Public Service Broadcasting and Participatory Communication for Poverty

Eradication: A Case of Tanzania Broadcasting (TBC) as Tool for Poverty

Eradication in Tanzania

Abstract

The project evaluated the role of Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) programmes in eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania. The project intended to establish how TBC programmes on poverty eradication are produced and the constraints involved in producing them; how the audience receive them; and whether there is any evidence of interaction between programme producers and audiences in the production of the programmes. The concept of participatory communication was adopted as a major framework. This piece of research used in-depth interviews and focus groups as data gathering techniques. Three TBC programmes on business and economy, agriculture and women voice aired in 2009 were used as units of analysis.

Findings indicate that participatory communication which involves feed-forward-feedback processes between broadcasters and citizens is essential in broadcasting for eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania. However, TBC faced a number of constraints like lack of funds and government control which affected its performance as a tool for poverty eradication. Further, the findings show that mobile-phones and internet have rejuvenated and radically transformed participatory development communication on TBC. Finally, the study reveals that the impact of TBC programmes on poverty eradication in motivating people to participate in poverty eradication schemes is subject to government efficiency in implementing poverty eradication policies at the grassroots; in this research the government was inefficient. The research contributes to the study of communication for development in Tanzania by studying themes emerging from TBC programmes on poverty eradication. It also contributes to a further understanding of the obstacles to participatory communication in the Tanzanian context.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ALT/PR	Andrew Lees Trust Radio Broadcasting Project
ANC	African National Congress
ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)
CCTV	China Central Television
CNN	Cable News Network
CRDB	Cooperative Rural Development Bank
DG	Director General
EAC	East Africa Community
EPA	External Payment Arrears
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility
ESAP	Economic and Social Adjustment Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FRELIMO	The Liberation Front of Mozambique
FROLIZI	The Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HDV	High-Definition Video
IDA	International Development Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSAT	India National Satellite System
ITV	Independent Television
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MOLINACO	Movement for the Liberation of Comoro Islands
MPLA	The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NBC	Namibian Broadcasting Corporation

NBC	National Bank of Commerce
NESP	National Economic Survival Programme
NIEO	The New International Economic Order
NMB	National Microfinance Bank
NPES	National Poverty Eradication Strategy
NSGRP	The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PADEP	Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project
PAL	Phase Alternating Line
PFP	Policy Framework Paper
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP	The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
RT	Russia Today
RTD	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Co-operative Societies
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SHIHATA	Shirika la Habari Tanzania (Tanzania News Agency)
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TAS	Tanzania Assistance Strategy
TMTP2020	Tanzania Mini-Tiger Plan 2020
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TBC1	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation Television Channel One
TBC-TAIFA	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation – TAIFA (National Radio)
TBS	Tanzania Broadcasting Service
TVT	Televisheni ya Taifa (Tanzania National Television)

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFL	Uganda National Liberation Front
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

Chapter One

Introduction

"While others try to reach the moon, we try to reach the villages." Julius K. Nyerere.

1.1. Background Statement

In the past 60 years mass media have been at the centre of communication for development in the Third World, especially, in sub-Saharan Africa where broadcasting has been used extensively as an instrument for development. Early scholars (Lerner, 1958; Rogers, 1962; Schramm, 1964) argued that media were the agents of modernisation in the Third World countries. Similarly, the critics of dominant paradigm of modernisation like (Fuglesang, 1975; Mefalopulos, 2005; Melkote and Steeves, 2001; Quarry and Ramirez 2009; Servaes, 1998, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1991, 1989; Thomas, 2008) argued that media were essential instruments in promoting development. They asserted that media that use participatory communication approach empower people to gain access to information and amplify their voices, which in turn help them to distinguish between political rhetoric and development realities advocated by their governments.

This thesis is about public service broadcasting (PSB) and participatory communication for poverty eradication in Tanzania. Since independence in 1961 broadcasting has played a major role in building the nation and development in a country with inadequate and poor transportation infrastructures. Broadcasting is still the most powerful means of mass communication in Tanzania which reach the grassroots and mobilize the people to participate in development. Other forms of mass communication, like newspapers and blogs, Facebook, Tweeter and emails on the internet are mainly urban based, very expensive and constrained by low literacy rates

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and poverty. Hence, radio and television become the natural choice because they overcome the mentioned barriers. Moreover, radio and television are immediate in terms of delivering the message to the large and diversified audience in both urban and rural areas, although television is limited to urban areas. Further, mobile phone users have turned radio and television into platforms of participatory communication for poverty eradication. Thus, this research explores the contribution of Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) in poverty eradication in Tanzania.

1.2. The Problem

This research explores the role of TBC as a public broadcaster in poverty eradication in Tanzania in 2009. The research examines the processes involved in the production of the programmes on poverty eradication aired on TBC. This study attempts to investigate how the audience participates in the processes of producing the programmes through feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms. The feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms in this context mean the involvement of the audience in the programme production as the source of information -- feed-forward, as well as the receiver who evaluates the information they receive and sends the feedback to TBC. Further, the research explores the contribution of TBC programmes as a platform of sharing and imparting knowledge and skills, which motivate and empower the audiences to participate in poverty eradication schemes. The constraints, which affect the production and the quality of TBC programmes on poverty eradication, are also examined. The concept of participatory communication is used as a major framework for understanding how TBC programmes on poverty eradication are produced and how the knowledge and skills from the programmes are shared among the audiences. This thesis defines "participatory communication" as active involvement of the audiences, TBC journalists and experts or government officials in the production and dissemination

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of TBC programmes in a creative interactive dialogue and sharing knowledge and experiences on how to eradicate extreme poverty in Tanzania.

1.3. Poverty in Tanzania

After five decades of attempting to eradicate poverty in Tanzania, little success has been achieved and there is evidence that the number of people living in extreme poverty is increasing, regardless of government plans to reduce their number by half by 2015 and eradicate extreme poverty by 2025 (United Republic of Tanzania - URT, 2007). The household budget survey of 2007 shows that the number of people who live below the poverty line of less than one US dollar per day has increased by one million to 12.7 million in the last six years 2001/2006 (ibid.). United Nations data (2007) shows that in Tanzania the number of people who live in poverty is 50% of its population of 41 million people; and the number of women dying in childbirth is 578 per 100,000 live births, while the number of children dying before the age of five is 112 per 1,000 live births. Only 16% of the population have access to electricity and 62% of the population have access to safe, clean water; population growth is 2.5% per annum; and the country that in the 1980s attained a literacy rate of over 90% has a literacy rate of 69.4%; that is an army of 13 million illiterate people (URT, 2007). One can observe that children in most primary schools sit on the floor, while most of the hospitals do not have enough beds and sometimes medicine. Recent data show that Tanzania is ranked as 152 out of 177 nations in the World Human Development Index of 2011 and half of its population of 46 million in 2011 live in extreme poverty (UNDP, 2011). Such a picture is of necessity to be taken into consideration in analysing critically the contribution of TBC in eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania.

1.4. Research Rationale

The rationale of choosing this topic derives from the lack of academic studies and scientific researches on the contribution of TBC as a public broadcaster in the eradication of extreme poverty in Tanzania. Hence, no data has been revealed to show the contribution TBC has made in poverty eradication in the country. This thesis will, therefore, be at the leading edge of academic research aiming at exploring the role TBC plays in eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania, and thus will offer an original contribution to knowledge.

Whilst a number of studies on media and communication in Tanzania have been conducted, for example, Widstrand (1966), Condon (1967), Graham Mytton (1968, 1976, 1983), Jengo (1971), Ng'wanakilala (1981), Konde (1984), Sturmer (1998), MISA-TAN (2002), none of them focused on the participatory communication function of the national public broadcasting media in poverty eradication, despite the importance of participatory communication as a function of PSB. Thus, this thesis will make a significant contribution to the concept of participatory communication in PSB in the age of mobile phones and internet. It is expected that by analysing the processes involved in production and reception of TBC programmes through a participatory communication framework -- the praxis of feed-forward and/or feedback mechanism -- the thesis will offer an informative approach that expands understanding on the processes used in producing such programmes. Further, at this time there is no study yet conducted on Tanzania showing how the new communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet have transformed participatory communication on national media. It can be observed that mobile phones and internet have made it possible for people from all walks of life in different parts of Tanzania, regardless the distance between them, to participate, sometimes instantaneously, in producing TBC programmes and evaluating

the contribution of the programmes in eradicating extreme poverty in their lives. The instantaneous participation of the audience in the feed-forward and/or feedback in programme production would not have been possible without the use of new communication technologies. This thesis will provide initial data for such a study.

Further, the researcher learnt from Nyerere (1968, 1973) that full participation of people in political and socio-economic activities and decision-making processes about their choices, welfare and livelihood leads to achieving people-centred development. Thus, using the participatory communication concept to understand the contribution of TBC programmes in motivating and mobilising people to eradicate extreme poverty in Tanzania will help to fill the gap in the knowledge and understanding of the role TBC plays as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania. Finally, this research will be a practical way of learning the relationship between the degree of media freedom and control, and the content and coverage of TBC programmes on poverty eradication in Tanzania.

1.5. Research Objectives

The principal objective of this study was to investigate in theoretical and practical terms the contribution of TBC participatory communication in poverty eradication in Tanzania. Specifically the study sought to:

i)   Examine the processes of production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication and identify the constraints which affect the production processes of the programmes.

ii)   Examine how the audience receive TBC programmes on poverty eradication in terms of finding the programmes useful and relevant.

iii)   Examine if there is evidence of interaction and participatory

communication practice between TBC producers and the audiences in

production of programmes on poverty eradication.

1.6. Research Questions

The following research questions were developed to achieve the answers for this

research.

i)   How are poverty eradication programmes on TBC produced, and what

are the constraints on the production of such programmes?

ii)   How do audiences of TBC programmes on poverty eradication receive

them?

iii)   Is there any evidence of interaction between the producers and the

audience in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication?

Research Question One will be addressed through interviews with both senior

figures and programme producers at TBC and media experts. The question will attempt

to establish different techniques and approaches used in producing TBC programmes on

poverty eradication. It will also address some constraints which affect programme

production at TBC as a public broadcaster. Research Question Two will be addressed

through focus group sessions with a sample of Tanzanian audiences to examine how

audiences receive such programmes, and their attitudes towards them. Also in-depth

interviews with experts in communication for development will help to answer this

question. Further, with respect to this question, the thesis attempts to establish the role

of TBC programmes in motivating the audiences to debate on what can be done to

eradicate poverty in their lives and improve their standards of living. Research Question

Three will draw on information from both the interviews and focus groups to see if

there is any interaction between producers and audiences in the production of these programmes. With regard to this question, the thesis will address the involvement of the audiences in the production of the programmes through the feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms.

1.7. Research Methodology Design

This thesis seeks to answer research questions by systematically evaluating the production and reception of TBC programmes on poverty eradication and the involvement of the audiences in the processes through feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms. It also attempts to establish how participatory communication is used in the production of TBC programmes. The data gathering for the research took place between January and July 2010 in Tanzania. The samples of the programmes were three TBC programmes on poverty eradication namely Economy (*Uchumi*) aired on TBC1-television, Agriculture (*Kilimo*) also known as Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project (PADEP) and Women Voice (*Sauti ya Wanawake*) aired on both TBC-TAIFA-radio and TBC1. These programmes were selected by purposive sampling for three reasons: first, they are the most well-known and respected TBC programmes; second, they have a national audience since they cover issues which are of great interest to most of Tanzanians; and third, they represent the two approaches used in the production of TBC programmes -- centralised and decentralised approaches.

In this thesis, case study strategy was adopted as a research design. Two data collection methods, focus groups and in-depth interviews, were adopted for this research in order to answer research questions. Also a purposive sampling procedure was used in choosing the research participants. Researcher's values and ideology influenced the selection of participants (See Chapter 5). Thirteen participants were interviewed in unstructured in-depth interviews while a total of 45 participants were

involved in the focus groups. In-depth interviews were carried out in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam cities in February, March and July 2010. Focus groups were carried out in six villages in Nyamagana district – Mwanza region in February 2010. The data from focus groups and in-depth interviews were analysed in qualitative terms with thematic analysis methods.

1.8. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into nine chapters. This chapter has given the background of the study, the rationale, the objectives and the research questions. The second chapter presents an historical outline of Tanzania and the economic struggle to eradicate extreme poverty in the country since independence in 1961 to 2009. The third chapter examines the broad context and relevant information about TBC and its relationship with the government from the colonial era to 2009. The fourth chapter discusses the literature that has informed the study. Specifically, it discusses the concepts of participatory communication and PSB, and why the concept of participatory communication is used to study traditional mass media. Further, it discusses new communication and technologies of mobile phones and the internet as a driving force of participatory communication on PSB. The fifth chapter discusses the methods used to collect and analyse data. The chapter rationalises the use of qualitative data collection methods of in-depth interviews and focus groups. The purposes behind each data collection method, research sites, study samples, and data collection and data analysis procedures, researcher's reflexivity and ethics of the study are also discussed. Further, the use of thematic analysis as a data analysis method is examined and rationalised.

The sixth chapter discusses the findings from in-depth interviews with the TBC Director General and TBC journalists. The chapter analyses the approaches used in programme production and how audiences participate in the programme production

processes. Chapter seven discusses findings from both focus groups and in-depth interviews with TBC journalists, academics and communication for development experts. The chapter evaluates the contribution of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. Further, the chapter discusses the impact of government inefficiency in implementing its poverty 'reduction' policies and on the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication at the grassroots. Chapter eight discusses the future prospects of TBC by offering some suggestions from research participants on the challenges which affect TBC participatory communication for poverty eradication. Chapter nine concludes the study with remarks on the role of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania. It has seven sections: research design; the conceptual framework of the study; the two research methods used in the study; the outcomes of the study; the contribution to knowledge; the limitations of the study; and finally the recommendations for further study.

Chapter Two

Tanzania's Historical Outline and Economic Struggle to Eradicate Extreme Poverty

This chapter presents Tanzania's historical outline and economic struggle to eradicate extreme poverty. The chapter helps us to understand the contextual background of this thesis which explores the role of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania.

2.1. Independence

The United Republic of Tanzania was established on April 26, 1964, following the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika became independent on December 9, 1961 under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere. Zanzibar attained her independence on December 10, 1963. Abed A. Karume led the revolution on January 12, 1964, which ended Arabs domination in Zanzibar. In 1965 the parliament amended the Constitution and Tanzania was proclaimed a one-party state (Hatch, 1972). The role of national elections was retained, although the candidates for elections were selected by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in the Mainland and Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP) in the Isles. The presidential elections were held at the same time as parliamentary elections though the president was running unopposed, while each parliamentary seat could be contested only by two candidates (Liundi, 1998).

2.2. The Arusha Declaration: The Beginning of Socialism

Tanzania under Mwalimu Julius Nyerere declared a war against three enemies: poverty, ignorance and diseases with a slogan 'Freedom and Work'. On February 5, 1967, a policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance was adopted under the Arusha Declaration. The policy, in principle, aimed at attaining people-centred development

through participatory collective decision-making, collective implementation and collective distribution and ownership of the country's wealth (Nyerere, 1968). Nyerere's version of Socialism was based on the principles of *Ujamaa* (family-hood), which emphasized the strong family solidarity found within traditional African societies (Nyerere, 1968, 1973, 1974). Nyerere disagreed with both capitalism and Soviet version of socialism - communism. He argued that, "capitalism placed too much emphasis on individual at the expense of the collective, while in Communism the individual was lost in collectivity" (Grosswiler, 1997, p. 104). Nyerere believed that humanistic *Ujamaa* values preserved democracy, self-reliance, sharing and work. For Nyerere (1968, p. 17), "true socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society." By deploying the values of *Ujamaa*, Nyerere sought to unite Tanzania, placing particular emphasis on communal living in *Ujamaa* villages. *Ujamaa* villages were essential entities which would promote true participatory people-centred development, strengthen national identity, equality and peace. By 1980, 91% of the rural population lived in *Ujamaa* villages (Nyerere, 2000).

Nyerere (1968) believed that the Arusha Declaration was an effective way of eradicating poverty through hard work based on knowledge and effort. Further, Nyerere believed that through active participation of people in decision making, implementation and evaluation; effective use of land; good policies and good leadership Tanzania would become rich and her people would share the national cake equally. Nyerere (1968, 1974) emphasised that human dignity and equality could not be attained without people-development. "Forty years later Amrtya Sen was to say something similar, for which he was awarded a Nobel prize in economics" Shivji (2009, p. 22). In fact, the fundamentals of the Arusha Declaration like eradicating poverty, gender equality, education for all, reducing the mortality rate are similar to those of the South Commission report of 1990

and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of 2000. Nevertheless, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) argued Nyerere's ideas were unrealistic. By the mid 1970s, the Tanzanian economy began to falter rapidly and found it increasingly difficult to meet IMF conditions (Vreeland, 2003). In the light of these difficulties, the World Bank and IMF urged the Tanzanian government to abandon its socialist policies and adopt a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in early 1980s. President Nyerere, undaunted, refused to agree to these demands (Hyden & Karlstrom, 1993; Kamuzora, 2002; Vreeland, 2003).

Defending the Arusha Declaration policy Nyerere (2000) argued that the declaration articulated a political and socio-economic liberation philosophy based on socialism and self-reliance aiming at expanding and strengthening social services such as education, health, water, communication and transport, agriculture, women's rights and gender equality, the culture of hard work embedded with intelligence and efforts in order to build a stable, peaceful and strong nation with a strong economy. The Arusha Declaration succeeded in attaining people-centred development in Tanzania (ibid.). He revealed that at independence Tanzania had 12 African medical doctors and two engineers for a population of 11 million people, while the adult population was 85% illiterate and life expectancy at birth was 35 years. The country had a very small number of factories, producing beer, cigarettes, metal boxes and corned beef; all of them, with the exception of a few cotton ginneries, were located in Dar es Salaam – the Capital City. When Nyerere stepped down as President in 1985, Tanzania had a couple of universities, 90% of the children were receiving primary school education, secondary schools had been quadrupled in number, adult literacy classes had converted 85% illiteracy into 90% literacy; the basic health care had been brought within 10 kilometres of about 80% of the people; life expectancy was transformed from 35 to 47 years; and

the country had thousands of doctors or engineers – almost all trained since independence although not enough to meet people's demand and industries were booming (ibid.).

Moreover water supply in both urban and rural areas was greatly improved and by the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, Tanzania had one of the lowest income differentials in Southern Africa, and highest quality of life indicators among low-income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, (ibid.). These achievements were negatively affected by economic difficulties which faced Tanzania in the late 1970s and early 1980s. According to Kamuzora (2002) these economic difficulties, which hampered government efforts to combat poverty, include: First, the collapse of commodity products in the international market for export, which in turn affected farmers' income and the country's foreign exchange earnings, thus weakening the ability to import basic requirements. Second, increase in the price of petrol and petroleum products in 1973 and 1979, which adversely affected the country's balance of payments, thereby forcing the government to depend on foreign loans and grants. Third, the breakdown of the East Africa Community (EAC) necessitated heavy expenditure on establishing services that were formally provided by the community. Fourth, the war of aggression by Idd Amin, which led to unbudgeted expenditures in repulsing him, thus fuelled inflation and economic collapse. The war cost was estimated to be over US $ 500 million. Lastly, extended drought periods in 1974 and the early 1980s slowed down production in various sectors of the economy. All these led to food shortages and a decline in revenue earnings on the part of the government.

In an attempt to rescue the economy, a National Economic Survival Programme (NESP) was launched in 1980 (World Bank, 2002). This plan, however, proved dismally inadequate as it was designed on the principles of self-reliance, albeit with a

large external resource component; when external funds were not forthcoming, the plan effectively collapsed (Baregu, 1995). In 1985, Nyerere stepped down as President. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, his vice president, succeeded him. Nevertheless, Nyerere continued to be an important political figure by retaining the position of chairman of the ruling party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) until 1990 when he retired. CCM had been formed in 1977 after the amalgamation of ASP and TANU. The departure of Nyerere from the presidency allowed the new government to embark upon a World Bank-IMF sponsored Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) that lasted for three years (Hyden & Karlstrom, 1993). The emphasis was on the exchange rate adjustment, trade liberalization and reduction of the public sector.

In 1989, when the term of the ERP expired, an Economic and Social Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was adopted. The effects of the ERP on the population included a decline in real wages, increasing inflation, increasing unemployment, growing of unequal distribution of income, and a decay of social services, led the ESAP to emphasize the rehabilitation of the infrastructure and the provision of essential services, albeit on a cost sharing basis (Baregu, 1995; McGe, 2008). In the midst of this economic crisis, Tanzania was swept by the waves of democratisation in the early 1990s. The calls for political liberalization were also spurred by the critical role of Nyerere, who advocated that Tanzania should move towards a competitive political system (Ngware, 1998).

2.3. Democratization of Tanzania

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 changed the world geopolitical map. The Western nations led by the US could put pressure on one-party regimes in Africa to adopt multiparty democratic reforms of governance without fear of pushing them into the Eastern camp. One-party states, which dominated the African political landscape,

were replaced by plural political systems in which an unlimited number of political parties were allowed to operate freely. Tanzania was not left behind the pace of the global democracy movement. President Ali Hassan Mwinyi formed a Commission headed by the Chief Justice Francis L. Nyalali to gather people's views on whether the country should operate in a multiparty environment. The Commission presented a draft report to the president in December 1991, in which it recommended the adoption of a multi-party system as well as repealing of 40 pieces of repressive legislation (Nyalali, 1991).

The Parliament amended the Constitution and enacted the Political Parties Act in June 1992 to allow multiple political parties to operate in the country (URT, 1992). On July 1, 1992, Tanzania became officially a multi-party state and CCM gained automatic full registration (Liundi, 1998). Successful multi-party elections were held in 1995. The second multi-party elections were held in 2000. In both elections Benjamin William Mkapa of CCM was elected as the President. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete of CCM was elected as Tanzania's fourth President in 2005. The fourth multi-party elections were held in October 2010 and CCM won the elections with Kikwete as the president but lost popularity because of continued widespread extreme poverty in Tanzania among other factors.

2.4. Economic Liberalization

The Tanzanian government economic reform programmes that commenced in 1986 converted the socialist based economy into a free liberalised market (URT, 1999). In early 1996, the Tanzanian government committed itself to a shadow programme monitored by the IMF, and from September 1996 a three-year Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) was in effect, underpinned by a Policy Framework Paper (PFP) (URT and IMF, 1999). ESAF focused on the privatization of state-owned

enterprises to the private sector. Overall fiscal balance (including grant) saw a surplus

of around 0.8 to 1.2% of GDP in 1996 to 1999 (URT, 2000). The government economic

survey of the year 2000 shows that inflation was reduced from more than 30% in 1995

to 6.6% in early 2000, while there was a significant increase of foreign reserves from

1.5 months of merchandise imports in 1995 to 4.5 months (URT, 2000). In 2000, the

IMF approved a three-year $181.5 million Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility

(PRGF) arrangement for Tanzania, which expired in June 2003 (IMF, 2000). With the

inception of this program, gross domestic product (GDP) growth averaged more than

5%, inflation declined to below 5%, while servicing of Tanzania's over $8 billion

external debt absorbed around 40% of total government expenditures (African Forum

and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD), 2006). In 2001, Tanzania

became eligible for $3 billion in debt service relief under the IMF-World Bank Heavily

Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative (ibid). Up to date the government has taken

steps to attract foreign investment, even renting land to foreign investors.

2.5. Development Strategies to Reduce Poverty in Tanzania after Economic Liberalisation

Poverty is a relative concept very difficult to define and to measure (Townsend,

1993). However, poverty can be classified according to the level of disadvantage

experienced: namely absolute and relative poverty. Absolute or extreme poverty is a

situation where incomes are so low that even a minimum standard of nutrition, shelter

and personal necessities cannot be maintained in developing countries (Chossudovsky,

2003; Sachs, 2005). Also World Bank refers to absolute poverty as living below one

dollar a day (Sachs, 2005). Relative poverty refers to people whose basic needs are met,

but who in terms of their social environment, still experience some disadvantages in

developed countries (Sachs, 2005). This thesis attempts to explore the role of TBC in

eradication of extreme poverty in Tanzania. Participants defined extreme poverty as

lack of means to meet daily needs, lack of means to access education and basic health services and lack of skills. For example a female participant, Neema, 32 years old, defined extreme poverty as:

> A situation whereby a person has no means of getting basic needs like food, shelter, clothes, education, health, clean water and energy. The person has no knowledge or any kind of assistance of where to begin to end poverty in his life. (Focus Group Four)

This thoughtful definition will be used to guide this research. In addressing the key challenge of strategizing to reduce pervasive poverty in the new millennium, Tanzania prepared and adopted a number of strategies, which include: the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) in 1997; the Development Vision 2025 in 1999; the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP); the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP); and Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS).

2.5.1. The National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES)

During the World Social Summit held in Copenhagen in 1995, Tanzania joined other nations in their commitment to eradicate poverty. Following this commitment, Tanzania had a new resolve to reduce abject poverty by 50% by 2010 and total eradication of abject poverty by 2025 (URT, 1998). In order to implement this resolve, the government formulated the NPES with the objective of providing guidance to all stakeholders to identify, formulate, implement and evaluate their poverty eradication programmes. The NPES focused on "improved economic growth and people's incomes as a basis for poverty eradication, provision of education, water, health, housing, infrastructure and employment by the year 2010" (URT, 1998, p. 20). The NPES identified three areas of strategic interventions namely: those creating an enabling environment for poverty eradication, those building the capacity for poverty eradication and those eradicating poverty.

2.5.2. The Tanzania Development Vision 2025

The Vision 2025 predicts Tanzania graduating from least developed to a middle-income country by 2025 with high economic growth of 8% with no abject poverty. The Vision 2025 states that, "The quality of livelihood should be raised by increasing the level of productivity in all sectors" (URT, 1999, p. 23). It insists that the Tanzanian economy must become more productive and competitive in an increasingly global and liberalised market, for the vision of "high quality livelihood" to be tenable. Although it is a goal by 2025 to eradicate extreme poverty, the concept of poverty has no central place in the Vision. Thus, the Vision lacks effective strategy of eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania.

2.5.3. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

In addressing poverty the World Bank and IMF in 1999 launched the Enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. The objective of this initiative was to offer assistance to countries facing unsustainable debt obligations. The PRSP was an integral part of the HIPC process, focusing mainly on poverty alleviation (URT, 2000). The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper was developed in March 2000 as a medium-term strategy for poverty reduction, through broad consultation with national and international stakeholders. This committed the government to on-going efforts to reduce poverty, in the light of longer-term strategies outlined in the National Poverty Eradication Strategy and Vision 2025. The PRSP expired in 2003.

2.5.4. The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP)

The NSGRP is a framework for putting focus on poverty reduction as top agenda in the country's development (URT, 2010). It is committed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as internationally agreed targets for reducing poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against women by 2015. It strives to widen effective participation of civil society, private sector

development and fruitful local and external partnerships in development and commitment to regional and other international initiatives for social and economic development. The NSGRP builds on the Vision 2025, the PRSP (2000/01-2002/03), the PRSP Review, the Medium Term Plan for Growth and Poverty Reduction and the Tanzania Mini-Tiger Plan 2020 (TMTP2020) (URT, 2010). In February 2011 the government inaugurated NSGRP-Two, which is a continuation of NSGRP.

2.5.5. Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS)

Tanzania Assistance Strategy is a coherent national development framework for managing external resources to achieve the development strategies as stated in the Vision 2025, NPES and PRSP (URT, 2000). It is a government initiative aimed at restoring local ownership and leadership by promoting partnership in the design and execution of development programmes. It seeks to promote good governance, transparency, accountability, capacity building and effectiveness of aid. TAS is not a program or a project. TAS is about a process for change.

2.6. Poverty Persistent in the World

Worldwide poverty is increasing. There are 1.3 billion people worldwide who live in absolute poverty and cannot meet their basic needs of survival (Thomas, 2008). In most developing countries, between 30% to 60% of the people live below the poverty line, and even in the USA and in Europe about 15% live below the poverty line (ibid.). The number of people living in poverty is increasing in both absolute and relative terms (Chossudovsky, 2003; Sachs, 2005).

According to Thomas (2008) persistence of poverty depends on how we conceptualise poverty and the solution that emerges from that conceptualisation and perception. He identified three conceptions of poverty. The first is a lack of resources like land and technical assistance, the lack of health centres, inadequate education and

massive unemployment. This conceptualisation of poverty from the Western model of development -- the World Bank and the IMF -- advocates for the infusion of technology and money to poor countries as the solution to poverty. However, it ignores the importance of first understanding how the political and socio-economic structural power works in a certain economy in order to understand why poverty persists. If a government is corrupt and inefficient, then regardless how much money is injected in the economy from the donors, poverty will be increasing. To change this, people should acquire political, economic and cultural power to transform their government (Freire, 1983; Nyerere, 1968, 1974, 2000). This is something not acknowledged in the modernisation perspective.

The second conception is also Western. It is to give the poor organisational capacity, which enables them to access technical knowledge to improve productivity in agriculture, access to credit for small business people in the informal sector, access to better technical training and access to information. But in reality no real structures exist in the peripheries (Thomas, 2008). He observed that agricultural extension systems are not interested in small farmers, while credit for small business is charged extremely high interest rates, and the media serve the elite and the urban rich. Thus, again, the solution goes back to empowering the poor to get power to reorganize the systems of access and make them participatory and free from bureaucratic top-down domination.

The third conception is the lack of human rights, the lack of entitlement. Thomas (2008) argued that entitlement without real power is meaningless. Thus, it is not about infusing money, technology and policies from the West. It is about empowering people to know their potentials and democratic rights -- embracing the principles of human equality and participation -- and let them be at the driving seat of their destiny as a nation, since people cannot be developed by an outsider, they can only develop

themselves (Nyerere, 1990). Therefore, the efforts of eradicating poverty should start from within a country and should not be driven by foreign governments. External assistance can promote development, but "this assistance has to be integrated into national effort and applied to the purpose of those it is meant to benefit" (p. 11).

