisted of 30.6% composition, including 37.0% of news articles and 35.8% of analyzed photos. Although Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo had nearly the same number of page with 16 constantly and 12 at the outset, for Zanzibar Leo and Mtanzania had 24 and 16 constants correspondingly. However, Zanzibar Leo became the second publication which comprised of larger number of compositions 32.7%, accounted for 32.1% and 34.2% of overall articles and photos respectively. While Mtanzania had total 32.7% items, involving 30.9% articles and 30.0% photos, yet it's due to the miss of four issues.

Table 3.2.1.1: The General Distribution of News Articles and Photos (N=1384)

Newspaper	Inclusive Items		News articles		Photos	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Mtanzania	424	30.6	293	30.9	131	30.0
Nipashe	507	36.6	351	37.0	156	35.8
Zanzibar Leo	453	32.7	304	32.1	149	34.2
Total	1384	100.0	948	100.0	436	100.0

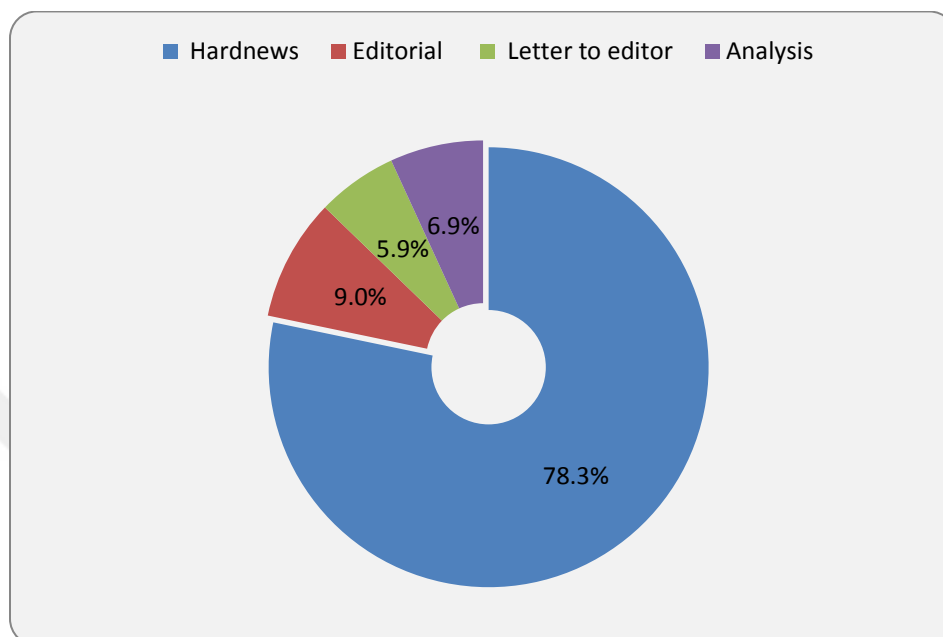
Source: Field Research, 2018

3.2.1.2 The Genres of Articles

In view of the above assorted composition among three newspapers, as shown in the pie chart 3.2.1.2 that the categorization of 948 news articles was accentuated on hard news mainly than opinions. Thus, the general analysis of hard news was 742 (78.3%), while Editorial involved

85 (9.0%), Letter to editor had 56 (5.9%) and there were 65 (6.9%) news articles for analysis based.

Pie Chart 3.2.1.1: The General Composition of News Genres (N=948)



Source: Field Research, 2018

Besides, the table 3.2.1.2 shows the distribution for each newspaper among the genres of articles analyzed in the study. Since the category of hard news involved 742 articles; Mtanzania had 31.0%, Nipashe 37.6.0%, and Zanzibar Leo 31.4%. For the inclusive opinionated articles, out of 85 editorials there were 30.6% for Mtanzania, 34.1% for Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo comprised 35.3%. The category of letter to editor (56) accounted 28.6%, 33.9% and 37.5% for selected newspapers notably Mtanzania, Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo respectively. Finally, the analytical articles involved 65% objects; the distribution among paper were 32.3% of Mtanzania, while Nipashe contracted 36.9% and Zanzibar Leo consisted of 30.8%.

Table 3.2.1.2: Distribution of Genres of Articles for Selected Newspapers (N=948)

The genre of articles		Mtanzania	Nipashe	Zanzibar Leo	Total
Hard news	Frequency	230	279	233	742
	Percent	31.0%	37.6%	31.4%	100.0%
Editorial	Frequency	26	29	30	85
	Percent	30.6%	34.1%	35.3%	100.0%
Letter to editors	Frequency	16	19	21	56
	Percent	28.6%	33.9%	37.5%	100.0%
Analysis	Frequency	21	24	20	65
	Percent	32.3%	36.9%	30.8%	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

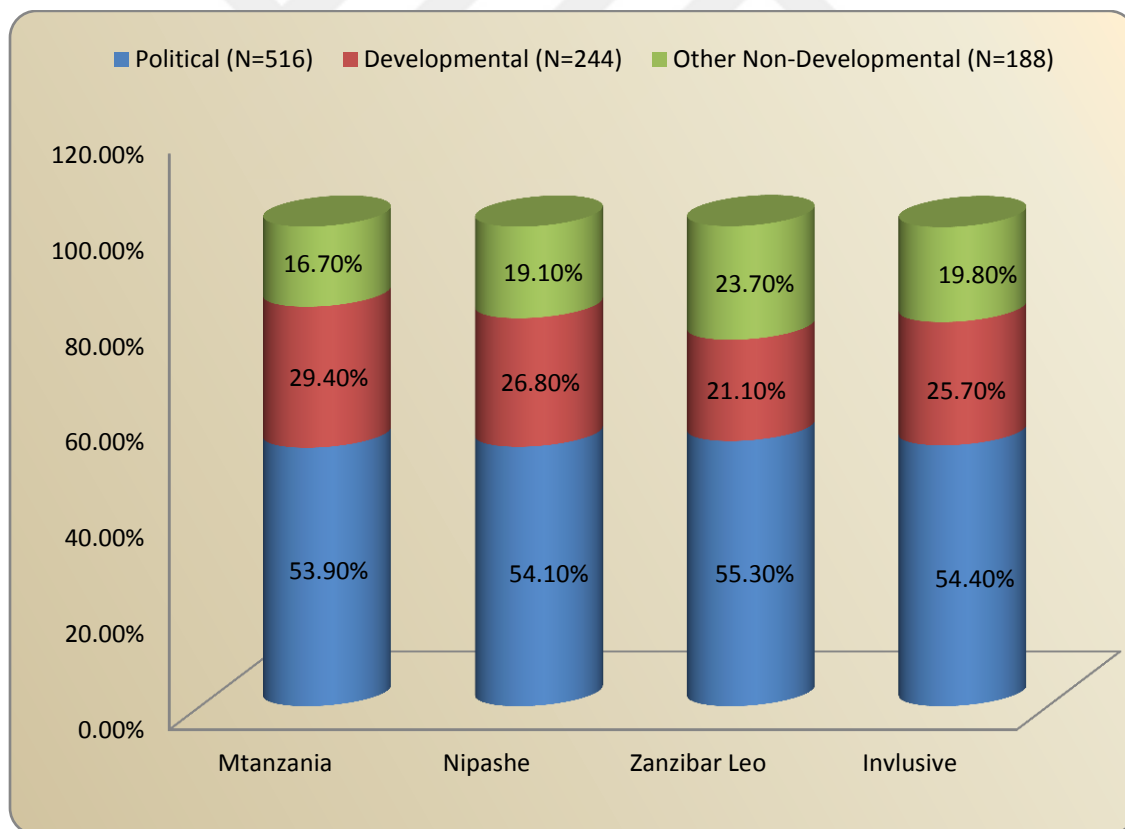
3.2.2 The Scrutiny of News Themes

The content analysis for news themes involved merely 948 news articles and excluded the photos. The study quantified several journalistic themes appeared in three newspapers, and then categorized the variables into three major sorts; political, development and other non-developmental articles. This is in accordance with the model of development journalism as developed by various scholars (Mefalopulos, 2009: Xu, 2009: Sparks, 2000). Henceforth the politics was regarded as non-development journalism, while the remained non-development themes were considered as other non-development.

3.2.2.1 Proportion of Political Articles and other themes

This subsection sought to probe the prominence of the political news in the selected publications as indication for the impression of journalism derived throughout the ownership transformation. In the bar chart 3.2.2.1, the inclusive results indicate that out of 948 news articles from studied newspapers the remarkable figure were 54.4% for sole political, 25.7% were identified for developmental and the rest 19.8 % were non-development news articles.

Bar chart 3.2.2.1: Proportion of Political Articles and other Major Themes (N=948)



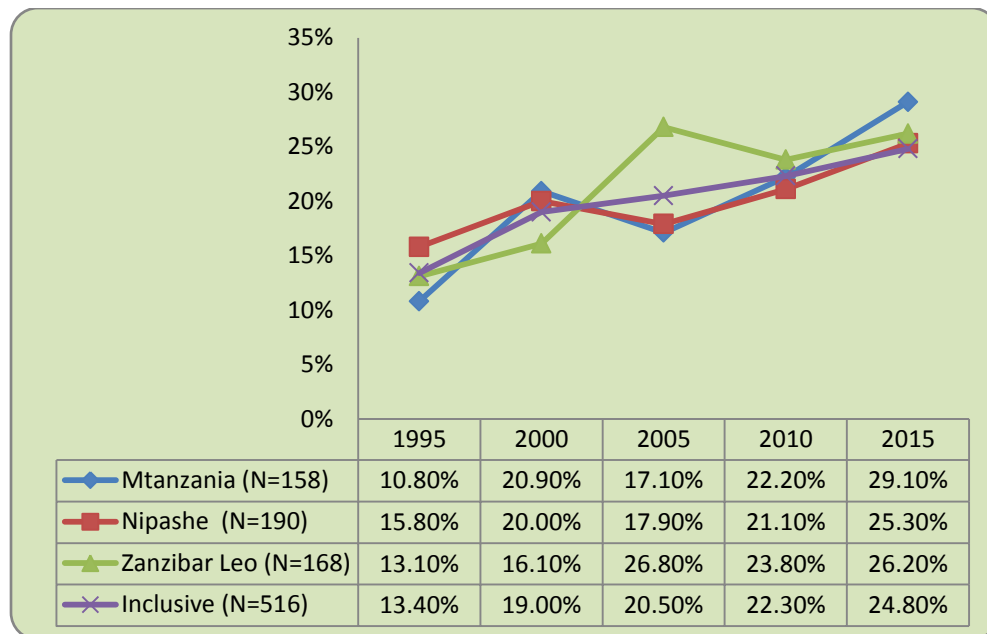
Source: Field Research, 2018

About the proportion among publications, as illustrated in bar chart 3.2.2 that there were identical results for political dominance as of Zanzibar Leo led with 55.3%, while Nipashe and Mtanzania had nearly equal figure of 54.1% and 53.9% of political news contents in turns. For the variable of development journalism, the interesting figure was 29.4% by Mtanzania, the next

was 26.8% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo had 21.1%. The themes of other non-development reportages were highly observed by Zanzibar Leo with 23.7%, followed by Nipashe and Mtanzania with 19.1% and 16.7% respectively.

In addition to that, the research found out the entire transformation of political reportages among the selected publications across the five terms of multiparty elections in Tanzania. The line chart 3.2.2.1 demonstrates the significant transformation of media political news portrayal, in which the number of political articles tremendously mounted across the time. In view of 516 political articles, the general results show that in 1995 there were 13.4% of political articles, they grew to 19.0% in 2000, while in 2005 the concentration was 20.5%, in 2010 became 22.3% and in 2015 the figure advanced to 24.8%. Likewise, there were identical variation based in ownership types; in the year 1995 the political concentration was greatly shadowed by Nipashe for 15.8%, then Zanzibar Leo were 13.1% while Mtanzania acquired 10.8% of its entire political coverage. In 2000 Mtanzania attained 20.9% bigger score than 20.0% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo was little down to 16.1% over its political reportages. The year 2005 was milestone for twenty-five years of multiparty democratic reforms in which Zanzibar Leo newspaper gained momentarily on its political reportage for 26.8%, while there were insignificant changes by Nipashe and Mtanzania having 17.9% and 17.1%, whereas in 2010 they abundantly recovered their political coverage into 21.1% and 22.2% respectively. Persistently, Zanzibar Leo was up to 23.8% in that year, while in 2015 was further astonishing for all newspapers by incredible growth through 29.1%, 26.2%, and 25.3% for Mtanzania, Zanzibar Leo and Nipashe respectively.

Line Chart 3.2.2.1: Variation of Political News Concentration in Election Years (N=516)



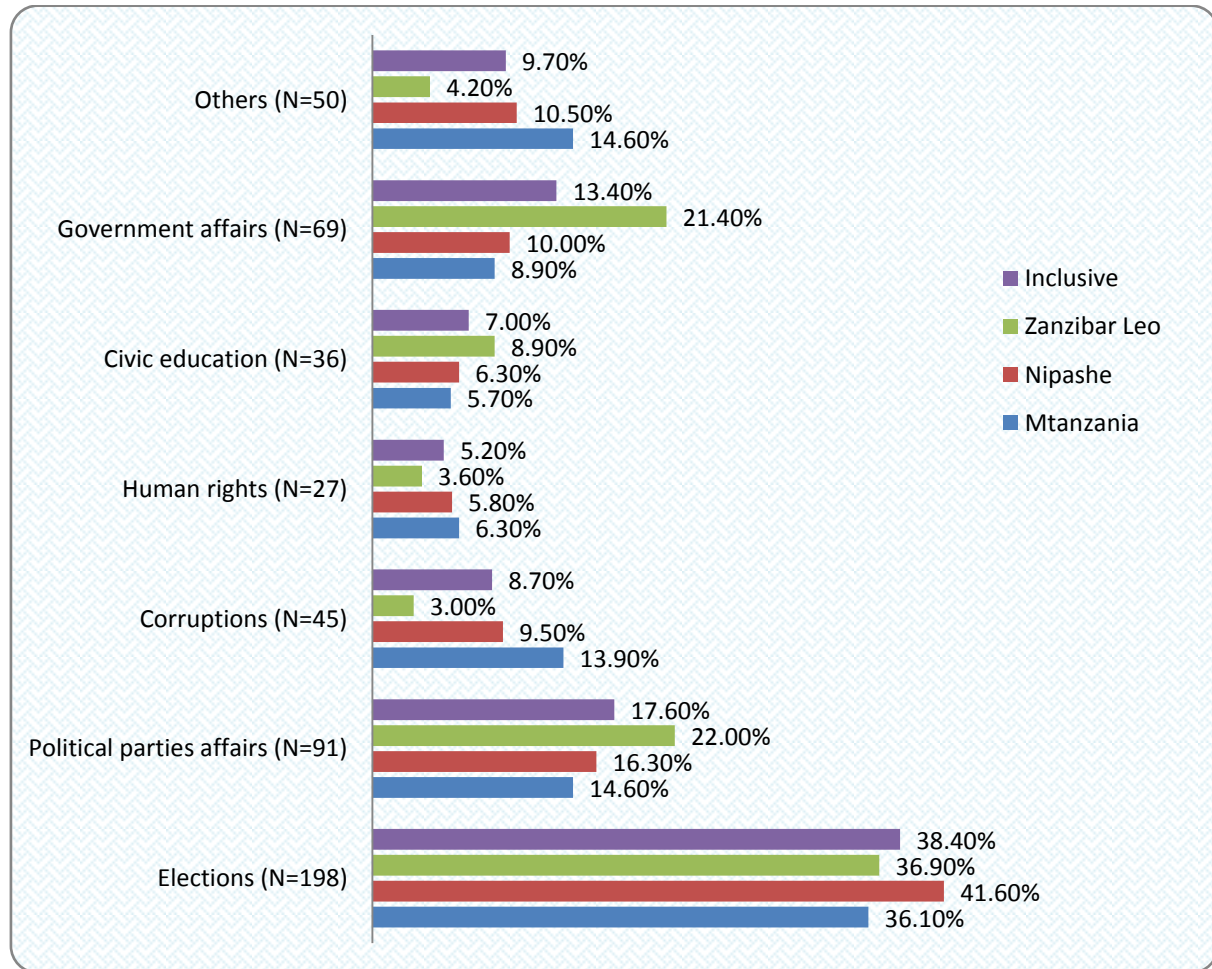
Source: Field Research, 2018

3.2.2.2 The Key Arguments in Political Articles

Based on the model of development journalism, the findings about political articles were classified into seven subcategories for the detailed presentation of journalism impression through

current ownership configuration. In the bar chart 3.2.2.2 the inclusive results indicate that the leading subtopic for political news was election which scored 38.4% out of 516 political articles. The next notable variable was direct reportage about political parties' prosperity which acquired 17.6%, followed with 13.4% of government affairs, there were other key words such as political disputes which commonly shared 9.7%, another subcategory was about corruptions which got 8.7%, while Human rights and Civic education recorded 5.2% and 7.0% respectively.

Bar chart 3.2.2.2; The Common Political Subtopics in the Studied Newspapers (N=516)



Source: Field Research, 2018

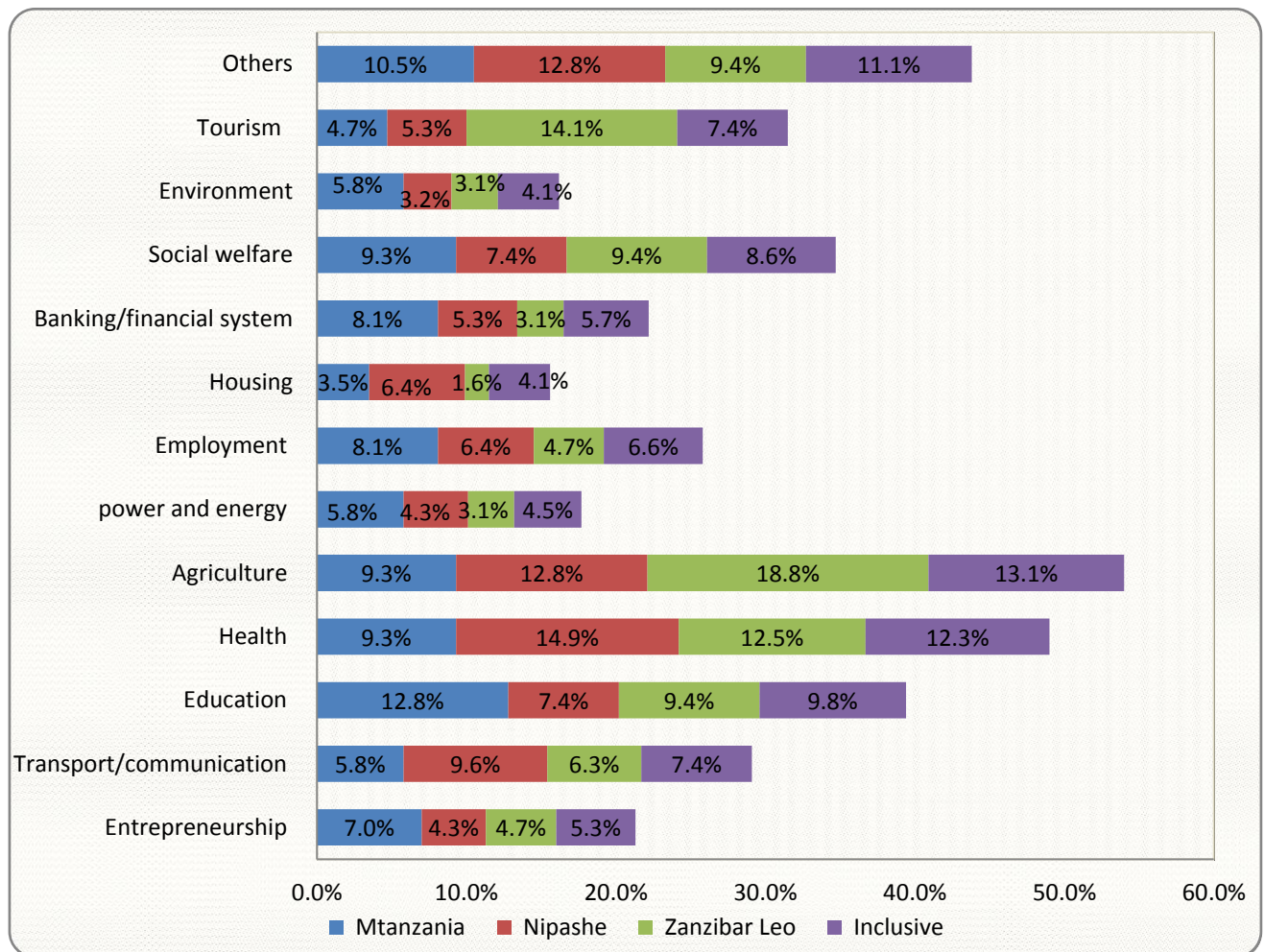
Nonetheless, there was significant distinction in accordance with the pattern of media ownership. For the electoral reportages Nipashe scored upper values of 41.6%, shadowed with Zanzibar Leo which had 36.9% and Mtanzania confirmed 36.1%. The stories about direct political parties were abundantly highlighted by Zanzibar Leo with 22.0% over Nipashe and Mtanzania of 16.3% and 14.6% separately. As assumed that the Government affairs might be healthy remarked by state owned media, in this study Zanzibar Leo hitherto achieved 21.4% higher than Nipashe 10.0% and Mtanzania 8.9%. At that moment the articles about corruptions were mentioned more by Mtanzania for 13.9%, its behind was Nipashe 9.5% and Zanzibar Leo had only 3.0%. On the other aspect, Zanzibar Leo was a considerable platform to provide civic education with 8.9%, than 6.3% and 5.7% of Nipashe and Mtanzania respectively. The latest key

word in political article was Human rights which indicates the close performance with 6.3% by Mtanzania and 5.8% of Nipashe while Zanzibar Leo had 3.6%. For the other topics related to politics Mtanzania obtained 14.6%, Nipashe reported 10.5% and Zanzibar Leo got 4.2% of its political articles.