2.7. Persistence of Extreme Poverty in Tanzania

Although various steps have been taken after the liberalisation of the economy to address the causes of poverty, and after strengthening the economic growth as a basis of poverty eradication in the country, poverty is increasing. About 50% of all Tanzanians live in poor conditions while 36% live in abject poverty (URT, 2010). It can be argued that the above strategies have achieved very little in reducing poverty due to various reasons: first, people were not involved in different stages of planning hence lack of support and sustainability; second, these strategies were implemented as campaigns, not as part of overall development plans, and therefore could not be sustained after the campaigns were over; third is the lack of guidelines to guide all stakeholders; and fourth, the absence of coordination mechanism for poverty eradication initiatives (See Chapters 6 and 7).

Further, one can observe that the terms used in the strategies like PRSP and NSGRP are "reduction and alleviation" rather than "eradication". This is where the misconception begins, since strategies are not geared toward eradicating extreme poverty but to alleviating extreme poverty. This fallacy in the strategies, one would argue, has misled all efforts of eradicating extreme poverty and instead extreme poverty is increasing rather than decreasing in Tanzania. Thus, the government has a responsibility of formulating new policies which aim at eradicating poverty, and creating an enabling environment in the country, which empowers people to create wealth in order to attain a better life and eradicate extreme poverty.

Tanzania is one of Africa's biggest recipients of development aid, with almost 40% of the 2009/10 budget funded by outside donors through grants and loans (Price Waterhouse Coopers - PWC, 2011). Economic growth in Tanzania, the third-biggest gold producer in Africa, reached about 7% a year since 2001. Tanzania is politically stable yet it remains one of the poorest in the world. Poverty continues to be rife because of grand corruption at the heart of the government. Urban poor and rural workers spend 64% of their household incomes on feeding themselves, about the same rate as 2000/01 (URT, 2007). Worse off is the rural population, which is often cut off from services and other types of support. Thus, persistence of extreme poverty in Tanzania is not a result of inadequate resources of raw materials, capital and human resources, but a failure of the government to tackle corruption and recognize and organise these resources to fight extreme poverty (Shivji, 2009) (See Chapters 6 and 7). Likewise, Babu (2010) argued that the causes of our poverty (in Tanzania) are not external but internal, although the external causes help to aggravate the already rotten situation and to correct it, we must seek internal solutions and then, external factors may be resorted to in order to stimulate the corrective or transformation process. Thus, it is impossible to eradicate extreme poverty in Tanzania if Tanzanians and their government are not participating fully in poverty eradication schemes.

The persistence of extreme poverty, one can observe, has created a class society in Tanzania. A pyramidal division of Tanzanian society puts a small group of powerful wealthy elite at the top; then there is the sub-urban group made up mainly of semi-educated persons forced out of the villages by the unbearable socio-economic realities of rural life. At the bottom there is the largest segment of the population, which is illiterate, extremely poor, with no running water, electricity nor transport infrastructures, with very limited and sometimes zero means of modern communication.

These are the people the researcher is talking about when he is analysing the contribution of TBC programmes in eradicating poverty in Tanzania in chapters six and seven.

2.8. Chapter Summary

In this chapter the contextual background of the struggle to eradicate poverty in Tanzania was presented. The chapter shows that regardless of the economic strategies discussed, the rate of extreme poverty has been increasing in Tanzania, while the standards of living are falling. Corruption has become the order of the day. The values and norms of family-hood, which were built under the Arusha Declaration, are fading away. The small but very powerful elite are concentrating on enriching themselves at the expense of the poor people, while personal interests are being given priority over national interests. The ability to become a leader is measured in terms of money to bribe the voters, not the quality of serving the people. This background information lays the stepping stones for exploring the role of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication by being a platform for reciprocal debates and dialogues on how the poorest of the poor can get a fare share of the national cake and ensure that they are lifted from extreme poverty. The next chapter is about the historical background of TBC from the colonial era to 2009.

<center>**Chapter Three**</center>

Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation from Colonial Era to 2009

This chapter examines the broad context of relevant information about TBC and its relationship with the government from the colonial era to 2009. It provides the relevant background of TBC up to 2009 for a better understanding of the case study. Few private media existed in Tanzania before 1992, but since then the media have been increasingly liberalized. One could observe that in 2010, there were over 65 radio stations, 25 television stations and over 200 newspapers in Tanzania. Television is less available in rural areas, while newspapers remain concentrated in urban areas. The radio is the main medium for both urban and rural areas (Millanga, 2003). A recent survey conducted by AudienceScapes in 2010 shows that 85% of the population had access to radio; 27% of the population had access to television and 62% had access to mobile phone, whereas, only 3% of the population had access to computer and 4% of the population could access the internet (Murthy, 2010).

The use of internet is very limited due to the poor infrastructure, the prevalence of illiteracy and language barrier since English is the major language used on the web and the technologies attached to it; and more importantly due to poverty, because it is too expensive to buy a computer and pay the internet charges. According to the Internet World Stats (September 26, 2011) there were 676,000 internet users as of June 2010 and the internet penetration was 1.6% of the population of 43 million with 319,440 Facebook users on June 30, 2011, a penetration of 0.7% of the population. The use of mobile phones is very high. The total number of mobile phone subscribers was 14,066,576 in 2009 (URT, 2009). At least one in three Tanzanians owns a mobile phone. One can observe that mobile phones have transformed broadcasting in Tanzania

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in terms of active participation of the audiences in sharing knowledge and experiences on radio and television (See Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8).

Broadcasting in Tanzania can be defined across a range of overlapping models of ownership and control, from state controlled public service broadcasters to private commercial ownership, to non profit and community ownership. Basically there are three types of broadcasting services in Tanzania, namely, public-government controlled, commercial, and community broadcasting for both television and radio. These types of broadcasting services explain the types of radio and television ownership in the country, that is, state ownership, private-commercial ownership and community ownership. Public broadcasting, TBC, is owned and funded by the government; however it is also allowed to raise cash through adverts. Commercial radio like Radio One and Radio Free Africa, and television like ITV and Star television are owned by private companies and funded through adverts. Community radio like Kwizera, Faraja and SAUT, and television like SUA television are owned by academic and religious institutions funded from donations and contributions from well wishers. Analog broadcasting systems are widely used in Tanzania. PAL systems are used in television broadcasting. Radio transmitters used are both AM and FM transmitters. Satellite broadcasting is not well developed while internet broadcasting is very minimal. This chapter is divided into six sections as follow: Broadcasting under the colonial rule; TBC and the struggle for independence; expansion of TBC; broadcasting after independence: from TBC to RTD; implementation of RTD objectives; RTD broadcasting in the era of multiparty politics and liberalised free economy; RTD as a government agency; the birth of the national television (TVT); and the creation of Tanzania Broadcasting Services (TBS) and the rebirth of the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC).

3.1. Broadcasting under the Colonial Rule

One of the formal media institutions established by the British colonial government in July 1951 when the country was Tanganyika was Sauti ya Dar es Salaam (Voice of Dar es Salaam) (Sturmer, 1998). In August 1955, it was renamed Tanganyika Broadcasting Service. When it extended its services up country in July 1956, it became known as Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) (Wakati, 1986). TBC was structured on the BBC model with colonial objectives (Ng'wanakilala, 2003):

a) Protect colonial interests by legitimising the status quo through education, and administrative information

b) Provide entertainment, for the colonial community and the commercial elite.

c) Teach the colonial etiquette to Africans, particularly those working close to the colonial administration.

d) Sustain the ideology and culture of the colonial masters through education and information.

e) Broadcast for schools.

3.2. TBC and the Struggle for Independence

During the struggle for independence in late 1950s TBC was used to suppress internal dissent through two main methods: first, by praising the good work of the colonial administration and keeping the people informed about it; second, the radio was used as an arm of colonial policies for pacification, neutralizing possible organized opposition to the colonial rule, which would disturb the peace and the rule of law and order (Sturmer, 1998). TBC was fully funded by the government and had three channels: English, Kiswahili and Gujarat.

3.3. Broadcasting after Independence: From TBC to RTD

TBC's name was changed in July 1965, when it became known as RTD, and maintained its role as the government machinery. The TBC Dissolution Bill of March 16, 1965 claimed that radio was an essential tool for the country's progress and therefore it was important to bring it under government control (Mytton 1976). While RTD was expected to support fundamental policies of the government, it was also expected to be critical on the implementation of those policies (Ng'wanakilala, 1981). From this context, RTD was used to enhance the building of the nation through socialism and self-reliance in order to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease in Tanzania; and to promote peace, unity, freedom and justice in Tanzania and all over the world (Wakati, 1986).

3.4. Implementation of RTD Objectives

After the Arusha Declaration, mass communications was shaped by the ideology of Socialism and Self Reliance. The mass media were expected to promote development as defined by the party and the government policies informed by people's needs (Nkya and Romare, 2001). As a government mouthpiece the major source of RTD news was the government and government related sources (Sturmer, 1998). Conversely, this dependency on government sources did make RTD non-creative (Ng'wanakilala, 1981). The decade after independence perhaps saw the most important phase of the development of RTD when government departments and the private sector started to make full use of RTD as a means of promoting their services (ibid.). RTD was very successful in airing development campaigns. For example campaigns on health – Man is Health (*Mtu ni Afya*) of 1973/74; and agriculture – Food is Life (*Chakula ni Uhai*), 1975/76 succeeded in improving people's health and increasing food production (ibid.). Most importantly, programmes like Today's Message (*Ujumbe wa Leo*), Socialism

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Today (*Ujamaa Leo*) and Regional Round-up (*Mbiu za Mikoa*) were used to enhance the ideology of Socialism and Self Reliance through RTD (Wakati, 1986).

Further, RTD participated fully in the liberation of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Uganda and Comoro, not only by defining competing ideologies and taking sides, but more importantly by providing airtime, for respective freedom fighters: FRELIMO for Mozambique; MPLA for Angola; ZANU, ZAPU, FROLIZI and the Patriotic Front for Zimbabwe; ANC and PAC for South Africa; SWAPO for Namibia; MOLINACO for Comoro; and UNFL for Uganda (ibid.). After South Africa become a democracy in 1994, the External Service (English Service) of RTD, tried to find a new bearing concentrating on transmitting news in English and promoting trade and tourism.

3.5. RTD Broadcasting in the Era of Multiparty Politics and Liberalised Free Economy

In a multi-party politics the main task for RTD was to serve many parties, one government (Kilimwiko, 2002; Sturmer, 1998). The former Director of RTD Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala from 1991 to 1994 explained:

> There was a need to change the attitude of the executive and the whole chain of the production team, editors and reporters that they were now expected to serve other parties as well. RTD from this point faced two unbearable pressures. One, the ruling party CCM had pointed out clearly that RTD had only one master to serve, the government, regardless of the rhetoric of media freedom and equality of coverage. Two, there was pressure from the other parties.(Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

However, political parties continued to put more pressure to RTD to get fair access to the medium. Ng'wanakilala added that in responding to the political and civic pressure, RTD made two important changes: first, diversifying its programmes by increasing impartiality and reducing the transmission of ruling party and government reports; and second, organised seminars for all political parties on how they could make

use of RTD. For example, in 1993 Ng'wanakilala organized a seminar for publicity

secretaries of all political parties to educate them about the role of RTD in multiparty

politics and to re-emphasise the social responsibility of RTD that the radio would be

used to elaborate political parties' policies and programmes for their members and

Tanzanians. Nevertheless, the ruling party through the government tightened the grip

around RTD. Ng'wanakilala revealed:

> The face to face meeting between RTD Management and Publicity
> Secretaries of Political Parties generated two angry memos, one from the
> Prime Minister to the Minister of Information and from the Minister of
> Information to the Director of RTD. This reaction of the government was
> irrational and to some extent emotional and totally in negation of the
> process of democracy. (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th
> February 2010)

The former RTD Director recalls that, while the RTD management was

responding to the changes brought by multiparty politics, the government would not

take this move kindly, which was seen as inviting opposition to RTD. Towards the

multi-party elections of 1995, RTD increased the number of civic education

programmes to enhance participation of the people in political and civic affairs.

However political parties were required to pay for the airtime (Masha, 2002). The

government control over TBC and its implication as far as the contribution of TBC in

poverty eradication is concerned is discussed in chapters six and seven.

3.6. RTD as a Government Agency in the Era of Multiparty Politics

In 1993/94 the then Ministry of Information and Broadcasting under Dr.

William Shija, formed a committee of media heads chaired by Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala.

The mandate of the committee was to draw up an information policy, which would have

seen Tanzania through the new millennium. The committee recommended a full-fledged

Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) with a Board as the Authority. The

Managing Director of RTD would then be appointed by the Board - not the Office of

the President, as is the case (Ng'wanakilala, 2003). One obvious advantage of this

arrangement is that RTD would be largely responsible to a professional Board, not to an administrative and political bureaucracy. But this did not happen. Moreover RTD had a challenge to support itself financially and professionally by increasing revenues, cut down costs and reward professionals realistically. In 1990, RTD had collected about 30 million Tanzanian Shillings in revenues; in 1991, with a drive on advertising and control of expenditure the revenue figure rose to about 150 million Tanzanian Shillings; and between 1993 and 1994, the figure was close to 200 million Tanzanian Shillings, which could pay the wages of the station staff (ibid.).

3.7. The Birth of the National Television (TVT - Television ya Taifa)

The launching of the national television project on 27th August 1998 was a crucial step in the development of television in Tanzania. TVT made a difference as an educational medium. The problems of the people and how these problems could be solved was the bottom line of TVT. With this kind of emphasis, TVT made a difference and enjoyed the support of the audiences it served by talking about patriotism and nationalism, which went beyond the traditional news and feature programmes (Ng'wanakilala, 2008). The key success of TVT was that the programmes were relevant and involved different strata of audiences.

3.8. The Creation of Tanzania Broadcasting Services – TBS and the Re-birth of the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation - TBC

In June 12, 2004, TBS was established as a single broadcasting unit to make RTD and TVT strong enough to withstand the forces of global broadcasters and commercial broadcasters at home. TBS was replaced by TBC in March 2006. The affiliates of TBC include TBC1 television (formerly known as TVT), TBC-TAIFA radio (formerly known as RTD) and TBC-FM (formerly known as PRT or City radio). TBC International -- the external service -- broadcasts in English. TBC radio and television signals cover the whole country. An audience survey conducted by

AudienceScapes in 2010 on Tanzanian media environment, current access, potential for growth and strategies for information dissemination shows that TBC-TAIFA attracts weekly audience of 35% of the surveyed population of 1827 participants who listen to a radio weekly, while TBC FM attracts 34% of the population and TBC1 attracts 87% of the surveyed population 831 participants who watch a television weekly (Murthy, 2010). Other national radio like Radio Free and Radio One attract 54% and 25% respectively, while television like ITV is watched by 67% and Star TV attracts 56% of the population surveyed (ibid.).

TBC1 uses an analog system but has entered into a partnership with a Chinese company -- Star Communication Network Technologies Company Limited and formed a company known as Star Media aiming at transforming TBC broadcasting systems from analog, which depends on boosters, to digital systems to meet the requirements of the government policy of going digital by 2015. It is worth mentioning here that the Ministry of Communication, Science and Technology announced on its website http://www.mst.go.tz/ that from December 31, 2012 all analog communication facilities will be switched off. Arguing in favour of going digital, Tido Mhando, TBC Director General at the time of this research, said:

> The new digital technology will make it possible for TBC to monopolise the digital transmission in Tanzania. That means every television or radio which wants to go digital transmission will have to pay to TBC…. TBC seeks more autonomy, even though it is a government apparatus. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Thus, going digital would help TBC to make enough money that would in turn make it independent of government funding and become a true public broadcaster. Further, Tido revealed that TBC aims at promoting development, peace and unity in Tanzania which could be achieved through implementing the following objectives:

a) To inform the people of what is happening in and outside the country.

b) To educate the people on how to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease.

c) To safeguard the nation's independence, peace, security and unity.

d) To mobilize and motivate the people in the implementation of government policies.

e) To promote business and private investment in Tanzania.

f) To foster co-operation among African countries in the economic, social and political fields with a view to bringing about total African unity.

g) To promote peace and justice in the world.

Tido argued that TBC fulfils these objectives partly by using participatory communication in the production of its programmes. He added that TBC participatory communication empowers people from all walks of life to become active participants in political and socio-economic activities. Thus, TBC communication makes a significant contribution in increasing productivity in agriculture, business and other sectors of the economy (See Chapters 6 and 7). Conversely, one would argue that despite the role of TBC programmes play in promoting development, TBC has not attained what one would call standard locally produced programmes. In this thesis an attempt is made to explore the contribution TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania.

3.9. Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the birth of broadcasting in Tanzania. It focused on how TBC evolved from the colonial period to the year of the study, 2009. It also mentioned the objectives of TBC; and how they have been changing from time to time depending on the needs of the government. In this thesis, which attempts to explore the effectiveness of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania, it is important to reveal the historical context of TBC in order to gain an understanding of the background

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to this case study. The background has revealed the relationship between the between the government and TBC. The chapter has shown how TBC has been confronted with the issues of broadcasting freedom and government control and ownership. These issues have direct impacts on the content and coverage of TBC programmes as presented in chapter five and six of this thesis. The next chapter discusses the literature that informed this study.

Chapter Four

Mass Media and Communication for Development Theoretical Debates

Scholars around the world have shown that media and communication are agents of power and change which make a significant contribution in transforming the lives of people (Altschull, 1984; Aalberg and Curran, 2012; Perse, 2008). Further, scholars have shown that the media and communication have played a very powerful role in development of the Third World countries (Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte, 2006; Hedebro,1982; Lerner, 1958; Melkote, 1991; Ng'wanakilala, 1981; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009; Schramm, 1964; Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009; White, 2009). They argue that the use of media as instruments for communication for development has lead to the transformation of people's lives all over the Third World. This is due to the fact that the media not only reflect opinions but also shape attitudes and engage people to play a part in decision-making (Jong, Shaw and Stammers, 2005; Minery, 1996). Thus, it can be observed that in informing democracy or as tools for development, media and communication are powerful weapons for change comparable and, in some respects, more powerful than armies, treasuries and bureaucratic civil service possessed by states. With such power, one can argue that, the media and communication constitute the backbone of development, since the information and knowledge communicated through media helps people to make rational and well-informed decisions on how to improve their standard of living, as revealed later in this chapter.

In the Third World the role of media in building nation and achieving development goals has always been crucial. This role cannot be achieved without involving people in the debates carried on media, especially on radio and television, about their nation. For Morley (2000), "national broadcasting functions as a symbolic

home for the nation's members" (p. 105), whereby "all the citizens of a nation can talk to each other like a family sitting and chatting around the domestic hearth" (Keane, 1991, p. 164). Nowadays phone-in programmes, for example, facilitated by the widespread of mobile phones as well as the use of internet have created a new environment in broadcasting -- a physical presence of participants arguing their case in a real time on air. Thus, one can argue, national broadcasting creates a sense of unity by linking the peripheral to the centre; turn previously unheard social events and initiatives at the grassroots into national experiences; and connect the domestic sphere into the public sphere, linking the national citizens into private lives of other citizen and establish new frontiers of addressing people's needs and concerns.

In this thesis development means an improvement of both material (economic and technological) and immaterial (mental and attitudinal). Thus, economy, culture, education, science and technology are specific aspects of development, inseparable from development, and are complementary to each other (M'Bow, 1976). In this respect, "Development progress cannot be measured with but one or a few indicators, such as GNP, GNP/capita or degree of industrialization..." Hedebro (1982, p. 103). Rather, as Goulet (1971: xx) has argued, it is:

> Freeing men and women from nature's servitudes, from economic
> backwardness and oppressive technological institutions, from unjust class
> structures and political exploiters, from cultural and psychic alienation – in
> short, from all of life's inhuman agencies.

This concurs with Nyerere (1974) and Sen (2001) who considered development of people as freedom. Sustainability is a key concept in development. The Brundtland Commission (1987) is credited for popularizing the concept of sustainable development through its report which stressed the need for "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs" (p. 43). This definition will be adopted in this research.

Communication means different things to different scholars. Scholars like Lerner (1958) and Rogers (1983, 2003) viewed communication as transmission of information from a sender to a receiver to change attitudes and behaviours -- a top-down communication. Scholars like Freire (1983) and Melkote (1991) considered communication as a complex process of reciprocal sharing of meanings linked to political, economic and socio-cultural processes in society. This thesis uses the second interpretation of communication whereby communication is "inseparable from culture which is sustained and challenged by global and local economic, political and ideological structures and processes" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p. 33). Communication for development is defined as the study "of the relationship between the practical application of communication processes and technologies in achieving positive and measurable development outcomes…" (Servaes, 2008, p. 15). Thus, this chapter critically reviews the literature related to mass media and communication for development and social change, political economy and development, in an attempt to put into context the concepts of participatory communication and PSB and why these concepts were used to guide this thesis. Finally, the chapter discusses the impact of media freedom on poverty eradication.

The chapter is divided into ten sub-headings: first, modernisation theory: early conceptualisation of development communication; second, dependency theory; third, Another development paradigm; fourth, participatory communication theory; fifth, the concept of public service broadcasting; sixth, public service broadcasting and development communication; seventh, participatory communication in public service broadcasting; eighth, why use participatory communication theory to study traditional media; ninth, new communication technologies as a driving force of participatory communication; and tenth, press freedom, good governance and poverty eradication.

4.1. Modernisation Theory: Early Conceptualisation of Development Communication

Modernisation theory provides the ontological and epistemological bedrock for the theories in development communication. Modernisation is conceived of as a process of diffusion whereby individuals move from a traditional way of life to a different, more technically developed and more rapidly changing way of life (Webster, 1995). In this process the developed world plays a significant role in developing and modernising the developing world (Melkote, 1991; Servaes, 2008, 2009). The mass media are at the centre of achieving this goal as tools which stimulate and diffuse values and institutions that are favourable to achieve mobility, innovation and consumption (Rogers, 1983, 2003; Schramm 1964). Theorists like Talcott Parsons in the 1950s and 1960s argued that the transition from the limited economic relationships of traditional society to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depended on a prior change in values, attitude and norms of people (Webster, 1995). Similarly, economists like Rostow (1960) advocated for the Western model of development as a universal model that an economy should follow in passing through five stages of development -- traditional society; transitional stage; the preconditions for take-off; drive to maturity and high mass consumption of economic growth **--** before meaningful development could be achieved in a developing country. Thus, modernisation theory emphasises the need to change the psychological framework of the peasants and modernise their societal structures through transfer of capital and technology from the developed world to the "underdeveloped" world (Ayres, 1995).

Early scholars of development communication from 1945 to 1965 promoted a Western version of modernisation as an agent of development and social change. They claimed that media were "capable of compressing the time required for change and multiplying the impact of development programmes" (Stevenson, 1988, p. 3). One of

the most influential scholars was Daniel Lerner who published his book, *The Passing of Traditional Society* in 1958. The book was a study based on surveys he conducted in six countries -- Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and Syria -- in 1950 and 1951. In his research, Lerner found that radio ended centuries of isolation and the countries were changing very fast. He asserted that, "Many more millions of persons in the world were to be affected directly, and perhaps more profoundly, by the communication media than by the transportation agencies" (Lerner, 1958, p. 53). His studies identified media as a crucial link in the modernisation process and provided answers on how communication could help in national development in the underdeveloped world by showing that media participation highly correlated with literacy, urbanization and political participation. Lerner also found that the degree of change in communication correlated with behavioural changes. Further, Lerner (1958) argued that urbanization was the first point of modernisation that could create a critical mass of people and resources, which would be followed by a rapid growth in literacy and mass media. These would go hand in hand with rapid industrialisation, which was regarded as the only way to create the wealth for health, education, and other social projects. Lerner's model conveyed a Western orientation associated with heavy industrialization, capital-intensive production strategies, high-skill management; and free market linked to western economic centres.

Nevertheless, Lerner's model is widely criticised since industrialisation in the Third World created the worst polluted and crowded cities, while the fruits of the new way of life were not going to the workers who toiled but to the multinational corporations and few elite who already controlled most of the wealth (Stevenson, 1988). Critics of a free market economy like Shivji (2009) and Babu (2010) have shown that a free market economy killed local industries in Africa; hence there has been an increase in mass unemployment and fall of innovation and creativity. Thus, one would argue,

what a free market does best in Africa is to maintain hegemonic domination, exploitation and accumulation of wealth from the South to the North, while generating extreme poverty by doing very little in terms of transforming poor people's lives. Further, one would also argue, Lerner did not look at the role of government in shaping the future of the citizens. Hence, he missed the whole point of the role and responsibilities of the government in promoting development of people. Interestingly, Lerner's book influenced the world on how change could be channelled toward rapid political and economic growth in the Third World (Stevenson, 1988). Consequently, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution in 1962 stating that media play an important role in education and socio-economic development and that new techniques of communication facilitate the acceleration of the education process. The General Assembly encouraged its members to include mass media in the economic development plans, and UNESCO was urged to support the effort to expand mass media in the developing countries.

In the context of modernisation, Everett Rogers introduced the diffusion of innovations model in 1962, a theoretical approach, which can be regarded as the social realisation of the modernisation theory (Sturmer, 1998). Rogers defined diffusion as: "…the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. Diffusion is a special type of communication concerned with the spread of messages that are new ideas" (Rogers 1983, pp. 34-35). His study concluded that mass media were potent instruments in creating awareness of innovations while interpersonal communication was more effective in changing attitudes towards a new idea (ibid.). Rogers (2003) argued that adoption or rejection of an innovation was a mental process passing through five stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation. He suggested that

developing countries should continue to use media to diffuse innovations that create an appetite for change and modernisation. The government departments in Tanzania use this top-down approach in a centralised manner in producing programmes aired on TBC as discussed in chapters six and seven.

Schramm's book -- *Mass Media and National Development* -- in 1964 established the relationships between level of socio-economic development and ownership of media facilities in various countries, both developing and developed. He linked the access to these media facilities to both national and individual modernity. He concluded that access to media played a huge role in social and economic growth. Schramm's book was very influential at the UN in recommending and planning mass media programmes in the developing world. Like Lerner, Schramm emphasised wealth creation and the use of media in supporting the development process. Nevertheless, Schramm's book shifted the focus of Lerner argument in two ways: one was to emphasis economic development as the outcome of the modernisation process and transfer of technology and money and the other was the question of the relationship between mass media and the government (Stevenson, 1988). Schramm (1964) argued that the government was the prime force in directing national development efforts. That meant the involvement of the government in mass media. Schramm advocated the role of media in development even in places where the media were dominated by the government. In this respect, Mwakawago (1986) asserted that, "In a country that has its top priority the creation of nationhood, the state or the government must have control of the mass media" (p. 85). Consequently, it can be observed that almost in all developing countries educational programmes were formulated and transmitted from a central authority with the primary objective of creating national consciousness.

However, one would assert that Schramm's model on government control did not advocate for dictatorship over the media; rather, he advocated for a free media based on the principles of freedom of expression, which would help to change attitudes and behaviours of the audience, and guide them towards modernisation. This model was working in the United States where farmers in the Midwest were able to adopt new varieties of seed and new techniques of planting and erosion control (Stevenson, 1988). Schramm (1964) argued that the role of the broadcasting media in developing countries is that of watchman, policy-maker and teacher, and serves as a "measure" of relative development. He added that media provide a climate for national development by making the expert knowledge available where it is needed on one hand, and provide a forum for discussion, leadership, and decision-making on the other which in turn raise the general level of aspiration (ibid.). Furthermore, Schramm was convinced that the increase of the flow of information sows the seeds of change and creates a conducive climate of "nation-ness" by making it possible for "the national leaders to talk to the people, and the people to the leaders and to each other," facilitate a national dialogue on policies and make development goals known to the citizens -- thus, communication technologies can help to join together grassroots communities and individuals, government departments and development partners into a truly national development (ibid., pp. 43-44).

Modernisation theory attracted a large number of scholars who found evidence from the developing world that development and media communication were strongly correlated at three levels of analysis -- individual, community and national levels. Scholars like Deutschmann and McNelly (1964); and Bostian and Oliverrira (1965) argued that at an individual level there are many factors--analytic studies showing media communication variables to significantly correlate with development variables.

At the community level many examples also abound. For example, Rao (1966), in a comparative study of two Indian villages, found strong correlation between media communication and social, economic and political development. In a survey of about 460 villages in Turkey, Frey (1966) found a clear correlation between media communication and development. UNESCO (1965) found a strong correlation between mass media factors and economic factors in general development in Latin America, Africa, Middle East and South East Asia. Similar findings were reported by Farace (1965) in a study that included 54 variables and 12 indices of mass media development in 109 countries. Farace concluded that the development of the media is closely tied to many aspects of a country's "nature" and "process" of development. It is interesting to note that in this study the indices were arranged along a single, universal continuum of national development and there was an implicit belief that these correlations could explain the standard of life and relative development among nations (Farace, 1965). These correlations provided justification for incorporating communication into the development process. Other social scientists such as McCllelland (1961), Pye (1963) and Deutsch (1964) argued that there were credible linkages between political development and the use of mass media as powerful instruments in manipulating people's opinions and attitudes, and thereby their behaviour, in a relatively short period of time.

Due to the evidence above, media in the developing countries focused on disseminating information that would lead to an improvement in agricultural production, health, education and nation building with an assumption that the mass media had very powerful, direct, and immediate effects on the audience (Eko, 2003). Radio and television broadcasting provided a conduit for the communication of development ideas. Sinha (1995) classified the role of broadcasting into two levels –

the individual level and societal level. The former referred to the role of broadcasting in introducing new ideas to individuals so as to overcome traditional normative and psychological barriers and to introduce them to innovations that could change traditional modes of economic activity. At the societal level broadcasting was considered an important instrument of social change, which could facilitate the process of national integration. In this respect, broadcasting media were useful in mobilising and changing audience's attitudes and behaviour towards achieving sustainable development. Therefore, the role of broadcasting in the process of sustainable development could be conceived as both a guide and an agent of sustainable development.

4.1.1. A Summary of Modernisation Arguments

One can observe that the modernisation theorists above centred their arguments in three areas: First, on an individual, not the political and economic system in which he/she lived (Melkote, 1991). This left out the aspect and influence of socio-political and economic systems on the media content and coverage, in relation to the audience use of the messages. Second, they emphasised the linear view of socio-economic change from a traditional society to mass consumption (Hedebro, 1982). Third, they preferred a top-down communication approach, which does not involve the audience from the grassroots in the communication process. Top-down communication does not work (Freire, 1983; Melkote, 1991; Servaes, 1996c), as discussed later in this chapter. Conversely, modernisation theory is still prevalent today in many development communication programmes, especially in health and literacy campaigns (Mowlana, 1997) and in poverty alleviation programmes. The communication process looks like participatory, but in reality it is pseudo-participatory communication (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009; Servaes, 2008, 2009). One could argue that the major donors of

development like World Bank and IMF have maintained the use of the modernization approach with an emphasis on transfer and infusion of money and technology from the developed world to the developing world. The elite in the North hand the power to the elite in the South to make decisions for development which benefit the Centres and exploit the Peripheries. Thus, the experts in Washington decide what the peasants in the Peripheries must produce and what kind of education and health services they can get, even though these experts, most of them from Wall Street, have no knowledge of the real conditions in the developing countries (Chossudovsky, 2003). Consequently, the Bretton Woods institutions have actually done more harm to the poor people in Africa than help through structural adjustment programmes (Babu, 2010, Nyerere, 1990, 2000; Sachs, 2005).

Further, one would argue that the modernization structural system gives the developed nations power over underdeveloped nations, and since modernization creates and works through the elite in developing nations, it creates a power relation between the national elite and the powerless poor in developing nations through the media. Consequently, the modernisation model of communication continues to have little impact in equity and transforming people's lives since grassroots knowledge is not valued (Melkote, 1991; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). Servaes (2009) noted that "the assumptions on which the modernisation paradigm was built, linger on and continue to influence the policy and planning-making discourse of major actors in the field of communication for development, both at theoretical and applied levels" (p. 51). The World Bank and other players in development may appear to accommodate different views about development but they give active support to the capitalist-friendly and neo-liberal version of development (Kothari & Minogue, 2002). One can observe that the World Bank formulated the poverty reduction strategic papers adopted in the

developing countries. Across the developing countries from Bangladesh to Zambia these strategic papers are similar in content, structure and format, even the time scale – the realisation of Rostow (1960) linear path to development. The papers advocate the alleviation/reduction of poverty rather than eradication of extreme poverty. Thus, this research will fill the gap, first, in our understanding of the contribution of TBC programmes on poverty eradication in empowering people to eradicate extreme poverty in their lives, while government policies focus on poverty reduction/alleviation of poverty, and, second, the impact of the inefficiency of government in empowering people to eradicate extreme poverty, and on the contribution of TBC communication in motivating people to participate fully in poverty eradication schemes. The following section will focus on dependency theory.

4.2. Dependency Theory

In the context of development, 'dependency' refers to over-reliance on another nation and the relationships and links between developed and developing economies (Wallerstein, 1974). Dependency theory uses political and economic theory to explain how the process of international trade and domestic development makes some developing countries ever more economically dependent on developed countries. It also explains the South's dependency on the North's communication systems, models and media content. The theory was based on the belief that the Periphery underdevelopment was caused by the Centre whose wealth was generated through exploiting the poor nations. The dependency and communication paradigm points both to technological and economic dependence on the Centre -- the Western power in terms of culture, values, ideology and thought patterns (Servaes, 2009). The 1960s and 1970s saw the developing countries demanding for the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Hot debates continued at

UNESCO, which later led to setting up the McBride Commission in 1977 and the withdrawal of USA and Britain from UNESCO in 1984 and 1985, respectively, accusing the commission for attacking press freedom in its report of 1980. The demand for changes was triggered by the Dependency paradigm which focused on answering why the Third World was/is underdeveloped.

Dependency theorists like Wallerstein (1974), see underdevelopment as the result of unequal power relationships between rich, developed, capitalist countries and poor developing ones. Powerful developed countries dominate dependent powerless countries via the capitalist system. In the Dependency model underdevelopment is externally induced by developed countries (Servaes, 1996c). Dominant countries have such a technological and industrial advantage that they can ensure that the 'rules of the game' (as set out by World Bank and IMF) work in their own interest. In other words, international trades' transfer of wealth from the periphery to the core not only created stagnation, but extracted value from the developing countries. This partly explains the hostility shown towards the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle in 1999. The theory maintains that the monopoly capitalists transfer of surplus from the underdeveloped countries to the developed countries hinders economic expansion, technological progress and social change (ibid.). The central argument of the dependency theory, which was formulated as a critical response to the modernization theory, stressed that the wealth of the metropolis was a result of the poverty of the third world (Rodney, 1972; Wallerstein, 1974).

The Third World countries were urged to cut ties with Western capitalist communication systems and establish their own systems and news agencies to counter balance the flow of information from the North. Hedebro (1982) suggested that centrally planned communications systems like those of Cuba, China and Tanzania,

were effective in two-way vertical flows of information cutting across political and socio-economic strata. However, one would argue that communication was highly coordinated and ideologically guided. Hedebro (1982, p. 86) explained:

> (The media) are used, where appropriate, to contribute to the fulfilment of development objectives that are formulated for the society as a whole… There is no communication policy for development, but there is a development philosophy in which communication represents one of the several parts. It is not the most important factor, but it is absolutely necessary.

Ideologically motivated communication was very successful in Cuba. For example, in 1961 Fidel Castro launched a literacy campaign which led to the drop in illiteracy from 24% to 2% in a single year with the slogan "the people teach the people" in mobilizing the nation (ibid., 1982). The media were used to motivate the national commitment as agents for social change but not as an independent factor for social change. In the last fifty years, one would argue that development is achievable through self-reliance and independence, citing China as an example. Also one would further argue that if it had not been the economic and political embargos imposed on Cuba by the United States, Cuba would have been one of the most developed countries in the world. The argument also applies to Tanzania under Nyerere, whose ideas on socialism and liberating Africa from colonialism were not welcome in Washington. Consequently, the World Bank and IMF were used as tools for making it difficult for Nyerere to achieve his ambitious ideas of eradicating poverty, disease and ignorance in Tanzania (Campbell, 2010). Thus, if there were no political clash between Nyerere and the Western powers, especially those led by right wing politicians like Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK on the Southern Africa liberation, Tanzania would have been in the club of the emerging economies.

With regard to Africa today, the theory's perspective clearly intended to define the colonialism and neo-colonialism as responsible for most African states' economic

stagnation. Its central premises portrayed the African states as the historical victims of domination. The dependency model professed that the balance of trade was unfair, leading to consistent inequalities between two differing worlds, and two systems with different historical background. Critics of this theory argue that, "dependency theory was good at showing how Africans became victims of imperialism but gave useless advice on how they were to extricate themselves from such conditions" (Apter & Rosberg, 1994, p. 39). They claimed that the theory emphasized too much on economic realities, rather than interpreting African political fragmentation and expanding on the notions of class and power. Consequently, it has been argued that "specific Third World governments and their chosen policies also bear much of the actual responsibility for both 'success' and 'failure' at development" (Migdal, Kohli & Shoe, 1996, p. 301). Thus, failures in the dynamics of development are being moulded by African states and not by international economic factors alone (Babu, 2010; Shivji; 2009). One can observe that even TBC still depends on media content from the West (See Chapters 6 and 7). The next section reviews another development paradigm.

4.3. Another Development Paradigm

In search of another way of understanding and promoting development, in 1975, a Norwegian communication specialist, Andreas Fuglesang, collaborated with the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation of Sweden to produce the report "What Now? Another Development." The report identified "five principles of development: (1) that development be geared to the satisfaction of needs, beginning with the eradication of poverty; (2) that it be endogenous and self-reliant – that is, relying on the strengths of the societies that undertake it; (3) that it be in harmony with the environment; (4) the need for structural transformation (change in power structures); (5)….immediate action is both necessary and possible" (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009, p. 27-28). Although the word

"participation" was not used in this report, it emphasised that development must be endogenous and self-reliant in the sense that it should be driven by the initiatives of the people who are directly affected, not part of a modernization plan introduced from above. In this respect, media content should be people-centred. The section below discusses participatory communication theory.

4.4. Participatory Communication Theory

This thesis uses participatory communication theory as the theoretical basis for its analysis of the contribution of TBC as a public service broadcaster in development communication for poverty eradication in Tanzania. The participatory model, stresses the importance of the cultural identity of local communities and of democratisation and participation at all levels—international, national, local and individual. It points to a strategy, not merely inclusive of, but largely emanating from, the traditional 'receivers'. This section examines the relevant aspects of participatory communication theory, including key definitions and processes.

4.4.1. Defining Participatory Communication

Participatory communication denotes the theory and practices of communication used to involve people in the decision-making of the development communication processes (Huesca, 2002; Servaes, 2008). It is referred to as the use of mass media and traditional interpersonal means of communication to empower individuals, communities or the public to visualise aspirations and discover solutions to their development problems (Mefalopulos, 2005). Singhal (2001, 2004) defined participatory communication as a dynamic, interactional, and transformative process of dialogue between people, groups, and institutions enabling people, both individually and collectively, to realize their full potential and be engaged in their own welfare. Thus, this research explores how participatory communication has been applied in the

production and reception of TBC programmes on poverty eradication (See Chapters 6 and 7). Scholars have argued that participatory communication facilitates people's involvement in decision-making about issues impacting their lives and enables them to address specific needs and priorities relevant to their lives, while assisting in empowering them to implement the knowledge and skills gained on the ground at the grassroots (Melkote, 1991; Servaes, 1999; Singhal, 2001, 2004). Participatory communication is a necessary component, consistent with a democratic vision of international development, needed to increase projects' sustainability and ensure genuine ownership by the beneficiaries (Mefalopulos, 2005).

Nyerere (1973) described clearly the major difference between non-participatory development programmes and programmes which encourage true participation when he argued "people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves" (p. 60). In this respect, development cannot be superimposed by an outsider. Development has to originate from the people themselves through their own decisions and actions which enable them to increase their understanding of what they are doing and why. Full participation -- as an equal **--** empowers people to increase their knowledge and ability to attain desired development. Thus one can observe that participatory communication theory stresses the importance of democratisation of the communication systems and encourages participation of people in all levels of development communication (international, national, community and individual). For Freire (1983), participatory communication is the right of all people to individually and collectively speak their word:

> This is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every (wo)man.
> Consequently, no one can say a true word alone - nor can he say it for
> another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words (p. 76).

Here, it can be argued that people do have information, knowledge and experiences which can be shared in development projects which are very important in any decision-making process for development. Therefore, regardless of demographic backgrounds, people should have equal rights to express themselves. Subsequently, "this calls for a new attitude for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways" (MacBride, 1980, p. 254). Hence, participatory communication puts emphasis "on reciprocal collaboration throughout all levels of participation" (FAO, 2005, p. 22), from the government to the citizen, the rich and the poor, the planners and administrators, as well as their targets. Participatory communication is all about how members of a society determine their own directions for change (White, 1994).

4.4.2. Conceptualisation of Participatory Communication

The guiding philosophy of participatory communication for social change can be traced to the work of Paulo Freire in 1960s and 1970s, the Brazilian educator who conceived communication as dialogue and participation for the purpose of creating cultural identity, trust, commitment, ownership and empowerment. Huesca, (2002) explained that the dominant paradigm of modernisation underwent criticism in the 1970s from around the world by scholars which in turn, "stimulated a range of research projects that had resulted in a robust literature exploring participatory communication approaches to development" (p. 499).

An assessment by Lerner and Schramm (1976) of what communication applications has achieved in terms of national development applications from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s involved researchers from all over the world. The agreement seemed to be that the top-down development model was wrong and that the new

bottom-up participatory development paradigm was needed (ibid.). Consequently, participatory communication approaches were considered as an alternative to dominant strategies for social change which could be used to promote more horizontal and bottom-up development approaches (Wilkins, 2002). Participatory communication gained momentum in the1980s and 1990s, and since then it has evolved into different approaches as discussed in the next section.

4.4.3. Concept and Elements of Participatory Communication Approaches

The reaction against modernization gave birth to four different ways of participatory communication, which can be observed in development projects (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009). These are: 1) Participatory communication in implementation, whereby people are actively encouraged and mobilized to take part in the actualization of projects. 2) Participatory communication in evaluation, whereby people are invited upon completion of a project to critique the success or failure of it. 3) Participatory communication in benefit, whereby people take part in discussing the fruits of a project. 4) Participatory communication in decision-making, whereby people initiate, discuss, conceptualize and plan political, cultural, social and economic activities they will all do as individuals, community or nation. Tufte & Mefalopulos (2009) pointed out that some development initiatives provide people with opportunities for all these four ways of participation, while many others restrict participation to one or two ways. This research, however, focuses on participatory communication in decision-making, which gives people control of their lives and environment. Participation in decision-making enables people to acquire problem solving skills and full ownership of projects--two important elements which contribute towards securing the sustained development of their community (ibid.). The other three approaches of participatory communication in implementation, evaluation and benefit have been criticised for being false participation

by Uphoff (1985), who argued that participatory communication in decision-making is fundamental and indispensable in achieving development goals, while other approaches are used by the powerful elite to manipulate other people. Participatory communication can be applied in two ways, either by dialogue based face-to-face interaction, mainly used at the community level or by participatory mass media based on technology uses (Servaes, 1999; Singhal, 2001). This research will try to critically analyse the applicability of participatory communication based on technology uses in the feed-forward and/or feed-back processes involved in the production and dissemination of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. The next section discusses in the concept of multiplicity in participatory communication.

4.4.4. Multiplicity in Participatory Communication

Multiplicity in one world is one of the notions of participatory communication, which recommends strong, grassroots participation in development efforts, but explicitly rejects universal approaches to its application (Servaes 1995). Servaes (1996a) argued that unique competing political, social and cultural interests and groups are found in homogenous cultures and thus, "rigid and general strategies for participation are neither possible nor desirable" (p. 23). Multiplicity emphasizes "diversity and pluralism, suggesting that nations and regions cultivate their own responsive approaches to self-determined development goals that emerge out of participatory processes" (Huesca, 2002, p. 507). Servaes (1998, 2008, 2009) recommended a "global ethics" grounded in principles of democracy and respect for human rights to be adopted unilaterally by development agencies, whereby different techniques in different contexts might be used to deal with specific problems. Thus, media advocacy is encouraged in certain contexts where a significant proportion of the population gets information from different media outlets (Waisbord, 2005, 2002).

Jan Servaes has emphasized the multiplicity of variations of social development, in part, to counter the view that all nations and cultures must follow the US-American or European or Western or Latin American process of social development, but also to counter the view that there is one path toward development. This integrated approach is holistic, and media development is seen as development from below, empowering people and communities at the grassroots (Servaes, 1996c, 2008, 2009). Multiplicity is based on the belief that there is no universal development model (Servaes, 1995) and people can only develop themselves (Nyerere, 1973). The multiplicity model encourages interdependence and collective efforts of the world to achieve sustainable development. Servaes (1996c, p. 84) identified four basic assumptions of multiplicity as:

1. All nations are, in one way or another, dependent upon one another. Consequently, internal as well as external factors may influence the development process.

2. Development has to be studied in a global context, in which both the centre and the periphery, as well as their inter-related subdivisions, have to be taken into consideration.

3. More attention should be paid to the content of development, which implies a more normative approach.

4. There is no universal model for development. Each society must develop its own development strategy.

Servaes (1989, 1996c, 2009) argued that since the demarcation of the First, Second and Third Worlds have broken down and the crossover centre-periphery can be found in every region, there is a need for a new concept of development, which

emphasizes cultural identity and multi-dimensionality. The present-day 'global' world in general, as well as in its distinct regional and national entities, is confronted with multi-faceted crises. Apart from the obvious economic and financial crises, one could also refer to social, ideological, moral, political, ethnic, ecological and security crises. In other words, the previously held dependency perspective has become more difficult to support in the interdependent–globalized world (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005).

In the globalised world every society is dependent in one way or another on other, both in form and degree. Thus, both the peripheral and the centre have a mutual relationship at global, national and local levels; and the globalised world favours a multiplicity of approaches based on the context and the basic, felt needs, and the empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of various societies at divergent levels (Servaes, 2008). The central idea is that there is no universal path to development; that development must be conceived as an integral, multi-dimensional and dialectic process which can differ from society to society. The Multiplicity approach stresses the bottom-up approach, whereby development priorities stem from the heart of the society's needs, which defines in sovereignty its values, and the vision of its future. Although Waisbord (2005) argued that media and communication practitioners have recognized the need for multiplicity of communication strategies to improve the quality of life in communities, one can observe that the top-down dominant approach is widely used in communication since the donors and sponsors of development projects determine how the projects are organized, managed and implemented, not the people at the grassroots. This research will investigate uses of the notion of multiplicity in producing and disseminating TBC programmes addressing poverty eradication as discussed in chapter six and seven. The next section focuses on the typologies of participatory communication.

4.4.5. Participatory Communication Typologies

Operationalisation of the participatory communication concept ranges from definitions with "thinly-veiled reincarnations of the dominant paradigm – the participation-as-a-means approach – to those which genuinely represent the case for the basic needs paradigm – the participation-as-an-end approach" (Melkote, 1991, p. 237). Scholars who support participation-as-an-end approach argued that participatory communication is a basic human right (Diaz-Bordenave, 1989 and Tehranian, 1985). They argued that participation communication is the vehicle through which one can articulate his/her needs and express oneself, be appreciated and respected, and have some say in crucial decisions affecting his/her life (Huesca, 2002). Therefore participatory communication "should be supported as an end in itself and not for its results" (Melkote, 2002, p. 428). One can argue that participation-as-an-end in itself empowers people to take an active role in articulating and managing their own development programmes and process. People get involved in creating ideas, take initiatives, articulate their needs and problems and assert their autonomy (Melkote, 1991). Although this approach of participation is "politically quite risky to higher authorities" Melkote (1991, p. 237), but it will be a guiding framework in evaluating the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania.

In contrast, the participation-as-a-means approach comes from attempts at mobilisation of the populace to cooperate in development activities, which involves prescriptive and top-down approaches (Melkote, 2002). One can observe that in this type of participation people are not involved in identifying the problem or designing a development programme. Thus, participation of the people is very shallow and manipulated to serve the interests of authorities in charge of such programmes

(Melkote, 1991). The next section discusses the discourses in participatory communication.

4.4.6. Participatory Communication Discourses and/or Practise

There are two major discourses of participatory communication, which are widely accepted. The practise of participatory communication stresses on collaboration between the people and the experts, a co-equal knowledge-sharing between the people and experts, and local context and cultural proximity, in order to bring true empowerment of the people (Melkote, 2002). Without an adequate two-way flow of information and dialogue between periphery and centre, the exchange of knowledge, market information, and political dialogue, development is unlikely to take place. Participatory communication links individuals and communities, governments and citizens, to share decision-making. Participatory communication can be achieved through two major approaches. The first approach is the dialogical pedagogy of Paulo Freire of 1970 which stresses on interpersonal communication and group communication in a small-scale or community based participatory communication. Speech, traditional and folk media, and group activities are considered the most appropriate instruments for supporting the approach. This early thinking ignores the mass media by not suggesting any roles for them. "Freire also gives little attention to language or form of communication, devoting most of his discussion to the intentions of communication" (Servaes, 1996a, p. 18). According to Tufte (2005) Freire's theory of dialogical communication is based on face-to-face communication and small group dialogue rather than mass media as radio, print and television. One can observe that Freire's ideas are unpopular among the elite in the developing world, since Freire advocated for the rising of people's consciousness which would lead to the change of power structures of society, but there is nonetheless the acceptance of Freire's notion of

dialogic communication as a normative theory of participatory communication (Servaes 1996a; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005; Tufte, 2005).

The second discourse about participatory communication is the UNESCO language about self-management, access and participation articulated in the UNESCO meeting in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1977 (Servaes, 1996a). Participatory communication is based on the uses of mass media technology (Servaes, 1999; Singhal, 2001). This notion, which will be used in this thesis, implies the right of the audience to participate in the planning, production, dissemination and evaluation of the media content. Although not everyone wants to or must be involved in its practical implementation, but the most important aspect of this notion is that participation is made possible in the decision-making regarding the subjects treated in the messages and regarding the selection procedures and evaluation. More often, audience participation takes the form of letters, emails, phone-ins, outside broadcasting units, roving reporters, and nowadays: Skype, Tweeter, Facebook, and mobile phone text messages. It can be observed that the feed-forward and/or feedback comes through either people interacting face-to-face with journalists or the people sharing their views on media using new communication technologies of mobile phones and Internet. Feed-forward is when people tell the journalists what is important for media coverage, and which is the best angle and way of covering these issues, while feedback is when people react to stories or programmes conceived independently by the journalists (Melkote, 2002). Feed-forward and feedback are considered more important since they give the poor and the marginalised people a platform to raise their voices and share their popular knowledge (Melkote, 1991). Participatory communication, either at a community level or group or mass media, must meet the following criteria summarised in the diagram below.
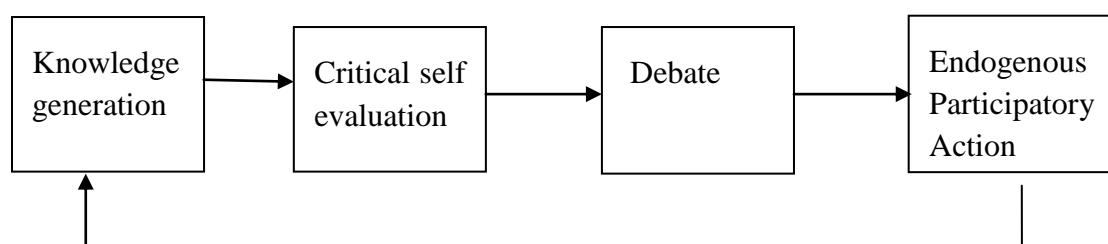
Figure 1. Praxis in Participatory Communication (Melkote, 2002, p. 428).

Melkote (2002) argued that, "In this process (in Figure 1 above), people on their own develop methods of consciousness-raising of their existential situation" (p. 429). The knowledge is generated collectively and democratically, followed by the reflection and critical self-evaluation, which lead to endogenous participatory social action. For, Freire, (1983), praxis implies reflection upon and action in the world in order to transform it. Thus, participatory communication offers space for citizens to express opinions and experiences and become truly involved in the affairs of their nation and communities. Hence, participatory communication empowers individuals, groups and communities at the grassroots to enter and participate meaningfully in the development activities in their communities and societies. FAO (2005) argued that participation of people does not mean that there is no longer a role for development specialists, planners, and institutional leaders, rather it implies that the viewpoint of the citizens "is considered before the resources for development projects are allocated and distributed" (p. 22), and that suggestions for changes in the policy are taken into account.

In recent years there has been a consensus that participatory forms of communication are far more effective for development than the modernization forms of communication (Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte, 2006; Mefalopulos, 2003; Melkote 2002; Melkote & Steeve, 2001; Servaes, 2008; Tufte, 2005; Wilkins, 2000). The Participatory model allows people at the grassroots to define their needs and initiatives. The

government needs to respond to these needs and initiatives and welcome the people to share their knowledge and experiences with the government official, who in turn motivate people and support their initiatives. In pragmatic terms a peasant must enter into a dialogue with a banker or extension officer to find solutions to his or her problems. This can also be done at a practical level on a radio or television discussion programme or online. In this two-way communication, both the peasant and the banker or extension officers learn from each other. The knowledge they acquire helps to transform their thinking and actions. Consequently, the peasant starts using technologies needed to keep his farm records for banking purposes or technologies needed for improving agricultural products.

Therefore, it can be argued that people should not be forced to adopt new practices no matter how beneficial they seem in the eyes of agencies and governments. Instead, people should be motivated to participate rather than adopt new practices based on information. Participation needs to be present in all stages of development projects. Thus, participatory communication can be viewed as a systematic utilization of communication channels and techniques to increase people's participation in development and to inform, motivate, and train both rural and urban populations. "Participation and empowerment are considered as the two major pillars of communication for sustainable development" (Mefalopulos, 2005, p. 249). Participatory communication theory will guide this study in exploring the interaction, if there is any, between the producers of TBC programmes on poverty eradication and the audiences. The next section will focus on the concept of PSB.

4.5. The Concept of Public Service Broadcasting

This thesis does not review the origin and evolvement of PSB but it acknowledges that the concept of PSB originated in the experience of the BBC and its

founder Sir John Reith, who thought that PSB should be protected from purely political and commercial pressures, serve the whole nation, and provide a high standard of programmes (McDonnell, 1991). One can argue that Reith's ideas such as universal availability, good programming, and public funding were the foundation of PSB as we know it today -- PSB which serves the public and is accountable to the public rather than to the government and/or commercial interests. The report of the World Radio and Television Council, *Public Broadcasting: Why? How?* UNESCO (2000) defined public broadcasting as a meeting place where all citizens are welcome and considered equals regardless of their political, social or economic status. The concept of PSB is built on the principles of universality, diversity, independence, and distinctiveness. UNESCO (2000) quoted in Buckley et al (2008, p.192) "explains them as follows:

1. It is accessible to every citizen, not merely in technological terms, but also in terms of the intelligibility of the programming.

2. It demonstrates diversity in the genres of programs offered, the audiences targeted, and the subjects discussed.

3. It is independent of commercial pressures and political influence. This includes editorial independence, protections for freedom of expression, adequate, predictable, and independent mechanisms of financing, and the independence of governing bodies and the selection process for their boards and chief executives.

4. It not only produces types of programs and subject matter other services ignore and targets audiences others neglect but, without excluding any genre, it aims to innovate, create new genres, and set the pace in the audio-visual world.

There is no easy answer to the question what is PSB since national traditions and interests determine PSB models (Raboy, 1995). Nevertheless, Buckley et al (2008, p.189) came up with the "good practice checklist" to guide us:

1. "Public service broadcasters should be prescribed in law as bodies that are editorially independent of government, serve the public interest, and are protected against political and commercial interference.

2. The duty of a national public service broadcaster should be to serve the public interest in broadcasting throughout the territory and for the whole of the population of the country in which it is established.

3. The public service broadcaster should provide a wide range of innovative and high quality programs designed to educate, inform, and entertain the general public while taking of account ethnic, cultural, religious, and regional diversity.

4. The public service broadcaster should be governed by an independent governing board with powers and duties set out in law. These should include monitoring and ensuring compliance with public service duties and responsibilities, ensuring highest standards of probity and value for money, and providing formal accountability to the general public.

5. The appointments process for the governing board should be fair, open, transparent, and set out in law. It should be designed to ensure the members have relevant expertise or experience and carry a diversity of interests and opinions representative of society as a whole.

6. The appointments process should not be dominated by any particular political party or commercial interest, and the members appointed should be

required to serve in an individual capacity and to exercise their functions in the interest of public at all times.

7. Day-to-day management of the public service broadcaster should be the responsibility of a chief executive officer appointed by the governing board for a fixed term, whose tenure may be renewed. The chief executive officer, along with his or her editorial staff, should have responsibility for setting editorial policy and making editorial decisions.

8. The public service broadcaster should be predominantly funded from public funding through a funding mechanism designed to protect its independence. It may raise additional revenues from direct subsidies, commercial activities, and donations."

It is worth mentioning that no PSB Company/Corporation meets the above checklist. Even the BBC is not a perfect model of PSB since its history and what is it does is shaped by political intervention and political imagination (Aitken, 2007; Born, 2004). For Born (2004) the BBC "as an institution riven by contradictions, at once liberal and elitists, arrogant and fragile, a cornerstone of British democracy yet replete with internal hierarchies mirroring Britain's broader social inequalities" (p. 5). As a result, the BBC operates within a culture of excessive bureaucracy, culture of secrecy, limited access to information, lack of openness, mistrust, destructive cuts (lack of funds), shifting the output in a crude commercial direction, and it is not delivering on cultural diversity. Racism and class division exist at the heart of the BBC since journalists recruited are from elitists backgrounds, and thus, "As a rule backstage is black at the BBC; front stage is white. Routine harassment, routine racial hierarchy" (Born, 2004, p. 208). This concurs with Aitken (2007) who argued that, "Sometimes, indeed, they (the BBC) are racist" (p. 100). Similarly, Morley (2000) revealed that the

BBC is dominated by white broadcasting and newsreaders speak like schoolmasters speaking to kids.

Further, the BBC is not independent as it claims. In 2005, for example, due to the UK government pressure following an inquiry into the death of weapons expert, Dr. David Kelly, a key source for BBC reports on government policy-making in the period leading up to the war on Iraq, the Director General of BBC, Greg Dyke, resigned (Aitken, 2007; Born, 2004; Buckley et al, 2008). The government's intrusive interventions on the BBC around the death of Dr. Kelly were considered as "a reduction in the BBC's independence from government" (Born, 2004, p. 500). In addition, the BBC is neither impartial nor objective as it is widely claimed because it promotes a biased political agenda which has direct or indirect link with the interests of the government (Aitken, 2007; Born, 2004). Thus, the BBC news production is driven by ideology and politics and relies heavily on elite sources while ethnic minorities and lower socio-economic groups are less involved (Born, 2004). In this respect, the BBC does not meet the principles of diversity and plurality of PSB and thus it is no perfect PSB model to follow.

Nevertheless, one can acknowledge that the BBC model remains one of the best PSB models in the world. Many countries in the West and those which were under British rule all over the world follow the BBC model. As a result broadcasting corporations which had names almost similar to the BBC were established like Australia Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), Canada Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The legacy of the BBC in Africa is widely evident whereby almost all nations which were under British rule copied the BBC model, and even their names tell it all; for example, ZBC for Zambia, GBC for Ghana, KBC for Kenya and TBC for Tanzania. However, the PSB model exemplified by the BBC did not translate easily to other parts

of the world (Boyd-Barrett, 2002) especially in Africa. Hence, each African state implemented its own version of PSB whereby elitist's interests rather than public interests drive most PSBs. And after the introduction of neo-liberalism it is common to find PSB is combined with commercial broadcasting, "with the commercial arms cross-subsidizing the public service broadcasting mandates" (Teer-Tomaselli & Kwame Boafo, 1995, p.185). Thus, there is a blurring between commercial broadcasting motivated by maximizing profit and PSB.