3.2.2.3 The Common Topics for Developmental Articles

Development journalism is marginally practiced in Tanzanian media system (Magolanga, 2016). In this dissertation the topics of development journalism were typically reflected to examine the trend of media ownership in portraying the diverse contents in proportion to the selected publications.

Bar chart 3.2.2.3: The Common Topics for Development Journalism (N=244)



Source: Field Research, 2018

The bar chart 3.2.2.3 exhibits that agriculture was the significant topic which was commonly talked about in the selected press. This is due to the facts that it leads the Tanzania's economic industries which subsidizes about 25 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with significant incomes as the leading source of foreign exchange as well as it accounts for about half of the operational labor force (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017; 61). Another variable was

social welfare which acquired 8.6%, the next score was 7.4% which was equally maintained by Transport/communication and tourism. Employment was among the economic key word which was represented with 6.6%, Banking/financial system was 5.7%, entrepreneurship had 5.3%, power and energy obtained 4.5% as well as Housing and environment equally obtained 4.1%, while other developmental subjects commonly comprised 11.1%.

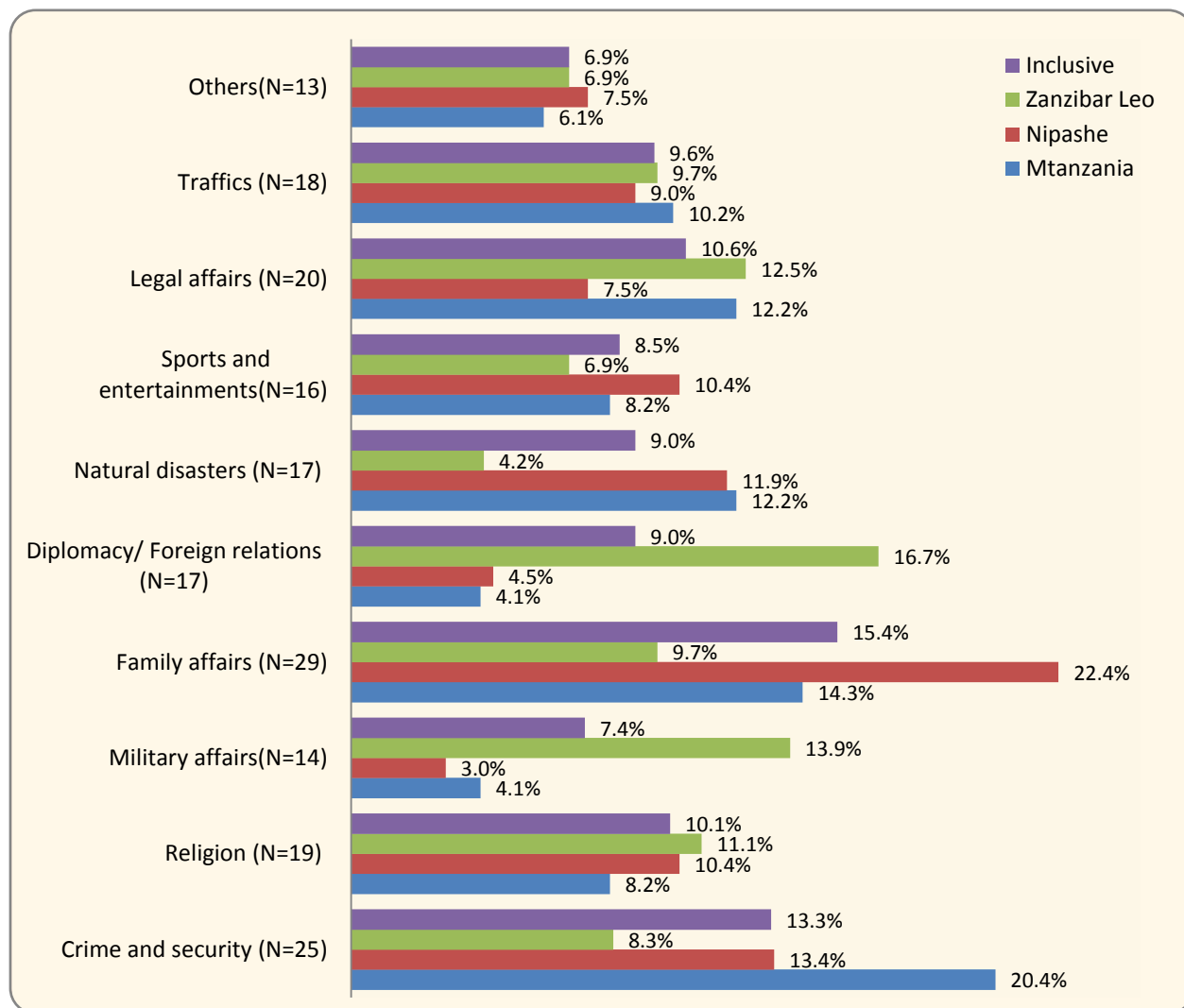
There were also incredible peculiarities amongst the selected newspapers in view of ownership categories. For the topic of agriculture Zanzibar Leo had better figure of 18.8%, next to 12.8% of Nipashe and 9.3% by Mtanzania. The health topic Nipashe was forefront with 14.9%, then Zanzibar Leo which had 12.5% and Mtanzania got 9.3%. Education as developmental key word was well portrayed by Mtanzani for 12.8%, while Zanzibar leo reported 9.4% and for Nipashe was 7.4%. The results for social welfare; Nipashe was closely behind Mtanzania for 9.3% and 9.4% and Zanzibar got 7.4% correspondingly. Similarly, Zanzibar Leo tended to play a great part in propagating the Zanzibar's national economy through tourism industry as major economic sector. The findings indicate that this topic was covered by Zanzibar Leo for 14.1%, on the other side of private publications tourism were identified in 5.3% and 4.7% by Nipashe and Mtanzania respectively.

For the subcategory of transport/communication Nipashe steered with 9.6%, the next was Zanzibar Leo with 6.3% and there were 5.8% for Mtanzania. Entrepreneurship was revealed with 7.0% by Nipashe, Zanzibar Leo maintained 4.7% and there were 4.3% for Mtanzania. Besides, Nipashe had 5.8% for articles of environment while Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo had nearly same results of 3.2% and 3.1% individually. Employment was reported for 8.1%, 6.4% and 4.7% by selected newspapers notably Mtanzania, Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo respectively. Besides, Mtanzania led in representing the topic about Banking/financial system with 8.1% whereas Nipashe had 5.3% and there was 3.1% for Zanzibar Leo. The next topics were about power and energy which were revealed with 5.8% by Mtanzania, 4.3% Nipashe and 3.1% were for Zanzibar Leo. While the Housing was poorer scored by Zanzibar Leo with 1.6%, than Mtanzania 3.5% and the highest was 6.4% of Nipashe. For other topics related to development journalism Nipashe had 12.8%, Mtanzania 10.5% and Zanzibar Leo reached 9.4%.

3.2.2.4 The Common Topics for other Non-Development Articles

Apart from the political and developmental news theme analysis, the bar chart 3.2.2.4 reveals that by way of 188 articles of other non-development the highest topical average data was 15.4% for family affairs. The next inclusive score was 13.3% for crime and security, while there were nearly remarks of 10.6% and 10.1% of legal affairs and religion respectively. Whilst, the articles about traffic such as accidents, road supervision and other related information got 9.6% which was about to resemble to natural disaster and foreign relations which they commonly had 9.0%. Other figures were 8.5%, 7.4% and 6.9% for sports and entertainment, military affairs as well as for the rest non development news such as ceremony respectively.

Bar chart 3.2.2.4: The Major Topics for Other Non-Development Articles (N=188)



Source: Field Research, 2018

In the scrutiny of ownership varieties, the results disclose the diverse portrayal of particular subjects of other non-development journalism among the publications. The prime grade was 22.4% about family affairs by Nipashe which enormously hit the counter newspapers, in which Mtanzania had 14.3% and Zanzibar Leo got 9.7% accordingly. Another distinctive score was 20.4% concerning the crime and security articles which were vastly demonstrated by Mtanzania over 13.4% and 8.3% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo in turn. Likewise, Zanzibar Leo had the atypical data about diplomacy and foreign relations with 16.7% higher than the counter two privates which captured nearly the same scores of 4.5% and 4.1% of Nipashe and Mtanzania respectively.

Zanzibar Leo had also remarkable figure of 13.9% concerning the Military affairs, since it's the state-owned media which is obliged to propagate the national machinery on defense and security. In this aspect, the wide gap was realized with 4.1% and 3.0% by Mtanzania and Nipashe on articles about foreign affairs respectively. The articles about legal affairs were abundantly

reflected with the nearly values among two publications for 12.5% and 12.2% by Nipashe and Mtanzania over 7.5% of Zanzibar Leo correspondingly. The private press notably Mtanzania and Nipashe had sufficient coverage of 12.2% and 11.9% concerning the natural disasters such as drought, flood and other adversities respectively, whereby Zanzibar Leo scored only 4.2%. Nonetheless, Zanzibar Leo acquired 11.1% of religious articles, followed with Nipashe 10.4% and Mtanzania was 8.2%. The articles of Sports and entertainments Mtanzania was far with 10.4% figure compared with 8.2% and 6.9% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo respectively. There was almost equal score about the traffic information with 10.2% of Mtanzania, Zanzibar 9.7% and Nipashe realized 9.0% categorically. For others topics of non-development journalism there were stakes of 7.5%, 6.9% and 6.1% for Nipashe, Zanzibar Leo and Mtanzania respectively.

3.2.3 General Portrayal of Political Parties

In this subsection the findings highlight the entire characteristic coverage displayed amongst the selected publications concerning the political activities, election or others related political information on political parties. In this way, the study tended to present the inclusive viewpoints of news articles whether in undesirable or positive tones concerning the particular political party. The overall quantitative results depict 452 direct articles which talked straight about political parties. As mentioned in the table 3.2.3 that the ruling party CCM had widest coverage of 48.0% ahead of other political parties. The next party that followed CCM was the main opposition party CHADEMA which totally secured 15.5% of the identified articles, followed with 12.8% of CUF in five election terms from 1995 to 2015. While TLP had (6.6%), NCCR –Mageuzi 6.0% and other small opposition parties commonly shared (11.1%) of political parties’ coverage.

The data also varied among the ownership modes of the publications in views of political ideology and affiliation. For example, the state-owned newspaper, Zanzibar Leo offered 56.5% of its total coverage to the ruling party CCM, while Nipashe and Mtanzania equally provided 43.6% to this party. These two private publications also exposed the same coverage of 18.8% to CHADEMA, while Zanzibar Leo granted 9.1% to this party which is less than 9.7% offered to another opposition party CUF. This party got nearly the equal marks with 14.5% and 14.3% of Nipashe and Mtanzania. Another opposition party which was intensified with distinctive exposure in this study was TLP which maintained 7.9%, 6.0% and 5.8% in the reportage of Nipashe, Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo respectively. Whilst, Mtanzania granted considerably finer coverage of 7.5% to NCCR –Mageuzi than 5.5% of Nipashe and 5.2% of Zanzibar Leo. Other small opposition parties were quite represented with 13.6% by government run newspaper Zanzibar Leo, while they were scarcely mentioned with 9.8% and 9.7% by Mtanzania and Nipashe individually.

Table 3.2.3.1: General Portrayal of Political Parties (N=452)

Political Party	Values	Inclusive	Mtanzania	Nipashe	Zanzibar Leo
CCM	Frequency	217	58	72	87
	Percent	48.0%	43.6%	43.6%	56.5%
CHADEMA	Frequency	70	25	31	14
	Percent	15.5%	18.8%	18.8%	9.1%
CUF	Frequency	58	19	24	15
	Percent	12.8%	14.3%	14.5%	9.7%
TLP	Frequency	30	8	13	9
	Percent	6.6%	6.0%	7.9%	5.8%
NCCR -Mageuzi	Frequency	27	10	9	8
	Percent	6.0%	7.5%	5.5%	5.2%
Other small opposition parties	Frequency	50	13	16	21
	Percent	11.1%	9.8%	9.7%	13.6%
Total	Frequency	452	133	165	154
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

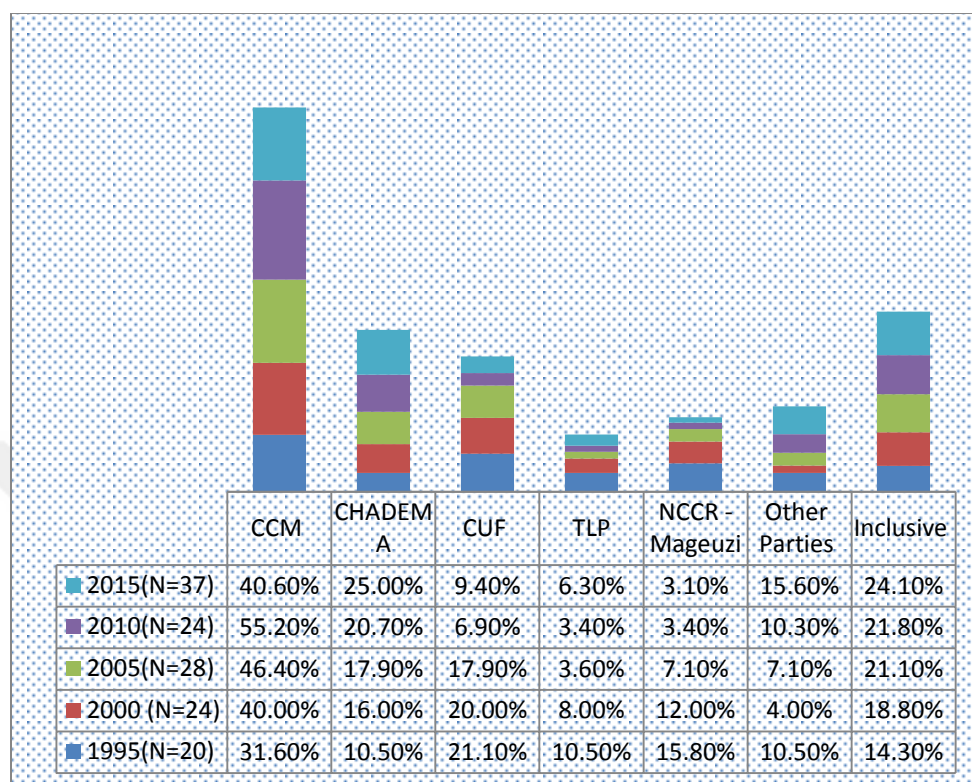
Source: Field Research, 2018

3.2.3.1 Progressive Portrayal of Political Parties in Mtanzania

The study explored the progress of political reportage in accordance with ownership configurations of the selected newspapers. Starting with Mtanzania there were progressive remarks for this publication from 1995 to 2015 consistent with election term with total 133 articles which portrayed the political parties as illustrated in Table 3.2.3 above. The bar chart 3.2.3.1 demonstrates the dramatic progress of political reports on inclusive political parties by Mtanzania, whereby in 1995 the general political reportage was 14.30% which grew into 18.80% in 2000. The progress underwent into 21.10% by 2005, in the same views it developed to 21.80% in 2010 while in 2015 advanced for 24.10% of its total political coverage.

In regards with individual political party, CCM dominated the annual political coverage based in election years comparing to opposition parties. In 1995 the distinct political party's coverage displayed that CCM had 31.60%, the main opposition party at that time CUF acquired 21.10%, NCCR –Mageuzi was the third by 15.80%, CHADEMA secured 10.50% and for TLP there was 10.50%, while other parties together got 10.50%. In 2000, the coverage for CCM turned 40.00%, CUF had 20.00%, whereas CHADEMA grew from fourth to third position with 16.00%. NCCR –Mageuzi had 12.00%, TLP obtained 8.00% and other parties shared 4.00% of political reportages in Mtanzania publication. Once again, in 2005 CCM had tremendous progress to 46.40% over other political parties, as of equally representation of 17.90% to CHADEMA and CUF. There were 7.10% also alike score for NCCR –Mageuzi and other parties while TLP was down reported for 3.60%. In 2010, CCM furthered to 55.20% coverages in Mtanzania, CHADEMA was up to 20.70%, while CUF became down to 6.90%, other political parties maintained 10.30% and there were 3.40% of similarly representation for TLP and NCCR –Mageuzi. Surprisingly, in this newspaper, CCM didn't maintain its progressive trend in 2015 in which it dropped to 40.60%, while CHADEMA grew to 25.00%, other parties jointly maintained 15.60%, CUF was noticeably down to 9.40%, TLP had 6.30% and NCCR –Mageuzi got 3.10%.