Further, there are number of obstacles faced by PSB in the world especially the developing countries of the South. Raboy (1995) argued that political, economic, technological, ideological and developmental constraints hinder the realisation of the ideals of PSB in developing countries. PSB in the developing countries is characterised by being under government control, highly politicised, censored and suffering tight control of finances (Sinha, 1995). It is argued that since the primary role of PSB in the Third World is to facilitate economic and social development; and since the governments carry out development as the primary task, then it is natural that PSB be institutionalised as an arm of the government (Stevenson, 1988). Arguing in favour of controlling broadcasting, Mwakawago (1986) asserted:

> No programme is entirely free of manipulation. Even in free enterprise countries, there tend to be groups which try to monopolise and manipulate communication and which need to be controlled by public intervention. There is no such thing as total freedom of the media. The vital questions are, who does the controlling, and what is the nature of the control? (p. 85)

Consequently, using arguments like the one above, one can observe that most of the governments in the developing countries passed laws which do not guarantee media freedom. Nonetheless, the lack of press freedom and access to communication undermines the capacity of the poor to participate in democratic processes and other economic activities (UNESCO, 2006). In this calculus of poverty eradication, free and

independent media is a central priority as emphasized in the Bellagio Statement (2004) that "when people do not have a voice in the public arena, or access to information on issues that affect their lives, and where their concerns are not reasonably reflected in the media, development tends to be undermined and catastrophes such as famines are less likely to be averted" (UNESCO, 2006). Moreover, unlike the BBC, whose funds come from license fees collected by the government, funds for PSBs in the Third World come directly from the governments as subsidies to their respective public broadcasters; hence, the editorial independence and artistic integrity and impartiality suffer from immediate political and commercial pressures. These constraints to PSBs are critically analysed in the context of TBC in chapters six and seven of this thesis.

Regardless of the political and commercial interests that surround PSBs in the developing countries, one can observe that PSBs have been at the centre of communication for development in the Third World countries in both the 20th and 21st centuries and they are linked to national development in almost all countries in the South. For scholars like Okigbo (1995), sustainable development and communication for development "will be incomplete in Africa without the involvement of broadcasting" (p. 276). This is due to the fact that PSBs play a significant role in stimulating development by disseminating "information, facilitating decision-making, education and entertainment" (Mwakawago, 1986, p. 88). Thus, PSBs have been used as government machineries of communicating government policies and advancing the agenda for nation building, promoting development, and improving both formal and informal education across the world (Okgibo, 1995). The next section discusses PSB and communication for development.

4.6. Public Service Broadcasting and Communication for Development

Broadcasting media, especially in the Third World, are the most effective means o f serving the audience with educational programmes, news and entertainment aiming at improving health, education, agricultural techniques, participation in politics, industrial production and expansion; enforcing social norms, raising aspirations, encouraging informed debate on development, exposing corruption; and they serve as an important national integrative agency. Unlike newspapers and internet, which are very expensive and limited in circulation and infrastructure, radio and television reach both remote rural and urban areas. Radio broadcasting is widely acknowledged as one of the most powerful means in communication for development for social change (Lewis, 1993). It is widely used as an educational tool for both adults and children. An individual can carry out his/her activities while listening to a radio. Radio is affordable though most of the people in developing countries live in poverty. Through television, essential practical demonstrations for rural populations like writing, administration of drugs, preparation of nutritious diets, and modern agricultural techniques are possible. UNDP (2004) argued that PSBs in developing countries provide a voice for the voiceless; promote tolerance and understanding amongst diverse groups in society; ensure that the general population has access to a broad spectrum of views on issues of public concern; and facilitate discussion around national development/poverty reduction plans and peace agreements. Research shows that Third World countries like India, Turkey, China and Tanzania, have been successfully exploiting these special advantages associated with broadcasting to attain sustainable development (Lerner, 1958; Melkote, 1991; Moshiro, 1990; Schramm, 1964; and Stevenson, 1988). The sub-section below is an overview of the role of public broadcasting as a tool for development in Tanzania.

4.6.1. The Case of Tanzania

The work of Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964) influenced scholars around the world to accept the efforts of using media as the great multipliers of knowledge, experience and inspiration. Even those who opposed the dominant paradigm and western capitalism like President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania embraced the basic assumption that the mass media could help the developing countries "accelerate toward the future of their choice, capitalist or socialist, industrial or agrarian, democratic or totalitarian" (Stevenson, 1988, p. 3). Thus, since independence in 1961 radio in Tanzania was used as a mobilising tool for development, which informed and educated the masses in the effective ways of implementing socialism, eradicating illiteracy, poverty and disease; and promoting peace, freedom and unity (Ng'wanakilala, 1981). Programmes like The Message of Today (*Ujumbe wa Leo*), The Weapon of the Oppressed (*Fimbo ya Mnyonge*), The World of the Worker (*Dunia ya Mfanyakazi*), and others like Voice of the Party and Socialism Today were introduced expressly to re-orientate and politicize listeners in various ways towards self-reliance and socialist democratic practice as the ultimate objective.

Further, the radio was used successfully in literacy campaigns in the 1970s and in the 1973 'Man is Health Campaign' (*Mtu ni Afya*). "Through organised listening and discussion groups throughout the country the extensive use of interviews and dramatic sketches in the actual broadcasts, people were moved into action, especially on environmental health" (Balcomb, 1975, p.13 quoted in Moshiro, 1990, p.26). Radio Tanzania was a powerful agent in addressing the food shortage problem in the 1970s. In Tanzania as a great multiplier of information, what one agricultural agent could do in a single village, radio could in thousands of villages simultaneously in the whole nation. Moshiro (1990) explained that when Tanzania had food shortages in 1973 and 1974: "A

massive campaign was launched in what was known as Food is Life (*Chakula ni Uhai*). In all, there were 18 radio programmes broadcast twice a week for 18 weeks. One year after this campaign, Tanzania became a net exporter of food" (p. 27).

Ng'wanakilala (1981) argued that radio in Tanzania was an instrument for development, which was used to promote, motivate and foster the spread of information and education needed to make people's livelihood better. Conversely, one can observe that, after Nyerere stepped down from the presidency in 1985, there has been a decline in using broadcasting media as a tool for development, since the government adopted structural adjustment programmes and embraced a free market economy, which resulted in the decline of food production and industrial output, while literacy dropped from 98% in 1985 to 65% in 1995.

Ng'wanakilala (2003) argued that one of the reasons for the increase of extreme poverty in Tanzania is the lack of relevant information – technical knowledge, political and socio-economic knowledge. These educate and transform people nationally, if the nation is to engage in a systematic and efficient national movement for speedy and progressive reduction of mass poverty, endemic diseases, illiteracy, unemployment, injustice and corruption. In the process of fighting poverty in Tanzania, it is crucial to acknowledge that participatory communication from government to citizens and vice-versa, and among the citizens themselves, is essential for this process to succeed. This research in chapters six and seven tries to establish whether there is interaction between producers of TBC programmes on poverty eradication and audience. The findings will fill the gap in our understanding of participatory communication on TBC as a national broadcasting station. As revealed in chapter three TBC audience ratings are: TBC-TAIFA attracts weekly audience of 35% of the population, while TBC FM attracts 34% of the population andTBC1 attracts 87% of the surveyed population (Murthy, 2010).

People need to access information on various aspects so as to participate and play an informed role in poverty eradication schemes. They also need to access credible and timely information and divergent opinions in order to make intelligent and wise decisions and choices on public policies (USAID, 1991). Also the psycho-analyst and philosopher Frantz Fanon insisted on emphasizing the concept that communication is an essential means in achieving a democratic rule and indeed in poverty eradication: "The people must know where they are going and why a specific course has been embarked on. The politician must realize that the future will remain dim as long as people's consciousness remains dim and incomplete" (Ullirich 1974, pp. 13-14).

Thus, it can be argued that communication for poverty eradication between the government and citizens needs mass media which act as platforms for making people's concerns and demands public. The media, especially radio and television, have two advantages as agents of sustainable development in the Tanzanian context. First, broadcasting media have a wider audience than newspapers and Internet; hence radio and television are appropriate channels for disseminating information and knowledge about development projects and poverty eradication schemes. Secondly, research has shown that the majority of Tanzanians have "a blind faith" in broadcasting media since "people tend to believe almost everything said over the radio" (Wanyande, 1998, p. 98). However for public broadcasting to be successful as driving force in development communication and transformation of people's lives it must operate in an environment which guarantees media freedom. The next section will focus on public broadcasting and participatory communication.

4.7. Participatory Communication in Public Service Broadcasting

Public participation is a vital concept among media theorists like Habermas (1989), who saw the importance of the public sphere for the survival of democracy, and

indeed for achieving sustainable development. Lowe (2010) noted that in recent years the world has witnessed an increase of public participation in PSB, although participation of audience in broadcasting has been part and parcel of PSB since the early days of establishing public broadcasting in the UK. Mantymaki (2010) pointed out that Reith's vision on the BBC was to create PSB "not only allowing universal participation (in a national context) but actively facilitating that (p. 73). For Reith (1924), universal availability and equal access were core principles of PSB. These principles remain the main pillar of participatory communication today. In ensuring that BBC would be participatory PSB, Reith stated that: "there need be no first and third class. There is nothing in it (public broadcasting) which is exclusive to those who pay more, or who are considered in one way or another more worthy of attention" (p. 218). Consequently, broadcasting widened the public sphere by making it truly public since the voices of the citizens were amplified to reach out larger audiences more effectively and efficiently than before (Mantymaki, 2010). It can be observed that in Europe the first radio documentaries in the 1930's empowered the citizens to speak for themselves about unemployment and their welfare. Thus, the PSBs brought the private life of the marginalised members of the public into the public forum to get public attention and indeed public solution. As a result, changes initiated and driven by PSBs helped to improve the lives of the public in Europe (ibid.). From these revelations, one can assert that incorporating the voices of ordinary people on PSBs exposed what was happening at the grassroots and cast the seeds of democracy, accountability, transparency and development in many parts of Europe.

In their paper, Mass Communication and Para-social Interaction: Observations on Intimacy at a Distance, Horton & Wohl (1956) identified public broadcasting as a "new performer" whose "appearance is a regular and dependable event, to be counted

on, planned for, and integrated into the routines of daily life" (p. 216). In these early days of PSB, the interaction and relationship between the audience and the mediator broadcaster was limited due to lack of technology. It can be observed that in the last quarter of the 20th century to the present there has been an increase in public participation in PSBs due to the abundance of communication technologies like telephones, mobile phones and the internet. These have made interactive participatory communication on PSBs much cheaper and easier (Lowe, 2010). In this research the interaction between producers and audiences and the participation of the public on TBC and the means and/or communication technologies they use to interact will be a key area of investigation.

Scannell (1989) viewed PSB as a genuine social service, which opens events to the widest public awareness and participation. The public from all walks of life are brought and connected together to discuss their well-being and the welfare of their nation. Conversely, Trappel (2010) argued that programmes for PSB are produced centrally by large organization with little connection to civil society at large. Hence, the citizens are not represented except "in abstract data about daily reach and market share" (p. 49). One can observe that in developing countries it is an exception rather than a rule for PSB companies to open their doors for citizens other than as interviewees or talk show guests. Nonetheless, Trappel (2010) acknowledged that this attitude is gradually changing worldwide. But, one would argue there is a long way to go before one could fairly speak of any robust public involvement in PSB especially in Africa. Likewise, Jakubowicz (2006, 2008) emphasised the concept of PSBs to become more participatory by suggesting that PSB companies must prioritise renewing relations and building a "new partnership" with the public. He recommended that there is a need "to acknowledge the role of the public as an active partner and no longer as just a passive

receiver; to reconnect with the public in ways suited to the 21st century and to make public media truly public" (2006, p. 17). Thus, the next section discusses why participatory communication theory is used in this study.

4.8. Why Use Participatory Communication Theory to Study Traditional Mass Media?

Many scholars widely argue that participatory communication theory is designed to investigate the uses of community media and communication at a community level (Arnst, 1996; Awa, 1996; Freire, 1983; Melkote, 1991, 2002; Mezzana, 1996; Peruzzo, 1996; Servaes, 1989, 1996a, 1996c; Servaes and Malikhao, 2005; Thomas, 1996; Tufte, 2005; Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). However, this thesis explores participatory communication in mass media at a national level on PSB by examining the contribution of TBC programmes on poverty eradication in Tanzania. The choice of participatory communication theory to study traditional mass media -- TBC -- was influenced by a number of reasons:

First, participatory communication, from both Freirian and UNESCO discourses as discussed above, is a key element of democracy and sustainable people-centred development since it advocates the idea of all people to engage in a dynamic and reciprocal transformative dialogue individually and collectively and speak freely about issues affecting their lives. Its principles include equal access to information and communication channels, freedom of expression, independence in the sense of self-management and ethical practices (Servaes & Malikhao, 2008). Due to its democratic nature, one can argue that participatory communication is not limited only to function at the community level or individual level – interpersonal face-to-face communication. Participatory communication goes beyond the community level and encourages a

genuine constant interaction of people at the national level and even at the international or global level.

Second, the concept of PSB is built on the democratic principles of universal accessibility, diversity, independence and distinctiveness (Buckley et al, 2008; McDonnell, 1991; Raboy, 1995; Reith, 1924; Smith, 2013) which are similar to the ideals of participatory communication, as mentioned above. Both seek to create a dialogue and empower people to raise their consciousness about their welfare. In principle, PSB connects people from all walks of life to discuss their welfare, and in turn the audience participation on PSB increases the legitimacy of PSB in the public sphere (Trappel 2010). The audience participation in this context refers to audience being involved in the processes of planning and production of PSB programmes through consultation and representation. Further, as its name indicates, the main obligation of PSB is to serve the public in terms of making a significant contribution in improving the quality of life of citizens. At a national level, participatory communication on a national PSB amplifies the voices of the marginalised; promotes dialogue amongst diverse groups in society; and facilitates decision-making around issues of interest to the public in a nation like development, poverty eradication, peace and human rights.

Nonetheless, participatory communication on PSB, especially in Tanzania, may attract critics who may argue that PSB programmes are centrally produced by journalists or government departments with little connection to civil society at large, while representatives of civil society access airwaves as interviewees or talk show guests only. Conversely, one needs to acknowledge that this attitude is gradually changing in Tanzania due to democratisation and indeed the use of new communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet which facilitates a robust public involvement on PSB (See Chapters 6 and 7). Thus, mobile phones and the internet are

making a significant contribution in making PSB truly public by turning an audience --

a traditionally passive receiver -- into an active partner who can participate in the

production of PSB programmes.

Third, the problem of extreme poverty is not only an individual problem or a

community problem; rather it is a national problem and needs a national solution. The

national solution cannot be achieved without people's participation in dialogues seeking

that solution. Further, one can also argue that the power to eradicate extreme poverty is

found at the national level -- infused from the central government to support individual

initiatives at the grassroots. Thus, the use of mobile phones and the internet to access a

national PSB enables people at the grassroots to engage in national dialogue with the

political leaders/the elite and demand them to be accountable to the people. This

national dialogue, which sows the seeds of democracy, prosperity and people-centred

development in a nation, can neither take place on a community media nor can it

happen on PSB without using mobile phones or the internet. Thus, the use of mobile

phones on PSB creates a gate way for both feed-forward and/or feedback to track issues

and get instant response. This, in turn, changes the equation of power whereby people's

voices at the grassroots become more powerful than the voices of the elite in

government and bring the changes people need the most as long as there is freedom of

expression. However, a participatory communication in PSB in many countries in the

South encounters obstacles like media laws and government control which hinder

people at the grassroots and journalists to engage in more critical dialogue.

Fourth, one should acknowledge that the context in which Freire published his

book -- *The Pedagogy of Oppressed* -- in 1968 Brazil was neither free nor democratic.

Brazil was under a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. Further, national

broadcasting as well as regional and community station were highly controlled by the

regime. In addition, like any typical developing country Brazil had no well-established telephone lines. Thus, the voices of the people could hardly be heard on national media. The period lacked communication technology that could connect together the geographically isolated communities. Thus, it was logical and effective indeed for Freire to advocate participatory communication at the community level – face-to-face interpersonal communication and ignore participatory communication in mass media. Mass media in Brazil were part and parcel of oppression – the military machinery. How could they become participatory and air the voices of the oppressed and motivate them to take initiatives to liberate themselves from oppression? Conversely, the world has changed and at least in many parts of the Third World countries have embraced democracy, Brazil being one of them, and the technologies of mobile phones and the internet are widespread linking people across the world.

Thus, there is a need for us to think again about participatory communication: that participatory communication is not subject to distance, face-to-face communication or physical presence of participants in a dialogue in the same geographical space. Rather, one can posit that participatory communication is applicable at either micro (community) level of communication (interpersonal face-to-face and group communication), or macro (national and international) level of communication (mass communication and mass-self communication). But both levels are grass-root based -- involving the voices of common people as the driving force of dialogue. At a national level it becomes logical and appropriate to apply the principles of participatory communication on PSB as a better place for participatory communication. Consequently, this thesis uses participatory communication theory to investigate the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania and makes and an original contribution to knowledge that participatory communication can be applied on

traditional mass media. The next section will discuss how new technologies of mobile phones and the internet have made it possible for participatory communication to take place in PSB.

4.9. New Communication Technologies as a Driving Force of Participatory Communication in Public Service Broadcasting

Throughout history human evolution has gone hand in hand with inventions of communication technologies. From fire and drums, writing and paper, to technologies like telegraphy, telephone, photography, radio, television, satellite, mobile phones and the internet, we see that media and communication technologies have played a vital role in forging people's lives by linking them and blurring the geographical distances between them. As a deterministic, McLuhan (1964) perceived technology as a driving force in mass communication; an inexorable force in development; and irresistible, as well as an overwhelming force which creates a new human environment (Logan, 2010). McLuhan projected the future from technology and argued that media technologies will form, shape and transform our socio-cultural, political and economic activities. Through his famous phrase, "the medium is the message," McLuhan invited us to think and acknowledge that human relations are so deeply affected by the media technology through which communication takes place (Braman, 2004; Jensen, 2010; Logan, 2010).

Today, one can observe that, indeed, technology is a driving force of mass communication. For example Slater and Tacchi (2004) conducted a research on ICT Innovations for Poverty Reduction in India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bhutan, and found that ICTs have strengthened social networks; ICTs have helped in building capacity to challenge social norms that affect marginalised people; and ICTs have been used to empower poor people to become visible, to voice their concerns, to gain access to information, and to acquire and share knowledge that can improve their lives and

livelihoods. They argued that, access to ICTs is a gateway to modernity, education and knowledge. Slater and Tacchi (2004) concluded that "ICTs and ICT skills are increasingly central to surviving or thriving in the modern world, and that these technologies increasingly define the future – globally, regionally, nationally and locally" (p. 85).

Unlike McLuhan (1964), who argued that, "any technology gradually creates a totally new human environment" (p. viii), Logan (2010) and Slater and Tacchi (2004) have shown that indeed a new technology of ICTs has created a new human environment which empower people to access information, to know their rights, to articulate their opinions freely, to share new understandings of their status, opportunities and value, and to achieve their aspirations. In this new human environment of social interaction and networking, ICTs have made it possible for people to make demands and negotiate with authorities and bring the changes people need (Logan, 2010; Slater &Tacchi, 2004). For Morley (2000) communication technologies have enabled people to bring the outside world into their homes via radio, television and the internet and connect family members via the phone and the internet. For the users, the mobile phone and the internet offer a powerful form of security and solace (ibid.). With mobile phones and the internet people can communicate anywhere on the planet. Communication technologies blur geographical distances and remove the boundaries that may restrict access to information.

In the context of PSB one can observe that new communication technologies and traditional media are combined in innovative and creative ways to link population at the grassroots with the national audience and global knowledge. The introduction of mobile phones and the internet did not only remove the mental and geographical barriers between media institutions and audience in both urban and rural areas, they also

provided channels -- media convergence -- through which dialogue could take place (Jensen, 2010; Morley, 2000). In the interactive environment created by new communication technologies; "the audience participates in determining for themselves the meaning of messages, television, and radio" (Braman, 2004, p. 136). The periphery can now communicate and access the centres of media production and consumption, whereas the voices of marginalised population on radio and television show that there is recognition of involving the people at grassroots in media so that they speak for themselves and question the institutions and put the government to account (Morley, 2000). Thus, because of their decentralised and interactive nature, new technologies of mobile phones and the internet empower people to create an environment of checks and balances whereby the flow of information and access to different channels of communication is less controlled by governments and the elite. Consequently, all over the world one can observe that audience participation on traditional mass media at a national level and international level has been increasing thanks to the new communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet, and thus rising of people's consciousness about their wellbeing. The next section will review the concepts of media freedom and good governance as a cornerstone in ensuring the independence of media in their role in promoting development.

4.10. Press Freedom, Good Governance and Poverty Eradication

Jakubowicz argued that the media make a direct and potentially very important contribution to the development of society's system of values, aspirations and expectations and of individuals' subjective feelings as to how far they have gone on the way to realizing their aspirations, and how achievable they are (1995, p. 90). However, the contribution of media in development is much recognised when the media are operating freely and independently from government influences and from media laws

that prevent the media from performing its role as the voice of the voiceless. In the last decade, an international consensus has emerged showing the strong link between supporting press freedom and poverty eradication. Studies examining the successes and failures of development efforts have led development agencies and governments to recognize that without the empowerment of the media and understanding of local actors, even the well-supported development plans tend to produce negligible or unsustainable results (UNESCO, 2006). In this calculus of poverty eradication, free and independent media is a central priority, as emphasized in the Bellagio Statement (2004) that when people do not have a voice in the public arena, or access to information on issues that affect their lives, and where their concerns are not reasonably reflected in the media, development tends to be undermined and catastrophes such as famines are less likely to be prevented (UNESCO, 2006).

Even though it is often difficult to measure the role free and independent media play as an essential part in sustainable development and poverty eradication, the benefits are usually demonstrated over time or indirectly (UNESCO, 2006). By providing reliable information to the poor, media allow them to make informed decisions about their own lives and well being, as well as encouraging civic participation in either electing or themselves becoming government representatives. Sachs (2005) argued that, in the globalizing world, information sows the seeds of prosperity, and those who are without access to information are at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to building a better future for themselves and for their children. Similarly, UNESCO (2006) argued that free and independent media are important development tools, which have a positive influence on economic and social practices, good governance and the fight against corruption and access to essential social services to the poorest of the poor. Further, free and independent media give a

platform to the poor to speak for themselves and initiate dialogue indispensable in overcoming their problems, and this in turn increases the economic and political opportunities available to them, since their opinion and pre-occupations are taken seriously by governments (ibid.).

In this respect, it can be argued that free and independent media are key players in the poverty eradication efforts due to a number of reasons: first, free and independent media serves as an information conduit to facilitate good governance, creating and developing the relations between an informed, critical, and participatory population and responsive elected officials; second, free and independent media brings with it the recognition and strengthening of basic human rights, political transparency, and sharing of new techniques for microfinance management, modern agricultural methods and healthy living, which all have repeatedly demonstrated their importance in the eradication of poverty; and thus, free and independent media are tools for providing citizens the information they need to bring about sustainable development changes, and to sustain government reform and poverty eradication (UNESCO, 2006).

Good governance is also a key factor in poverty eradication, and free and independent media comprise a necessary condition for good governance. Free and independent media provide the foundation necessary for the facilitation of good governance, through promotion of effective government, accountability and the active engagement of participants in civil society (Servaes, 2009). The Dakar Declaration, endorsed by the UNESCO general conference in 2005, held that free media and the good governance that it encourages are central to poverty eradication strategies. Similarly, Sen (2001) has famously shown that democracies do not suffer famines, demonstrating the link between freedom of information and more tangible material benefits. The central reason for this is transparency; where a free media exists,

threatening social conditions are more likely to become topics of political conversation and attention, and the actions of political officials are more likely to be known and followed by the population they are elected to serve (Masha, 2002). As an information conduit between corporations, government, and the populace, free media acts as a watchdog against government actions, while at the same time directing government responses towards problem areas. Transparency helps guard against corruption, a social ill that disproportionately damages the poor. In the fight against corruption, one can argue, there is no more efficient or effective weapon than a free press.

There are some arguments that media which are not free and independent can achieve a number of the steps towards eradication of poverty. For example, a state-controlled media, in China and Cuba for example, has facilitated the increase of literacy and reduced the wide spread of disease and hunger. Due to such examples, prioritizing media freedom in the quest to eradicate poverty is challenged by some critics, who argue that poverty eradication is best realized through the provision of basic services (UNESCO, 2006). Their argument holds that sharing knowledge that will increase crop yields, for example, or administering vaccines to reduce illness has a more measurable impact than encouraging freedom of expression and the press, and is therefore a better strategy to follow when investing limited aid resources. Opposing this argument, Masha (2002) argued that only an independent press can act as a government watchdog, empowering the people it serves through the provision of information and the assurance that their participation matters. Likewise, Kilimwiko (2002) argued that only an independent press could strengthen civil society by ensuring that a plurality of opinions enters the public marketplace of ideas for further consideration amongst that market. This concurs with Ng'wanakilala (2003), who insists that it is an independent press that can best represent local positions, offering the opportunity to turn passive recipients into

central participants. The lack of press freedom and access to communication undermines the capacity of the poor to participate in democratic processes and other economic activities (UNESCO, 2006).

In a democratic society two characteristics of democratic media systems are held to ensure that information disseminated by the mass media serve to check government power rather than magnify it. The first is that constitutional guarantees or conventions assure citizens of free access to political information and a wide diversity of political communications and points of view. The second is that the media are protected from arbitrary exercises of government power, and media pluralism is institutionalized. Not only are the media free from political control but, in addition, legal frameworks are established to promote and sustain a diversity of media forms and outlets (Masha, 2002). In most African countries, there is an absence of laws that guarantee press freedom. Access to information is severely regulated by official Secrets Acts or similar acts. Article 18 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 as amended in 1998, guarantees the freedom of the press. However, this freedom is subject to other laws which infringe media freedom and deny the journalists the right to access information. As discussed in chapters six and seven of this thesis, most of these laws which were declared unconstitutional by a Presidential Commission chaired by Chief Justice Fransis Nyalali in 1991, regrettably, have not been repealed and continue to squeeze media freedom. The fact is that the courts continue to make rulings based on laws which were declared unconstitutional by the Chief Justice (Masha, 2002).

In such a legal system the media in Tanzania do not operate freely. This means the liberalization of the political system in 1992 as discussed in chapter two did not liberalize the legal framework under which the media in Tanzania operate. In short, the legal framework is still operated under authoritarian laws. For Ng'wanakilala (2003),

media freedom and freedom of speech can be strangled by the 'nightmare' of the Minister of Information, no matter what the provisions of the Constitution say. One can observe in these laws like the Newspaper Act of 1976 and the Broadcasting Act of 1993 that the Minister of Information has the power to close down a newspaper or a radio/television station whenever he/she sees appropriate. The perception and the common sense is that one Tanzanian, who may be a corrupt politician, is above the Constitution. It is more often the case in Tanzania to find common sense so uncommon, unfair and above all unconstitutional (ibid.). Again, one could pose a question -- where will the audience be? In answering this question, one would say the audience will be left in the darkness and denied their basic right of expressing their views through the media, as critically discussed in chapters six, seven and eight.

Press freedom and good governance are underpinning keys to development and eradication of poverty. However, "press freedom is never guaranteed, particularly when media industries are commercialised, even in a democracy" (Servaes, 2009, p.64). Thus, this study explores how media laws, government ownership and commercialisation of TBC influence the content and coverage of TBC programmes geared towards poverty eradication.

4.11. Chapter Summary

The chapter reviewed the literature on communication for development from the emergency of the dominant paradigm of modernisation to dependency theory and participatory communication theory. Further, the chapter has shown how media have been at the centre of promoting development in the developing countries. Moreover, the chapter attempted to show that the concepts of participatory communication and public service broadcasting have common principles. It is argued in this chapter that the concepts are relevant in studying the contribution of TBC in poverty eradication in

Tanzania, and new communication of mobile phones and the internet have played a crucial role in making traditional media participatory. In addition, the chapter has shown why participatory communication theory, widely use to study community media, was used to study traditional media at a national level and make an original contribution to theory and knowledge that new communication technologies have made it possible for participatory communication to take place on national and international media. Finally, the chapter identified some issues that affect participatory communication in public broadcasting service like ownership, control, media laws, good governance and how these issues are linked to poverty eradication since political control and legal context are important in understanding the application of participatory communication in PSB.

Chapter Five

Research Methodology and Fieldwork

This chapter presents the philosophical underpinnings of this thesis and sets out the general rationale of using a qualitative approach and case study research design. The choice of using in-depth interviews and focus groups as data collection methods and employing thematic analysis as data analysis technique are discussed in detail. The field research for this thesis was conducted over a period of six months (10th January to 29th July 2010). Purposive sampling of TBC programmes, which were used as units of analysis in this research, was carried out from 10th January to 20th January 2010. Three programmes aired in 2009 were selected, namely: Economy, Women's Voice and Agriculture – PADEP. The Economy programme was aired on Monday, 13th July 2009 at 1.30pm and repeated on Tuesday, 14th at 10.30am on TBC1. The programme on Agriculture was aired on TBC1 on Mondays at 9.10pm to 9.35pm and on Wednesdays at 10.05am to 10.30am on TBC1 on the 13th and 15th July 2009. The programme was also was aired on TBC-TAIFA radio on Thursday, 16th July 2009 from 8.30pm to 8.55pm. The Women's Voice was aired on TBC1 and TBC-TAIFA on Monday at 4.05pm to 4.30pm, 13th July 2009 and repeated on Thursday at 12.00pm to 12.25pm, 16th July 2009. The programmes were used to study this specific topic – the role of TBC programmes in poverty eradication. In-depth interviews took place on two separate occasions. The first period was from 8th February to 6th March 2010, and the second was on 29th July 2010. Focus group interviews were conducted from 3rd February to 22nd February 2010. The participants in both in-depth interviews and focus groups were purposively selected, as discussed later in this chapter. The data collected from the in-depth interviews and the focus groups were used to answer the research questions (See Chapter 1, section 1.6).

5.1. Philosophical Underpinnings and Research Assumptions

The philosophical underpinnings for this thesis stemmed from interpretive phenomenology (constructivism). The interpretive approach holds that the meaning of social reality in social life is socially constructed through social interactions. People subjectively understand their lived experience of the social reality around them. This subjective possession of reality is vital in explaining human social life (Gunter, 2000). Thus, reality in the social world is subjective and people construct their own reality from the way they perceive the world around them (ibid.). Phenomenology has roots in the philosophical perspectives of Edmund Husserl, Max Weber, Alfred Schutz, Martin Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty. The basic premise of phenomenology is that humans are conscious beings and their consciousness shapes their reality -- the way humans think about themselves and their lived experience is fundamental to what they are (Husserl, 1964; Schutz, 1972; Schwandt, 2000). For this thesis, then, according to this approach, to understand the role of TBC communication in poverty eradication in Tanzania it is best to investigate the beliefs, words and lived experience of the producers and receivers of TBC communication.

In phenomenological studies the realms of human phenomena (the appearance of things) and noumena (things as they are) are intimately linked together (Gomm, 2004; Hindess, 1977); and "they are part of the reality of human being itself" (David & Sutton, 2011, p. 89). Hence in a qualitative enquiry informed by an interpretive phenomenological approach "constructivism's epistemology is fused with its ontology" (David & Sutton, 2011, p. 78). Researchers work within interpretive epistemologies (*Verstehen*) and relativist ontologies (multiple constructed realities) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In this thesis, interpretive epistemologies (*Verstehen*), which means the attempt to understand the world from the point of view of the person or group being

studied (Weber, 1949), and interpretive ontologies of multiple realities, were folded into one another to enable the researcher to evaluate the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania from the subjective interpretation of the research participants.

The epistemological premise in interpretive phenomenology (constructivism) is that knowledge arises not out of our discovery but from interactions between knower and known, while the interpretive ontological assumption is that social reality in the social world is built on the shared subjective meanings and coordinated actions of rational actors, not by external structures, causes and hidden mechanisms (Gunter, 2000). Thus, the researcher employed interpretivism epistemology (*Verstehen*) to understand the subjective meanings and grasp the interpretation of the research participants on the contribution of TBC programmes in empowering them to fight and eradicate poverty in their lives. This thesis was guided by the interpretive ontological assumption that social reality is subjective. Thus, the perceptions of the research participants on the role of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania differed from one another since each participant had his or her own interpretation of the social reality of the contribution of TBC as tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania. These differences of interpretations and meanings from the participants produced multiple perspectives in understanding the role TBC plays in eradicating poverty in Tanzania, which were analysed by the researcher impartially in order to establish the truth about the contribution of TBC communication in poverty eradication in Tanzania. Consequently, the interpretation and presentation of data in this research was founded on knowledge generated through subjective meanings from perspectives of the research participants. The researcher was part of the sense-making process from the data collected.

In this qualitative research reality is subjective with phenomenological meaning (Gillham, 2000). The researcher wanted to establish how participants understood the role TBC programmes play in poverty eradication in their natural settings. Further, the researcher was seeking to find out the underlying participants' meanings, perceptions and experiences on the usefulness and relevance of TBC programmes in empowering them to eradicate poverty in their lives. In this respect an emphasis was placed on understanding the meaning of the participants' words, lived experiences and their perspectives on the role of TBC programmes in poverty eradication. This led to the discovery of new information on the contribution of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication from the participants' point of view. This thesis, therefore, will not be definitive, due to this subjectivity of truth. The philosophical foundation of this research considers human beings' subjective interpretations and perceptions of the world around them as our initial point in understanding social phenomena. Thus, the discovery of themes by close examination of participants' words and careful inspection of the patterns which emerge from data, are the hallmark of the interpretive phenomenological approach used in this research (Maykut & Morehouse, 2004). This thesis was a naturalistic study because the social world was studied as far as possible in its natural state, undisturbed by the researcher (Punch, 1998).

5.2. The Qualitative Research Approach

A qualitative research approach was used in this study to provide avenues which lead to the discovery of deeper levels of meaning of the contribution of the TBC in eradicating poverty in Tanzania from the perspectives of the participants of this research. Burns (2000) asserted that only qualitative research methods permit access to individual meaning in the context of on-going daily life. Thus, a qualitative approach made it possible for the researcher to capture lived experiences and perceptions of the

participants on the role of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania. In this thesis, the researcher was not concerned with absolute truth, but rather with the truth as perceived by the research participants. Thus, this is an interpretative thesis in which the researcher is central to the sense that is made (Peil, 1995).

One of the principal tenets of qualitative research, which uses a phenomenological approach, is that things mean different things to different people (Singletary, 1994). Thus, the underlying assumption in this thesis was that meanings, as far as the contribution of TBC programmes to poverty eradication is concerned, were embedded in research participants' experiences and that these meanings were mediated through the researcher's own perceptions (Merriam, 2001). This means that the in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were conducted in natural settings in an attempt to capture the research participants' lived experiences, their meanings and their interpretations of the contribution of the TBC as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania. Consequently, data in this qualitative thesis were subjective; hence contexts, situations, events, conditions and interactions can neither be replicated in any scope nor can generalizations be made to a wider context than the one investigated with any confidence (Burns, 2000). Conversely, this does not make the understanding of the contribution of TBC communication in eradicating poverty in Tanzania any less real, unreliable or invalid. This research employed case study design as discussed below.

5.3. Case Study Research Design

The selected case study in this research is the contribution of TBC programmes to poverty eradication goals in Tanzania. Case study was used in this thesis in order to reveal an in-depth understanding of the research problem (Burns, 2000). Singhal and Rogers (1999) defined case study as a "type of research in which individuals, groups, or systems are interviewed or observed, or various types of archival record are examined,

to search for underlying patterns, and insights into a phenomenon" (p. 194). This research used case study research design as a detailed plan specifying the methods and procedures employed in collecting and analysing data in order to answer the research questions (Hussey & Hussey, 1997; Zikmund, 1991). Thus, case study design enabled the researcher to come out with new interpretations, new perspectives, new meanings, and fresh insights on the role of the TBC as a tool for poverty eradication as perceived by the research participants.

5.3.1. Rationale of Case Study Design

The rationale of using case study design in this thesis was "to capture the circumstances and conditions," (Yin, 2003, p.40) first, representing the production and feed-forward and/or feedback processes of TBC programmes on poverty eradication; and second, evaluating the contribution of purposively selected TBC programmes on poverty eradication as the units of analysis from the point of view and lived experiences of the research participants. The researcher used a holistic case study approach because of the bulk of information it provides in answering the research questions (Stake, 2000). In this case study the researcher focused on investigating the research questions only rather than emerging phenomena, which were not part of the research questions.

5.3.1.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Case Study

The major advantage of case study research design is that it allows the use of multiple sources and techniques in the data gathering process (Yin, 2003; Wimmer & Dominick 2006). The use of multiple sources of evidence allows case study to present more rounded and complete accounts of social issues and processes (Hakim, 1987). Thus, in-depth interviews and focus groups were used to collect data for this research. On the other hand case study is not amenable to generalization; hence this study will not

be open to generalisation to all audiences of TBC in Tanzania or other broadcasting

corporations in Tanzania. The next section presents the units of analysis of this thesis.

5.3.2. Units of Analysis

Case study can involve more than one unit of analysis (Yin, 2003), thus units of

analysis in this research were three programmes on poverty eradication namely,

Economy (*Uchumi*), Women Voice (*Sauti ya Wanawake*) and Agriculture – PADEP

(*Kilimo*). The three programmes were purposively selected for three reasons: first, they

are the most well-known and respected; second, they have a national audience since the

issues discussed on the programmes are of great interest to most of Tanzanians; and

third, they represent the two approaches used in the production and dissemination of

TBC programmes – centralised and decentralised approaches (See Chapter 6). The

participants in the focus groups listened and watched the programmes. Their responses

to the questions asked during focus group discussions were based on the programmes'

content, coverage and audience participation. The programmes were also used as a point

of reference on how the government control and media laws influence the content and

coverage of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. The scope of the thesis is

identified below.

5.3.3. Scope of the Study

The study focused on TBC programmes on poverty eradication produced and

aired in 2009. The rationale for this periods is that: first, year 2009 marks ten years after

the adoption of Vision 2025, which predicts Tanzania will become a middle-class

income country in 2025; second it marked nine years after the adoption of the

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), of which the first goal is to reduce poverty by

50% in 2015; and third, the period marked four years after the adaptation of the

National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR), which is committed to

the MDGs. TBC as a public broadcaster has been at the centre of promoting the poverty eradication projects, scheme and policies. Data collection techniques are discussed in the next section.

5.4. Data Collection Techniques

This thesis employed in-depth interviews and focus groups as data collection methods. The overriding reason for using the methods was that no single method is perfect or sufficient to give all the data independently (Kothari, 1993) for this study. The researcher did not use other data collection methods like survey and content analysis because the methods would not help him to get inside the people to understand their perceptions of things, why they do things, what motivates them, and what anxieties they have (Berger, 2000) in relation to the contribution of TBC in poverty eradication in Tanzania. By using in-depth interviews and focus groups the researcher was able to understand the contribution of TBC communication in poverty eradication in Tanzania from the participants' point of view; and, second, he was able to capture the lived experience of the participants in relation to the relevance of TBC programmes in transforming poor people's lives (See Chapters 6, 7 and 8). The study investigated the production processes of programmes as well as the participation of the audiences in the feed-forward and/or feedback processes, and the usefulness of the programmes in empowering poor people to improve their standards of living. Initial data analysis for this research was done in the field while data collection process was going on since qualitative inquiry allows data gathering and data analysis to be carried simultaneously (Krueger, 1998). Thus, the researcher was able to form patterns and categorise data collected from in-depth interviews and focus groups in themes, which fitted into the purpose of this research. The next section discusses data analysis and coding.

5.5. Data Analysis and Coding

Qualitative data analysis was done manually on the computer using Microsoft Word software. Activities such as coding selected text, generating reports, finding key themes, and how they were used were quite time consuming, wearisome and error prone. However, these activities form the foundation of qualitative data analysis. Thematic analysis was employed in this research to identify themes which were in the raw data. Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information, which requires an explicit code or a list of themes, indicators and qualifications that are causally related (Boyatzis, 1998). Boyatzis defined a theme as a pattern found in the information, which describes and organises the possible observations or interprets aspects of the phenomenon. Thematic analysis in this research involved four steps adopted by Boyatzis (1998): first, identifying or sensing themes for analysis; second, using the themes reliably and consistently (to see and to see as); third, developing codes and classifying the patterns with similar themes and give them labels, definitions or descriptions; and fourth, interpreting the patterns and themes in the context of participatory communication theory in relation to the role of TBC communication, in order to come out with information contributing to the development of knowledge. Themes and codes for analysis were constructed inductively from the raw data.

Thematic analysis was used in this research for two reasons: First, thematic analysis enabled the researcher to access a wide variety of phenomenological information from research participants (Boyatzis, 1998). Thus, the researcher was able to analyse the data from an interpretive phenomenological point of view by interpreting the meaning of data from the perceptions and lived experience of the participants. Second, thematic analysis made it easier for the researcher to present the findings and discussions of what is known about TBC as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania

from the participants with the consistency of judgment of the themes which lead to more understanding of the contribution TBC plays in poverty eradication.

"Coding is analysis" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). Coding in this research was about relating data to the researcher's ideas about these data (Coffey & Atkison, 1996). In this respect, the researcher's projection was the main obstacle in using thematic analysis coding. Boyatzis (1998) described projection as attributing to another person something that is your own characteristic, emotion, value, attitude, or perception. The researcher took four measures to prevent projection in this research: First, the researcher developed an explicit code with a list of themes generated inductively from the data. Second, by establishing consistency and reliability in making judgment and recognising codable themes and encode them consistently. Third, the researcher ensured that the development of the themes and codes was based on the raw data collected. The process of data collection and analysis is presented in the next sections on in-depth interviews and focus groups.

5.6. In-depth Interviews

In order to gather data about this study unstructured in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted. The interviews were divided into two parts. The first part was conducted with four purposively selected TBC journalists and the Director General of TBC in order to capture information about the approaches used to produce TBC programmes on poverty eradication and the audiences' participation in the feed-forward and/or feedback processes and TBC freedom. The second part was carried out with eight purposively selected media professionals, academics and government officials to establish the usefulness of TBC programmes in transforming people's lives and the factors which hinder the role TBC communication to achieve that, Open-ended

questions were used during the in-depth interviews with the participants (See Appendix I).

5.6.1. Rationale and Purpose of In-depth Interviews

Unstructured in-depth interview or open-ended interview is a face-to-face conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the participant (Babbie, 1992; Berger, 2000; Burns, 2000; Gunter, 2000; Minichiello et al., 1995; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Unstructured in-depth interviews were used because through this technique exhaustive data on understanding the role TBC plays in poverty eradication in Tanzania could be elicited from the research participants for the purpose of this research. The participants were interviewed in order to give their professional response about the role of TBC communication plays in poverty eradication in Tanzania and what can be done to overcome the constraints which affect TBC participatory communication for poverty eradication. The data gained from in-depth interviews enhanced the information from focus groups.

5.6.1.1. *Strengths and Weaknesses of In-depth Interviews*

The major advantage of the in-depth interview is the wealth of detail that it provides. In-depth interview provides more accurate responses on sensitive issues than traditional survey methods (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006) because it allows lengthy observation of participants' non-verbal response, which enables the researcher to ask more supplementary questions in order to get the hidden information. Further, when compared to content analysis, intensive interviewing enables researchers to get feelings and understanding of the people about their lived experiences and perceptions (Berger, 2000). Finally, in-depth interviews produce more satisfactory results from a small

number of participants than questionnaires from unknown sources, especially in societies were interaction is usually highly personalised (Peil, 1995).

The main disadvantage of in-depth interview is that generalization is sometimes a problem (Punch, 1998). Thus, this research will not be amenable to generalization. Moreover, in-depth interviews are time consuming, labour intensive and generate large amounts of data, which is difficult to handle during data analysis. The researcher overcame this problem by coding data into themes of related information and findings. Finally, intensive interviews in this research were non-standardised. This means that each participant answered a slight version of a question depending on his/her perception and understanding of the question asked, however the researcher was after the shared meanings in relation to the questions asked.

5.6.2. Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Purposive sampling procedures were used to select 13 participants who were interviewed for the purpose of this research. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) argued that previous studies have indicated that a small number of purposively selected participants can generate data of sufficient quality to explore an area of interest. Lists of names, dates and time slots of interviews are shown on Table 1. Most of the participants' names and titles are revealed in full since the participants gave verbal consent that their names and titles can appear in the thesis, except the names of TBC journalists who didn't want their names to appear in this research. TBC journalists are identified as P1, P2, P3 and P4. The participants were chosen because they had relevant information about the context of the study including policies on poverty eradication and media laws. Most importantly they had relevant information about the role TBC plays as a tool for poverty eradication under the government control, and the future trends of participatory broadcasting on TBC.

Name of Interviewee	Job Title	Interview Site	Date	Time Slot of Interview
Tido Mhando	TBC Director General	TBC TAIFA Head Quarters in Dar es Salaam – Nyerere Road	5th March 2010	1:30 pm to 2:25 pm
P1	Senior TBC1 Producer of Business and Economic Programme	TBC1 Head Quarters in Dar es Salaam – Mikocheni	2nd March 2010	6:30 pm to 8:00 pm
P2	Junior TBC TAIFA Journalist – Presenter and Producer of Youth Corner Programme	TBC TAIFA Head Quarters in Dar es Salaam – Nyerere Road	27th February 2010	12:00 pm to 1:00 pm
P3	Senior TBC TAIFA Journalists – Presenter and Producer	TBC TAIFA Head Quarters in Dar es Salaam – Nyerere Road	1st March 2010	8:00 pm to 9:30 pm
P4	Junior TBC1 News Reporter	TBC1 Head Quarters in Dar es Salaam – Mikocheni Via Phone	20th December 2010	3:15 pm to 3:30 pm
DR. Jacob Ilkiuyoni	Senior Lecture at St. Augustine University of Tanzania	At his house – Malimbe Campus	9th February 2010	3:00 pm to 4:45 pm
Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala	Senior Lecture at St. Augustine University of Tanzania and Former Director of Radio Tanzania	At his house – Malimbe Campus	8th February 2010	10:00 am to 11: 15 am.
Anna Mwasha	Director of Poverty Eradication and Economic	Poverty Eradication Department	4th March	8:00 am to

	Department – Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning	Head Quarters in Dar es Salaam	2010	9:15 am
Fr. Privatus Karugendo	Writer and Media Analyst	Mlimani City Coffee Room in Dar es Salaam	1st March 2010	11 am to 12:00 am
Jimmy Luhende	Journalist and Coordinator of Mwanza Press Club	Mwanza Press Club Office in Mwanza – CCM Building	13th February 2010	11:00 am to 12:00 pm
Joseph Butiku	Director of Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation	Head Quarters of Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation in Dar es Salaam	29th July 2010	12:00 pm to 1:00 pm
Prof. Issa Shivji	Professor of Law and Chair of Mwalimu Nyerere Pan-Africanism	Main Campus of the University of Dar es Salaam	6th March 2010	3pm to 3:45pm
Prof. Mwesiga Baregu	Professor of Political Science at St. Augustine University of Tanzania	At his office – Dar es Salaam Campus, Msimbazi Centre	25th February 2010	3:00 pm to 3:45 pm

Table 1. In-depth interviews Participants.

5.6.3. Data Collection with In-depth Interviews

Each interview for this research took place in a convenient location for both participant and researcher and, once rapport was established between them, the interviewing was carried out. The success of in-depth interviews depends on the rapport established between the interviewer and the participants (Minichiello et al 1995; Williamson et al, 1982; Wimmer &Dominick, 2006). After getting permission from each participant's the audiotape recorder and camcorder were used to record the interviews for later reference and increased accuracy. The researcher also took short notes as well and noted down the dates, time and the location where each interview was held (See Table 1, above). Depending on the participants' experience and area of expertise, specific questions on the topic under study were asked to elicit data from the participants. Singletary (1994) argues that because the goal is always to capture the participants' understanding and meaning of things, the researcher typically prepares only a few questions and, as the interviewing proceeds, recursive questions (supplementary questions) are asked to make sure that the participants clarify the information they are giving out. The reason recursive questioning was carried out in this research was to steer and assist the participants to stay close to their experiences as well as to minimize the researcher's own interest, biases and dispositions in influencing the direction and flow of information shared by the participants. Rather than focusing on the researcher's perspective as valid view, in this research, it is the participants' account that is being sought and is highly valued -- in this case the participants' experience, perspective and understanding of the contribution of the TBC communication in empowering people and government to eradicate poverty in Tanzania. It is worth mentioning that the length of each in-depth interview in this research ranged between 40 minutes and one and one-half hours. Three stages involved in collecting interviews data included designing, interviewing and transcribing/translating as presented below:

5.6.3.1. Designing

Before conducting in-depth interviews, questions were designed to guide the interviews. The main aim of the in-depth interviews was to find out as much information as possible about TBC's policy and functions, approaches used in programme production and getting feed-forward and/or feedback from the audiences on the contribution of TBC communication in poverty eradication. The in-depth interviews also focused on finding out the contribution of TBC communication in empowering the audiences with knowledge and skills needed in achieving their initiatives of eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania. Probing about the future prospects of TBC participatory communication in poverty eradication was also part of the in-depth interviews. Further, the researcher designed an interview guide, which guided him through the interviews to maintain consistency when participants gave different responses. The guide included questions for TBC Director General, TBC journalists, media professionals and academics, and government and NGO officials (See Appendix I). Although some of the questions might not have related to the participatory framework, they have provided additional information about the role of TBC programme in poverty eradication in Tanzania at the time the research was conducted, which is also significant for this study and may benefit further studies undertaken in this study area.

5.6.3.2. In-depth Interview Process

The researcher conducted the in-depth face-to-face interviews with the participants in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam. The actual face-to-face in-depth interviews consisted of three main parts. The beginning of each in-depth interview involved introducing the researcher and the study to establish rapport with the participants. During the interviewing, the main responsibility of the researcher was to listen and observe while guiding each participant through a conversation, until all of the interview

questions had been explored. Nine in-depth interviews were carried out in English, while three participants -- TBC journalists -- mixed both English and Kiswahili. Only one interview with one of TBC journalists was carried out in Kiswahili. The final part of each in-depth interview process was to end the interview by asking the participant if there was anything else he/she would like to say or add in relation to the study. At the end of the each in-depth interview, the interview participant was thanked verbally. It is worth mentioning that some of in-depth interviews were carried in Mwanza while the researcher was conducting focus groups.

5.6.3.3. Transcribing, Translating and Interpreting Data

Immediately after each in-depth interview, transcripts of the interview were created. This step involved bringing together all the information gathered from the interview into a written form. It consisted of writing out each question and response from the interviews word-for-word using audiotape or videotape and notes. Then the transcriptions were studied and reviewed, which included indicating themes and grouping the important information related to the study. Also the transcription involved translating the interview transcripts from Kiswahili to English.

5.6.4. Data Analysis of In-depth Interviews

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data. This important step involved determining the meaning in the information gathered from in-depth interviews in relation to the purpose of the study. The data analysis process involved reviewing transcripts, identifying and indicating patterns, summarising and grouping together important information with themes in relation to the research questions. Seven themes were set to form categories for analysing the data in order to answer the research questions. These themes were: programme production and dissemination policy at TBC; agents of TBC programme production and dissemination; approaches of producing and

broadcasting programmes on poverty eradication; strengths in production and dissemination of programmes on poverty eradication; weaknesses in programme production and dissemination; constraints affecting programme production and dissemination of TBC programme; and the future trends of TBC participatory communication. Appropriate sections of data were put into categories of themes they illustrated.

5.6.5. Ethical Issues in In-depth Interviews

As far as the ethical issues of this study are concerned, contacts were made before the in-depth interviews were conducted. The researcher used phone calls and emails to introduce himself and the study to the participants, to obtain their consent to participate in the interviews, and to the use of a tape recorder and camcorder during interviews. The ethical issue of respecting the interview participants' privacy was considered and given a high priority. Nine participants' gave their verbal consent to the researcher to use their full names in the thesis while TBC journalists did not want their names to appear in the thesis and thus pseudonyms will be used. The data gathered from in-depth interviews were actual facts from the participants' perspectives rather than criticisms. The section below presents how focus groups discussions were conducted.

5.7. Focus Groups

Focus group or group interview is defined as a research strategy aiming at understanding the audience attitudes towards a phenomenon or question under study whereby a group of six to twelve people are interviewed simultaneously by a moderator or researcher in a relatively unstructured discussion about the focal topic (Gunter, 2000; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

5.7.1 Rationale and Purpose of Focus Group Interviews

In February 2010 the researcher carried out seven focus groups as part of investigating the contribution of TBC programmes samples in empowering participants to eradicate poverty in their lives. The seven groups were made up of participants from different walks of life (See Tables 2-8). Focus group interviews were used in this research to enhance the understanding of the problem under study and revealed a wide range of opinions, some of which the researcher didn't expect or wasn't aware of, as Wimmer and Dominick (2006) put it. The data collected from focus groups was not used to test hypotheses or generalise to a population, rather was used to test whether TBC programmes empower the audiences to participate in poverty eradication schemes in order to improve their standard of living. The data collected from focus groups created a base for the questions, which were asked, in in-depth interviews.

5.7.1.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Focus Groups

The use of focus groups had a number of advantages: First, focus groups in this research were socially oriented since discussions with participants took place in natural settings and more relaxed environment. Second, focus groups increased the sample size by enabling more people to be interviewed together (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Likewise, focus groups provided quick results and allowed exploring unanticipated issues as they arose in the discussions. Furthermore, focus groups made it possible for the researcher to gather a large amount of information from 45 participants in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, focus groups generated important insights into issues that previously were not well understood to the researcher, like the relationship between participatory communication, extreme poverty, corruption, education, good governance and leadership (See Chapter 7). The technique enabled the researcher to explore related but unanticipated issues as they arose in the course of the

group discussions. In addition, focus groups placed participants on a more even footing with each other and the investigators. Finally, the focus groups enabled the researcher to gather information from people with different demographic characteristics in terms of gender, level of education and income, and profession (See Tables 2-8). Hence, the results of the discussions were highly valuable.

On the other hand, focus groups had some disadvantages. First, during discussions time was lost when irrelevant issues were discussed. Reminding the participants to keep the discussion on the topic under study solved this. Second, some dominant personalities tended to overpower and steer the groups' responses. To resolve this problem, the researcher ensured that every participant in the discussions was given equal chance to give out his/her views. The researcher encouraged the participants to speak out by asking them the same question in different ways.

5.7.1.2. Focus Groups Study Area

Focus groups were held in six villages of Nyamagana district in Mwanza region which were given code names to protect their identities that may lead to identifying the participants since focus group discussions were held at the homes of villages' leaders: Village A, Village B, Village C, Village D, Village E and Village F. The villages are about 15 to 30 kilometres from Mwanza city on the shores of Lake Victoria. The major economic activities in these villages are agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and petty small businesses of selling food and domestic essentials, for example, soap, kerosene, sugar, salt, etc. The villages are not far from the city and the national electric grid but most of the houses in these villages have no electricity or running tap water. In Village D no house has electricity or running tap water. In Villages A, B, C, E and F the situation is about the same, though there are very few houses, which are connected to electricity and water. Although the villages are located near St. Augustine University,

the illiteracy rate is very high since four out of ten people are illiterate, especially

children and youth aged between 10 to 30 years old, according to the villages' leaders.

5.7.2. Target Population, Sampling Procedures, Sample Size

Qualitative research scholars argue that before one embarks on actual data

collection, one must determine what or who will actually be studied since we are almost

never able to study all the members of the population that interest us (Chambua &

Kester, 1997; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The target population included Tanzanians

from all walks of life aged between 18 and 65 years engaged in economic activities in

six villages in Nyamagana, Mwanza and purposive sampling employed to select the

participants. Purposive sampling means that certain criteria are selected to enable the

researcher to obtain the data required in answering his/her research questions (Burns,

2000; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The participants were purposively selected based

on the information they had (Peil, 1995) served the real purpose of the researcher of

discovering, gaining insight and understanding the contribution of TBC in eradicating

poverty in Tanzania. Although purposive samples have poor external validity

(Singletary, 1994), the samples were justified for the purpose of this research because

the researcher was interested in getting participants' perspectives and meanings rather

than the universal truth on the topic under study.

The researcher had planned to conduct twelve focus groups with 72 participants

in twelve villages with six participants in each focus group. The researcher could have

increased the number of participants and villages to study if he did not reach a

saturation point after the twelve focus groups. However, in the field he ended up

conducting seven focus groups after reaching the saturation point in the fourth focus

group. Each focus group had six participants except one group, which had nine

participants. The total number of focus group participants in this research was 45. The

gender of the participants was balanced and mixed – 23 male and 22 female. At Village B the researcher had to carry out two different focus groups, one with males only and another with females only. This was due to the fact that the women told the village leader that they would be much freer to talk in a women's group only. When the researcher met the women's group at Village B they reiterated that it was better for them to be interviewed alone because it was easier for them to share the information they had freely in the absence of the men. This incident did not happen in other groups, where male and female participants discussed the topic under study openly and criticised each other freely.

In selecting the participants the researcher asked the village leaders who knew their people best to select for him the participants, gender balanced, who were literate and have knowledge on socio-economic development, politics, history and the happenings in Tanzania. The participants shared their views, opinions, feelings and experiences in evaluating the role of TBC programmes in empowering them to fight poverty. The participants selected had different perspectives on the role TBC plays in eradicating poverty in Tanzania and this made the focus group interviews bias-free, balanced and credible. For ethical reasons, pseudonyms will be used since research participants did not want their names to appear in any way in this research.

The tables 2-8 below show codes of villages, number of participants in each focus group level of education, age, profession and gender. The habits of watching and listening were represented as regular and irregular. Regular means spending at least one or more hours a day listening and watching either TBC-TAIFA or TBC1, while irregular means spending at least one hour a week listening and watching TBC-TAIFA or TBC1. Also the access to mobile phones and the internet is also shown.

Focus Group 1 at Village A on 03/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 06/02/2010 at 3pm – 4pm

Pseudonyms of the Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Juma	Secondary	48	Peasant	Male	Married	Six	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Maimuna	Primary	55	House wife and Peasant	Female	Married	Five	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Lydia	Primary	48	House wife and peasant	Female	Married	Seven	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	Yes	No
Zuena	Primary	28	House wife and peasant	Female	Married	Four	Regular	Irregular	Yes	No	Yes	No
Richard	Primary	33	Peasant	Male	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Ye	No	Yes	No
Bakari	Diploma	25	Teacher	Male	Single	None	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2.

Focus Group 2 at Village B on 04/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 07/02/2010 at 3pm - 4pm

Pseudonyms of the Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Adam	University	19	Student	Male	Single	None	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Justine	Diploma	32	Medical Assistant	Male	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Makoye	Secondary	25	Self employed	Male	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Rwiza	Diploma	57	Electrician	Male	Married	Four	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Malimi	Primary	40	Peasant	Male	Married	Six	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Kisendi	Primary	65	Businessman	Male	Married	Ten	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Table 3.

Focus Group 3 at Village C on 22/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 24/02/2010 at 3pm – 4pm

Pseudonyms of the Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Hidaya	University	22	Student	Female	Single	None	Irregular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rebeka	Primary	45	Housewife and peasant	Female	Widow	Four	Irregular	Irregular	Yes	No	No	No
Jane	Primary	32	Housewife and peasant	Female	Married	Two	Regular	Irregular	Yes	No	No	No
Daudi	Diploma	35	Librarian	Male	Married	Two	Irregular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Zakayo	Primary	30	Self employed	Male	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Nyambura	Diploma	25	Nurse	Female	Single	None	Irregular	Irregular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Table 4.

Focus Group 4 at Village B on 14/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 18/02/2010 at 10am to 11am

Pseudonyms of the Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Adia	Primary	36	House wife and peasant	Female	Married	Five	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Zawadi	Primary	33	Peasant	Female	Widow	Four	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Mayeji	College	45	House wife and teacher	Female	Married	Six	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	No	No
Prisca	College	48	House wife and Nurse	Female	Married	Five	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	No	No
Egidia	Primary	25	House wife and clerk	Female	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Neema	Primary	32	Peasant	Female	Single mother	Four	Regular	Irregular	Yes	No	No	No

Table 5.