Bar Chart 3.2.3.1: Portrayal of Political Parties in Mtanzania per Election Year (N=133)

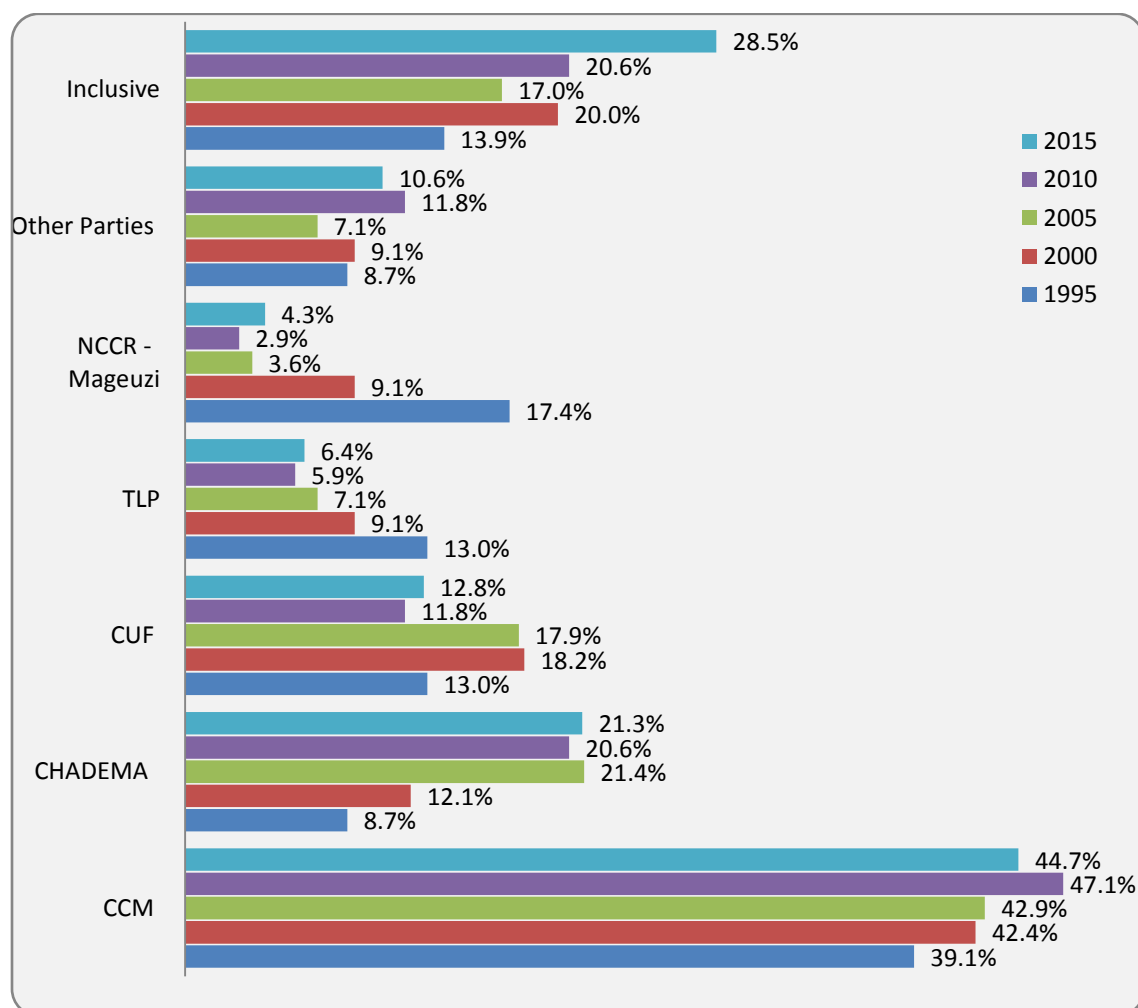


Source: Field Research, 2018

3.2.3.2 Variation for Nipashe's Portrayal of Political Parties

Similarly, Nipashe had notable improvement concerning the portrayal of political parties across the studied period. The bar chart 3.2.3.2 indicates the incredible growth of its reportages concerning the political parties from 1995 to 2015. As there were 165 news articles identified for Nipashe, the general results reveal that in 1995 the political portrayal of inclusive political parties were 13.9%, which matured to 20.0% in 2000, while in 2005 it was little downcast to 17.0%. However, it revived in 2010 backed as the last decade record to 20.6% and in 2015 their remarkable advancement for 28.5%. Turning to the individual political party revelation in Nipashe newspaper, the findings demonstrate that CCM likewise dominated the entire coverage over opposition parties. Through which in 1995 CCM got 39.10% over the 17.4% of NCCR - Mageuzi, 13.00% of equal performance by CUF and TLP, while CHADEMA and other parties correspondingly maintained 8.7%.

Bar Chart 3.2.3.2: Portrayal of Political Parties in Nipashe (N=165)



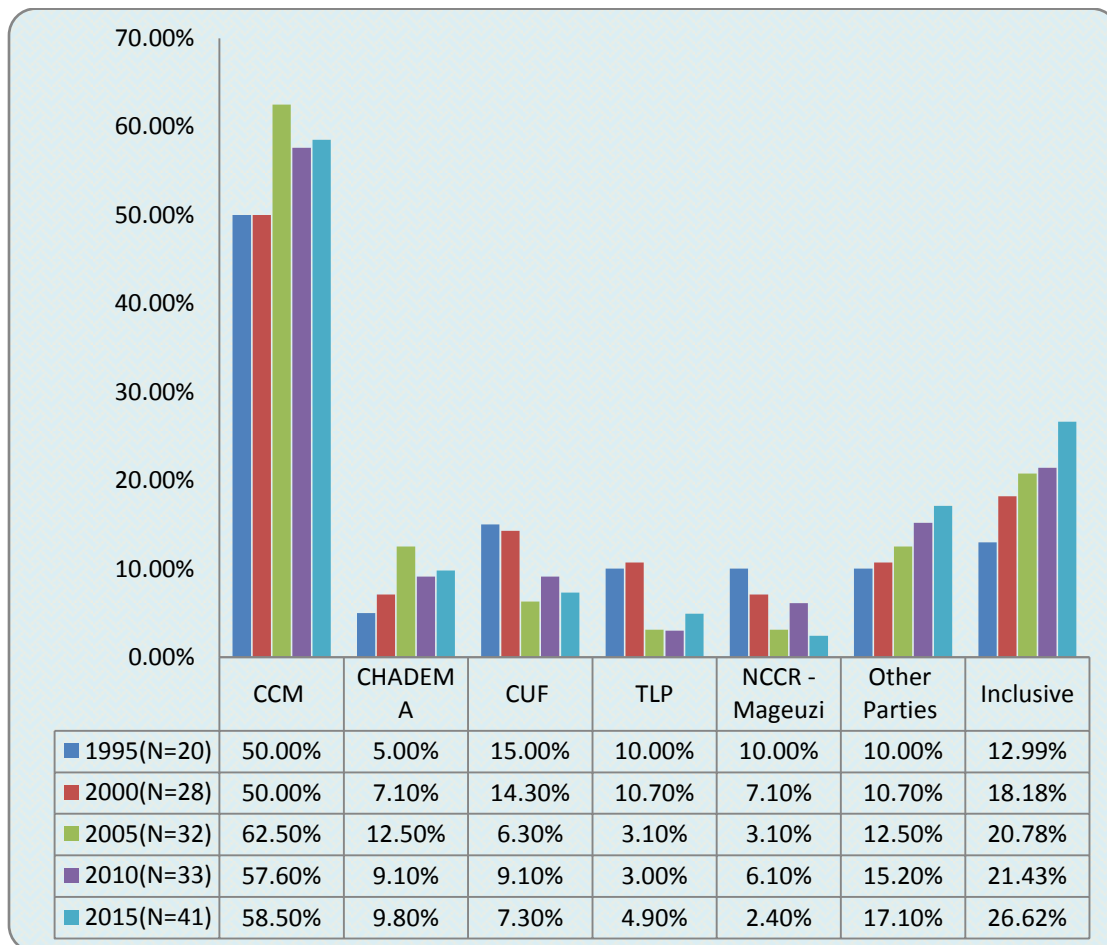
Source: Field Research, 2018

In 2000, the ruling party CCM continued to maintain the peach for 42.4% in this publication under scrutiny, followed with 18.2% of CUF, while CHADEMA attained 12.1% and there were 9.1% which were equally achieved by NCCR -Mageuzi, TLP and other opposition parties. Once more, in 2005 CCM headed for 42.9%, CHADEMA increased to 21.4%. In this year, several other opposition parties started to lose their popularity through Nipashe exposure, such as CUF slightly declined to 17.9%, TLP had 7.1%, NCCR –Mageuzi dropped to 3.6% and other small parties shared 7.1%. In 2010 the more advancement for the ruling party CCM achieved 47.1% in Nipashe, while CHADEMA maintained 20.6%, CUF felled again to 11.8%, TLP and NCCR - Mageuzi also scored 5.9% and 2.9% respectively, while other small opposition parties commonly secured 11.8% in this publication. For the year 2015, there was somewhat miserable figure for CCM to 44.7%, though it was higher than other individual parties such as there were 21.3% of CHADEMA, 12.8% of CUF, TLP 6.4% and NCCR –Mageuzi got 4.3%, the rest parties maintained 10.6% higher exposure in this publication than previous election terms.

3.2.3.3 Zanzibar Leo's Portrayal of Political Parties

The coverage of Zanzibar was also progressive crosswise the election years as illustrated in Bar chart 3.2.3.3 that out of 154 articles the inclusive results were 12.99% in 1995, which rose to 18.18% in 2000. It was 20.78% and 21.43% in 2005 and 2010 respectively, while in 2015 the coverage progressed to 26.62%. Like other two publications, the variation among individual party exposure was much celebrated in this newspaper. It mostly favored the ruling party CCM for 50.0% in 1995, the next was CUF with 15.0%, followed with equal figures of 10.0% by TLP and NCCR-Mageuzi, and other small parties correspondingly, while CHADEMA accounted for 5.0%.

Bar Chart 3.2.3.3: Portrayal of Political Parties in Zanzibar Leo (N=154)



Source: Field Research, 2018

In 2000 CCM reserved 50.0% in the political parties' coverage in this state-owned press, while CUF slightly declined to 14.3%, TLP achieved 10.7%, CHADEMA and NCCR -Mageuzi scored with the same token of 7.1%, and other small parties shared 10.7%. The highest progress was realized in 2005 for 62.5% by CCM, followed with 12.5% of CHADEMA, CUF 6.3%, while the small parties commonly held 12.5%, and there were 3.1% for equal disclosure of NCCR-Mageuzi and TLP. In 2010 CCM was slightly down to 57.6%, while other small parties were interestingly portrayed with 15.2% in Zanzibar Leo, for the subsequent opposition party ; there

were 9.1% the similar figure for CHADEMA and CUF, the rest two TLP and NCCR–Mageuzi had 3.0% and 6.1% in turn. Moreover, In the recent election for the year 2015, this government newspaper persistently afforded 58.5% for CCM, the next was 17.1% of small parties, the main opposition party CHADEMA had 9.8%, CUF acquired 7.3%, TLP 4.9% and NCCR-Mageuzi got 2.4% equally.

3.2.4 Representation of News Sources, Actors and Target Groups

The category of news sources and actors was substantial in examining the contents perspectives and trends revealed in the studied newspapers in proposition to news themes and ownership varieties.

3.2.4.1 Depiction of News Sources

In this study, 1638 news sources were identified in content analysis of the three publications, whereby there were some articles patterned with multiples sources while the rest most were of ostensible single source typology. The findings on articles’ sources tend to reflect the depiction of diverse social group; hence the study subdivided the variables into distinct representatives. These identified sources are experts from a variety of arenas, others are politicians as well as organizations’ executives from whether public or private institutions such as spokesperson, managers and other regulators. Other defined sources in this research were ordinary citizens, journalists who were observer of occurrences especially for the opinioned articles, and other prominent individuals such as celebrities, businessmen, religious leaders and other elites. The data table 3.2.4 specifies that the utmost dominant group of sources found in this research was politicians which were cited in 599 times, equivalent to 36.6% of all identified sources. The executives from organizations became the next with 17.5% figure, while the experts were identified in 13.9% as news sources. It followed with 12.9% of other prominent individuals; whereas the ordinary citizens were represented in 10.7% sources as well as journalists scored 8.5% accordingly.

Table 3.2.4 1: The Identified News Sources in the Studied Publications (N=1638)

Type of News Source	Inclusive		Mtanzania		Nipashe		Zanzibar Leo	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Experts	228	13.9%	95	18.3%	84	13.5%	49	9.9%
Politicians	599	36.6%	182	35.1%	219	35.1%	198	39.9%
Organizations’ executives	286	17.5%	77	14.9%	102	16.3%	107	21.6%
Ordinary citizens	175	10.7%	58	11.2%	68	10.9%	49	9.9%
Journalists	139	8.5%	31	6.0%	53	8.5%	55	11.1%
Other Prominent individuals	211	12.9%	75	14.5%	98	15.7%	38	7.7%
Total	1638	100.0%	518	100.0%	624	100.0%	496	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

Besides, there was a quantitative diversity among the three studied newspapers concerning the utilization of news sources. Like in general citation, the variable of politician constantly evolved as the prominent news sources which were mostly mentioned across the publications. Zanzibar Leo had significant records of 39.9% for politician sources, compared with 35.1% of equal representation in Mtanzania and Nipashe. Yet again, Zanzibar Leo headed in the subcategory of organizations' executives with 21.6% over 16.3% and 14.9% of Nipashe and Mtanzania respectively. For the sources representing experts Mtanzania identified customarily with beautiful number of 18.3%, followed with 13.5% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo got 9.9%. Other prominent individuals were represented in 15.7% by Nipashe, next to 14.5% by Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo accounted for 7.7%. Whilst, Zanzibar Leo shadowed 11.1% in the utilization of journalists as news sources, over 8.5% and 6.0% of Nipashe and Mtanzania separately. There was slight variance for the variable of ordinary people in which the highest marks were 11.2% celebrated to Nipashe, followed with 10.9% of Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo had 9.9%.

3.2.4.2 The Representation of News Actors

In context of this study, the news actor refers to the individual mentioned in the articles whom the content is drawing attention to, counting the demographic characteristics as specified by Xu (2009) in his model of development journalism (p. 42). In this research, there were 1247 news actors indicated in the entire 948 articles. The criterion to identify them was based on the concentration of the news content crosswise the paragraphs to particular entity as a key actor of the story. The classification of news actors was subcategorized into five reference players namely politicians, government officials, ordinary people, professionals and other prominent individuals. As in the case of news sources, there were some articles which commonly pointed out single news actors while many other stories utilized the multiple actors in the same article.

Table 3.2.4.2: The Identified News Actors in the Studied Publications (N=1247)

Type of News Actors	Inclusive		Mtanzania		Nipashe		Zanzibar Leo	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Politicians	505	40.5%	151	38.6%	189	42.1%	165	40.5%
Government officials	279	22.4%	77	19.7%	90	20.0%	112	27.5%
ordinary people	203	16.3%	66	16.9%	73	16.3%	64	15.7%
Professionals	131	10.5%	54	13.8%	50	11.1%	27	6.6%
Other Prominent individuals	129	10.3%	43	11.0%	47	10.5%	39	9.6%
Total	1247	100.0%	391	100.0%	449	100.0%	407	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

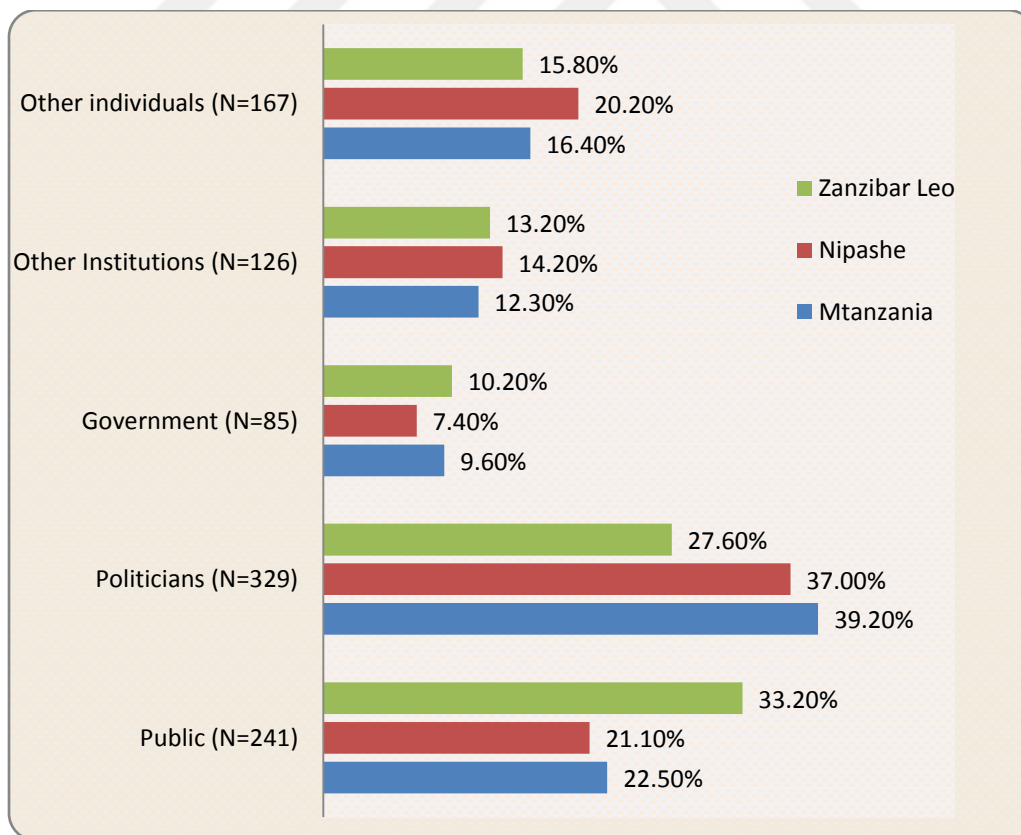
In the table 3.2.4.2 the inclusive data indicate that politicians were foremost the news actor variable which acquired 40.5%, while government officials became second which was stressed in 22.4%. The next variable was ordinary people which maintained 16.3%, while professionals were talked about 10.5% and other prominent individuals jointly had 10.3%. In view of the ownership variation, Politicians was reflected more by Nipashe 42.1%, followed with

Zanzibar Leo 40.5% and Mtanzania got 38.6%. Government officials with emphasized with 27.5% over 20.0% and 19.7% by Zanzibar Leo, Nipashe and Mtanzania respectively. The subsequent actors were ordinary people who didn't have a varied orientation among the publication with 16.9% of Mtanzania, Nipashe 16.3% and 15.7% by Zanzibar Leo. Whilst, Mtanzania scored higher on professionals as news actors with 13.8% than 11.1% and 6.6% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo in that order. For the other prominent individuals, the newspapers under research indicated nearly the same results, commencing Mtanzania portrayed 11.0%, Nipashe recorded 10.5% and Zanzibar Leo talked them in 9.6% categorically.

3.2.4.3 The Portrayal of Target Groups

In this study the category of target group was predestined to identify the quantitative reception of diverse groups through the contents of newspapers. Apart from the news sources and actors, this category refers to the potential recipients of the information as addressed by sources in the occurrences. The bar chart 3.2.4.3 displays the data taking into account the 948 analyzed news articles, whereby Politicians got the greater target for 34.7%, while public were addressed in 25.4% news articles. Other individuals suited as the third beneficent for 17.6%, and the rest are other institutions and government which accounted for 13.3%) and 9.0% respectively.

Bar Chart 3.2.4.1: The Orientation Groups Targeted in Selected Newspapers (N=948)



Source: Field Research, 2018

In addition, the findings reveal diverse results based on distinct ownership of the selected newspapers. For the public citation, Zanzibar Leo scored better for 33.2% over Mtanzania and Nipashe which got 22.5% and 21.1% of their news articles respectively. About Politicians the highest focus was made by Mtanzania for 39.2%, followed with 37.0% of Nipashe while the last was Zanzibar Leo which addressed 27.6%. The Government was reflected for 10.2%, 9.6% and 7.4%10% by Zanzibar Leo, Mtanzania and Nipashe correspondingly. The reference to other institutions was cited vaster with 14.2% by Nipashe, whereas Zanzibar Leo observed 13.3% and Mtanzania 12.3%. The latest variable was for other individuals which was scored more by Nipashe with 20.2% of its articles, while Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo offered 15.8% and 16.4% individually.