Focus Group 5 at Village D on 16/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 21/02/2010 at 3pm – 4pm.

Pseudonyms of the Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Musiba	Primary	35	Fisherman	Male	Married	Five	Irregular	Regular	Yes	No	Ye	No
Augustine	Diploma	28	Health officer	Male	Married	One	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Faraji	Primary	37	Businessman	Male	Married	Three	Irregular	Regular	Yes	No	Yes	No
Regina	Primary	40	Housewife and peasant	Female	Married	Six	Irregular	Regular	Yes	Yes	No	No
James	University	40	Lecturer	Male	Married	None	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nusura	University	38	Medical Doctor	Female	Married	One	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tereza	Secondary	23	Health care assistant	Female	Single	None	Irregular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Table 6.

Focus Group 6 Village E on 20/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 24/02/2010 at 3pm – 4pm.

Pseudonyms of the Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Angela	Secondary	19	Student	Female	Single	None	Irregular	Regular	Yes	Yes	No	No
Abeli	Primary	31	Peasant	Male	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Benard	Primary	41	Peasant	Male	Married	Four	Irregular	Irregular	Yes	No	No	No
Celina	Diploma	24	Nurse	Female	Single	None	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shija	Secondary	40	Driver	Male	Married	Six	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	Yes	No
Victoria	Diploma	27	Extension officer	Female	Single	None	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Table 7.

Focus Group 7 at Village F 18/02/2010 at 3:00 pm to 6:00 pm. The group met to approval on the content of the transcribed data on 21/02/2010 at 10am – 11am

Symbols Representing the Names of Participants	Level of Education	Age	Profession	Gender	Marital Status	Number of Children	Listening Habits to TBC TAIFA	Watch Habits of TBC1	Household Radio Set	Household Television Set	Mobile phone Ownership	Internet Literacy
Ezekia	Primary	50	Peasant	Male	Married	Seven	Regular	Irregular	Yes	No	No	No
Ndomi	Secondary	54	Peasant	Male	Married	Five	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Bahati	Secondary	38	Peasant	Male	Married	Five	Regular	Irregular	Yes	No	Yes	No
Agatha	Primary	32	House wife and peasant	Female	Married	Five	Regular	Regular	Yes	No	No	No
Tunu	Primary	40	House wife and peasant	Female	Married	Eight	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Musa	Diploma	35	Laboratory technician	Male	Married	Two	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Davina	Diploma	27	Teacher	Female	Married	One	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Idrisa	University	63	Retired government official	Male	Married	Four	Regular	Regular	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Table 8.

5.7.3. Data Collection with Focus Groups

The focus groups were used to establish in detail the contribution of TBC programme samples in poverty eradication; the use of participatory communication in involving the audiences in the production, dissemination and feed-forward and/or feedback processes; and the future trends of consolidating participatory communication on TBC. Three stages of collecting focus group data included designing, interviewing and transcribing/translating as presented below:

5.7.3.1. Designing Focus Groups

Initially, the researcher visited six villages to introduce himself to the village leaders and asked each leader to invite six to eight people – gender balanced – to participate in the focus group discussions. The researcher asked the villages leaders of these villages -- Village A, Village B, Village C, Village D, Village E and Village F -- to select purposively the participants who were aged between 18 and 65, either employed or unemployed, and literate with a wide knowledge of Tanzanian history, economy and current affairs and who were interested in discussing the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication initiatives.

After the formation of focus groups the researcher went to visit each group to introduce himself and presented all documents from the Tanzanian government and the University of Leicester that allowed him to conduct the research in order to create rapport with the participants. During these initial meetings the participants were given the questions that would be asked during the focus groups discussions for familiarity (See Appendix II). The questions used as a guideline for the discussions were clear, short and only about the topic. The researcher used the initial meetings to set up dates, times and places to meet with

each focus group. It was agreed that participants would meet at the residence of their respective village leader, since it was convenient for them. During the actual focus groups interviews, the researcher reintroduced himself and asked the participants to introduce themselves and say what they do for a living. Further, the researcher explained the objectives and the scope of the research to guide the participants in the discussions.

In each group, participants were told that participation in the discussion was entirely voluntary and they were free to withdraw from the discussion at any point. The participants were also given researcher's contacts, in case they were uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of their participation. The researcher assured the participants that any information supplied would be treated confidential in accordance with Tanzanian and British laws. Each participant signed the consent form to declare that they understood the procedures of the research. All participants opted for their identities to be kept anonymous and confidential. With participants' consent the researcher recorded each group using digital audio and video recorders while taking field notes. Thus, all quotes from participants given in this thesis are verbatim.

The focus group discussions started, for about 25 minutes, with general questions defining extreme poverty, means of eradicating it, and the obstacles people face at the grassroots in fighting extreme poverty. Then the participants listened and watched the purposively three selected TBC sample programmes. Each programme had duration of 25 minutes. This was followed with a discussion of 15 minutes evaluating the contribution of each sample programme in their lives at the grassroots. Each focus group discussion took about three hours. The discussion focused on how the programmes could empower the participants' or the audiences' initiatives of eradicating poverty in their lives. The sequence

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and structure of the open-ended questions asked in all focus groups were similar and predetermined to further the goal of the research. The researcher used funnel technique (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006) when moderating the discussions by starting with general questions and moving to specific questions. Only questions focusing on the topic under study were asked, however the researcher was free to depart from the structure or sequence of the questions to ask questions not included in the guide so long they were relevant and crucial to the research and relevant information was presented by a participant. In each focus group the researcher remained completely impartial and professional. By using digital audio recorder and mini digital camcorder, the data collected were kept intact, complete, organised and easily accessible. After each discussion the researcher started transcribing the recorded data guided by the field notes.

In each data transcription made, the researcher compared the results of each discussion group with other groups to determine whether there were similarities or differences in the participants' answers, until the saturation point was achieved in the fourth group discussion. To confirm that he had really reached the saturation point, the researcher decided to conduct three more discussions hence a total of seven focus group interviews.

5.7.3.2. Focus Groups Interviews Process

The focus groups interviews consisted of four main parts. The beginning of each focus group involved introducing the researcher and the study to establish a good relationship with the participants. The second part was discussion, and the main responsibility of the researcher was to listen, observe and take some notes, while guiding the participants through a conversation, until all of the focus group interview questions had been explored. All focus group interviews were carried out in Kiswahili -- the national

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language in Tanzania used in TBC programme samples. The final part was ending the focus group interviews by thanking the participants verbally. In the post focus group discussions, held three days after each focus group, the participants in each focus group verified and approved the information they provided during the discussions so that the data could be used in this thesis.

5.7.3.3. Reactivity in Focus Groups

It is worth mentioning that there were some cases of reactivity in all seven focus groups. Although the researcher introduced himself and the purpose of his research, some of the participants would refer him as a TBC journalist while others thought he was a government official. Due to that, the researcher had to clarify to the participants that he was a PhD candidate at the University of Leicester conducting research, for academic purposes, to evaluate the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication. With that clarification, the participants spoke out more openly and freely, not just to please the researcher but to answer the questions explicitly and honestly.

5.7.3.4. Transcribing, Translating and Interpreting Data

Data transcripts were created after each focus group discussion. This procedure involved bringing together all the information gathered from the focus group discussion into a written form. It consisted of writing out each question and response from each focus group's participants, word-for-word, using recorded audiotape and field notes. Each transcript was studied and reviewed, which included indicating and grouping together the themes related to the study. Also this thesis involved translating the focus groups' transcripts from Kiswahili language into English language. Moreover, the data were

interpreted and given the meaning which matched with the participants' perspective on the role of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania. Both the original Kiswahili and English transcriptions were returned to focus group participants for verification.

5.7.4. Data Analysis of Focus Groups

Krueger (1998) argued that focus group data analysis is complex due to the fact that when a question is asked, two participants may answer using different words with the same meaning. The researcher's task is to consider how to compare the different answers. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data since it allows themes to develop both from the research questions and from the narratives of research participants. In this research, data analysis began with a comparison of words used by participants in answering the same question. The aim was to get words which are identical, similar, related or unrelated in order to establish the meaning of the data collected from focus groups. The analysis also considered the context of the comments made by participants to establish whether the participants were talking about the same thing when they answered the questions. Thus, in analysing the data, the researcher looked for the themes of the trends and patterns that re-appeared in the seven focus groups to formulate data which were used in this thesis. The formulated data was supported by available evidence of themes which were common to several participants in the seven focus groups. Through forming patterns of themes, the researcher identified and matched all opinions, ideas and comments which were repeated even though they were expressed in different words and styles. Other relevant comments which were expressed only once were also included in this thesis.

The data analysis process was systematic to ensure that the results obtained were authentic. The coding of data involved transcribing and translating, labelling the transcripts

and marking the sections of text on a computer so that the data could be selectively

retrieved and reviewed. Through this systematic process the researcher was able to

examine, modify and challenge his assumptions. "Assumptions are made throughout the

research process, building on past experiences and striving to make the analysis protocol

more efficient" (ibid., p. 11).

5.7.5. Ethical Issues in Focus Group Interviews

In the field, the success of focus group interviews depended on the rapport

established between the researcher and the participants, of being friendly, professional and

polite. The researcher assured the participants that what they said during the focus groups

interviews remained confidential; and would not be released to the third parties without

their consent. On copyright and informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, the

researcher made the participants aware that they could refuse to answer questions should

they wish, and they had the right to restrict parts or the entire interview as they saw fit. The

researcher ensured that the information he collected was anonymous and would be treated

as confidential since the focus group participants did not want their names and villages

names to be known to the public. Further, the researcher explained to the participants about

the importance of getting verbal consent from them so that he could be able to use the

information contained in the discussions. On Defamation or Libel, the participants were

reminded to use fair language and not to defame anyone. On travel expenses, the

researcher did not pay travel expenses for the participants since the focus groups were

held in the respective six villages at village leaders' residences. The researcher did not pay

the participants for their participation. The next section discusses researcher's reflexivity.

5.8. Researcher's Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a self-critique upon one's actions, beliefs, values and ideology during the research process in the same way that we view the beliefs of others (Seale 1998, Gouldner 1972). In phenomenological studies, values and preconceived ideas of the researcher always influence the research design and process (Guba & Lincoln 1998) and it is recognised that research cannot be value free (Bryman, 2001; Shacklock & Smyth, 1998). Thus, in this thesis it is crucial to show how the researcher influenced the research process. Here, the researcher reflects about his beliefs, values and ideology, selection of research methodology and participants, and acknowledges that his participation in the research, as an instrument of data collection and analysis, shaped the outcomes of this thesis. The qualitative research approach employed in this research exposes subjective social, political, economic and cultural elements that make up the ontologies and epistemologies of both the researcher and research participants about the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication in Tanzania. By recording the in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions the researcher was able to capture the perspectives, assumptions and emotional reactions of himself and research participants. This information enabled the researcher to reflect on how deep his beliefs and values molded this research.

The researcher's beliefs in *Ujamaa* (African Socialism based on the values of family-hood and people-centered development) influenced him to choose the topic of this thesis. The researcher was interested in the concepts of participatory communication and poverty eradication -- key themes in the ideas of Nyerere (1968) on *Ujamaa* -- and the applicability of these concepts in studying TBC as a PSB. The researcher used two data gathering techniques -- in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions to enter

subjectively into the social world of participants to establish their understanding on the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication. However, the researcher would have achieved more in-depth understanding if he had used overt participant observation method to observe the production processes of the selected programmes at TBC. The researcher would have been able to bring out more evidence in answering the question on the interaction between the producers and the audience. Further, research participants who were selected purposively were people who not only believed in *Ujamaa* and Nyerere's ideas but also were critical to *Ujamaa* and Nyerere's ideas. In reflecting about the selection of participants, especially the experts, the researcher should also have involved, got ideas and opinions of people who didn't believe in Nyerere's ideas.

Interviews in this research started with general questions on what poverty is, what causes poverty, why poverty persists in Tanzania, and what can be done to eradicate poverty in the country (See Appendices I and II). These questions tempted the researcher and participants to focus more on development and political economy of poverty in Tanzania rather than discussing the production and reception of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. However, the researcher managed to guide the participants to focus on the research problem. Being reflective on this situation which happened on each interview since participants were interested to talk about the severity of poverty, one can see that it is easy for the focus of interview to be steered away from the core of the research problem by the participants and researcher who share common values and interests. Interestingly, the discussions on poverty as a focal point generated data, especially in focus groups, which show that there is a gap between what is said on TBC and what is actually happening on the

ground as far as poverty eradication is concerned which leads to cynicism towards TBC communication (See Chapter 7).

Thus, the researcher acknowledges that knowledge in this thesis was generated from the involvement of the researcher and research participants in a reciprocal process of interpreting the social world subjectively. Consequently, the researcher and participants became collaborators and influenced each other in the creation/construction and validation of knowledge and shaped findings and discussions in this thesis (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8). It is evident here that in a phenomenological qualitative research, the researcher's beliefs, values and perceptions of the social world shape his research. Thus, reflexivity opens the door of transparency of reality in research by addressing ethical, political, ontological and epistemological concerns of research (Marcus 1994). Reflexivity in this research enhances credibility by showing that the truth established in this thesis is subjective and authentic from participants' perceptions.

5.9. Presentation of Findings and Discussion

In this thesis the findings and discussion will be presented together in chapters six, seven and eight in order to make the flow of the discussion of the findings clear, simple and easy to follow. In chapter six, which discusses programme production and broadcasting for poverty eradication on TBC1 and TBC-TAIFA, the findings from in-depth interviews – mainly with TBC journalists and development communication experts will be presented and discussed. Chapter seven largely comprises of findings from focus groups and some findings from in-depth interviews. The discussion in chapter seven focuses on the TBC as tool for participatory communication for poverty eradication – the contribution of TBC programmes in empowering the audience to fight poverty, and involvement of the

grassroots population as active citizens in the dialogues carried on TBC on the welfare of Tanzanians. Further, the findings on the future prospects of TBC as a tool for participatory development communication are discussed in chapter eight. The findings in this chapter were drawn from both in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions. The discussion dwells on how participatory communication on TBC can be improved. Finally, the conclusion is presented in chapter nine. In chapter nine, the findings in chapters six, seven and eight are tied together and discussed collectively in terms of the contribution of the findings to knowledge and/or advancement of academic theory and research in the field of communication for development.

5.9. Chapter Summary

This qualitative research was conducted by utilising a case study research design, which employed focus groups and in-depth interviews as data gathering techniques. Units of analysis were used to analyse the processes of programme production and dissemination of TBC programmes on poverty eradication and the audiences' participation in the feed-forward/feedback processes. Also the participants evaluated the impact of TBC programmes on poverty eradication**.** In-depth interviews were used to collect data from media professionals and academics. Focus groups provided information on the perceptions and experiences of the audiences at the grassroots on the impact of TBC programmes in empowering people to fight poverty. The study results and discussions are presented in chapters six, seven and eight plus the conclusion in chapter nine.

Chapter Six

Programme Production and Broadcasting for Poverty Eradication on TBC1 and TBC TAIFA

This chapter discusses the findings drawn from in-depth interviews with the TBC Director General and journalists in light of the first research question of the thesis, which focused on how poverty eradication programmes on TBC were produced, and what were the constraints on production of such programmes. Thematic analysis was employed to identify themes which emerged from the raw data. The discussion focuses on two approaches used in the production of TBC programmes, namely, the centralised approach and the decentralised approach; the constraints, which affect the coverage and content of TBC programmes on poverty eradication; and the participation of the audiences in the production of programmes. The decentralised approach will be of great significance in analysing the participatory process on TBC by showing that the new information and communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet have made it possible for the audience, more than ever, to access knowledge and information as well as accessing TBC and participate in planning, production and evaluating the usefulness of the programmes on poverty to the audience. It is argued here that audience participation in the production of TBC programmes provides them with an opportunity to articulate their needs in their own words, increase their awareness of their needs, and share knowledge and experiences on how to achieve their dreams.

Further, the chapter discusses some constraints which affect the production of TBC programmes in terms of content and coverage. These constraints include government

control, media laws and lack of funds. It is shown here that government control and media laws prevent TBC journalists from accessing information in government institutions and private companies and this affect their ability to address issues of great importance to the public. And because of fear and culture of secrecy it is revealed here that self-censorship is widely practiced at TBC.

Moreover, this chapter discusses TBC participatory communication in the era of new communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet chacterised by information and networks. It is argued here that new communication technologies have been a driving force in bringing the voices of marginalised people into TBC -- the public platform -- from all over the country to participate in programme production and discussions held on TBC. Thus, through TBC, people at the grassroots are empowered to enter into a dialogue with the national leaders and national audience. The findings show that the use new communication technologies, especially mobile phone, as instruments for participatory communication via TBC empower the producers and audience to form alliances and networks which help them to shape and advance the agenda of poverty eradication in Tanzania. Finally, the findings show that participatory communication for poverty eradication on TBC creates a sense of unity and corporation around Tanzania by linking the remote villages to the centre of power -- Dar es Salaam, and by penetrating the domestic lives of the poorest and link the national audience into the private lives of their fellow citizens who need help. Thus, this thesis concurs with Slater and Tacchi (2004) in showing that new information and communication technologies have created a new human environment of immediacy and networks which blurs socio-economic, political and geographical barriers among users as McLuhan (1964) projected from a deterministic point

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of view (Logan, 2010).

The chapter consists of six sections: 1) Programme production and dissemination policy at TBC; 2) Agents of TBC programme production and dissemination; 3) TBC approaches in producing programmes on poverty eradication; 4) Constraints affecting programme production and dissemination of TBC programme; 5) TBC participatory communication in the era of information and network society.

6.1. TBC Programme Production and Dissemination Policy

TBC has always functioned as a communication link between the government and the people since independence. According to TBC Director General (DG), Tido Mhando, TBC is obliged to broadcast programmes which educate, motivate and empower the citizens to become active participants in the socio-economic and political activities of building the nation. He emphasised: "It is the legal and policy obligation that we have to fulfil by 100%, not messing up with it." That is why TBC works with government departments to achieve that goal (See Chapter 3 and 4). As a public broadcaster, TBC informs the people what the government is doing or intends to do through its development programmes aired on both TBC-TAIFA radio and TBC1 television. In this thesis it was found that most of TBC educational programmes are aired on radio, while a few of them are aired on television. The DG revealed that radio remains the cheapest and main medium in Tanzania with the largest audience in both urban and rural areas, whereas television is catching up as a popular medium within the country it is still far away from radio because most of Tanzanians, who are too poor to afford a television set, live in villages where there is no electricity.

Tido Mhando described TBC communication on poverty eradication as, "producing

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and disseminating of programmes focusing on sustainable development, through radio and television, with a clear objective of eradicating poverty and improving the standard of living of the Tanzanian population who live in extreme poverty." One can detect that the description has two aspects, first, is sustainable development, which entails promoting people's initiatives through TBC. The second aspect is empowering poor people to improve their livelihood in order to reach the desirable objective of eradicating extreme poverty. Further, Tido revealed that producing high quality programmes on poverty eradication "needs mass participation and involvement of the audiences in producing the programmes." Since quality programmes is always considered of central importance for PSB (Ishikawa, 1996; McQuail, 1994), and as reviewed in chapter four, then, one would argue that quality programmes with relevant information play a vital role in promoting poverty eradication initiatives of people who participated in the production of the programmes and motivate the audience to take part in poverty eradication schemes. Thus, TBC programmes seek to empower the audiences with information and knowledge needed to improve their skills and increase their capacity and ability in order to implement the national development agenda – Vision 2025 (See Chapter 2). As a public broadcaster TBC plays the role of communicating Vision 2025 to the people and motivating them to achieve the objectives of policies like NSGRP.

6.2. Agents of TBC Programme Production and Dissemination

The DG revealed that the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication involved TBC journalists, audiences and experts from fields like economics, education, sociology, and development studies, just to mention a few. It was found that the main task of TBC producers was to ensure that participants' views from these multi-disciplinary

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perspectives are fitted together in the programmes to bring political, socio-cultural and

economic transformation in Tanzania. The transformational changes provide the concrete

base for a meaningful and relevant advancement on the poverty eradication goal to be

achieved (Melkote, 1991, 2002; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009; Thomas, 2008). Tido clarified

that:

> TBC journalists' role in poverty eradication can be seen as smoothing the path,
> of the audiences and all those involved in the poverty eradication projects, to
> arrive at increased production in all economic sectors, higher standard of
> living, better health, better education and more effective involvement in the
> political environment by creating an enhancing atmosphere for dialogues.
> (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Thus, TBC management and journalists recognise the importance of participatory

communication and its contribution in motivating the targeted audiences to change attitudes

and share ideas that would improve the quality of their lives. TBC journalists who

participated in this research considered themselves as 'soldiers on the front line',

performing the work of stimulating and sustaining participatory communication at a

national scale. Quarry & Ramirez (2009) would call them "champions" -- dedicating their

service to people's wellbeing. The TBC journalist identified as P1 claimed, "We use TBC

as a vehicle of interactive exchange of ideas and opinions rather than as a mere channels of

mass communication." His argument concurs with Tido's views that TBC journalists are

"required to make available all relevant information to the audiences; and provide a

platform to the audiences to discuss issues affecting their lives and to react meaningfully,

either positively or negatively." Nonetheless, availability of information by itself is not

participatory communication because participatory communication happens when the

audiences who receive information are involved in creation of the information and

discussions that follow after receiving the information (Melkote, 2002; Quarry & Ramirez,

2009). Tido emphasized:

> TBC values the contribution of all people who participate in producing programmes and make it possible for effective participatory communication to occur between TBC and the targeted audiences. It creates a mutual understanding, which provides a very conducive atmosphere for reaching agreement.... in broadcasting for poverty eradication. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Similarly, Trappel (2010, p. 49) argued that "audience participation increases the social legitimacy of PSB." Thus, it should be recognized that audience participation on TBC is not only an individual task but also one for the whole nation. The findings show that public participation on TBC adds some value to programmes on poverty eradication. Thus, one could argue that the involvement of some members of the public in the production of programmes increases the degree of motivation, since the public hear and see people who have, for example, benefited from agricultural loans and what they have done so far in terms of improving their livelihood and increasing their income as Quarry & Ramirez (2009) indicated. Also, the public hear and see, for example, the victims of domestic violence and its effects, which lead to the increase of extreme poverty in society (See Chapter 7). The next section discusses the approaches TBC uses in producing programmes.

6.3. TBC Approaches in Producing Programmes on Poverty Eradication

The DG revealed that two approaches were used in producing programmes on poverty eradication, namely, a centralised approach and a decentralised approach. While TBC producers used both approaches, the government departments used only a centralised approach in producing the programmes.

6.3.1. Centralised Programme Production Approach

This is when TBC producers or government department officials produce

programmes paying no attention to participatory communication so long as the message comes from the government authorities and departments. Defending this approach, the DG argued, "the messages usually have something of relevance to different segments of the poor population." He added that although the production of TBC programmes from government departments is centralised, "the programmes continue to attract an audience because of the relevance of the information they communicate to the audience." Conversely, one can argue that these programmes are always produced by experts, project officers, information officers of different government departments and TBC producer located in Dar es Salaam – the headquarters of government departments and TBC, with very little or no reference to the views of the receiving audiences in the villages for whom the messages are primarily meant. This concurs with Quarry & Ramirez (2009) and Servaes (1996a) that a major misassumption of development practitioners is to assume that their own logic and world view is correct, universal and applicable to all -- the elite' mentality of knowing everything -- poor people know nothing. Further, Tido acknowledged that in most cases TBC programmes produced by government departments do not involve the public in production processes. Thus, these pseudo participatory programmes produced by government departments lack qualities of stimulating dialogue and empowerment, since they are normally affected by producer self-service broadcasting Tunstall (1993) whereby the producer's own taste dominates the influence behind content, in contrast to public interest, and focuses on the unidentified general audience, with no explicit objectives or strategic messages.

Also the researcher found that centralised TBC programmes were hardly interactive because of the nature of the centralisation involved in producing them, which gave no

opportunity to the audiences to interact with producers in the government departments and other audiences. Similarly, Mantymaki (2010, p. 72) pointed out that, "Although core values and typical principles of PSB celebrate the role of public life, institutional practices have more often resisted incorporating the public." Consequently, the audience is widely considered as a pupil -- a listener or viewer, "not as any equal, and certainly not as a partner" (ibid.). Equally, Lowe (2010) argued, "Many are concerned that PSB policy and journalistic practice show weakening commitment to its historic emphasis on serving civil society as a citizenry above all" (p. 9). As indicated in chapter three TBC serves government's interests. Hence, TBC centralised broadcasting as Moemeka (1989) and Stevenson (1988) would put it often ignores public conditions and needs; consequently, people in the villages frequently do not share national development officials' goals; and this sometimes produces unintended and unforeseen changes in the complex social fabric of the villages that offset the advantages of using broadcasting for development.

Likewise, Tido pointed out that the personnel in the government departments in Dar es Salaam have little understanding of the real life of the poor population. This is due to the fact that they live in two different socio-cultural and economic worlds with different views about social reality. Such a situation does not favour participatory communication for poverty eradication on TBC. Audience participation is very crucial in programme production and in recognising that, Tido had been working with the government departments to ensure that the programmes they produce are participatory. Conversely, one would observe that top-down modernisation paradigm is still widely applied in government communication in Tanzania because "the beliefs upon which the modernisation paradigm is built, i.e., economic growth, centralised planning and the explanation of underdevelopment

as a result of internal causes which can be remedied by external technological aid"
(Servaes, 1996a, p. 39) is widely advocated by the IMF, the World Bank, and multinational
corporations. Thus, top-down communication remains popular and dominant approach in
the production of TBC programmes produced by the government. The DG revealed that
there were 30 programmes produced weekly by government departments on TBC –
TAIFA.

6.3.2. Decentralised Approach

The DG disclosed that most of the programmes produced by TBC journalists
employ a decentralised approach, which involves audiences in the production processes.
The researcher found that the production of programmes on poverty eradication was based
on the needs, interests and aspirations of grassroots populations. Tido pointed out that a
decentralised approach of programme production "empower the poor population to exercise
their right to communicate, the right to receive relevant information, the right to answer
back and to discuss, and the right to use the available means of communication for
interactions." Furthermore, Tido revealed that TBC journalists understood that it was
crucial for them to interact with and involve the audiences, experts and government
personnel in the production processes so that the programmes could make a tangible
contribution in poverty eradication. Likewise, TBC journalists confirmed that their
responsibility was to ensure that the public enjoy their rights of expressing their views to
the nation through interactive programmes on TBC. In this respect, mobile phones, emails
and letters and interpersonal -- face-to-face -- communication are used as instruments for
feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms. TBC journalists claimed that they understood
the potentials of new communication technologies and their utilization patterns within the

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targeted audience, that they knew what level of the development endeavour and for which segment of population a mobile phone or internet has been used effectively to raise people's concerns on poverty eradication schemes through TBC. This concurs with Trappel (2010) that new communication technologies enable "all media to engage the public with immediate response" (p. 49).

Tido added that TBC as a public broadcaster exists primarily for the public, and the public includes the poorest of the poor, not only the elite and government officials. This confirms that "universal and equal access" at TBC remains its "fundamental aspect of broadcasting as public service" as Raboy (1995, p. 48) indicated and as it was to Reith (1924) when he wrote: "There need be no first and third class. There is nothing in it (PSB) which is exclusive to those who pay more, or who are considered in one way or another more worthy of attention" (p. 218). Thus, one can argue that when people are given an opportunity to take part in making suggestions on the content of the media that concerns their welfare, and when people are allowed to physically participate in production and presentation, then a conducive climate is created which facilitates not only understanding and learning but also acceptance of progressive ideas and willingness to follow demarcated lines of action and decisions (Lowe, 2010; Mantymaki, 2010; Quarry &Ramirez, 2009).

Moreover, TBC journalists revealed that the decentralised approach required them to have a direct interaction with the people and provide an opportunity for interaction between the journalists and the audiences, among the audiences themselves, and between the audiences and their local, district, regional and national authorities. One of TBC producers, P3, revealed that:

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> Involving people in the production and airing programmes empowers me and the audience…. the government and the everyone interested in the programmes, to identify the problems of the people through the phone call they make, the text messages and letters they send, the contribution they make on a discussion programme and even on live broadcasting on special occasions like public holidays, for instance, farmers' day, worker's day or independence day. (Interview with P3 on 1st March 2010)

Also TBC journalists revealed that before they produce programmes they do inform the audiences and request those who are interested in participating in the production of the programmes like *Mtaalam Wetu* to get involved in the production process. Thus, the targeted audiences were given an opportunity of conceptualising the ideas they could use as an input during the programme production process. Consequently, one can argue that the decentralised approach empowers development agents, media personnel and everyone interested in poverty eradication to enter into the socio-cultural context of the poor population. Further, the findings of this research disclose that focus group participants were interested in participating on TBC programmes and the producers were also eager to involve the audiences in their programmes (See Chapter 7). That shows that both the audiences and producers had reciprocal interest in participatory communication for poverty eradication. According to the DG there were 55 programmes a week produced on TBC-TAIFA that focus directly or indirectly on poverty eradication.

6.3.3. Strengths in Production and Dissemination of Programmes on Poverty Eradication

It is interesting to note that development policies in Tanzania recognise the media role in development. Vision 2025 and NSGRP make it clear that the national media are strategic resources and must be used for national development and poverty 'reduction'. Thus, TBC as a public broadcaster is an essential component of communicating development policies geared towards poverty 'reduction' in Tanzania. Tido revealed that in

year 2009 TBC-TAIFA radio reached 86% of the audience in the rural areas while in the urban areas the listenership was 45%, and TBC1 television covered the entire country with the audience of 90% of television viewers in urban areas and very few viewers in rural areas. In terms of programmes, he pointed out that in 2009 TBC and government departments successfully produced over 500 radio and television programmes related on the subject of poverty 'reduction'. The topics of the programmes ranged from controlling diseases in livestock, to improved techniques for food and cash-crop planting, to advice on laws and rights, loans, fishing, bee – keeping and family planning and controlling HIV/AIDS and malaria, just to mention a few. All these actions are accounting to the targets of the Vision 2025 and NSGRP. Tido argued that, "TBC has succeeded in playing a crucial role in poverty eradication campaigns like the Kilimo Kwanza campaign, which aims at revolutionizing and increasing agricultural production and productivity." He added that since the campaign was introduced in 2009 there has been an increase in agricultural output, which has led to a significant increase of income and transformation of the livelihood of people in the rural areas where 80% of the population live.

Also TBC had run other development campaigns like *Malaria Haikubaliki* (Malaria is not acceptable), *Tanzania Bila Ukimwi Inawezekana* (Tanzania without AIDS is Possible) and *Wape Nafasi* (Give them Opportunity), which he considered as effective in empowering people to make their life better. Thus, one could argue that TBC programmes on poverty eradication expressly motivate listeners and viewers in various ways towards empowerment, self-reliance and better livelihood as the ultimate objectives of eradicating extreme poverty as Tido explained:

TBC is making a visible contribution… towards extreme poverty in Tanzania on the part of both the government and the citizens. TBC has succeeded in broadcasting programmes in all sectors which… have direct or indirect impact, on eradication of extreme poverty, like agriculture, animal husbandry, environment protection, fishing, gender equality, family planning, planning and financial management, etc. (interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Thus, one can observe that TBC programmes put more emphasis on mobilising

people to work hard and meet their needs, become self-reliant, sustain the environment, in

order to have a better life free from poverty as it was for RTD (See Chapter 4). Tido added

that in this respect, the TBC focused on mobilising people to become aware of the

resources they have at hand and how to utilise them. Thus, from Tido's arguments one

would detect that the role of TBC is to create awareness and support people's initiatives

which in turn make livelihood better. Further, one would notice that decentralised

programmes on TBC featured people's development needs, aspirations and potentials,

which are essential ingredients in the struggle towards poverty eradication in Tanzania.

Moreover, Tido clarified mobilisation in this context as "rallying people to fight

poverty." He emphasised that mobilisation through TBC programmes entailed education

and audience participation in programme production. Scholars like Melkote, 1991;

Moemeka, 1989; and Okigbo, 1995 indicated that through participatory broadcasting

people at the grassroots get interested in sharing information and become active

participants in development projects. The scholars also argued that the impact of

development programmes on radio or television depends on well spelt out objectives of the

programmes and the audiences' interests. One can observe that Tido's views concur with

these scholars when he argued that, "in broadcasting there must be an objective; that is

where … the effectiveness of the programme starts." The findings from the TBC journalists

show that TBC programmes on poverty were based on the objectives of the government

policies on poverty 'reduction'. They added that they are aware of the policies' objectives whenever they prepare programmes for broadcasting. Hence, they claimed that the programmes they produce were educative and participatory that would empower people to engage in development activities which would lead to eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania. As Raboy (1995) asserted, policy-motivated broadcasting is interested in reaching the largest possible audience the most effectively, in light of the specific objective of the programme concerned.

Further, TBC journalists confirmed that they were aware of the role of TBC as a tool for national development and poverty eradication. They revealed that the programmes they produced encouraged people to participate in the production of the programmes. One of the TBC journalists, identified as P2, revealed, "We interact and involve audiences in planning, preparing and producing participatory programmes." The researcher found that TBC management put interaction between journalists and the audiences at the heart of programme production. The DG claimed that interaction with the audiences make it possible for TBC journalists to put into consideration the demographic characteristics that exist in the country or regions. Thus, the produced programmes cut across the interests of the audiences. Through its reporters in all regions in Tanzania, TBC has been able to involve the audience in the production of its programmes. One would argue that people in a particular district or village know their problems better than anyone. Thus, by involving the people in the production of the programmes empowers them to amplify their voices and reach those who are responsible in solving these problems in the government. One can observe that most of the problems in both urban and rural areas in Tanzania are more or less similar. Thus, a programme produced in one village on micro credits, for example,

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could be an awakening call to the government to take necessary steps to arrest the problem

in the entire country. Tido insisted that:

> Audience participation on TBC puts the emphasis on the needs expressed from
> their viewpoint. These become the key points which bring changes in society
> and the country as whole. When people are involved in our programmes, they
> formulate their problems or questions themselves, become aware of new
> possibilities, take the knowledge gained and come out with new ideas, which
> spearhead and energize their efforts in eradicating poverty and make their lives
> better. (interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Similarly, TBC journalists claimed that their programmes made a positive

contribution in eradicating poverty in Tanzania. Journalist P1 revealed that the programmes

on economy and business he produced on TBC1 covered different issues which addressed

the causes of poverty and how people can eradicate extreme poverty through establishing

small businesses. He revealed that from the feedback he got from the audiences, his

programme helped people to understand how to manage their finances, how to apply for a

loan from a bank, how to run a small business successfully and make savings. He added

that:

> The programme has been very successful in involving people from all walks of
> life to participate in discussing and giving their opinions on economic issues
> which affect them. The programme is very popular because the audiences hear
> and see the real problems of the people on the ground and the solutions
> proposed or taken to overcome the problem. (Interview with P1, on 2nd March
> 2010)

Another TBC journalist, P2, revealed that Youth Corner programme aired on TBC-

TAIFA had an impact in creating awareness, educating and encouraging youths to actively

participate in economic activities in order to make their lives better. She claimed that Youth

Corner programme covered a wide range of issues like self-employment, the importance of

education, and obstacles which hinder youths from making progressive achievements, like

lack of capital and use of drugs. Hence, the programme had been a place of breeding new

ideas, determination and desires among the youth to achieve their dreams. She asserted that

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the programme succeeded in motivating a good number of youths to learn new skills like mechanics, painting and welding, just to mention a few. Thus, the programme made a significant contribution in poverty eradication among the youth. Hence, she receives feedback from most of the youths who have benefited from the programme and achieved their dreams. Further, she revealed that her programme has been very helpful in creating awareness on what a certain youth is doing so that other youths can learn from him since there are a lot of socio-economic activities in Tanzania which may help the youths to earn money, but the youths are not aware of them until they hear from the radio on what to do to make life better. She explained:

> I have established a network with the youths who have been successful in their life struggle and participated in our programmes, to help those who need their advice. I do give out their phone numbers on radio and this technique has been very successful as a means of connecting youths all over the country who are interested in knowing how other youths have been able to succeed in their businesses. Also I give out the numbers of the youths who are struggling but haven't managed to succeed. Normally these youths are looking for someone who can help them to move a step forward from what they have already started. So people with interest do call them and help them out. (Interview with P2 on 27th February 2010)

Further, P2 revealed that the programme helped to bring new awareness in society, whereby some individuals who had ability in helping the youths took initiatives to help them, once they were aware that a certain youth needed their assistance. The researcher found out that the Youth Corner programme encourages youth to be creative and come forward to seek help. The most important things which were highlighted by the programme were 'hard work and time management', and that youth should not waste time engaging in unproductive activities like using drugs. She also developed a personal directory, which has names and phone numbers of youths who have participated in the programme and names of the organisations, companies and people who were ready to help the youths to achieve their

dreams, thanks to mobile phones. Through this technique, the Youth Corner programme has helped youths all over the country to get assistance and knowledge they needed in making their lives better by promoting their talents. The beneficiaries of the programme were youths who had no education and/or means to achieve a better life without the help they needed. Thus, it can be argued that the producer's personal directories were an efficient way of consolidating the process of involving the audiences in the programme, since the producer built up a network of participants who were ready to offer suggestions and solutions of the topics covered in her programmes.

Journalist P3, a senior producer at TBC-TAIFA, pointed out that many people benefited from TBC educational programmes, which helped them to increase agricultural production and their income and had a direct impact in reducing extreme poverty in Tanzania. He revealed he had prepared some programmes with Prof. Muhahilwa of Sokoine University of Agriculture on raising broiler chickens for commercial purposes, especially meat. The programme is known as *Mtaalamu Wetu* (Our Expert), which aims at making the knowledge of experts available to the audience. One month after airing the programme journalist P3 visited Prof. Muhahilwa at Sokoine University who showed him two diaries full of telephone numbers. Prof. Muhahilwa told journalist P3 that he had been receiving a lot of questions and responding to the people. Due to that he even bought a new mobile phone with a larger memory and a spare battery which last longer, since he had many messages and phone-calls coming in. Most importantly Prof. Muhahilwa told journalist P3 that:

> He has learnt new things from the audiences about a chicken disease he was not aware of. It came out as a challenge to him.… So he travelled to the villages in Kisarawe, which were affected by that disease he didn't know. He met the people who showed him the chickens which were affected by the

disease. He conducted a research on the disease and now he has got medication for it. He also noticed that most of the people did not know how to administer vaccination. So he and his team started to teach these people how to administer vaccination. (Interview with P3 on 1ˢᵗ March 2010)

From the revelations above, one would argue that TBC programmes played a significant role in empowering and promoting audiences' initiatives in fighting abject poverty in Tanzania. Also, one would argue that TBC programmes help the government and experts to identify problems facing the public in their communities, since TBC reporters are located all over the country and could move easily from one village to another, though the reporters are based in the main towns of the regions. Most importantly the knowledge shared between Prof. Muhahilwa and the villagers in Kisarawe led to the development of a vaccine which was used to prevent the chickens from dying. Thus, sharing knowledge and experiences between experts and grassroots population – and the experts' ability to listen before telling -- are the corner stone of successful participatory communication for development (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009).

Finally, the DG pointed out that all over Tanzania most of TBC reporters were well equipped with modern facilities like laptop, tape recorders, and cameras in the case of television and "For that matter, they can easily be informed to go somewhere and do a good programme regarding a certain subject, which for most of private media it may take time before they get to these areas." Thus, one would argue that having reporters all over the country would be a great advantage for TBC in exposing the suffering of the people at the grassroots and the efficiency of the government machineries at the regional, district and village levels in fighting extreme poverty in the country. Conversely, the study found from TBC journalists who participated in this research that TBC reporters in the regions don't go to villages unless there is a minister visiting a certain village. The next section will discuss

the weaknesses in TBC programme production processes.

6.3.4. Weaknesses in Programme Production and Dissemination

Producing high quality programmes is the main goal of PSB (Raboy, 1995; Tracey,

1998). The TBC Director General and journalists acknowledged that TBC programmes

were not 100% perfect participatory and were susceptible to criticism. However, they were

much concerned about the poor quality of most of the programmes which were produced

by the government departments and aired by TBC. The researcher found that most of the

programmes from government departments had poor audio and video quality and lacked

creative professionalism. The DG revealed "programmes like PADEP, which were

produced by the Ministry of Agriculture, were not very practical to the listeners or to the

viewers." He explained:

> It is unfortunate that most of the information officers who are working in the
> departments of ministries are not really good in programme production. We are
> trying to talk with them so that either these officials are seconded into or
> working with us here, or it is us who have to send people… into the making of
> such programmes. That would help them in implementing policies of poverty
> eradication. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Likewise, TBC journalist P3 commented that programmes from government

departments were not professional. He revealed, "Most of the programmes from

government departments are not produced by fully trained broadcasters." Further, he

suggested to TBC management to issue a checklist to every government department on

what should be included in every programme produced. He also criticized PADEP

programmes:

> PADEP programmes are not aiming at liberating a common man because the
> peasants do not participate in the making of these programmes. These
> programmes are based on the knowledge of the experts who normally ignore
> the knowledge, skills and experience of the peasants. But the peasants are very
> knowledgeable and experienced. They even know when it is going to rain by
> just looking at the stars and the wind movement, though they have never

studied meteorology…. Therefore it is important to involve them in preparing our development plans and programmes. (Interview with P3 on 1st March 2010 at 10pm)

Moreover, P3 blamed TBC management for being reluctant to talk to the government departments which produce low quality programmes. Nonetheless, P3 argued that most of the programmes produced by TBC producers are professional, something which was not acknowledged by Tido when he said:

> The broadcasters we have at the moment I can't say that they are not well educated but they are not up to the standards. It means training them so that they could become good broadcasters. What we are doing now is, even for those who are the new recruits, we make sure that they are well educated. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Moreover, there were some concerns from all TBC journalists who participated in this research that TBC used more time on commercial programmes rather than serving the people. According to journalist P3, generating money was given priority over the quality of the programmes since most of the TBC1 programmes were commercial programmes. He cautioned:

> Our problem as a nation is hunger but I have not watched any programme that encourages farmers to produce more maize and says that there are seeds which are resistant to droughts available for the farmers for free… People are now working in the mining sector as self-employed miners but there is no programme to educate them on what to do…. But if we had decided as a government tool and the government supports what we do then TBC would have done wonders. At this time I would have been in villages making programmes and exposing the problems and challenges they face... (Interview with P3 on 1st March 2010)

Furthermore P3 revealed that due to lack of interest in people's welfare when he raises an idea of going to the villages and meet the peasants, he gets the response from the management that 'there is no money and we don't have the budget for that.' He added that management has money to send commentators to broadcast football match live even in South Africa but don't have money to send people to Songea or Rukwa to make

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programmes on agriculture. Due to lack of funds and support from TBC management, it is

personal initiatives and creativity which maintain high quality participatory programmes on

TBC. Thus, producers who didn't take such initiatives produced programmes focusing on

Dar es Salaam only, since no funds were available to take them to the villages. Funding and

bureaucracy are major constraints which affect the role PSBs play as tools of development

is developing countries (Okigbo, 1995; Raboy, 1995) (See Chapter 4). P3 cited some

examples of programmes which he recorded, but were not funded by TBC. He spent most

of his weekends in 2009 in Morogoro recording radio programmes with the professors at

Sokoine University of Agriculture which were not funded by TBC in any way. In another

example he said TBC sent him to Mtwara to cover the *Maulid* day (birthday of Prophet

Muhammad) but he used his own money to pay a bus fare to travel to Naliembele to

interview a researcher who was conducting a research on mangrove trees. P3 explained:

> I am not saying anything bad against my organisation, but the truth is that in
> producing all these programmes I have mentioned, TBC did not give me
> funds…. There was *Nanenane* in 2009, a national holiday for farmers, where
> they display their products every year.   I wrote a letter to the Director General
> to give me five days to be at *Nanenane* but he refused because he had already
> sent many people from the business desk to *Nanenane*. The people who went
> had no interest in agriculture and the business programmes they made were
> below standard, hence were not broadcasted. (Interview with P3 on 1st March
> 2010)

Further, TBC journalists who participated in this research criticised TBC

management for focusing more on entertainment programmes, mainly European football

and American movies, rather than development programmes. They revealed that the

English premier league was always shown live on TBC; and whenever there was a football

match, TBC stopped broadcasting local programmes and concentrated on European

football. Conversely, the DG argued that "live football broadcasting helps TBC to make

money from sponsors and promotes football in Tanzania." Thus, one can observe that in

Tanzania sponsors tend to finance entertainment programmes rather than educational programmes, because entertainment programmes attract more audience than educational ones. It can also be argued that prioritising football and foreign programmes over local educational programmes on TBC does not help people in the villages to increase food production. The poor people at the grassroots need homemade programmes which expose the successes and the failures in achieving sustainable development in Tanzania. The participants in in-depth interviews revealed a number of factors which affect programme production and dissemination at TBC, as discussed below.

6.4. Constraints Affecting Programme Production and Dissemination of TBC Programmes

It was found that TBC faced a number of constraints in running its daily activities. These obstacles affected TBC's ability in implementing its objectives. The problems can be classified into seven different groups: government ownership and media laws; the culture of secrecy; lack of funds; lack of training and skills for TBC journalists; and shortage of equipment; commercialisation of TBC; and domination of foreign programmes.

6.4.1. Government Ownership, Control and Media Laws

The findings show that government ownership, government control and media laws act as obstacles to TBC journalists to access information. There are many draconian laws in Tanzania, which control media freedom (Masha, 2002, Ng'wanakilala, 2008). These laws include: the Penal Code 1945; Prisons Act, 1967; Registration and Identification of Persons Act (4/1986); National Security Act (3/1970); the Broadcasting Act of 1993, Tanzania Revenue Authority Act of 1995, The Tanzania Copyright and Neighbouring Rights Act 1999, just mention a few. Article 18 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 as amended in 1998, guarantees the freedom of expression, however it is subject to

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the laws of the land, which infringe media freedom.

The above-mentioned media legislations Acts not only control TBC programme production and dissemination but also stifle the social creativity of the citizens. These laws affect the production of TBC programmes since they don't guarantees access to information. That makes it difficult for journalists to produce programmes with in-depth critical analysis on poverty eradication. Although the government does not apply the laws on an everyday basis, whenever it uses them one feels the pinch. Thus, TBC journalists revealed that there is a culture of self-censorship among them to ensure that they don't get into trouble and lose their jobs. Consequently, there is no incentive for vigorous investigative journalism. The TBC journalist identified as P1 revealed that, "good stories were thrown away if it was thought that they would offend a 'big man' in the government." Thus, journalists wouldn't risk reporting stories which would make them jobless. "Directly or indirectly TBC journalists have to work within the parameters set by the government," he claimed. One can detect that governments do not like to be criticised by what they refer to as its mouthpiece (UNESCO, 2006). Therefore, it is very difficult for the TBC journalists to become bold and avoid self-censorship, which affects the content of the programmes. P1 explained:

> We do face some obstacles when we follow some controversial stories of big companies. There was a time when we investigated on how Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) spends our tax money. We thought that TIC was wasting a lot of money on hospitality to the investors who come to visit Tanzania…. These people are very rich, coming from Europe to invest in Tanzania. Do you think that they have a problem of paying for a room or dinner? After all, they are coming to invest in gold and diamond mines or big farms. (Interview with P1, on 2nd March 2010)

Journalist P1 added that from his investigative journalism skills he knows that TIC is paying too much on loyalty but he faced a dilemma that: "We are part of government and

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TIC is part of government. So you find that we are investigating a government organization and it becomes very difficult." From the above explanation one may argue that freedom of expression is crucial in broadcasting for poverty eradication as UNESCO (2006) insisted. For Trappel (2010), freedom of expression and access to information is a principle in a civil society that has often been defined in terms of communication rights to hold opinions and to receive and impart information. "It is from freedom as a principle in civil society we derive the information function of the media" (p. 44). Trappel emphasized that the media fulfil this function by collecting, processing and distributing information, and if legal issues affect one of the processes then there will be no communication.

Moreover, it was found that government control; laws and bureaucracy hinder broadcasters from accessing information with great interest to the public. Research participant P1 added that "TBC journalists may become aware of corruption in the government but the question is: how can we come up with something concrete while there is no means of accessing the information?" In such a dilemma, he revealed that journalists are forced to abandon some stories because they don't have enough information and there is no means of getting more information. Also he revealed they fear to report stories which can damage the government's image. P1 claimed that it was very difficult to challenge the government and tell the truth while working in one of its institutions. He added that, "a journalist can be dismissed from a job because of airing a programme covering a story the government is not happy with." However, P1 developed a technique of letting the people he interviewed say everything about the government in order to overcome reporting restrictions on TBC journalists.

When I discover such kind of weaknesses I have to change the image and tell
the people the truth. And to tell the people the truth you should not be opposite
to the government as a government institution. That is another challenge we are
facing. Instead of me criticizing *Kilimo Kwanza,* I invite people to talk. When
they talk they say the government has done nothing. So I don't say it myself, I
let the people talk. At the end of the day I will not be the one to be asked. I
will say listen to the people, and I balanced the programme. (Interview with P1
on 2nd March 2010)

Interestingly, Tido Mhando revealed that TBC was trying to move away from the

government control and become a true PSB and that was the reason for RTD to amalgamate

with TVT to form TBC. He explained that the only thing that is attaching TBC to the

government is money -- five billion shillings, "as long as we are receiving this money the

government will still be making that noise, though at times we pretend we don't hear this

statement 'we have given you some money'." Tido's revelations resonated with the views

of TBC journalist P2 who pointed out, "I haven't faced any obstacles in my programme

relating to media freedom and laws. I have access to information and can air that

information freely." Likewise P3 said:

Unlike RTD, TBC does not have that kind of bureaucracy. In those days it was
difficult to air opposition opinion on RTD, even to interview opposition
leaders. You could be dismissed from your job or transferred because of airing
a programme covering opposition leaders. TBC is free and government
officials are now aware of what multi-partism is. (Interview with P3 on 1st
March 2010)

Furthermore, the DG claimed, "the pace of TBC having its own editorial control is

slowly getting on track although there are some elements of government control." He

revealed that he managed to ensure that TBC became a public body whereby "everybody is

given a platform to talk and address the nation." He admitted that the President and the

minister responsible for information have powers to control TBC but added that, "What we

are trying to achieve…. may take some time and that will be a big achievement for us. It is

to get to a point where we will be able to stand on our own and never take a penny from the

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government." To achieve that goal of becoming financially independent, TBC, with the

government's blessing, started a joint venture company with a Chinese company -- Star

Communication Network Technologies Company Limited -- in 2009 to work together on

the digital change project, which is a huge commitment for a government organ (See

Chapter 3). Tido argued that:

> "It is a project that we think can give us some money. It may take a few years
> before it stands properly for us to get some money out of it but that is the key."
> (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Tido also pointed out that TBC would sell/rent the land and properties, which were

owned by RTD across the country to raise funds that can sustainably support TBC.

Conversely, Tido was removed from office on 13th December 2010 on a very short notice

of handing over his office in 24 hours on the grounds that he introduced programmes

during the general elections, which contributed to the ruling party CCM losing many seats

to the opposition. One of TBC journalists, P4, explained:

> Tido was called by the Secretary General of the ruling party CCM, Yusuph
> Makamba, to call off the television and radio debates of those who were
> contesting for the parliamentary seats, but he refused because TBC had already
> started to air the programmes. Makamba responded by issuing an order
> preventing CCM's candidates from participating in TBC debates. The party
> and government officials translated Tido's refusal as sabotage because they
> consider TBC as their property. Now they have kicked him out. (Telephone
> interview with P4 on 20th December, 2010)

Since Tido was the Head of BBC Swahili before joining TBC in 2006 after his

retirement, one would argue that he wanted TBC to sound like the BBC -- critical to the

government but impartial in covering political campaigns. He made a 'fatal' mistake. The

principles of impartiality were not applicable to TBC, especially at the critical time of the

general elections. In most of Third World countries public broadcasters are "nothing less

than propaganda machines for their respective governments" and "have great difficulty in

adjusting to the idea of independent news reporting" (Price, 1995, p. 284). Thus, one may

argue that there is "the need for separation of powers between government and media in

order to develop the credibility of a broadcast news service" (ibid.). Conversely, it can be

observed that under the government control TBC journalists who spearhead impartiality

may lose jobs. This kills creative-objective- honest reporting in TBC. The implication of

government ownership and laws of the land will be discussed further in the next chapter

from the perspective of the media experts and focus group participants.

6.4.2. The Culture of Secrecy

The culture of secrecy within the government and big companies, of not conducting

their business openly, also affects the production of TBC programmes on poverty

reduction. P1 revealed that government institutions and private companies close their doors

to the public and journalists: "No one knows exactly what is going on behind those doors."

He added that only through whistle blowers does one become aware of what is going on in

the government or a company. Interestingly, one would observe that even when whistle

blowers disclose the information, the government continues to deny that information by

saying it is not true. In the long run the information turns out to be true. P1 pointed out that,

given the chance and there is concrete information, he would broadcast the information for

the interest of the public and fulfil his social responsibility as a journalist. He said:

> I want to reach there but there are so many obstacles in my way, and if I reach
> there I can come out with information, but the fact is that we don't have the
> means of reaching that place. We are so much interested in exposing big issues
> which affect people…but we have no means. (Interview with P1 on 2nd March
> 2010)

One could observe that there were so many examples of grand corruption,

embezzlement and abuse of power which had previously been denied by the government,

but now the government is working on them as corruption cases. These include bogus

mining contracts whereby Tanzania gets only three per cent of the profit and the radar scandal, which involves BAE Systems of UK. Freedom of the press is the basis of democracy and development (UNESCO, 2006). In Tanzania, one would argue that since TBC journalists are not free to access, evaluate and analyse the successes and failures of poverty schemes and government information, which might be classified as confidential, the contents of the programmes they produce miss key facts and explanations which would have helped the audiences to raise their voice against their government. Therefore the culture of secrecy is an obstacle to make leaders accountable to the people.

6.4.3. Lack of Funds

In the time of austerity and cuts of public spending all over the world, one can observe that even the BBC, which is well funded by the license fees, is facing difficulties in balancing its balance sheet. As indicated in chapter four funding has been one of main constraints facing PSB in the 20th and 21st centuries. Likewise, this study found that TBC was under severe financial constraints. The DG revealed that, TBC funds are very fragile since it has no guarantee of getting enough money from the government. He explained:

> Our budget is about 40 billion shillings (financial year 2009/2010) because of what we want to achieve and do. And that is not the maximum but what we think that, if we got this amount, we would be able to do a number of things.… the government gave us five billion shillings. Think about what we have asked for and we end getting five billion. That is what we have been getting for the last three years. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

In order to fill the financial deficit Tido turned to the market. TBC started to operate as commercial broadcaster rather than a PSB. When he joined TBC in 2006 he found the marketing department was getting about two billion per year. In 2009 TBC was making eleven billion, however Tido said the money was not enough to run TBC efficiently.

Further, Tido added that the government recognizes TBC as an important tool for

development, however the government gives no priority to TBC; and there is no sustainable

way of funding TBC. One would argue that if you put down TBC versus other ministries -

ministry of education, ministry of agriculture etc., you would find TBC at the bottom of the

list of government priorities. This means that TBC receives very little money for its budget.

Also, because of the low level of development, it is difficult to introduce a license fee in

Tanzania because homes have no addresses, as Tido clarified: "For the developed countries,

every house has a television set, the network is there, you could easily move from one

house to the other and collect tax. It can't be done here (in Tanzania,) there is no way."

There is also the problem of electricity in the country. TBC ends up paying a lot of money

in buying generators and fuel. Tido explained:

> We do have priorities but at the end of the day … when the whole country goes
> dark for two months. What do you do? The whole amount of money that you
> decided to embark on something else, you bring it there to serve the purpose.
> So it is really hard to implement what you are really planning for a certain
> period. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

Thus, TBC cannot afford to send reporters to cover stories and produce programmes

in the rural areas due to lack of funds to buy petrol, cars, equipment etc. That is why, as

found in this study, most of TBC programmes were urban oriented, because producers had

no funds to go the rural areas to make programmes. To overcome this problem TBC started

a scheme of programme producers sending themes and questions of the programmes they

want to produce to TBC correspondents located in different region, or to some of their

colleagues who were travelling to the rural areas, although very rarely, to

record programmes on their behalf. P2 criticised this system:

> In my humble opinion, the materials for making programmes sent by
> correspondents from different regions do not meet my desire of digging for
> more information from the participants. I do feel that there is some information
> missing. I feel like I want to ask a question to a participant to clarify more on
> what they say but my mouth is glued. I can't do anything about it because I

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didn't prepare the programme…I wish I had the means of reaching the
audience in the regions. (Interview with P2 on 27ᵗʰ February 2010)

The views of P1 and P3 echoed P2's comments that programmes produced by TBC

correspondents in the regions do not meet the expectations and the quality needed by the

programme producers in Dar es Salaam. That kind of arrangement -- using correspondents

to produce programmes on behalf of their colleagues -- was still going on at TBC, but the

fact is that it was affecting the quality of the programmes, hence, doing more harm rather

than helping TBC. Also it was found that because of lack of funds TBC does not pay

experts who are invited to participate in the programmes. Journalist P3 complained that: "If

I invite a person he should be paid Tshs 30,000 but they (TBC management) don't pay

them… I have filled the forms… signed by the managers but the Director has refused to

authorise the payment." Because of that, P3 has been failing to get people to participate in

his programme.

6.4.4. Training and Skills for TBC Journalists

Servaes (2009) emphasised that "apart from creating the appropriate political and

economic environments for a free press system, it is crucial to educate journalists to the

highest ethical and professional standards possible." (p. 64). The DG claimed that most of

TBC journalists have undergone a formal training in journalism and mass communication

and they hold degrees and diplomas in these fields. However, he admitted that "a good

number of TBC journalists lack technical skills of comprehensive in-depth reporting and

analyses on issues like economics, finances, development and politics." Here one would

argue that it is essential that TBC journalists undertake in-house training to update and

upgrade their skills and knowledge, but due to lack of funds TBC has failed to introduce

such training. The findings confirmed that, "public broadcasting media in Africa are

plagued by the scarcity of trained personnel" (Okigbo, 1995, p. 276). In addition, TBC did

not have in-house training to train the newly recruited journalists. P3 complained that TBC

has no in-house trainings -- TBC employ graduates assuming that they know what they are

required to do. But in reality broadcasting in the station is different from the theories in the

books. P3 explained when he joined RTD new employees were given broadcasting training

by the most experienced broadcasters for three months. And due to financial constraints he

doubted, "at the moment I don't think that the management will be ready to fund in-house

training."

PSBs like the BBC always train their staff. For example, in 2002 the BBC Director

General Greg Dyke launched the "One BBC – Making It Happen" initiative, while in 2006

the BBC Director General Mark Thompson launched what he called "Delivering Creative

Future" to empower its staff to implement changes that encourage creativity and connect

with the audiences, in order to make the BBC the most creative organisation in the world.

TBC needs in-house training to make its staff more creative and innovative. Lowe (2010)

explained that:

> Creativity in an organisation requires a high degree of interaction. Success
> depends on building processes in which continuous exchange of views is
> obligatory rather than optional, not only with colleagues but also with
> customers and partners. This is worth doing because interaction is crucial for
> both types of innovation: continuous (incremental) and discontinuous
> (breakthrough) (p. 25).