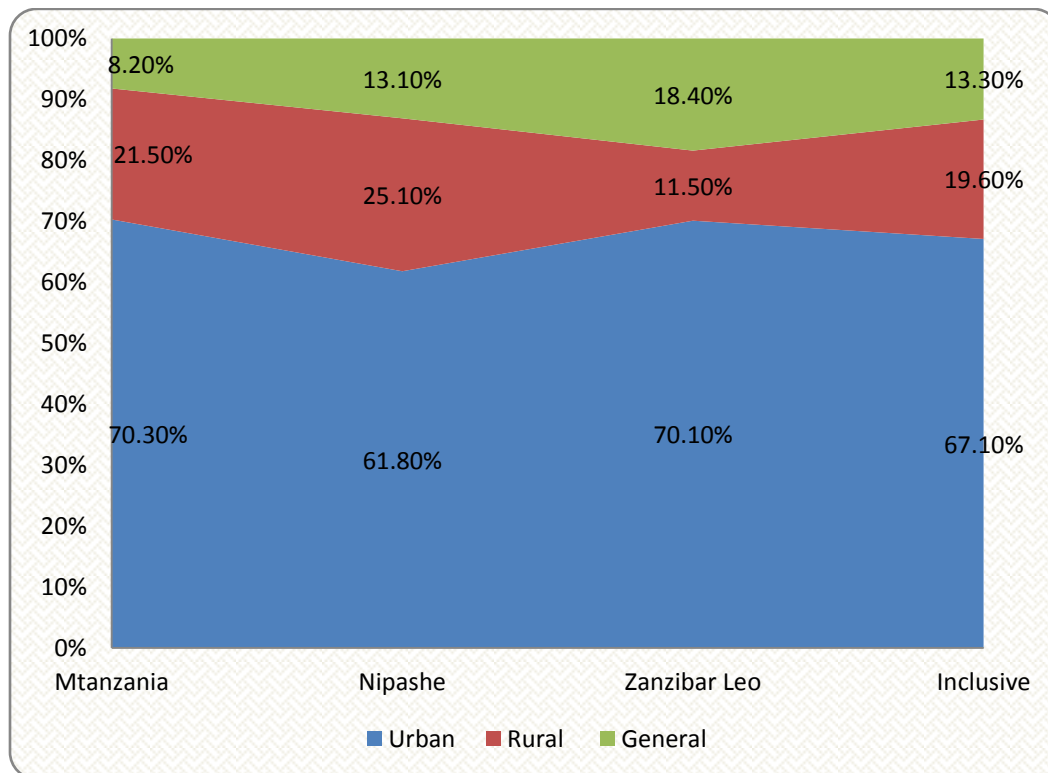
3.2.5 Geographical Analysis of the Articles

This section underlines the geographical data and datelines based in demographic dichotomy of rural and urban as well as representation of diverse cities and regions across the country in the provision of ownership modes.

3.2.5.1 Urban and Rural Coverages

The data about the datelines quantified 948 news articles, as demonstrated in area chart 3.2.5.1 that the urban occupied 636 articles, making 67.1% over 186 (19.6%) of rural areas and 126 (13.3%) which generalize the geographical identity of the articles in view of infinite dateline.

Area chart 3.2.5.1: Geographical Distribution of Articles (N=948)

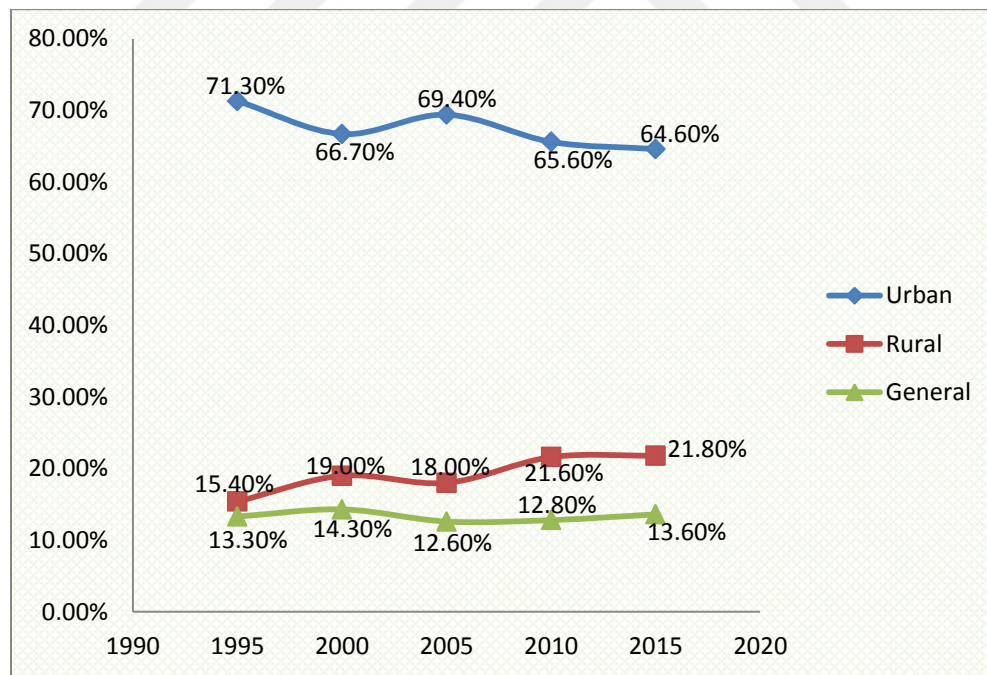


Source: Field Research, 2018

The results for the distinct ownership structure reveal that for urban representation Zanzibar Leo maintained 70.1% slight behind of Mtanzania which scored 70.3% considerably larger figures than 61.8% of Nipashe. In this sense, Nipashe had bit good results for rural areas coverage of 25.1%, Mtanzania had 21.5% and Zanzibar Leo realized 11.5%. Besides, Zanzibar Leo got 18.4% for general datelines, the next was Nipashe which scored 13.1% and Mtanzania accounted 8.2%.

In addition, the line chart 3.2.5.1 illustrates the indication of geographical transformation from 1995 to 2015. Comparatively, in 1995 there were 71.3% articles which covered urban typically, while for rural there were 15.4% identified articles and for general coverage there were 13.3% articles in that year. In 2000, the urban exposure threw down to 66.7%, while rural and general grew to 19.0% and 14.3% respectively. The data was also inconsistent for the year 2005 in which the urban had 69.4% which was higher than the previous examined year, the counterpart was miserable to 18.0% and 12.6% for rural and general reportage correspondingly. The year 2010 was astonishing thanks to the growth to 21.6% of rural coverage, while urban declined to 65.6% as well as general representation had slight changes to 12.8%. In the recent year 2015 the urban coverage had tiny shrinkage to 64.6%, whereas rural coverage maintained to 21.8% and the rest general variable had 13.6%.

Line chart 3.2.5.1: Transformation of Geographical Coverage from 1995 to 2015(N=948)



Source: Field Research, 2018

3.2.5.2 Regional Geographical Coverage

The findings in the table 3.2.5.2 further highlight the geographical persistence of reportage for the major cities and other regions through Tanzania media landscapes. The inclusive results show that there were 40.4% articles which revealed the Dar es Salaam city, followed with 23.2% on Zanzibar. While Dodoma received 7.8%, the next was the coastal region

which was represented with 5.5%, Arusha had 3.6%, Mbeya and Morogoro had equal access of 3.0%, while Mwanza got 2.7%, Tanga was covered with 2.0% and other regions ordinarily accommodated 8.9% out of 948 news articles. In computing the individual ownership, for Dar es Salaam the highest scores were made by host publications notably Mtanzania with 56.7%, the next was 50.7% by Nipashe, whereas Zanzibar Leo had only 12.8% of its coverage. Likewise, Zanzibar islands had abundant exposure through its proximity outstandingly Zanzibar Leo newspaper which managed 60.5%, it varied far from Nipashe and Mtanzania which represented the isles for 6.8% and 4.1% respectively. For Dodoma city there were nearly the same results among studied newspapers with 8.2%, 8.0% and 7.2% for Mtanzania, Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo in turn. Other alike scores were for coastal region which revealed 5.7%, 5.5% and 5.3% for Nipashe, Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo correspondingly. For Arusha region the coverage was 5.1% by Nipashe, Mtanzania had 3.4% and Zanzibar Leo portrayed 2.0%. Whilst, Nipashe led with articles which exposed the Morogoro by 4.6%, followed with 2.4% of Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo had only 1.6%. Similarly, Mtanzania covered constantly a decent number of articles from Mbeya city with 6.1%, comparing with 2.3% and 0.7% of Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo respectively. About Mwanza occurrences Mtanzania reported 2.7%, Nipashe had 3.4% and Zanzibar Leo covered 2.0%. The Tanga city accounted for 1.7% as equally represented in Mtanzania and Nipashe as well as 2.6% by Zanzibar Leo individually. For other regions there were 11.7% articles signified by Nipashe, then 9.2% and 5.3% of Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo individually.

Table 3.2.5.1: Geographical Distribution of Articles on Regions

City/region	Inclusive		Mtanzania		Nipashe		Zanzibar Leo	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Arusha	34	3.6%	10	3.4%	18	5.1%	6	2.0%
Coastal region	52	5.5%	16	5.5%	20	5.7%	16	5.3%
Dar es salaam	383	40.4%	166	56.7%	178	50.7%	39	12.8%
Dodoma	74	7.8%	24	8.2%	28	8.0%	22	7.2%
Mbeya	28	3.0%	18	6.1%	8	2.3%	2	0.7%
Morogoro	28	3.0%	7	2.4%	16	4.6%	5	1.6%
Mwanza	26	2.7%	8	2.7%	12	3.4%	6	2.0%
Tanga	19	2.0%	5	1.7%	6	1.7%	8	2.6%
Zanzibar	220	23.2%	12	4.1%	24	6.8%	184	60.5%
Other regions	84	8.9%	27	9.2%	41	11.7%	16	5.3%
Total	948	100.0%	293	100.0%	351	100.0%	304	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

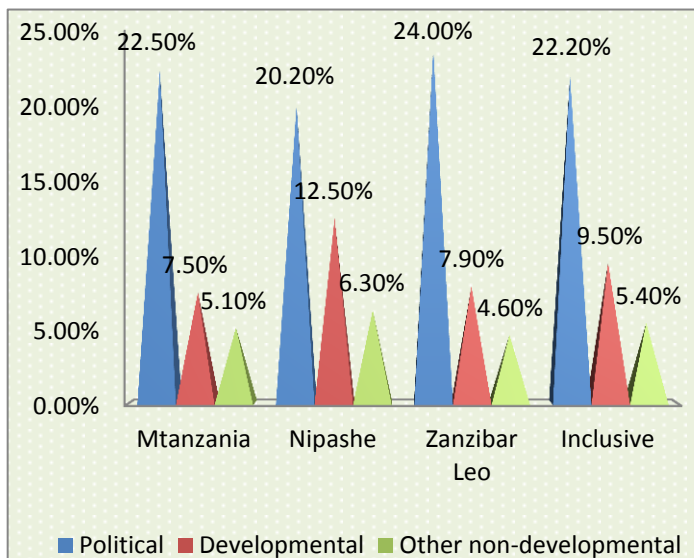
3.2.6 Placement of Photos and Articles

The locations of journalistic items on the publications simply indicate for the deliberation of portraying the perceptive content to the audiences. McQuail (1992) contends that front page is always used for most influential occurrence into fostering the public agenda and opinions (p. 63). Accordingly, the research sought to examine the placement of photos and articles in proportion to the assigned news themes and roles of objects.

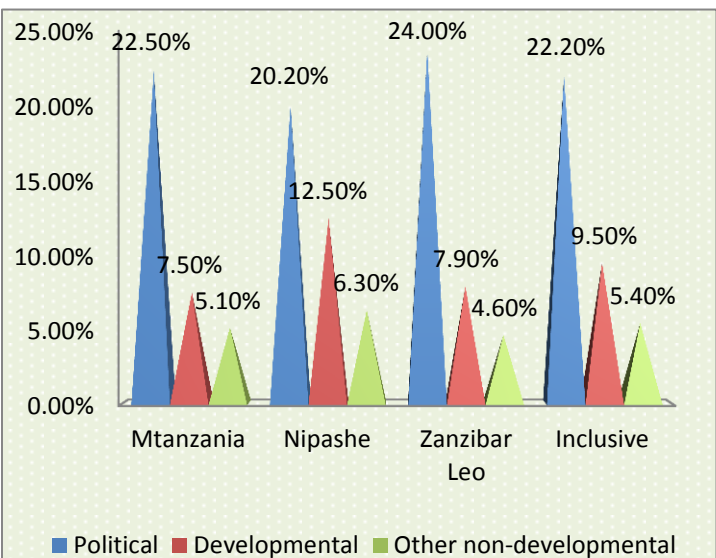
3.2.6.1 News Positions in Proportion to Article Themes

The articles positioning tends to demonstrate the newspaper stance on particular phenomenon. The study found that most of political articles were located in front pages along with the subsequent pages, while development stories were abundantly placed in other pages. The bar chart 3.2.6.1a and b illustrate the comparison of articles appearance across the publications remarkably front pages and other pages. Inclusively, on the front pages 351 (37.0%) were examined, while in other pages there were 597 (63.0%) studied articles. Hence political articles were commonly 210 (22.2%) in front pages and 306 (32.3%) in other pages, while developmental consisted of 90 (9.5%) in front pages and 16.2% (154) in other pages, non-development were 51 (5.4%) and 137 (14.5%) respectively. The details for individual ownership reveal that in front pages led with 24.0% over 22.5% and 20.2% by Mtananaia and Nipashe for the political articles respectively. For developmental, Nipashe noted 12.5%, followed with narrow distinction between Zanzibar Leo 7.9% and Mtanzania 7.5%. In addition, there were 6.3%, 5.1% and 4.6% data for Nipashe, Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo for non-development journalism located in front pages respectively. On the side of other pages, the variations were 33.9% for Nipashe, then the close results of 31.4% and 31.3% by Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo for the political coverage in other pages. For Developmental articles Mtanzania emerged with 21.8% than 14.2% for Nipashe and 13.2% by Zanzibar in other pages. The last distinction was for Zanzibar Leo that placed more non-developmental news in other pages with 19.1%, the next was 12.8% by Nipashe and Mtanzania had 11.6%.

Bar Chart 3.2.6.1: Article Placement in Front Page



Bar Chart 3.2.6.2: Articles Placement in Other Pages



Source: Field Research, 2018

3.2.6.2 Placement of Photos

The analysis of photos in this study included the photos which were attached to the articles together with those available in separate column which commonly known as news in the photo (habari kwa picha) offered in certain pages. As mentioned in the table 3.2.1.1 the total number of photos analyzed in this study were 436, counting 131 of Mtanzania, Nipashe had 156, and Zanzibar Leo accounted 149. This subsection highlights the scrutiny regarding the placement of photos on the front pages and other pages. Subsequently, photos were classified according to the personalities represented in those photos as politicians, government officials, ordinary people, professionals and other prominent individuals. The table 3.2.6.1 shows that there were subtotal 39.2% analyzed photo found on front page; involved 41.7% of Nipashe, 39.7% of Mtanzania and Zanzibar Leo had 36.2%. In other pages there were 60.8% subtotal; Zanzibar Leo represented 63.8%, Mtanzania consisted of 60.3% and Nipashe had 58.3%.

Table 3.2.6.1: Placement of Photo on Selected Publications (N=436)

Position of		Value	Mtanzania	Nipashe	Zanzibar Leo	Total
Front Pages	Politicians	Frequency	22	27	30	79
		Percent	16.8%	17.3%	20.1%	18.1%
	Government Officials	Frequency	7	13	17	37
		Percent	5.3%	8.3%	11.4%	8.5%
	Ordinary People	Frequency	8	7	3	18
		Percent	6.1%	4.5%	2.0%	4.1%
	Professionals	Frequency	10	8	2	20
		Percent	7.6%	5.1%	1.3%	4.6%
	Other Prominent Individuals	Frequency	5	10	2	17
		Percent	3.8%	6.4%	1.3%	3.9%
	Subtotal	Frequency	52	65	54	171
		Percent	39.7%	41.7%	36.2%	39.2%
Other pages	Politicians	Frequency	31	29	31	91
		Percent	23.7%	18.6%	20.8%	20.9%
	Government Officials	Frequency	15	21	28	64
		Percent	11.5%	13.5%	18.8%	14.7%
	Ordinary People	Frequency	14	18	17	49
		Percent	10.7%	11.5%	11.4%	11.2%
	Professionals	Frequency	11	14	10	35
		Frequency	8.4%	9.0%	6.7%	8.0%
	Other Prominent Individuals	Frequency	8	9	9	26
		Percent	6.1%	5.8%	6.0%	6.0%
	Subtotal	Frequency	79	91	95	171
		Percent	60.3%	58.3%	63.8%	60.8%
Total		Frequency	131	156	149	436
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

In general, the variable of politician dominated over other characters both on the front 18.1% and in other pages 20.9%, followed with government officials with 8.5% on the front page and 14.7% in other pages. While professional photos slightly tracked with 4.6% over 4.1% of ordinary people and it was down to 8.0% over 11.2% on the front pages and other pages respectively, where as other prominent individual had 3.9% on the front pages and 6.0% in other pages. Whilst, there was inconsistent variation in views of ownership; for the category of politician Zanzibar Leo had leading figure of 20.1% portrayed in front pages, Nipashe had 17.3% and Mtanzania scored 16.8%. However, on other pages Zanzibar Leo didn't sustain with only 20.8% behind 23.7% of the Nipashe and Mtanzania had 18.6%. For the category of government officials Zanzibar Leo dominated both with 11.4% and 18.8%, followed with 8.3% and 13.5% of Nipashem whereas Mtanzania had 5.3% and 11.5% in front and in other pages respectively. Likewise, there were vivid differences about the photos representing the ordinary people in which Mtanzania managed with 6.1% on the front pages, followed with 4.5% of Nipashe and 2.0% by Zanzibar Leo. While on other page Nipashe was slightly noticeable with 11.5% over 11.4% and 10.7% of Zanzibar Leo and Mtanzania. For the photo about professionals, Nipashe had 5.1% and 9.0%, then Mtanzania had 7.6% and 8.4%, while Zanzibar Leo achieved 1.3% and 6.7% on the front and in other pages respectively. Nipashe scored well for the photos of other prominent individuals with 6.4% over 3.8% and 1.3% of Mtanzania and Nipashe in front pages individually, while in other pages Mtanzaania had 6.1% nearly the same with 6.0% of Zanzibar Leo counter to 5.8% of Nipashe.

3.2.6.3 Size of Article in Proportion to the Themes

The study further sought to examine the length of articles allocated in proportion to the identified themes of articles. In the scrutiny of paragraphs measurement, the articles were classified into three subgroups; the small articles which occupied one to ten paragraphs, the medium article which consisted of eleven to twenty paragraphs and the large stories comprising over twenty-one paragraphs. The table 3.2.6.3 specifies the inclusive results that out of 948 articles the high score was 448 identified for the medium stories which encompassed eleven to twenty paragraphs, making 47.3%. The next subgroup was the small stories accounted 32.5% and the large stories maintained 20.3%. For the proportions of article theme the data show that political articles dominated across the length category, it led in medium stories with 26.5%, then 17.4% and 10.5% for small and large news stories correspondingly. Whilst, Developmental articles were behind the political articles in all measurement with 11.1%, 85 (9.0%) and 5.7% for medium, Small and large stories respectively. While other non-developmental had 9.7% for medium, 6.1% for small and lager there were 4.0% identified articles for large size stories.

Based on ownership typology, differences were clear among the publications in which for the medium size Zanzibar had narrow prominence for 48.4% over Nipashe and Mtanzania of 47.8% and 45.9% respectively. For small articles Mtanzania comprised 36.2% which was closely shadowed with Zanzibar Leo 35.9% over 26.5% of Nipashe which was so far headed in long paragraphs with 27.6% over two counter part of 16.0% and 15.8% respectively. Whilst, there were high variation concerning the ownership types in regards with themes of articles, for medium size Mtanzania steered in Political subjects with 29.4%, while Zanzibar Leo and Nipashe

were nearly with the same figure of 25.3% and 25.1% respectively. In developmental articles Nipashe had 13.1%, Mtanzania 10.2% and Zanzibar Leo got 9.5%, and in other non-developmental articles there were 13.5%, 8.2% and 7.7% for Zanzibar Leo, Mtanzania and Nipashe in turns.

Table 3.2.6.2: Size of Article in Proportion to the Themes

No of paragraphs			Mtanzania	Nipashe	Zanzibar Leo	Total
1 – 10 Paragraphs (Small Articles)	Political	Frequency	48	49	68	165
		Percent	16.4%	14.0%	22.4%	17.4%
	Developmental	Frequency	41	19	25	85
		Percent	14.0%	5.4%	8.2%	9.0%
	Other non-developmental	Frequency	17	25	16	58
		Percent	5.8%	7.1%	5.3%	6.1%
	Subtotal	Frequency	106	93	109	308
	Percent	36.2%	26.5%	35.9%	32.5%	
11 – 20 Paragraphs (Medium Articles)	Political	Frequency	86	88	77	251
		Percent	29.4%	25.1%	25.3%	26.5%
	Developmental	Frequency	30	46	29	105
		Percent	10.2%	13.1%	9.5%	11.1%
	Other non-developmental	Frequency	24	27	41	92
		Percent	8.2%	7.7%	13.5%	9.7%
	Subtotal	Frequency	140	161	147	448
	Percent	47.8%	45.9%	48.4%	47.3%	
Over 21 Paragraphs (Large Articles)	Political	Frequency	24	53	23	100
		Percent	8.2%	15.1%	7.6%	10.5%
	Developmental	Frequency	15	29	10	54
		Percent	5.1%	8.3%	3.3%	5.7%
	Other non-developmental	Frequency	8	15	15	38
		Percent	2.7%	4.3%	4.9%	4.0%
	Subtotal	Frequency	47	97	48	192
	Percent	16.0%	27.6%	15.8%	20.3%	
Total		Frequency	293	351	304	948
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

On the small size paragraphs in term of political reportage, Zanzibar Leo had interesting figure of 22.4%, followed with 16.4% of Nipashe and Mtanzania had 14.0%. Conversely, Mtanzania led with 14.0%, then 8.2% and 5.4% of Zanzibar Leo and Nipashe for development journalism respectively. Likewise, it had finer data 7.1% over of 5.8% Mtanzania and 5.3% of Zanzibar in other non-developmental. For large paras Nipashe led in political and developmental with 15.1% and 8.3%, followed with 8.2% and 5.1% of Mtanzania together with 7.6% and 3.3% of Zanzibar Leo respectively. Yet Zanzibar Leo had long paras with good score for other non-developmental 4.9%, comparing with 4.3% of Nipashe and 2.7% of Mtanzania.

3.2.7 News Orientation

The category of news orientation was designed to find out the content ordination along the characteristics of the articles in generating the sorts of messages to the readers. The findings in the table 3.2.7 show that out of 948 examined articles there were 277 articles, making 29.2% which were identified as informative character, the next variable scored 17.6% for educative ordination and there were 14.3% figure for opinionative. The articles which generated criticism were 10.2%, provocative were 9.5%, while 8.0% were indicated to persuasive, the rest were 6.3% and 4.7% designated for pervasive and entertaining articles. Taking ownership patterns into accounts; Mtanzania newspaper scored higher than Nipashe and Zanzibar Leo with 30.4%, 29.1% and 28.3% for informative tone respectively.

Table 3.2.7.1: News Orientation in the Considered Articles

Category of Reposes	Inclusive		Mtanzania		Nipashe		Zanzibar Leo	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Informative	277	29.2%	89	30.4%	102	29.1%	86	28.3%
Educative	167	17.6%	47	16.0%	63	17.9%	57	18.8%
Opinionative	136	14.3%	38	13.0%	47	13.4%	51	16.8%
Critical	97	10.2%	43	14.7%	34	9.7%	20	6.6%
Provocative	90	9.5%	22	7.5%	32	9.1%	36	11.8%
Persuasive	76	8.0%	23	7.8%	35	10.0%	18	5.9%
Pervasive	60	6.3%	19	6.5%	16	4.6%	25	8.2%
Entertaining	45	4.7%	12	4.1%	22	6.3%	11	3.6%
Total	948	100.0%	293	100.0%	351	100.0%	304	100.0%

Source: Field Research, 2018

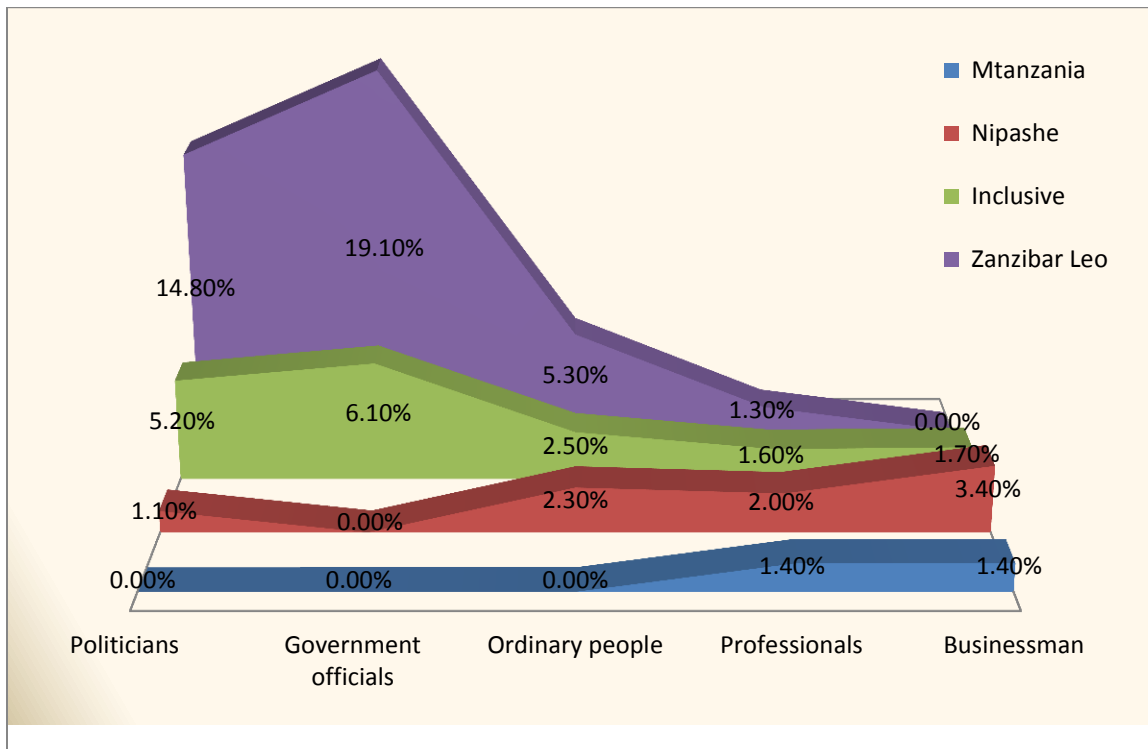
Whilst, there were tiny variations in term of ownership for educative intonation in which Zanzibar led with 18.8%, followed with 17.9% of Nipashe and 16.0% by Mtanzania. Zanzibar Leo had also astonishing data showing 16.8% and 11.8% over close quantity of 13.4% and 13.0% as well as 9.1% and 7.5% for opinionative and provocative articles over Nipashe and Mtanzania respectively. Nonetheless, Mtanzania reserved interesting findings of 14.7% and 6.5%, followed with 9.7% and 4.6% of Nipashe, while Zanzibar Leo got 6.6% and 8.2% for critical and pervasive orientation of articles individually. Likewise, in this study Nipashe had 6.3% and 10.0% higher than 4.1% and 7.8% as well as 3.6% and 5.9% denoted findings for entertaining and persuasive articles in turns.

3.2.7.1 Proprietors' Appearance in the Publications

In this section the study sought to examine the depiction of ownership postures through the straight appearance of proprietors in the publications. The *Dictionary.com* defines proprietor as a person who has the exclusive right or title to something; an owner, as of real property (2019). Thus, a media proprietor might refer to a popular financier, entrepreneur or businessman who makes use of the ownership or prevailing position in media institution to control the media outlet and its entire operation. Other common names are media mogul, media tycoon, baron, or business magnate (Wayne, 1988; 61). This study regarded media proprietors as media owners or any top executive or shareholder of the studied media outlet. In this context, the findings display that

throughout 948 articles there were total 162 inclusive articles which explicitly mentioned the proprietors of the publications under scrutiny.

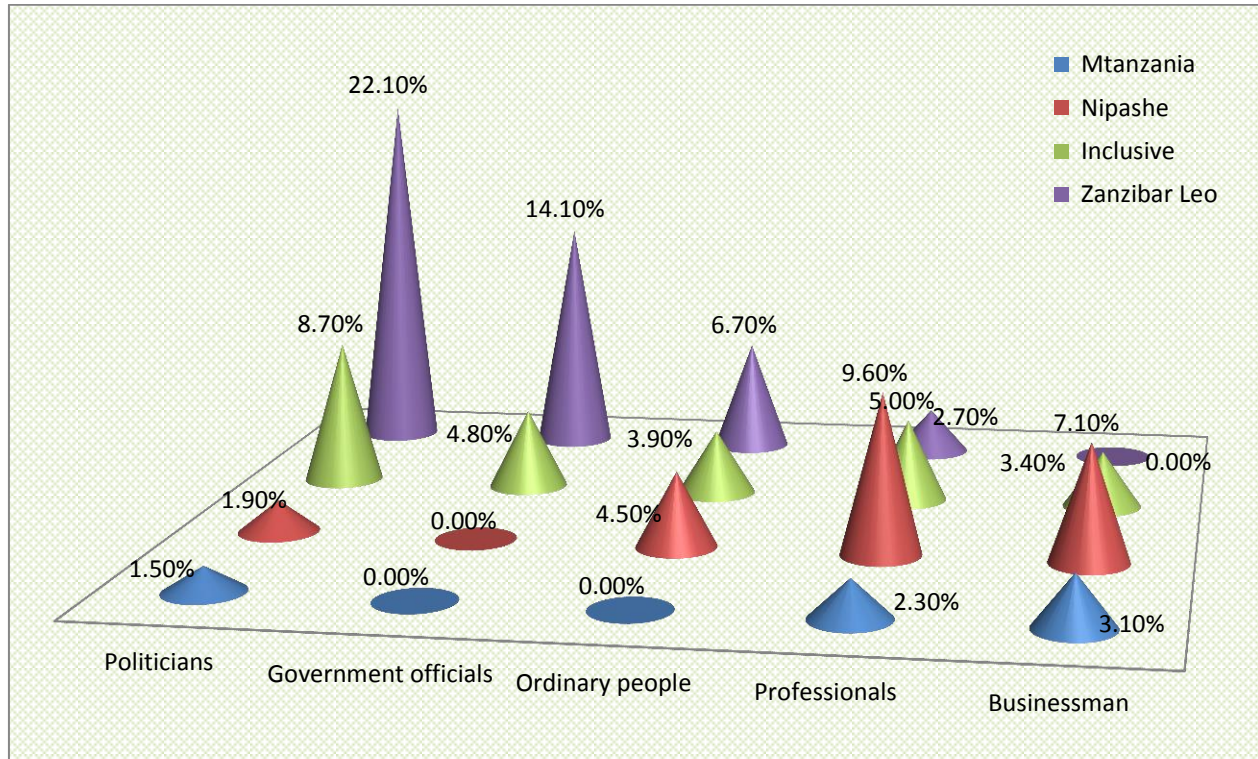
Area chart 3.2.8.1: Proprietors' Appearance in the News Articles



Source: Field Research, 2018

In the area chart 3.2.8 the inclusive results reveal that 5.2% of articles represented proprietors as politicians in the considered articles, while 6.1% was accounted for government officials, and 2.5% was marked for ordinary people, the publications also portrayed them with 1.6% and 1.7% as professional and businessmen. In term of district ownership; Zanzibar Leo had notable results of proprietors' entrance in the articles, epitomized proprietors for 19.1%, 14.8% and 5.3% designating government officials, politicians and ordinary people, followed with 2.3% and 1.1% by Nipashe dedicated to ordinary people and politicians respectively. While Mtanzania scored merely 1.4% as equal representation for it proprietors as professionals and businessmen, the similar variables were observed by Nipashe with 2.0% and 3.4% individually while Zanzibar Leo so far manifested 1.3% as professionals. On the other part of representation of proprietors in the photos, the inclusive findings expose the identical data as in the portrayal of articles. There were 113 photos linked to proprietors out of 436 examined photos, in which the bar chart 3.2.8 demonstrates that 8.7% were generally portrayed by way of politicians.

Bar chart 3.2.8.1: Proprietors' Appearance in the Photos



Source: Field Research, 2018

The next figure was 5.0% denoted for professionals, government official scored 4.8%, while the depiction of proprietors as ordinary people and businessmen were indicated for 3.9% and 3.4% individually. For the ownership variations, the findings illustrate that Zanzibar Leo likewise led in portraying the owners in the photos with 22.1% as politicians, 14.1% as government officials and 6.7% for ordinary people. While Nipashe was behind for 4.5% and 1.9% specified for ordinary people and politician respectively, whereas Mtanzania offered only 1.5% for politician. For Professionals depiction, it was celebrated 9.6% of photos in Nipashe than 2.7% of Zanzibar Leo and Mtanzania got 2.3% in this variable. Moreover, the only two privates portrayed their proprietors keen on the character of businessmen through 7.1% and 3.1% in Nipashe and Mtanzania in turns.

3.3 Conclusion

The study comprised the inclusive views of participants in consort with researcher's observations on the editorial performance as well as the quantitative content analysis of three publications. This thesis primarily tested the hypothesis about the Tanzanian political reform and liberal economic rise in 1990s which generally streamlined the multiple media ownership structure from orthodox model of government monopoly ownership. Through the literatures review the study grasped the dramatic transformation of media ownership in view of the media regulation and control, commencing the Afrocentric mass media system in the course of Socialism (Ujamaa) to the pluralistic media configuration. It remarked the institutional mechanism mostly by the state machineries hooked on locality settings notably *Tanzanianization* and *Africanization*, deliberately manifested the nationalism to counter imperialism of European colonialism. The extermination of colonial heritages involved the utilization of national language *Kiswahili* in line with the political economic system which nurtured the media in the hands of state for the sake of generating ostensible national culture and identity.

As it's discussed in chapter two concerning the regulatory framework in tanzania, the literatures commonly indicate the potential character of mass media in building the nationalism consistent with the *Ujamaa* policies of self-reliance and communism, to the extent that the Tanzanian communities were historically embedded with socialism and communism than ever happened in other African countries. Together with sustaining the foreign relations with other African countries in which Tanzanian press had pivotal role on backing those countries towards political liberation. On the other side, the media economic power was barren as of the deterioration of advertising in the national radios. Along with termination of general professionalism through self-censorship and decline of the watchdog role whereby the state authority as many other postcolonial African governments set forth the legislative controls addicted to pressphobia.

Subsequently, the qualitative findings reveal the paradigm shift from 1980s was prospective on liberating the Tanzanian media system in view of ownership structure into a variety of media outlet precisely newspapers, FM stations, and television channels. The media liberalization rooted in legal bases by 1992, the collaboration evolved among public and the private media which entrenched the developmental and civic agendas for national reform. Taking into accounts 1990s' concerted media deliberation among public and private media institutions coped with changing of public opinions on political stance by means of economic deliberations. In consort of Zanzibar Declaration (Azimio la Zanzibar) which liberalized the economic structure of the industry. Hence, the comprehensive structure of ownership keen on multi actors comprising public, private commercial and community media took part with protagonist role to the society. In this dissertation the quantitative and qualitative results from media owners, corporation managers, veteran journalists, academicians, chief editors, representatives from media organizations as well as young journalists commonly affirm the incredible alteration of media structure and its political depiction.

The above qualitative findings of this study imply that majority of media practitioners and stakeholders complied with current ownership structure. The verification for this data was indicated through the descriptive findings in which most of informants expressed their concerns regarding the diversity of contents in miscellaneous arenas. As long as the government news monopoly terminated, the multiple private media outlet evolves with diverse news sources and viewpoints. Based in professionalism perspective, the respondents believed that the transformation has triggered creativity and competency among journalists and ultimate media institutions prosperity along academic institutions. Thus, the results indicate the journalism prosperity remarked into quantitative and qualitative growth through the plentiful figure of training institutions which thrived a number of professionals. The study so far highlights the journalistic structural competitive mode among actors in the existing ownership configuration, granting a wide range of employment opportunity especially for emerging journalists. In accordance with the growth of media academic institutions which commonly profilate a good figure of professional graduates, While for existing professionals get involved in professional competitions keen on comprehensive expertise and experiences among media houses.

Comparatively, the findings rendered miscellaneous perceptions on the current ownership structure among the respondents' portions. As media owners led for large figure of positive observation, followed with managers and editors respectively. No one among these managerial three groups who indicated 'poor' response, it designates their complete consent with current ownership postures than other practitioners. Thus, the owners' greater compliance justifies the common assertion that owners are the most beneficiaries of current ownership mode, followed with manager and editors in turn. Since the abundant respondents in this study were much concerned with owner's inspiration on the content outlooks, through the institutional machinery which tends to affect the entire professionalism mostly by businessperson and politician owners who assimilate their motives into media undertakings.

Consequently, in exploring the organizational determination of news management in Tanzanian media landscape this study preliminarily traced the owners' motives on the establishment of their outlets. The findings illustrate that the primary incentives are political propagandas, religious purpose and commercial-business operation. Whilst, there is a ration of private media owners who referred to their professional background, meant for ultimately serving the public aspirations as alternative channels over the government monopoly platform. On the counterpart of state owned media, the motivation was stressed on mass education keen on inclusive sphere for the social entities such as youths, adults and children and marginalized groups to foster their hopes.

Surprisingly, no media owner explicitly expressed his motive was based in politics, though various studies constantly affirm on this provision. Owners hesitate to disclose about their political affiliations for the afraid of misconception by the authority with severe punishment and society in general. In this sense the owners' assertion about the regulation and control of the government as restrictive to the free media operation, might be put under consideration. This intensifies the concern about the underrepresentation of marginal social group in which the quest for revival should base on restructuring the traditional mode of access such as communal

viewership which was used to assess and monitor various TV programmes along with investigative typology. Thus, Tanzanian newsprint is largely controlled by the local politicians and government officials who have occupied substantial media space, accounting the same figures for news sources and ultimate contents. It so far indicates the severe threat to responsible journalism, due to the ownership majority having great share with government in which it can rather ruthlessly depicts partiality tendency to the existing system than even state-owned media would do. Consequently, the stories about government and political officials continue to dominate the daily media contents rather than developmental and ultimate public affairs.

In this study majority of respondents affirmed on such political invasion in Tanzania media ownership patterns, that political and commercial agendas of owners/proprietors influence the editorial contents in Tanzanian news media. Several media practitioners in this study also constantly expressed their familiarities about the owner's imposition on streamlining the news contents towards their aspirations and against their political and business rivalries. In addition to that, respondents strongly approved on the premise of politicians' investment and control of media that acquaint with the high professional abuses of Tanzanian media outlets accordingly. Media independence is ultimately on the hands of few Tanzanians who decide what to broadcast or to publish only for extending politics in their customs. To this point, the media liberalization which instigated in 1980s and shadowed by multiparty in the 1990s may not guarantee the socially accountable journalism any more, whereby journalists' handover their ethical guidelines on behalf of foremost personal interest under politics endorsement scheme. It came into being through dishonest path such as corruption amid journalists and politicians.

Besides, there are tremendous consequences of the mysterious proprietors who run the publication in particular with secrete agendas, mostly for political motives. Along with business drives, as the spectrum of religious media which carry the hidden agenda behind, spurring the individual interests in place of NGOs platform for fundraising. Though, some owners in this dissertation disclosed abundantly about their typical religious ideas keen on serving the entire community as advocacy motivations. The study so far examined the ownership deliberation by using triangulation approaches in which the media decision makers notably the managers and editors were tested to crosscheck the owners' affirmation and critical viewpoint of other stakeholders. Hence the results varied according to the ownership sorts, example the managers and editors working in government media institutions were attracted with labor prosperity. For the private media most of staff thought of professional excellence through editorial policies and independence from proprietors and few also think about satisfactory wages. This assertion was also affirmed by the experienced journalists who ever worked in both government and private media, considering the private media settings encompass rather suitable editorial policies for professional accomplishment while government editorial persist subjective to government and other alike bureaucrats.

The above findings show that ownership deliberation is dynamic in the existing structure attempting with the diverse institutional mechanism, from the recruitment process to the supervision on daily undertakings. There is common consciousness about the owners' influences on the media management amongst the public and private media managers, the set institutional

mechanism implicates diversely. Commencing the recruitment procedure for the organization management and other personnel, whereas there is alike enrolment procedure for the top management which is undertaken through appointment by proprietors in both private and state owned media. Nonetheless, the staffing in government media is rather impartial through the Labor Act which entails the explicit procedures in view of the journalism qualifications. The contrasting procedures were noted across the private media houses, involving model of announcement with interview. Unlike the government recruitment, some private corporations regularly utilized the poaching methods to procure most competent workforces as well as they use to bring up journalism students or volunteers prior to get employed in that media. There is also variation among media institutions in the handling of the recruitment methods as some organizations have separation of powers among the media sections while some corporations use single measure for all outlets and by means of panel of experts. Nonetheless, there is common methodology of appointing model for the top decision makers explicitly managers and editorial staffs.

Again in the methodological recruitment systems, this study found the biasness in the recruitment of journalists and other staff, by which some proprietors fix their relatives and only those who fit their set goals. The recruits lack of journalism education just to portray the owners' subjective manifestation contrary to professionalism. It hitherto clues the certainty that majority of media owners don't have any idea about both management and journalism expertises. Consequently, the media management becomes miserable anchored in family and casual based entities without clear division of labor. Likewise, the study explores the inconsistent institutional mechanism on retaining the media competency and working atmosphere through management and overall staff competencies. The results show a number of media institutions proprietors have almost neither organized neither in-house training nor regular educational program in journalism such as certificate, diploma, bachelor' degree, masters' degree or PhD for their personnel.

Whereas for the some institutions which conduct the training were merely in support of external backing such as through BBC Media Action instead of self-institutional deliberations. The situation in private media is likely harsher since the staff must get a leave without payment to pursue the studies by means of self-sponsored. Another severe settlement by media organization is about the regularly utilization of carrot and stick model over the journalists who perform well or who breach the ethics, but mostly applied for punishment while there are few patrons who apply rewards designed for successful workers. Similarly, there is media management failure in Tanzanian media landscape lacking of ombudsman office across the media institutions. Most of Tanzanian media corporations play down the character of ombudsman who would role as anchor to overcome the erroneous and unethical contents into professionalism, and maximizing the public utility of news contents. As its only a NHCL todate which intiated the ombudsman system, owing to the background of NHCL (2006) as originally established under professionals' control - by veteran journalists notably Jenerali Ulimwengu, Johnson Mbwambo, Salva Rweyemamu and Dr Gideon Shoo, and later it was transformed to the ownership of a Tanzania business person-cum politician Rostam Aziz. Whilst, post-mortem and editorial meetings became the only sufficient mechanism utilized well in Tanzanian media houses.

As it's indicated in the above qualitative findings signify that Media owners are much aware about their influences to the daily media operation in which through in-depth interview they abundantly expressed their circumvention from media contents. They deliberated complimentary mechanism such the group editors which comprise the competent editors, as well as they tend to observe the stipulated procedures like through management meetings. However, the quantitative results still demonstrate the high number of media management counting media managers and editors have received instructions from their proprietors about media undertakings. There is diverse understanding concerning the kind of impositions derived by media proprietors among private and government media. Although the editors and managers of state run media receive more instructions on changing the structural programming or editorial contents they commonly considered that its neither censorship nor interference. Instead, a reminder about their professional duties in realizing the set organizational goals accomplishable to professionalism. They also contended that it's optional to reverse with the owner's interest because for them owner's interest are keen to represent the broad national and public interests. Meanwhile, the private media management commonly disagreed on the provision of heavy interferences of their owners due to the presence of formal procedures such as in weekly administrative meeting and the adequate management structure which immobilize the interference from any one.

Besides, there is abundant predisposition by private media management on observing the professional ethics and the set editorial guidelines along with dynamic teamwork as individual exertions on detaching the editorial content from owners/proprietors' desires. However, some respondents affirmed that it's so difficulty to avoid typical proprietor's reflections since owner has miscellaneous approaches to impose into media contents like through advertising. Accordingly, the quantitative content analysis illustrate the considerably depiction of ownership through the straight appearance of proprietors in the publications. The studied contents exposed the representation of proprietors mostly as politicians, government officials, ordinary people, professionals and businessmen, they rolled as news actors and sources in articles and photos. The state owned media Zanzibar Leo had notable results of proprietors' appearance in its articles and photos designating as government officials, politicians and ordinary people. Then the private Nipashe dedicated more its proprietor to businessmen, ordinary people and politicians in the contents. Mtanzania had low number which merely represented as professionals and businessmen in the articles and slightly appeared as politician.

The government media in Tanzania have distinct styles and policies which give priority to report on the presidents' event first followed with other bureaucrats. It means the media can't miss to portray the certain issue of the day related to government officials or politicians. It further implies to private media in particular that play great part on revealing the conflict of interests of the owners or shareholders and stressing their personal outlooks and issues. That's why they appear most in the media program than their business or politician counterparts. This is so far very common in both private and public media, the media patron cannot let the ideological and business competitors to overthrow in his media over own products or issues. The version of media war so far persists in this prototype for the big media organizations as it happened in 2010

for IPP media and New Habari Corporation (2006) whose proprietors used media commented counterpart alleging in corruption uttering ‘sharks’ of corruption (fisadi papa) and ‘whale’ of corruption (fisadi nyangumi) respectively. Recently, there is ongoing media confrontation among the major entertainment media firms notably wasafi and Cloud media. Ultimately, journalists in the coats of their patrons ostensibly persist the conflict of interest, turning the particular outlets into the platforms for criticism over owners’ rivals. Consequently, professionals will continue to undergo over owners’ exploitations and compromise qualifications against collective duties to serve society.

The study also reveal on the internal relations in media organization that remain crucial in maintaining the effective media operations. In the assumption of internal mechanism of the existing ownership, the study further examined the working network inside the media house among media owners, management and general employees. Media owners, general managers and editors noticed that their relationships with media management and general staffs as more fantastic. The network is facilitated through communicative tools and methods such general meetings and management meeting and athwart other social events. They also make use of the set organizational regulations and policies along with the separation of powers and the power delegation and online social networks such as Whatsapp, Facebook and Instagram are among the communication methods to maintain the internal relations. Nonetheless, there are portion of media organizations which don’t observe the division of labor in which some managers are employed to take responsibilities of other departments, such as the HR was noticed in this study to take care of journalistic undertakings. Likewise, in some media corporations, unsuitable leaders take responsibility of editorial managers due to the incomplete management, they dominate entire media activities without knowledge which cause the fallacy of editorial excellence. While some media corporations don’t have editorial policies, working vaguely. The research also reveals about the gap of internal relation in the media house in which respondents contended that the misconducts of some staff led their decision making to be very tough.

Moreover, on this aspect, this schoolwork illustrates the diverse observations involved the veteran journalists, academics and representatives from media organization concerning the substantial network in media house in views of current multiple ownership configurations. The findings solidify that owners are still influential on the entrenching media management with certain organizational culture into the ultimate contents productions. Commencing the recruitment of unprofessional administrators and editors which turns organization structure into autocratic, along with armature staffs (Makanjanja) just for safeguarding thee set interests. While proprietors may regularly fire the entire management or journalist for nonsense seeing that they contradict his interests. The involvement of businessmen moguls entrench the management to serve owner’s utilities, in which some corporations become family entity and others are casually operated as the case of sexual relation is common.

Thus, many media institutions fail to operate in professional perspectives and they are ultimately smitten with deterioration of socially accountability. In this regards ordinary journalists become vulnerable due to the widespread of hatred in the media houses keen on tribalism and injustice, as so far the management is very selective on whom to assign on

particular news event. Journalists are severely treated on the labor welfare and on restrictive guidelines on reporting especially for the correspondents. However, there were concerns about some journalists who are submissive to their patrons and other public figures and compromising the professional principles in order to acquire prime posts in the media or in the public offices. In general, media organizations incline into undesirable institutions with plentiful partition between owners, management and ordinary staffs. The common divisions are in two faces, the first is owner as dictating everything in media house over editors and other journalists in one side. While the other views were about management point of view in which decision makers counting owners, managers and editors dictate the mutual interest over ordinary employees who were under betrayal by management. Besides, the findings indicate for the presence of exemplary media corporations whose proprietors don't have close supervision on the daily media running such as NHCL (2006) and MCL were set free from owners' interferences.

Hence, the study exposes that networking in media organizations is anchored in subjectivity by Media Corporation due to the myth on observing the set organization objectives, staff regulations, financial policies and regulations along with entire editorial policies, while some organizations don't have even documented editorial guidelines. Hence, the institutional deliberations is ideal for democratization; this study so far found the divergence of the editorial policies, code of ethics and styles on civic deliberations whereby the media institutions have almost never arranged the journalistic rules which correspond to the civic deliberation. The ideological provision such as religious and other factors recurrently pushes a number of media organizations to impede the deliberation of editorial policies keen on democratization. Interestingly, media houses incline to utilize their editorial policies to cope with civic obligation.

Nonetheless, as the findings demonstrate the limited control of editors, public and journalists over news contents. The interpretation is that public has quite little control of news contents in Tanzania, contrary to the pluralist theory of media ownership which predetermines that the public entail the market power over media operation in the pluralistic media settings. In Tanzanian media system public remain disorganized to acquire their ultimate public information through media services due to the legal framework such as DPP power and miserable media literacy in the society. Though the globalization nurtures the public technological power such as through mobile phones, online feedbacks and letter to editor. It hitherto entails the necessity for the state authorities such as TCRA and self-organ MCT to retain the public utility of media. On the side of journalist there is insignificant influence of journalistic inputs as the inclination of scavengers for achieving the short term survival. In this sense, the institutional devices such as current system of coaching might enhance the emerging journalists into recognition of professionalism and accountability as well as through formal journalism education. On the other side, there are diverse views on the power of editorial managers under current ownership configuration that turns them into submissive to their proprietors, engendering the self-censorship over daily news content production partial to alike of ideological quest. As the counter assumption that editors are decision makers, very close to the patronages.

Apart from internal institutional mechanism, the study had the hypothesis that over the impressive transformation of media ownership configuration the state control of media is still

imperative in the operation of present media landscapes. The government regulations and political interference were frequently debated by research respondents on suppressing the media economic sustainability and general journalism prosperity. The media control is generated from external dynamics and internal system of communication, fostered in actual and perceived manners. Accordingly, it can be subcategorized into four sorts, explicitly internal actual control which comprises the precise rules and regulations fashioned and institutionalized formally by the industry itself such as education, professional qualification, internal rules, and hierarchy. The second is internal perceived control which consists of systems with institutional boundaries through social control, peer-group pressure, the perceived gatekeeping functions, and unwritten regulations which determine the “rules of the game”. The third subcategory is external actual control counting direct censorship, licensing, and any other external features like legal, professional, governmental, or institutional factors. Finally, there is external perceived control found in the social system such as culture, education, and economy, constitute a major set of variables of demands entering a communication system. Examples; wants of readers and audiences, reactions to political and cultural preferences, and pressures exercised by elites and organizations in the society.

Thus, the subject of state regulation with influence to media operation can be traced as external discursive factor which generated from outside the structure of existing media system, triggering through actual controls like press legislation. On accounts of prevailing inimical laws overseeing the press, they evolve to destabilize the professional prosperity. Such inferences complied respondents in this research who observed that the existing media legislations are still inimical to accountable and free journalism practice in Tanzania. Qualitatively, most of respondents were much concerned with the current Media laws tend to draw the narrow perimeter on portraying the political world. It’s anchored in the constitution along regulations in the provision of unnecessary punishment such as heavy fines along with excessive power by governing authorities over the media corporation which deemed to violate the laws. Several media outlets have been facing the consequences of elusive regulations as in recent three years (2015-2018) more than ten media outlets including publications and broadcasting networks have been punished.

Whist, its noted concerning the individual endowments that remain in perceived control which are informal and based on unwritten rules and regulations utilized merely in the cultural and ideological orientation of the premeditated system. This scarcely smooths the progress of social accountability through developmental issues in which journalists may propagate professionally without governmental restrictions. In this regard, practitioners are much concerned with actual imposition anchored in political settings in line with economic repercussions. Such as the question of media economic sustainability entails the scrutiny of objective completion among the media corporation under actual factors. For example; the government media like ZBC involvement in TV HD box business, tending to compete with commercial private selling in lower price alongside other prestige like government subsidiaries. Such actual control remains significant to reshape the ultimate ownership structure and entire media system in the country.

It so far implicates smitten with assimilation of institutional factors in view of the current ownership structure based in multiparty politics, dictating the media undertakings especially through management settlement while proprietors may be barred. Accordingly, the actual control presupposes the irregularity of media structure in Tanzania through pluralistic media environment tracing the government media and privates into single control of the state. For example the raise of deliberated TV documentaries by the state houses' communication directorate which widespread to local channels in which they are obliged to broadcast without adding or removing any component. In this sagacity, the professional autonomy frightens as long as news landscape intensifies the editorial independence across Tanzanian news rooms. Consequently, journalists might work under stern pressure, writing soft stories merely while analytic reporting remains unparalleled with dramatic structural transformation. Unlike in the single party epoch where political rivalry was not entrenched through mass media, such as party's newspaper Uhuru and government Daily News were editorially comprehensible to oversee the government officials, despite the president was an executive editor of the publications.

On other side, the existing ownership system tends to abide with the actual control from the government into common burden anchored in business and political attachments into Tanzanian media system. Media proprietors are enthusiastic to ponder the governing authorities, rethinking the adequate space for utmost commercial concentration over circumvention of critical and analytical reportages. In this sense, the perceived controls by individual journalists are inconsequential, despite the integral deliberations among professionals for enhancing the impartiality keen on professionalism. As far as the socialist legacy entails the perceived control partial to social scenery and reluctant to prosper the liberal settings, especially for objective political coverage whereby only the ruling party overwhelms as illustrated above.

However, along with literatures as discussed in chapter two, the paradigm shift may thrives professionalism keen on depriving the government control into the institutional and professional preoccupation. It comprises the professional mechanism as the academic institutions proliferate, the provision of own media institution as happened to Habari Corporation Limited, self-regulatory board (Media Council of Tanzania) as well as abundant number of media associations. It's for assuring the professional conducts as well as overseeing the entire industry counter to controversial external control, meant for utilizing the self-regulatory devices of media supervision over structural impediments anchored in actual control. This study so far relied on the supposition that self-regulation is the imperative resolution for socially accountable journalism over current ownership structure geared by deregulated market environment. There is high recognition by practitioners on the current self-regulatory machinery steered by MCT as comprehensive on supporting professional accomplishments on media management and general reporters. The media self-governance is potential to reorganize the media system keen on accountable journalism over current commercial media ownership alongside the discursive dynamics of political economy of Tanzanian media. The legitimacy of journalism as autonomous profession which enormously accountable to the society induces the survival of vibrant functionality through self-parameter of media operations.

Besides, this study reveals the significant compliance of owners' institutional endeavor of recognizing the provision of media organizations. As the useful instrument for institutional deliberation, media owners mostly interact with professional organization in utilizing the network. Some mentioned exemplary partnership with global media like BBC and DW to large extent entrenched the compressive accomplishment of their media outlets, facilitating technical division to the broadcasting and news section. It so far signifies the proprietors' renounce their assorted concerns without the legal foundations in alliance with governing authorities notable TCRA and Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission for broadcasting as well as department information (commonly known Habari Maelezo).

In the same scrutiny, the table 3.1.6.1 demonstrates the informants' gratification one the supposition of media associations have significant role over ownership manipulation of media operations. As the disappointment of media practitioners arguing that a number of press organizations in the country become advocator for the owners' interests over the professional excellence. By reason of their structure many associations are liable to push owners' concerns, whereas some of them have limited enforcement for excelling the general media prosperity. It was claimed for the political influence such the invasion of the Dar es Salaam RC Paul Makonda to Cloud TV, and the furtive abduction of various reporters whereby media organizations fail to overcome the incidents. The political pressure founds on the management structure as some of respondents spoke about politicians to impose their favorable frontrunners into managements. With main purpose to put these organs on their hands so as to muzzle the journalists and let the actual external control to rule the industry. The invasion of unprofessional in the management positions treats the professional organizations into severe situation, since they are toothless to support their members especially on labor disputes. While some organizations become state machinery de-facto twisting the industry on government perspective, as the press clubs which distribute the press cards for practitioners as per government guidelines and frame the event coverage to the media. Likewise, there is a wide range of media organizations which turn into NGOs for profit maximizations, while some of them mislead their primary goals into the ostensible political agendas. This commonly calls for the self-reliance spectrum in the media organization to curtail the dependence which affects the objective journalism.

Thus, this study traces the media regulating aspects especially on the external actual control of the state and owner's status which challenge the industry. Example the recent regulation about newspaper yearly re-registration remains potential to kill the small firms of law capitals. Thus, only through self-determination as proposition of the establishment of a federation of Journalist Labor Union and a wage board become potential to counter the problems facing the journalists from their media proprietors. This necessitates the involvement of stakeholder in the related media bills for the constructive ideas in the formation of media Act from the initial stage and put under consideration their inputs. Comparatively, there is optimistic indication through the transformation regarding the regulations as the recent media laws are considerable conducive than the previous legislations especially before multipartism.

This thesis also developed the hypothesis on the transformation of media ownership that has streamlined the diversity of political contents. The findings indicate the varied contentions

from different research respondents about the media plurality which would triggered the information diversity and subjects of news in all arenas through the complex model of ownership. On account of explicit news management through criticism and analytic, the plural voices are portrayed as contrasting ideas based in various arenas such as politics, religion, sports, entertainment, activism and others. However, the outstanding viewpoints reveal some insignificant alterations of media role especially in politics for twenty-five years of media liberalization in annotations of ethical journalism and editorial freedom. The study reveal about political prominence among the topical themes in Tanzanian media landscapes. In general, quantitative content analysis displays the comparable data for crucial political reportage through remarkable contents, news sources, actors and target groups as well as the magnitudes of articles and placement, while for the development journalism is still marginal. This so far signifies that the Tanzanian social institutions and public life in particular are intrinsically politicized, including the media institution in which politics grew to be the most preferable topic by the audiences. Besides, the types of ownership indicate tiny differences on the portrayal of political arena among the studied newspapers. There is also diverse portrayal on development news stories in which thye privates had remarkable figure for development journalism over the government owned publication.

Generally, the above content analysis of three publications indicates the somewhat diversity of topical reportages keen on reflecting the social economic trends. The topics about agriculture steered more, then health education and social welfare. The family affairs are noticeably portrayed for non-developmental topical themes, followed with crime and security inclines, legal affairs and religion. Hence, the government newspaper Zanzibar Leo exposes more topical themes which replicate the impacts of the government and good image to the state such as diplomacy and foreign relations, Military affairs, religious articles, agriculture, housing and tourism. Likewise, for the distribution of political subtopics, Zanzibar Leo published more stories about political parties and government affairs. As well as the more opinion contents about civic education especially during the initial multiparty elections where the column like *Toward General Election* (Kuelekea Uchaguzi Mkuu) which offered typical civic rights and knowledge to the public were common in the publication than other two counterparts. It implies that the state run Zanzibar Leo is active political actor on generating the public opinion of government and political party.

The other implication is about the incomplete social accountability among the studied publications, through which election was the common key word. Hitherto this reflects to the actuality of research timeline which was during the election where media concentrated much on the present matters. It so far signifies the event oriented model affecting the Tanzania media system than analytic journalism, tending to clue the demoralization of professionalism and socially functionality of Tanzanian mass media in the course of submission to politics in particular. For instance Mtanzania publication on 1st November, 2000 the first two pages parallely accommodated only articles and photos about election results. The consistence and deply speculation are cynical subject for many outlets become immaterial source of information, when some critical incident come across community, like EPA it cannot be experienced another

substance on spot except all media in common conquer the manifestation, just soon later no further follow up with conclusive outcomes to the society as democratic media should comport itself. Besides, the difference among the media outlets was vivid on portrayal of the political subtopics, Nipashe depicted more about election. The private Mtanzania covered more corruptions and Human rights. The private newspapers also tended to vary on development and on the non-developmental articles, for example Nipashe portrayed diverse topics with high figures like health, social welfare, entrepreneurship, transport/communication, and environment as well as family affairs, legal affairs, the natural disasters, traffic information for non-development. While Mtanzania reported more on education, employment, banking/financial system, power and energy, crime and security, sports and entertainments and traffic information.

As the above quantitative results explore the remarkable political reportages as per the transformation of media system across the five terms of multiparty elections in Tanzania. The general results depict that the concentration augmented drastically from 1995 to 2015. Whilst, the transformative assessment show that the state owned Nuru (Zanzibar Leo) was less politically concentrated in 1995 and 2000 than privates counterpart Mtanzania and Nipashe respectively. At that time, the Nuru's political objectivity was astonishing for the coverage of various political parties; nonetheless CCM secured high scores 1995 and increased in 2005. In 1995 and 2000 multiparty elections the contents about opposition parties in Nuru newspaper were rather exciting, they were abundantly found in front pages and in other pages along with special page for all political parties namely *The Campaigns of Political Parties* (Kampeni za Vyama vya Siasa).

Whereas, from 2005 onward Zanzibar Leo sharpened subjectivity to the ruling party as long as the general political reportage mounted dramatically of its political coverage. For the exposure of opposition party such as CUF deteriorated in this paper across the time, while for the small parties commonly gained exposure. This is due to the reality that this paper operates in isles where CUF was prominent opposition party; hence all party related contents disappeared in front pages and they were scarcely published in other pages. In general, the state owned media tend to play the dual role of political and government over the criticism of left wings. The content analysis similarly reveals that the privates (Nipashe and Mtanzania) had identical political reportage on reporting all parties. However, there is coverage disparity among political parties as the government party overwhelms others in the media exposure due the limited resources and state maneuvers. CCM maintained its status quo from 1995 to 2015 over other parties, some parties also increased their portrayal such as CHADEMA gained exposure in all three newspapers. Meanwhile, other opposition parties such as TLP, NCCR –Mageuzi and CUF declined their popularities in the society across the time, with the understanding that they had insignificant backing of media coverage to sustain the publicity as demonstrated in these three publications. This tends to point toward the persistence of partisan journalism in Tanzania media system, especially for the state-owned media failure of unveiling alleged corrupt due to the editorial affiliation by government and politicians.

For objective political reportages in Tanzanian media system, the institutional mechanisms were supposed to balance among the political parties especially in the public media.

As entailed by National Elections Act, 1995 Cap. 343 under NEC and ZEC concerning the time commission for all political parties and they scheduled the identical public meeting campaigns for the registered political parties across the country. Along with code of ethics on electoral reportages which put forward by the independent prevailing organs such Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) and Tanzania Editor Forum. However, the partiality yet exists attributable to the limited resources for some parties unable to manage the schedules and other political activities. Such as during the election, the governing party-CCM always manages to run the large number of public meeting campaigns which nurture significant media coverage together with deliberate consuming airtimes and publications in various media outlets in the country. The other main parties like CHADEMA and CUF to some extent succeed by their own means to reach the voters and the overall public. More to the subjective political journalism in the pluralist media settings, the failure of common national policies which let every media to operate in its manner, neglecting some political parties to pronounce their manifestation to public.

Among other factors, the legacy of one-party system may persistently favors the ruling party exclusively, since the political culture is not vibrant in Tanzania media system which likely to deprive the social accountability role of media. Considering the bureaucrats of CCM who are also statesmen are much influential on public opinion, example the Nipashe's issue on 1st September 1995 occupied three lead stories separately from one meeting campaign of government party which took place in Jangwani grounds, Dar es Salaam. The big story had 23 paragraphs and was about the party chairman (first postcolonial president) Mwalim Nyerere as news actor and sources in that meeting, the second news was on Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a second former president with 9 paragraphs and the then presidential candidate Mkapa had a story of 11 paragraphs from the meeting. In the same issue Nipashe had special column for campaign coverage known *Campaign News* (Habari za Kampeni) at seventh page, notwithstanding out of six articles CCM had 3, CUF one, NCCR one, CHADEMA one.

The nationalist ideology as it was mentioned in Ujamaa epoch in chapter two, its now no longer alive owing to the abundant uniformity among public and private media on revealing the national strategies, minimal on setting public agenda into nationalism since they are much personalized with diverse political ideologies. The decline of national identity of the nation states is due to the fragmented spheres through the multiplication of channels. Multiple channels in global economy incline to separate the orthodox television system and the nation state, keen on individual choices over liberal democracy preliminaries. The findings tend to reflect straightly the cognizance by media editors and managers about the institutional adherence to uphold objective political reportages. They generally talked about the observance of media ethics and entire journalism principles and utilization of diverse sources in political coverage. They also talked about the circumvention of individual clientalism and partisan political news which signify to social cohesion.

Moreover, as this study reveal the abundant concentration of political coverage over other topical themes, the scrutiny of News Positions in proportion to article themes so far clued the high volume of political articles which were placed both in front pages and in the subsequent pages comparing to other topics. There is almost similarity among publications, though

Mtanzania led for having good number of political news in front, while Nipashe portrayed more in other pages. Also Mtanzania managed Developmental articles mostly and Zanzibar Leo placed more non-developmental news in other pages. The results synchronize with the data for photo placement in proportion to their representation which reveals interesting score for politician; the next was government officials in front and in other pages. Based in the ownership types; Zanzibar Leo had leading figure of politicians and government officials in the photos in front page, while Mtanzania managed more on representing the professional and ordinary people, and Nipashe for prominent individuals. In other pages Nipashe had interesting figure for politicians and professionals; Mtanzaania headed for prominent individuals. For the length of articles in proportions of article theme, the political articles dominated in all small, medium and large news stories correspondingly. For medium size Mtanzania steered more in Political subjects, in developmental Nipashe led, on the small size paragraphs in term of political reportage, Zanzibar Leo had interesting figure, Mtanznia led for development journalism. For large paragraphs Nipashe led in political and developmental. Yet Zanzibar Leo had many long paragraphs for other non-developmental.

Thus, the current ownership structure entails the deeply inspirations to political journalism through structure and content of politics based in varied owners who have assorted political ideologies. Through the representation of news sources, actors and target groups which so far reflect the entire prominence of politics in the general coverage in Tanzanian media landscape. In these social groups politicians represented more, followed with the government officials, then prominent individuals while the ordinary citizens were marginally portrayed across as news sources and actors, with somewhat average for public as target group, this so far indicates the provision of bottom up approach of journalism in Tanzanian media system. As many ordinary citizens don't have inclusive platforms to create the daily agenda of newspapers as overwhelmed by politicians, government officials along and public figures. In this regards, ownership types matters as the government owned newspaper Zanzibar Leo manipulated the information from the politician, organizations' executives sources. While, Nipashe stressed more politicians as actors of news and Mtanzania portrayed them more as target group of the message. While the general public notably ordinary people is similarly ignored in the tree publications but mostly by the government press.

According to the qualitative findings above, political dominance throughout the media might be traced on the miscellaneous autonomy of journalists on reporting the political events in which some journalists purposely turn into agents of political parties and acting as PR for political parties' manifestation. Nonetheless, editors were mindful of civic journalism and resolving fourth estate to overcome nationals' impediments. While the institutional perspective also inclines to favor the particular group of politicians as most of proprietors are politically motivated, imposing their political ideologies in the daily. Since the political advertising is not common in Tanzanian media market, Politicians incline to penetrate confidentially across the contents, along with the mushrooming of seasonal press during the election partial to particular party. Consequently, it is ideal to probe the editorial policies set in the media house appropriate to the balanced political journalism and conducive to democracy diffusion. However, the findings in

this study indicate both media owners and media management had good faith of their media houses having very supportive role in democracy respectively. As no among them considered their set editorial policies were not at all supportive in democratization. Contrary, on the part of veteran journalists, academician and representatives of media association mostly viewed that the set media policies and styles are not vibrant with the journalistic characters in the democratization.

It signifies the management mechanism by media proprietors through the appointment of editors and managers who portray the proprietor's political 'voice' within the newsroom. Consequently, mass media may play massive influences over national elections and general public agenda for emphasizing some candidates to vote and ignore others. Likewise, the knowledge about democracy is critical issue from patrons to the journalists are lack of a real concept of democracy. Social Accountability might be revived as a core for realization of democracy, for the Tanzanian media in view of multi ownership provisions to take part on enforcing the rulers to overcome the public problems.

The transformation of media structure in Tanzania nurtures the large quantity of media corporations turning the entire industry into concentration of ownership and market. The private commercial media institutions rationalize the adverse dynamics, accounting the overall institutional stance and content outlook, meant for miserable functionality of mass media. In this regard, the inclination of commercialism around media organizations is frequently noted out, together with deterioration of content quality and media personnel welfare since the media owners are not professional who come mostly from politics and business. It accords with several studies found the tremendous decline of content quality through the waves of media commercialism endeavored by business tycoons in consort with advertisers. The contents quality revises into dubious down to the deprival of agenda-setting role addicted to mass entertainment.

This above reterature and qualitative findings reveal the evolving of commercial advertising in Tanzanian media landscape, whereby during the *Ujamaa* the social and official announcements such as death announcement dominated the mass media. Subsequent to economic liberalization as the country turned into advanced advertising age, in the course of the structural change of ownership the proprietors embraced commercial accounts which devastate the liberal presumption of mass media based in the inclusive sphere of a wide range of arenas. It implicates to the giant business companies such as the Telecommunication companies take hold of the capitalist media system and overthrows the liberal media versions towards commercial and entertainment orientation. Likewise, the qualitative results show that through such massive commercial companies advertisers' control penetrates on media management system which twists the editorial outlook in which the analytical journalism whip out. The advertisers take advantage of journalistic objects notably advertising, public relations (PR) and promotional materials to gain publicity for their business operations. In the course of the deregulated media policies the presumptions of business elites twisted the long Tanzanian socialist media system into neoliberal accounts. Likewise, the commercialization of journalism affects the ideas of professional media organizations, shifting their agenda towards business NGO, looking for profits maximization instead of safeguarding the professionals over ownership treatments, while some associations put

owners agenda mostly. Though they are potential with various journalistic strategies to counter the impediments from owners to national wise.

The free market environment challenges the western concept of objectivity, on behalf of advertisers' control of entire programming structure and general media operations. For instance, nowadays advertisers are powerful to produce the adverts in such a way that the media house might abide the styles and format of the adverts. Thus, the media outlook becomes limited functioning on particular topics which don't shadow the advertisers' perspectives, in so much as investigative journalism is factored attributable to the guidelines of the business companies. In the commercialization of journalism around Tanzanian media system owners also employ institutional mechanism like managerial imposition to fit their interest, potential to eliminate the public trust of mass media. Journalists are conditioned around owner's institutional devices for the maximization of owners' commercial benefits keen on compromising code of ethics. Hence the problem may persist for journalists and editors who exercise in the ground, deliberately violate the ethics. In view of that, the scrutiny of content quality is desirable to crosscheck the journalism prosperity as of the mushrooming of 24 hours broadcasting networks which fuel the poor contents with meager appropriate objectives to the target spectators. In this view, the totality of free market environment cannot cultivate the sincerity to professionalism in which the trend of functionality, control and freedom change time to time. Unlike previously, for example the investigative journalism took part to exercise the watchdog role of media in overseeing the mismanagement as it happened in 1980s during the scandal of SUDECO (Sugar Development Corporation), the inclusive media coverage headed for the resignation of abundant government officials.

Whilst, in above quantitative data a large number of respondents disagreed free market as problematic. This good number of compliance implies to the prospect in free market environment to meet the expense of free editorial and integration toward reasonable political reportage, along with plurality with presumption that the more pluralism in the free market the bigger choice to public. Through the pluralist media environment the consumer choices manifested, owing to the provision of multiple alternative platforms, along with contents diversity and even timing to watch. The functional orientation has so far shifted from traditional role of media on entertainment, information and education. The findings indicate other functional point of reference notably opinionative, criticism, provocative, persuasive and pervasive. The content analysis for ownership varieties; Mtanzania had good score for informative, critical and pervasive orientation. Zanzibar Leo is remarked with more educative, opinionative and provocative articles, while Nipashe had endorsed more the entertaining and persuasive articles. Reasonably, the private publications seem to be very critical while the government newspaper persists on affirmative intellect. Besides, there were diverse understandings on the concept of free market in which respondents thought that there is no such free market ideas because of press regulations which enforce the actors to abide before entering the sectors. The political economy of media in Tanzania entails the actors to stand for the divisive regulations such as advertising regulations. As the government is major advertiser that may manipulate the mass media under its control, to the extent that only affirmative outlets are prospective of advertising diagnosis so as to please the

existing system, while critical press tend to vanish from the field. As long as the state media authorities become advertising agency distributing the adverts to several media outlets, which so far impacts the editorial contents.

Consequently, taking in account the preceding data in this study, the state of affair recalls for the restructuring of media configuration in realizing the utility of local community over the consequences of pluralistic media settings. While rural areas where majority of the citizens just over 70% live with tied up in subsistence farming of agricultural activities (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017: 61), media persist to ignore them, as a result they are little informed concerning their local economic needs in line with political aspirations. As the present ownership inclines to transform the system into urban persistence; the findings indicate uneven geographical portrayal partial to urban articles than rural coverage. It so far clearly signifies to the circulation of these newspaper that merely red in urban as most of owners invested in the major municipal areas. The logistic meagre that accustom journalists in Tanzania likely to validate urban based reporting, since they are limited with logistical means like impassable public transport to rural areas and other technological resources like internet connection and general deficiency of electricity in most of the rural areas, that commonly encounter journalists to perform their work incompetently in the course of their rural coverages.

Nonetheless, the transformation remarks gradually the Rural-urban access of information thanks to the presence of advanced distribution network to reach the remote areas unlike before. The computing data reveal the incredible changes of geographical disparity from 1995 to 2015 for rural articles in three publications. This indicates the remarkable concerns of rural coverage through which the urban gradually decreased from 1995 to 2015. The question of information gap can be assessed within the framework of structural impediments, henceforth the Tanzanian publications fail to reveal the equal distribution of news across the country due to the presence of illiteracy, low purchasing power, infantile distribution network and poor reading culture, so far attributing to low newspaper circulations in which certainly no any daily probably covers all Tanzanian secretarial regions per issue. Subsequently, the urban based programming continues to hit the daily Tanzanian media broadcasting and publications, in which information about politicians/governors with related subjects are tremendously detected rather than the subjects on the inclusive citizenry. Dar es Salaam, a commercial city continues to occupy nearly half of daily reporting, in which together with Zanzibar covers over two third. They are followed with other large cities like Tanga, Arusha, Moshi, Mbeya, and Mwanza, while other regions have so far urban-based correspondents, refuting the rural dwellers' access to a free and instant flow of information. The coverage of rural areas and villages persist marginally except the public figures from Dar es Salaam or the regional headquarters outing to them.

The above findings in table 3.2.5.1 contradict with previous findings about Dar es Salaam which inhabits rather fewer figures and heightening of Zanzibar's articles than normal data. It's because of the involvement of Zanzibar Leo in this study which doesn't locate in Dar es Salaam and covers many stories on the isles. It so far denotes the compliance of Tanzania news landscape on the proposition of news concept about proximity to the audiences as developed in journalism. To this point, the location of publication and its headquarter matter and attributes the

partial geographical coverage, as of Mtanzania and Nipashe which exist in Dar es salaam portrayed more contents on Dar es Salaam while published scarcely on other cities like Zanzibar respectively. Other cities were considerably portrayed because of having major state and political occasions like Dodoma which is in the third position in this study, since it's a capital city which has parliament complex. It also consists of the headquarter of ruling party (CCM) where many party's activities are carried out, and other several government offices are also found in Dodoma. While coastal region is fourth because of its proximity to Dar es Salaam and having many historical and meeting sites in which political parties also conduct their activities over there. Arusha is fifth represented in the media might be by reasons of hosting numerous international events; it accommodates the East African Community building, International Criminal Court for African affairs and other transnational affairs.

This study set forth the critical analysis by means of the institutional and individual endeavors on the reviving the public good of information access by marginal groups especially the rural dwellers. Such as the governing authorities to put forward regulatory deliberation, involving the evaluation and follow-up over media undertakings. While media institutions should manage their institutional deliberation like active libraries and develop annual and quarterly assessment. As the training institution can take part since they are quantitatively brilliant now than before. The national policies such as the structure of Frequency Modulation FM transmission which cover 10 km led many owners to invest in urban and overlook the rural representations. The policies would involve the inclusive settlement of digital broadcasting, Short Wave (SW) and Medium Wave (MW) transmission to cover broadly.

Apart from the ownership transformation thwart the embellishment of big media corporations which attempt to overthrow the customary control of entire media system in the country. The study also developed the hypothesis on the transformation through new media practices especially the online social networks and blogospheres. The findings also accord the common scrutiny that inspiration of technology (blogosphere and social networks) has expanded the Tanzanian mediascapes and surpasses over traditional censorship and control on news production and dissemination in fostering political information efficacy. The descriptive and numerical data affirm the potentiality of Tanzanian media landscapes expansion by means of internet diffusion. Involving the explicit experiments to the ownership structures and institutional control of the contents in views of professionalism and economic perspectives. The inclusive observations in this study derived from media practitioners in accordance with their expertise in the industry demonstrate alike assertions, considering the structure of news contents, production, distributions and consumption. It's manifested by both the individual journalists and the mainstream media, exploiting the internet as enormous news source in Tanzanian news industry for the production and distributions of public information. Consequently, it has decent inspiration for broadcasting industry mostly for the comprehensive coverage and access, while the number of licensed online broadcasting channels grew dramatically.

In considering the above qualitative data on the hypothesis of technology diffusion, the transformation for print media industry turns into diverse perspectives, as challenging the economic survival of Tanzanian press system. In the scrutiny of this thesis, mainstream editors

are responsive coming up with beyond journalistic techniques with the intention of attracting the readers who are overwhelmed through the adequate information flow on events across numerous online channels. It signifies that creativities in press industry can so far flourish the mainstream undertakings into professionalism such as the make use of the investigative journalism in attempt to secure sufficient readership for the economic survival, since the event model journalism is much exercised in the internet platforms. Hence, the status quo entails the mainstream print media adherence to the online revolution as the majority of corporations launch their online channels to compete in business point of views. As much as the online operators regarded themselves as helpful for the market support of traditional press, the best example is Michuzi Blog which instituted the segment of marketplace for daily local newspapers in which users globally can buy virtual copies with reasonable price of Tsh 500 similarly for each publication.

Such novelty tends to clear the query concerning the economic myth of press industry over the internet. It yet brings about the question of liaison and mutual understanding of online and mainstream journalists, as the professional orthodox concerns on the online channels that devastate the journalism prosperity into misconstruction. However, the perceptions change across the time to the extent that the mainstream constantly utilizes the same. Thus, technology diffusion places Tanzanian media industry at astonishing position, such as creating professional conceivable atmosphere that enhance the local journalists' reliability and credibility. Likewise, almost of all existing mainstream media channels have extended to the online version through blogs, websites, simulcasting Television and Radio plus social media platforms, by which traditional contents interrelated and hence audiences pass their views on connected news bulletins. New media have become significant platforms for amassing miscellaneous Tanzanian clusters and a strategic means of filling information meagre, citizen media are active in filling the limited information of global mediascape and the declination of national mainstream coverages, they are timely burdened with multifaceted photos, texts and videos of the current affairs. Hence, the blogosphere and online social networks have abundant geographical reach and access than traditional outlets on filling the gap of public information. They have both huge national wise and global access and collaboration with many media corporations; they are used mostly by journalists, government officials and other ordinary people for accessing Pemba coverage.

Although these wired platforms at the beginning were just useful for diaspora, it's found now in this study that they have decent geographical coverage with interesting local demographic reach of the audiences. As most of them are accessed in Tanzania by youths aged 18-45 who are potential political and social actors. They are also accessible in abroad where the foremost audiences are in United Kingdom, Oman and US then East Africa. To mean that Tanzanian journalists and civil society advocators make use of internet transmission to fill up the gap of restrictive mainstream media space, they freely sort out distinctive agenda and shaping public opinions trendy political aspect on spot. Consequently, the criticism of government and other public institutions are very common circulated in due course.

There is historical interaction now among mainstream journalists and online operators thanks to public recognitions on the practicality of the digital channels for the social accountability. Such as Michuzi blog managed the cooperation with the international media like

BBC, VOA, and UN radio international along with the local broadcasting stations such as EFM radio, ITV, Chanel 10 and Azam TV broadcast, there are also some amount of media which use the blog materials randomly. Besides, the growing of smart phone ownership attributes the progression of online consumption which speeds up the utility of the channels especially to the political deliberation. Blogospheres and online social networks grew into revolutionary platforms for Tanzania political deliberation over the world especially for the Diaspora communities.

This thesis also tested the potential of political diversity widespread vis-à-vis the networked journalism. The findings show that the blogosphere and online forum have spurred the liberal political journalism in accordance with transformation of entire media system in the country. For example, the Michuzi blog is potential of virtual civic information flows smitten with democratization. As in 2007 during the resignations of Edward Lowassa who was a prime minister and other three ministers, the information on them overflows across the globe. It recently has manifested to publish the profiles of all MPs and prominent politicians on the blog. Likewise, the social events like the death of Amina Chifupa in 2006 who was the youngest MP, the blog also overwhelmed crosswise the diaspora communities quickly over the mainstream media coverage.

Consequently, the internet channels have diversified the prospects of the political contents through the multiple platforms as alternative over traditional institutional restrictions. As long as the internet has become revolutionary civic platform for users with heterogeneous backgrounds, especially for youths along the extensive geographical reach. It implicates to the adequate networked journalism with political concentration rather than social and economic topical motivations, along with rational economic resolution through online channels for press industry. For example Jamii Forum which accounted for more than 100,000 officially registered members has nurtured the dynamic political revolution to the local media landscape towards accountable media. For the first time in 2008 the platform managed to expose corrupt public figures involved in the EPA scandal over blue-penciled mainstream media coverage. Thanks to the fragmentation of mainstream media over punctuality, accurate and analytical reporting, the armature newspersons take responsibility to inquiry, gathering, verifying and disseminations on behalf of professionals, insomuch that network extends from homeland to Diasporas. Hence, it signifies not only the overwhelming professional gap but also the narrow traditional media power on setting public agenda due to the user-generated news production, citizen journalism in consort with convergence culture prototype ostensible to grant the audience autonomy to determine what to think about *with media* rather than *by media* as agenda setting theory suggests, with aids of the emerging gatekeepers model.

Whilst, the above expressive findings demonstrate an assortment of concerns over the technology infrastructure as tactical enough to meet the rations communication divide in the basis of polity and citizenship regarding the variations available. The findings demonstrate the usefulness for distinct political party manifestation, since politicians are the main news sources and actors. In this account, the information gap is still vivid through digital journalism, as the politics is the most topically utilized by many viewers, while the urban news still dominate over rural coverage attributable to digital divide and limited resources by operators to include the

general nationals. Despite the identical deliberation of operator on fostering the inclusive sphere with a wide range of arenas, counting for diverse subjects notably economics, sports, health, social affairs, business, educational, heritages, and educational sorts and others. For instance Zaima media online accentuated on ordinary citizens and villagers mostly in which it initiated special coverage on femininity through special column namely *A Queen of Zaima* (Malkia wa Zaima) to portray the female news sources and actors in particular. While the Zanzibar Yetu blog deliberated to involve the inclusive social clusters such as youths and women for social news through political reportages but the ultimate spectators become politicians and urban settlers. It indicates that most of online platforms are also politically concentrated than ultimate social and economic topical motivations.

On the other side, the massive ethical challenges in digital journalism entails further concerns to the entire journalism profession in the country. Such as the proliferation of armature practitioners who make use the speedy provision of online on disseminating the breakings news which sometimes activate the scooping journalism. It hitherto tempts the mainstream editors to rethink about the utilization of multi-source over online rumors circulations anchored in plagiarism and fabrication. Taking into account the presumption of audience gatekeeping which challenge the traditional institutional control such as editor's gatekeeping and ownership postures. This research found the decline tendency of individual journalist trust due to the casual comments by users as most of frontrunners mentioned some incidents in which some people judged them according to the comments of the followers. Yet, the operators tend to manage and overcome the impediments as nurtured by User-generated- content prototype through the personal deliberation such as instruction about the network, quick action on the aggressive comments. With the optimistic of ethical revival through blogs and online social networks, the operators themselves become aware about the journalism ethical observance as most of them are professional journalists working with mainstream media. As so far some operators have engaged institutional instruments like professional editorial board, distinctive news room, quality controller and editorial policies to safeguard the professionally undertakings.

The further institutional mechanisms are ideal measures to overcome the technological disparity as well as the unethical conducts approaching the abuses of profession, meant for entrenching them as socially accountable platforms in respect of inclusive sphere. Such mechanism should be anchored in professional guidelines for solitary practitioners who have the decent journalism background to streamline the objective and analytical political journalism. Based on liberal political journalism whereas the editorial content might accomplish the public interest over the individual political and commercial interest, counter to rumors conflicts and event centered political news fuel in the online platforms. Some respondents talked about the current cybercriminal laws which lean to diverge the political deliberation of networked journalisms in Tanzania whereby several online operators and users were under arrest of the state over contention of misuses of digital contents. Hence, the sole typology of government supervision through TCRA and Zanzibar broadcasting corporation to regulate the entire online content might not clue the resolution since the digital ownership is infinite. A number of

practitioners are unprofessional who have straight control on the content unlike in the mainstream where the institutional concept of the press works.

Conclusively, based on the above discussion encompassing literature reviews and qualitative data, the conglomeration as dramatic ownership structure shifted the orthodox small family owned businesses and sole state run media system into larger corporation-businesses; the privatization so far challenges the government control over content. As far as the labor rights tend to decline in the media institutions, the study put forward the provisions of journalist federations and wage board to advocate for the entire professional welfare, job security and other rights. As long as the transformation of media system in term of structure, practices and institutional control accelerate, the Tanzanian journalism in the near future will be totally converged into both online and offline dominance, owing to the consciousness of the mainstream media corporation as revealed in this study. Hitherto the conventional media institutions incline to facilitate and deliberate to compete massively through editorial professionals such as the collaboration with Telecommunication Company to revive the online barriers. Consequently, the twofold alternative forces restructure the plural voices freely especially for diversification of political contents.

Subsequently, the above quantitative content analysis explored the transformative dynamics of media system and how the trend affected the entire media contents especially the political reportages in Tanzanian media ownership patterns. The political prominence in the content over other topical themes on both mainstream and online channels entails further quantitative and qualitative scrutiny into wide social serving of mass media, flouting the incredible boundary for marginal audiences such as women, children, and the disabled people with comprehensive outlets and time to access as well as the geographical disparity of urban-rural coverage. Thus, the prospective research should probe the mixed approach of top-down and bottom-up approach, examining management behavior in relations with ownership, tracing the entire owner's managerial episode as from the recruitment, the mutual trust between management, journalist and proprietors. To observe the presumptions that editors and program managers accentuate their personal obligations over the employees, while owners' satisfactions through appointing model for managers and editorial staffs is debatable for professional accomplishment. On the other side, the dubious provision of press market control in the course of pluralism of Tanzanian media system requires the additional scrutiny basedn in political economy methodology to the scope of demographical and general cultural sceneries in accordance with readership behavior for the the readers' preference to the yellow papers than analytic publications.

Ultimately, this thesis portrayed the inclination of politically motivated channels which become propaganda machineries through a group of statesmen who invest and control the media system, as politicizing the entire industry. The above qualitative findings specifically highlight about the inclination of confidential ownership postures especially for newspapers sector, along with the spectrum of religious media which take part as business platform for fundraising. They shield the provisioning milieu of political power, granting abundant political coverage especially during the election campaign. As the recent incident by the ruling party officially declared to

conquer the African Media Group which owns a number of broadcasting channels. It commonly demands further study on the analysis of financial system of press industry based in the private media domain in view of political economy. Seeing that Political advertising has not flourished in Tanzanian media landscape, it also needs the scrutiny for some media to maintain in marketplace while they structural incapable, lobbying the government for untying of state regulations. Whilst, the influence of technology which doesn't only expand the landscape but also diversifies the content entails for the quantitative research on online ownership and control, it is ideal to examine the aftermath of extensive ownership structure of mainstream and online.



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APPENDIX ONE: Interview Guide for Data Collection

Questions for Media Owners

Name.....

Position.....

Types of media; Private (..). Public (..).

Education..... Experience in media.....

1. How do you assess the current media ownership structure comparing with the pre-economic liberalization and multipartism?
 - a. Excellent
 - b. Very Good
 - c. Satisfactory
 - d. Fair
 - e. Poor
2. To what extent the existing multiple ownership structure has changed the media outlook into rational political obligation? *You can choose more than one answer by using the values; Strongly Agree (High) = 5, Agree = 4, Moderately = 3, Disagree = 2, Strongly Disagree (Low) = 1 to express your opinions to which the current media ownership structure is valuable.*
 - a. The current ownership is constructive to ethical journalism. ()
 - b. It rather fosters the editorial freedom. ()
 - c. The diversity of political news content is vivid. ()
 - d. It nurtures Overall journalists' prosperity towards professional performance. ()
 - e. No difference at all. ()
3. What the influences behind your involvement into media sector?
4. How have you recruited the present editorial team and overall staffs in your media?
5. How is your relationship with editorial management and other Journalists in decision making?
 - a. Extremely sympathetic ()
 - b. Very sympathetic ()
 - c. Sympathetic ()
 - d. Slightly Sympathetic ()
 - e. Not at all Sympathetic ()
6. What kind of institutional mechanism you endeavor to enhance the media management professionally into social obligations throughout the daily routines? *You can choose more than one answer by using the values Almost all the time (High) = 5, Frequently = 4, Sometimes = 3, Once in a while = 2, Almost never (Low) = 1 to indicate the frequent to which you conduct.*
 - a. Organizing in-house training programs for entire employees. ()
 - b. Supporting the personnel to pursue regular educational program. ()
 - c. Setting Media Policies, code of ethics and styles on civic deliberations. ()

- d. By using carrot and stick model on journalists who breach ethics. ()
 - e. We conduct post-mortem and editorial meetings to talk over news stories and related comments. ()
 - f. Employing the ombudsman to enhance the media liability to the public utility. ()
 - g. Fixing the collaboration with professional media networks (organizations). ()
7. How do you sort out and sidestep your commercial or political concentration from the editorial content and general undertakings?
8. Do you think your media has played any pivotal role in democratization process in Tanzania?
- a. Extremely important ()
 - b. Very Important ()
 - c. Somewhat important ()
 - d. Not at all important ()
 - e. Absolutely has no any important role ()

Questions for Editorial Managers

Name.....

Position.....

Types of media; Private (..). Public (..).

Education..... Experience in media.....

1. How do you assess the current media ownership structure comparing with the pre-economic liberalization and multipartyism?
2. To what extent the existent multiple ownership structure has changed the media outlook into rational political obligation?
3. What's your motive to work in this media?
4. Have you experienced any owners' instructions in the course of your professional being that led to change the contents or programming structure of your outlet?
 - a. Almost all the time ()
 - b. Frequently ()
 - c. Sometimes ()
 - d. Once in a while ()
 - e. Almost never ()
5. Are you satisfied with overall owners' treatment in your journalistic performance?
 - a. Extremely satisfied ()
 - b. Very Satisfied ()
 - c. Slightly satisfied ()
 - d. Dissatisfied ()
 - e. Very dissatisfied ()

6. Do you think the set editorial policies and styles in your media house correspond to the long run journalism characters in the democratization?
 - a. Extremely supportive ()
 - b. Very Supportive ()
 - c. Supportive ()
 - d. Slightl Supportive ()
 - e. Not at all Supportive ()
7. As main gatekeeper for daily news publication/broadcast, what do you consider mostly in determining the political news produced in your media?
8. How do you endeavor to detach the editorial content from owners/proprietors' interests?
9. How is your relationship with Ordinary Journalists in decision making, in observing the professional principles over commercial and political interest of the owner?
 - a. Extremely sympathetic ()
 - b. Very sympathetic ()
 - c. Sympathetic ()
 - d. Slightly Sympathetic ()
 - e. Not at all Sympathetic ()
10. How the emergence of blogosphere and social network demoralizes your mainstream control on News Production and dissemination?

Questions for Academicians/Senior Journalists

Name.....

Position.....

Types of media; Private (..). Public (..).

Education..... Experience in media.....

1. How do you assess the current media ownership structure comparing with the pre-economic liberalization and multipartysm?
2. To what extent the existent multiple ownership structure has changed the media outlook into rational political obligation?
3. Do you think the existing multiple ownership structure entrenches the substantial network amongst owner, media management and ordinary reporters?
4. Taking into account the complex system of the current multiple ownership structure, how do you evaluate the following regulating aspects in respect of political journalism prosperity? Please tick (√) the item with appropriate value, using number 1 - 5 in the provided bracket to show how they are pragmatic to regulate the media in Tanzania. Strongly Agree (High) = 5, Agree = 4, Moderately = 3, Disagree = 2, Strongly Disagree (Low) = 1

Regulating aspects	Strongly Agree	Agree	Mode rately	Disag -ree	Strongly Disagree
The media legislations are still inimical to accountable and free journalism practice					
The political and commercial agenda of owners/proprietors tend to factor the editorial contents in Tanzanian news media.					
The self-regulation is the imperative resolution for socially accountable journalism over current ownership structure led in deregulation market environment.					
The media professional organizations have significant role of confronting the inferences of ownership in Tanzanian media undertakings.					
The power to regulate media behavior persists on the hands of Public through subscriptions and payment.					
The free market environment still problematic to set up free media atmosphere and journalist adherence to code of ethics.					
The set media houses' policies and styles are dynamic with the journalistic characters in the democratization.					
Editorial managers have the entire control around the dictation of day-to-day news stories.					
Politicians investment and control of media led to the high professional abuses					
The general Journalists have heavy-duty to determine the daily media contents					

5. How the emergence of Facebook and twitter foster the diversity of Political contents and Political information efficacy in Tanzania?

Questions for Bloggers and Social platforms operators

1. How do you assess the current media ownership structure comparing with the pre-economic liberalization and multipartyism?
 - a. Excellent ()
 - b. Very Good ()
 - c. Satisfactory ()
 - d. Fair ()
 - e. Poor ()
2. To what extent the existent multiple ownership structure has changed the media outlook into rational political obligation? *You can choose more than one answer by using the values; Strongly Agree (High) = 5, Agree = 4, Moderately = 3, Disagree = 2, Strongly Disagree (Low) = 1 to express your opinions to which the current media ownership structure is valuable.*
 - f. The current ownership is constructive to ethical journalism. ()
 - g. It rather fosters the editorial freedom. ()
 - h. The diversity of political news content is vivid. ()
 - i. It nurtures Overall journalists' prosperity towards professional performance. ()
 - j. No difference at all. ()
3. As main gatekeeper for daily news production what do you consider mostly for political news publication in your platform?
4. How do you endeavor to detach the editorial content from your political and commercial interests in mind?
5. Do you think the emergence of blogosphere and social network challenges the traditional media ownership configurations and control?
6. How is your relationship with other mainstream Journalists?
7. To whom the media outputs is in control between you (operator) and users? And how the user-generated-content model affect your ethical journalism observance?
8. Who are the key news actors and sources in your political news stories?
9. In which date-line and areas you regularly cover news stories?
10. Who are your mostly niche audiences? And which topics they commonly prefer to read and contribute?

Questions for Focus Group Discussion

Reporters and Young Journalists

1. How do you assess the current media ownership structure comparing with the pre-economic liberalization and multipartism?
2. To what extent the existing multiple ownership structure has changed the media outlook into rational political obligation?
3. How do you assess the set media houses' policies and styles in line with the journalistic characters in the democratization?
4. How the free market environment factor journalistic ethics on news media over owners' commercial and political interests?
5. What is the role of media professional organizations in confronting the inferences of ownership in Tanzanian media undertakings?
6. Do you think the self-regulation is the imperative resolution for socially accountable journalism over current ownership structure led in deregulated market environment?
7. Do you think the existent multiple ownership structure entrenches the substantial network amongst owner, media management and ordinary reporters?
8. What are the implications of the political (government) and economic (advertisers) environment to media regulations in Tanzania?
9. What is the general position of technology diffusion on the Tanzanian media landscapes on fostering the diversity of Political contents and information efficacy? And how it affects the overall ethical journalism over traditional censorship and control on news production and dissemination?

APPENDIX TWO: Coding Matrix for Newspapers' Quantitative Content Analysis

Each row represents one coding unit = one newspaper article

Newspaper name Date

No. of the coding unit (= article)	News Theme	Genre of the News	Reference to	Geographical Location	length in paragraph	Page number	No. of photos	News actor and Source	News Orientation	Key word
1	political	editorial	voters	national wise	8	2	1	Political parties, voters	Educational	Democracy, election
2	economic	hard news	government	rural	5	8	1	Ordinary citizens	appeals	agriculture, market

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF ZANZIBAR

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Expected date of departure	-
Duration of stay	-

Research Tittles:

The Journalistic Impression on the Structural Transformation of Media Leadership in Tanzanian

Full address of Sponsor:

This is to endorse that I have received and duly considered applicant's request I am satisfied with the descriptions outlined above.

Name of the authorizing officer:

Signature and seal:

Institution:

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Date:



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24/08/2018

APPENDIX FOUR: *A Map of Tanzania Showing the Area where the Study Covered*