Another TBC journalist, P1 pointed out that "Most of TBC journalists lack the

scientific outlook necessary for objective reporting of development issues. No wonder they

report an event rather than the process of the event, and personalities rather than the issues

raised by these personalities." He added that when he is off sick or on holiday one can

notice that economy programme lack critical analysis, since TBC had been recruiting some

journalists who have no economic and financial backgrounds to cover business. One can argue that the major disadvantage journalists who have no background knowledge on what they are reporting is that they are often unable to reveal hidden facts in complex economic or development reports. P1 revealed that normally these reporters choose a less relevant part of a story due to the fact that they don't have the analytical skills to critically interpret what a report is all about. Thus, one would observe that, some TBC reporters don't ask the critical questions the audience would expect them to ask of officials. Hence they get light answers which don't satisfy the audience curiosity and thus poor quality programmes.

6.4.5. Shortage of Equipment

The DG revealed that, "TBC has a shortage of equipment like computers, cameras, digital audio recorders, editing equipment, generators and vehicles." The shortage of equipment makes the process of collecting and editing programmes very difficult (Okigbo, 1995; Raboy, 1995). It also explains why the programmes made on TBC are mainly urban. TBC journalists revealed that when one takes equipment to make a programme, he or she has to return them as quickly as possible so that others who are waiting for the same equipment can use it. Sometimes, it was observed, journalists go together so that when one finishes, another journalist would take the equipment and carry on following another story.

6.4.6. Commercialisation of TBC

It is common to find PSB is combined with commercial broadcasting, "with the commercial arms cross-subsidizing the public service broadcasting mandates" (Teer-Tomaselli & Kwame Boafo, 1995, p.185). However, it is difficult to achieve a balance between commercial pressures and audience needs. With regard to TBC, the DG revealed that TBC was focusing more on making more money through advertisements to run its

activities. He admitted, "The advertisers do have direct control of the time they want their adverts to go on air, hence affect the TBC schedule." Consequently, whenever there is a football match in UK, programmes on poverty eradication scheduled for that time are not aired. Okigbo, (1995) observed that commercialisation of PSB was due to the new policies on privatisation and free market, increase in operational costs and decline in funding. Consequently, PSBs are too eager to make profits, at any cost. "The danger is that both the survival instinct and profit motive will make them less attentive to the demands of social responsibility, public service, and responsible development" (p. 278). Thus, PSBs should not be marketing tools for consumerism rather they should be committed to the ideas, goals, and objectives of their societies with respect to development.

For Raboy (1995), within the realm of conventional PSB there are two schools of thought regarding commercial activity: the first view is that commercial and PSB objectives are wholly incompatible and cannot be combined within a single service; the second view is that commercial and PSB can coexist, and public and private can compete in the advertising marketplace to the mutual benefit of both. TBC used this second approach, but the repercussions have been severe in terms of the priority given to educational programmes, which always give way to European football matches. In this respect, TBC should balance the needs both to make profit and to serve the public. TBC should keep the core values of PSB, while engaging in making money through advertisements by giving priority to educational programmes rather than entertainment. Therefore TBC programming and schedule should not be allowed to bow to markets pressures in the name of raising funds.

6.4.7. Domination of Foreign Programmes

Foreign programmes dominate broadcasting in Africa especially on television, which is associated with higher costs of production than radio. Okigbo (1995) observed that "in many African countries, the percentage of local input is so low that some of these broadcasting stations are basically diffusing or distributing foreign programmes to local audiences" (p. 275). Likewise, Ng'wanakilala (2008) asserted that, since the liberalisation of the airwaves in Tanzania in the 1990s and the mushrooming of commercial television and radio stations, there is a tendency for increased programme importation from the West which goes hand-in-hand with increased entertainment programming. In order to compete with private stations, TBC jumped on the bandwagon of importing programmes; hence, few local programmes on development are produced, while prime time is allocated to foreign programmes, which attract more adverts. He asserted that in the year 2007, for example, over 50% to 70% of programmes on Tanzanian television were entertainment -- re-runs of US soap operas, movies and European football. On foreign programmes and imbalance of local programmes Stevenson (1988) argued:

> Developing nations need to acknowledge to themselves as well to the world that most of what happens to them is of their own making. If their broadcasting systems present the worst of American commercial programming, it is because they choose it, not because there are no choices or because the choice is dictated from abroad. If their media rely on reports from the Western agencies and ignores the alternative services that are laden with development and protocol news, it is because their editors prefer the Western versions, not because they have nothing else. If audiences seek information from Western sources instead of controlled domestic media, it is because the latter have demonstrated that they are untrustworthy and boring (p. 176).

Similarly, this study found that foreign programmes, especially European football and American soaps and movies, dominated prime time on TBC1 over local programmes on poverty eradication. One of the TBC journalists, P3 complained that "there are few local development programmes on TBC1 and it is inappropriate for us to have mostly foreign

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music, football, soap opera and films." Also TBC journalists revealed that during the premier league season in England almost all football matches were shown live on TBC1 at the expense of programmes on poverty eradication. Consequently, the audience who were waiting for the next episode on a programme on development are denied an opportunity to learn new skills and ideas needed from that programme to improve production on the farm. Price (1995) argued that one of the advantages of national public broadcasting "is that it can reflect the mosaic of its own communities to that nation in a way that is impossible for the global television services to do" (p. 295). Thus, TBC at its best would have been the reflection of the Tanzanian societies through programmes about the people working on their land in order to make sense of what they are doing in their struggle to make lives better rather than being an agent for foreign culture. Similarly, Okigbo (1995) argued that for PSBs in Africa to meet people's expectations in development communication "they must address the problems of local versus foreign input, and they must involve the people more than they have done so far" (p. 275). The next section discusses the use of new communication technologies as a means of connecting the audiences and producers.

6.5. TBC Participatory Communication in the Era of Information and Network Society

We live in the era of a network society, which is increasingly connected together by the new communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet. One can observe that in this age of information and network society (Castells, 2009, 2010) participatory communication via PSBs has been growing and gaining strength. The mobile phones and the internet have made interactive dialogues on national and international radios or televisions faster and cheaper (See Chapter 4). Thus, one can argue that mobile phones and the internet enable participants from different parts of the world to participate in a national

radio or television discussion, question each other, clarify their points, share knowledge, information and experiences as if they lived next door to each other, as McLuhan (1964) prophesized, in a "global village", or a global city as one would say today, due to the nature of cosmopolitanism involved in the network society and new media.

The findings of this study show that there was interaction between TBC journalists and the audiences in the production of programmes. Also the study reveals that TBC had a tradition of encouraging the audiences to use mobile phones and the internet and interpersonal communication to communicate with the TBC producers and other government departments in order to make their voices heard through TBC. The DG pointed out "the impact of TBC programmes in transforming the audience's attitudes depends on the participation of the targeted audiences in the production of the programmes." Hence, the use of mobile phones and the internet makes it possible for audiences from all over the country – thousands of kilometres from Dar es Salaam, the centre of government business, to participate in planning, production and broadcasting of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. Further, one could observe that activists and social movements from different parts of the country use phone-in programmes on TBC radio and television to create awareness of the sufferings of the poorest of the poor at the grassroots. Thus, participatory communication via TBC sets an agenda, which helps to bring some social changes in areas where people raise their voices. And, in theory, participatory communication on TBC is limited only by either lack of mobile phone, or lack of money to top-up phones or by lack of computer literacy or internet connection.

It can be argued that the new technologies have created networks of mobile phone and internet which have made communication less hierarchical, more two-way, horizontal

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and interactive. Singh (2002) stated that networks allow multiple channels of communication to run through multiple parties allowing multiple types of messages. For Wilkins (2000), communication networks, which are inherently interactive, may be allowing a limited voice to the underprivileged in helping them voice their concerns to like-minded individuals locally, regionally, and globally, enabling them to gain support and assistance needed to solve their social, economic and political problems. Women's NGO's, for example, in the developed world represents interests and the widest and deepest stream of women's struggle in today's world, particularly in the developing world (Castells, 2010). One can extend the argument further, that mobile phones and the internet are instruments that help people from different demographic and geographic backgrounds to discuss issues which affect their lives with a global audience. These discussions become more widespread when amplified by mainstream media which reach audiences in the villages and slums thousands of miles away from those who are experiencing similar or related problems. The messages from participants on a web dialogue on women rights and poverty eradication in the developing countries in England, for example, may have the added benefit of convincing frustrated people in villages of Tanzania that change is possible, even when a particular government policy may be viewed as a failure. Thus, this thesis concurs with Slater and Tacchi (2004) in showing that new media are combined with traditional media to empower poor people to become more visible, air their voices and have access to information and knowledge that can help them to eradicate poverty in their lives. Thus, new technologies have created a new human environment which is represented by people who actively engages with the real life at the grassroots rather than observers from outside of that particular area.

The DG pointed out that mobile phones and the internet have facilitated and

empowered TBC to broadcast more programmes from more regions and rural areas than

had previously been the case. This is due to the fact that reporters could send programmes

via Internet, which is secure and faster rather than post. He added that the audience do send

email or text messages or call to TBC to ask what they want to know and get a response

instantly. This concurs with Molony (2009), who found that mobile phones are replacing

other communication such as sending a messenger or sending a written note in Dar es

Salaam, Tanzania. Thus, one can argue that interactivity via mobile phone and the internet

makes national media accessible like community media, and thus the audience can

participate fully in the planning, production and airing of programmes. McLuhan (1964)

viewed technology as a driving force in mass communication; an inexorable force in

development; and irresistible, as well as an overwhelming force in creating "a totally new

human environment" (p. viii). Thus, the new communication technologies as Slater and

Tacchi (2004) have shown have created a new human environment of participatory

communication for poverty eradication linking communities in Asia (See Chapter 4). In the

context of TBC, new communication technologies have enabled TBC to be very close to

the audiences, and to know their needs, aspirations and problems. Thus, "people are

empowered by an environment which gives them the freedom to express themselves

(Woods, 1993, p. xiii). This concurs with arguments posited by Servaes (1993) that the

efforts to achieve structural transformation in social relations, economic activities and

power structures need the exercise and promotion of participatory communication. As

Singh (2002) indicated, transformational participatory communication for development

requires multiple channels of communication, well developed information, appropriate

feedback effects, good administrative coordination among various agencies, political will, government support, and a lot of patience. Thus, new technologies of communication -- mobile phones and the internet -- make participatory communication for development possible through national broadcasting stations in Tanzania as further discussed in chapter seven.

6.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the findings from TBC management and programme producers. The approaches involved in the production of TBC programmes (the centralised approach and the decentralised approach) were analysed. The latter approach is participatory, facilitated by new communication technology, which makes it possible for TBC journalists to interact with the audiences during the programme production processes and even after airing the programmes. In the former approach, there is no, or very limited, interaction between the audiences and the government department officials who produce programmes. Unlike the top-down-centralised approach, where all decisions, information, and action flow from the experts, administrators and government officials to the receivers, the decentralised approach is based on interaction which involves constant feed-forward and/or feedback processes between source and receiver, in this respect, the producers and the audience. Further, the chapter discussed a number of constraints which affect the impact of TBC programmes in poverty eradication. These include media laws, lack of funds, lack of training for journalists, shortage of equipment and commercialisation of TBC. The chapter also discussed participatory communication in the era of information technology and network society. The next chapter discusses how the role of TBC participatory communication stimulated the process of participation in poverty eradication schemes.

Chapter Seven

TBC as a Tool for Participatory Communication for Poverty Eradication

This chapter discusses the findings drawn from focus groups and from in-depth interviews with media experts, academics and TBC journalists in light of the second and the third research questions which were: How do audiences of TBC programmes on poverty eradication receive them? Is there any evidence of interaction between the producers and the audience in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication? Further, the constraints to the interaction between the audiences and the producers of TBC programmes on poverty eradication are also discussed in this chapter. The findings are presented in qualitative accounts and will be discussed in four topics: The Contribution of TBC Programmes on Poverty Eradication, Audience Access and Active Participation on TBC, Case Studies on the Contribution of TBC Programmes on Poverty Eradication, and Constraints to Participatory Communication on TBC Communication. Unlike the previous chapter, which discussed findings from in-depth interviews with TBC management and journalists only, in this chapter the results of focus groups and in-depth interviews will be frequently presented in aspects of comparison; however this is not the key focus of this research. Also it is important to mention that the findings in this thesis are not intended to explore whether the response of participants and their attitudes towards TBC or poverty eradication schemes were right or wrong. The findings focus on the patterns of responses; and what the participants said about the contribution of TBC communication on poverty eradication. Finally, the findings demonstrate that it is not good communication that makes good development but good development that contains good communication (Quarry

&Ramirez, 2009).

7.1. The Contribution of TBC Programmes in Poverty Eradication

TBC has an obligation to support development initiatives by broadcasting information that motivates people to participate in poverty eradication schemes as discussed in chapter three. TBC does that by illustrating the advantages of the schemes and recommending them to be supported and implemented. In addition, TBC plays the role of being a platform whereby the audiences participate in the discussions about poverty eradication schemes and other development issues which affect their lives. Focus group participants revealed that they understood the messages on poverty eradication delivered on TBC-TAIFA and TBC1 educational programmes. The participants claimed that the programmes enabled them to understand the goals of socio-economic and political activities geared towards eradication of extreme poverty. They revealed that TBC-TAIFA and TBC1 act as a communication junction for dialogic-interactive exchange, especially between people, NGOs, government and the intellectuals or experts. In this respect, TBC facilitated the process of transforming the livelihood of the poor people in Tanzania. Thus, the findings confirm that broadcasting media play a major role in inspiring people to participate in development activities, aimed towards improving their standard of living (Metcalf et al. 2007; Mwakawago, 1986).

Most of the participants confirmed that they were regular listeners and viewers of TBC programmes on poverty eradication as shown in chapter five -- from table two to table eight -- and considered the programmes useful and relevant to them. This concurs with the argument that, apart from availability of signals and receivers, and constant listening habits, the success of broadcasting for development depends on receiving motivational messages

which transform audiences' ways of thinking and perception (Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Mwakawago, 1986; Ng'wanakilala, 1981). The participants claimed that they were particularly motivated by the information on TBC programmes to take some personal initiatives to eradicate poverty in their lives. Thus, one could assert that the programmes succeeded in addressing the causes of extreme poverty in Tanzania and measures, too, that could be used to eradicate poverty. In terms of whether listeners or viewers had been able to implement ideas or advice they received from TBC programmes, most of the participants said they applied the ideas and managed to improve their, for instance, agricultural and animal husbandry techniques; and financial management. On agriculture, for example, thirty participants said they had used fertilisers or manure in their maize fields; thirty participants used insecticides to protect their crops; and thirty-five had planted vegetables and fruits as another way of increasing income and family nutrition. Thirty-eight participants claimed TBC information motivated them to use modern agricultural techniques. Furthermore, eighteen participants said they now vaccinate their cows and chickens and revealed that they consulted veterinary help if a cow or chickens fell sick. Interestingly, forty-one participants have joined associations which are eligible to apply for loans from local banks. Also, the participants claimed that TBC has the advantage of having the power to communicate information on poverty eradication rapidly across the nation. These results show that TBC had an impact in transmitting new ideas, sharing knowledge and presenting alternatives in remote areas to improve agricultural techniques; and recommended approaches to eradicate extreme poverty and to increase possibilities of generating income. In this respect, one could observe that TBC programmes on agriculture, animal husbandry and financial management were valuable in Tanzania, where outreach

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and exchange projects were scarce and illiteracy amongst the population was quite high.

Focus group participants added that TBC programmes contributed significantly in changing people's attitudes and induce new attitudes towards poverty eradication schemes. A participant, James, male, 40 years, a graduate with access to mobile phone and internet, argued that:

> TBC programmes on modernisation of agriculture and financial management and economy are effective in changing our attitudes and behaviours largely because of the impact of opinion leaders… freedom of participation in the programmes… and the expression of ideas and opinions about issues and projects (poverty eradication schemes)… Also, extremely important to positive changes in my attitude and behaviour is the sense of self-worth and involvement which participation in TBC programmes promotes. (Focus Group Five)

In other focus groups the participants revealed that the programmes empowered them to access knowledge, increase participation in decision-making and reinforcing community institutions to work for the interests of the people. With the information they got from TBC programmes they filled knowledge gaps, which helped to sustain their actions aimed at making their livelihood better. In this respect, TBC programmes, which could be considered as a tool for promoting social justice, empowered participants to understand the initiatives taken by the Tanzanian government and development agents on eradicating poverty.

A participant in focus group six, Victoria, female, 27 years and a diploma holder with access to mobile phone and internet, confirmed that TBC programmes motivated people in her village to participate in socio-economic activities, which enabled them to start poverty eradication initiatives in their families. She added, "TBC programmes trigger people's need to seek and exchange information in order to contribute to the resolution of a development problem and in order to improve the quality of their lives." Likewise, a

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participant in focus group five, Faraji, male, 37 years with primary school education, had

access to mobile phone only, said TBC programmes were useful in making him, "aware of

various facets of the causes of extreme poverty in Mwanza region and Tanzania as a

whole." He also added that TBC programmes have empowered him to identify the

solutions towards eradicating poverty in his life, and that pushed him to organise his family

to act collectively to make their life better. He said, by watching the *Uchumi* programme in

2008 at his friend's house, since he didn't have a television set, he managed to accumulate

capital by selling cotton and established a small kiosk in his village which was running very

well and creating extra income for his family. Moreover he opened a saving account for

himself and his wife and made some savings for the education of their three children. He

said he had recently been researching on the market for eggs and chickens and found that

he could make a big profit in that business in a very short period of time due to the high

demand in Mwanza city. He started a poultry business in August 2010 and he was making a

profit. These findings concur with Tehranian (1977) who argued that media play a role in

"productive-supportive effects" which contribute to the mobility and improvement of

factors of production (land, labour, capital, technology and management) in agriculture,

marketing information as well "as imparting of need-for-achievement motivation through

its programmes" (p. 43).

Further, the participants claimed that TBC programmes like *Mtaalam wetu* (Our

Expert), *Kona ya Vijana* (Youth's Corner) and *Twambie* (Tell Us), just to mention a few,

use a problem-solving approach, whereby the programmes uncover problems which cause

poverty among people and show the initiatives of the participants in the programmes in

solving these socio-economic and political problems by transforming the conditions

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underlying the problems. A participant in focus group two, Adam, male, a 19 years old

university student, and had access to mobile phone and the internet, commented that,

"Youth's Corner programme on TBC-TAIFA has the potential of empowering the audience

to benefit from the acquired knowledge." He added that the cooperation between the

programme producer and the participants on the programme enabled him to formulate his

own action plan of what to do before he celebrates his 25th birthday and it helped him to

identify what he needed to do to fulfil his dreams.

A participant in focus group four, Zawadi, female, 33 years old, with primary

school education who did not have access to mobile phone or internet, considered TBC

programmes as knowledge-based. She went on to say that:

> Through these programmes a person is able to acquire information, education
> and skills to empower her to differentiate and choose what to do as a far as
> poverty eradication is concerned. TBC programmes have helped me to develop
> an attitude of controlling my environment and work hard to improve my living
> conditions after the death of my husband, who left me with four children to
> look after. (Focus Group Four)

This argument above concurs with Milliston & Blackmer (1961, p. 123), who

argued that, "The paramount requirement of change in any society is that the people

themselves must change." In this respect, the widow's experience on the impact of TBC

programmes in transforming her life proved that TBC programmes could make a

significant contribution in improving the productive skills of the audiences who put into

practice what was being advocated on TBC programmes. Thus, one could argue, the more

productive capabilities the widow possessed, the more she produced and increased her

income, which led to poverty eradication in her life.

Nonetheless, an increase in productivity which leads to poverty eradication doesn't

look that simple in the real world; it is a long and complicated process which needs

mobilization of human resources through education aiming at formulating new skills, new aspirations, new goals and more importantly new attitudes (Chossudovsky, 2003; Nyerere, 1974; Sachs, 2005). It also needs the support of the government, international economic system and other social opportunities like free schools, free health services, transport, market, power facilities, and storage facilities, just to mention a few (Chossudovsky, 2003; Nyerere, 1973, 1974; Sachs, 2005). Thus, all participants questioned the efficiency of the government in implementing its poverty eradication strategies and policies at the grassroots level aired on TBC. They said, in real terms, more people in their villages appeared to be sliding further and further into extreme poverty. This criticism dominated each focus group and had led to the decline of their trust in both TBC and the government strategies on poverty eradication among the participants. Here, one could see that there is an immense gap between national development strategies and the reality of life of the poorest of the poor in Tanzania. Thus, one can establish a link between government inefficiency in implementing poverty eradication policies and the cynicism which was growing among the focus group participants, as discussed later in this chapter.

7.2. Audience Access and Active Participation on TBC

Traditionally, Tanzanians continuously share information, experiences and ideas about the climate, nature and how well or badly the family, the region and the nation are coping with it. The sharing and exchange of information is fair and free, with everyone who has some contribution being given a chance to express themselves. This tradition was built since independence in 1961 whereby citizens were encouraged to participate in dialogue, which aimed at promoting development because no person is all-wise and all-knowing (Nyerere, 1968, 1973). In Kiswahili, there is a proverb which says '*Penye wengi*

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hapaharibiki neno' meaning "a dialogue which involves people from all walks of life leads to sustainable, progressive solutions". Thus, everyone in society has knowledge and experience, which, if shared, would make the society wiser and able to cope with the challenges of life (Freire, 1983; Nyerere, 1968, 1973; Quarry& Ramirez, 2009; Servaes, 1996a).

In this thesis, the data shows that there were demographic variations in the sample of 45 focus groups participants in terms of gender, age and education level, and access to mobile phones and the internet (See Chapter 5). The diversity of the audiences' sample in relation to its access to mobile phones and the internet is of great significance in demonstrating that new communication technologies are a driving force that make it possible for participatory communication to take place on TBC as discussed later in this chapter. In General, 29 participants had access to mobile while 16 participants didn't have access to mobile phones. Whereas, twelve participants had access to the internet and 33 participants did not have access to internet. Gender wise, 17 male participants had access to mobile phones while 12 female had access to mobile phones. Access to the internet was also male dominated whereby eight male participants had access to internet while only four of their female counterparts had access to the internet. In terms of age, the findings show that youth aged between 18-29 and 30-39, and middle-aged people 40-49 had more access to mobile phones and internet than the older people 50-59 and 60+ (See Table 9). Education wise, the data shows that the higher the education level the higher the number of people who had access to mobile phones and the internet (See Table 10). The Tables 9 and 10 below are significant in explaining the audience participation in the production of programmes and communication carried on TBC.

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Age	Total Number of Participants	Male	Female	Male with Mobile Phones Access	Male with Internet Access	Female with Mobile Phones Access	Female with Internet Access
18 -29	13	4	9	3	3	8	3
30-39	15	9	6	7	3	1	1
40-49	11	5	6	3	1	2	0
50-59	4	3	1	2	1	1	0
60+	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
TOTAL	45	23	22	17	8	12	4

Table 9. Participants' access to mobile phones and the internet in terms of age.

Education Level	Total Number of Participants	Male	Female	Male with Mobile Phones Access	Male with Internet Access	Female with Mobile Phones Access	Female with Internet Access
Primary	21	9	12	4	0	5	0
Secondary	7	5	2	4	0	1	0
Diploma	12	6	6	6	6	4	2
University	5	3	2	3	2	2	2
TOTAL	45	23	22	17	8	12	4

Table 10. Participants' access to mobile phones and the internet in terms of education level.

Although the table 9 and table 10 above show that there was a significant access divides to mobile phones and internet, participants acknowledged the usage of mobile phones and internet as tools for accessing TBC was essential in giving them an upper hand in terms of airing their views and concerns as well as participating in the production programmes on poverty eradication. A male participant in focus group seven, Ezekia, 50 years old, with no access to both mobile phones and internet revealed that:

> When I am listening to TBC-TAIFA sometimes I hear hot debates going on
> and audiences making their contributions which leave me with the desire to
> participate in the dialogue. Sometimes I ask my friends who own mobile
> phones to send text messages for me to TBC. I tell them what to write and it is
> amazing to hear your views being aired on a national radio, and other
> audiences discussing them. (Focus Group Seven)

From this revelation one can argue that even though some people may not own

mobile phones or have access to internet, they have come out with an innovative way of

sharing mobile phones with their colleagues, in this case to advance the dialogue carried on

TBC. Further, in this study, it was found that twenty participants sent questions to TBC via

mobile texts or made a call, three of whom revealed that they had been using emails to

contact TBC journalists. A participant in focus group one, Juma, male, 48 years old, with

secondary education and had access to mobile phone and internet, argued that:

> Interacting with TBC via mobile phone enables people especially in rural areas
> to raise their concerns and the problems they face, like lack of teachers and
> lack of medicine in health centres, and enables one even to contact an expert on
> TBC to acquire knowledge and skills which help them solve their problems.
> (Focus Group One)

Similarly TBC journalists confirmed that interacting with the audience enables them

to identify audience's needs or problems and seek solutions from the responsible

government departments and the people themselves. The findings concur with Jackson

(2010), who argued that the role of PSB has been nurturing the public mind since the

beginning of the broadcasting era. Further, Jackson argued that since its early days

broadcasting has been in principle a medium for two-way interactive communication, even

if the technology limited the applicability of the principle in practice. Thus, one can

observe that nowadays phone-ins are part and parcel of both live and pre-recorded

broadcasting all over the world. That makes "Phone-in programmes on radio (and

television)… the most obvious examples of traditional participatory programming, albeit

quasi-democratic and sometimes caricatured" (Nyre, 2007, p. 4003).

Likewise, Hutchby (2006) argued that phone-in shows give the audience the opportunity to speak on issues and events in their own voices. Similarly, the internet has transformed large segments of the traditionally passive audience into active communicators, willing to participate in dialogue (Jakubowicz, 2008). Consequently, mobile phones and the internet increase the opportunity for the audience to play an active part in public service media (Jackson, 2010). Thus, it could be argued that the audiences' use of phones and the internet to express their concerns makes it possible for them to receive quicker response and intervention of the government on their problems at the grassroots in Tanzania. The mobile phones and the internet do give a chance to people to speak for themselves in their own way, which allows us to sense their emotions and feelings. However, in Tanzania, internet access is limited by economic and literacy factors.

A participant in focus group six, Celina, female, 24 years old with a college diploma and had access to mobile phone and internet, who normally phones in on the *Mtaalam Wetu* programme on TBC-TAIFA, argued that TBC interactive and phone-in programmes helped to produce a common understanding among the participants about poverty eradication initiatives. She emphasized that the dialogue involved in the programme "enables the government to take into account the grassroots perceptions in the planning of development projects and in mobilizing them to participate in the poverty eradication activities set out in the project." Consequently, one would argue that TBC promotes the participation of the grassroots population who do not have access to government officials or project administrators in their localities in deciding on what the project should be like and how it should be implemented. It should be borne in mind that what matters most in participatory communication is not the dissemination of an innovation or a new idea full of promises, but

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the grassroots expression of its needs -- the access to communication channels and participation in decision-making (Melkote, 1991; Melkote & Steeves, 2009; Nyerere, 1973; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). This concurs with Ng'wanakilala (2008), who argued that it is near-impossible for any nation overwhelmed by diseases, extreme poverty, illiteracy, lack of transport, to successfully effect any positive socio-political and economic changes either for the nation as a whole or for the deprived majority, without effective communication with the deprived majority and without their active participation in the life of the nation.

7.3. Case Studies on the Contribution of TBC Programmes on Poverty Eradication

Communication is a powerful tool for implementing policies and programmes effectively as well as improving policies and programmes themselves (Schoen, 1996). In this thesis, participants in all seven focus groups claimed that TBC programmes on poverty eradication educated them on how to manage their money and invest wisely in profitable businesses. They also confirmed that TBC programmes were successful in educating peasants on how to increase agricultural productivity, develop personal entrepreneurial skills, and even change some cultural traditions which are not friendly to gender equality and women's rights; as participant Juma, from focus group one, put it that TBC programmes were useful in motivating people to increase production in all sectors of the economy in order to eradicate extreme poverty in Tanzania. The case studies below discusses the contribution of TBC programmes on poverty eradication.

7.3.1. The Contribution of the Economy Programme

The programme was aired on TBC1 twice a week covering economic and business activities carried out by individuals, companies, government and even foreign investors. The programme chosen as a unit of analysis focused on how small entrepreneurs benefited

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from loans and managed to pay back the loans. The programme was chosen following the government statement in the NSGRP that poverty income is the main problem facing most Tanzanians today and, through establishing small businesses and getting a loan from micro credits and banks, people can make money and increase their income, which automatically will lead to reducing extreme poverty in the lives of people and the country at large. It was aired on Monday 13th July 2009 at 1.30pm and repeated on Tuesday 14th at 10.30am.

All 45 participants claimed the programme was educative and very informative on how to manage a bank loan. They said they were motivated by useful information revealed on the programme on how to establish a business, make some savings and investments; and how to apply and manage a loan from a bank. A participant in focus group one, Lydia, female, 48 years old, primary school education with access to mobile phone only, commented that, "if a person applied the information and knowledge gained from the programmes they would be successful." Similarly, another participant, Victoria, in focus group six, said the programme was an eye opener which would empower an individual to establish a small business and work all the way towards improving her standard of living and expanding her business, and "the advice given on the programme about knowing what to do with the loan money, with the right training on planning and financial management, is a key to success." Thus, information like capital and labour is a main factor of production which empowers people to transform their lives so long as they have got the level and kind of education or skill required (Parker & Mohammadi, 1977; UNESCO, 2008) and the support needed in the process making their livelihood better.

The results from the focus groups revealed that the economy programmes expose some reasons why people fail to pay back their bank loans. Some of these reasons included

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people spending their loans on wedding ceremonies and buying luxurious things like expensive dresses instead of investing in a business and make profit, which in turn could be used to buy someone's needs. A participant in focus group five, Nusura, female, 38 years and a university graduate who had access to mobile phone and internet, said, "This programme is very useful in changing our culture and attitudes of regarding loan money as free money which can be used for anything you want; also it reminds us to live within our means and not overspend." Other participants in the same focus group five echoed Nusura's views that the programme would help people who take loans to invest the money wisely in profitable businesses rather than spending the money in marriage ceremonies. Thus, relevant information helps to fill the knowledge gap in "societies with insufficient financial capital resources…if they wish to develop" (Parker & Mohammadi, 1977, p.175)

Furthermore, the participants in all focus groups confirmed that financial literacy was a major problem which most people faced since they didn't know how the banking system operates, even though some of the participants had bank accounts. They said the economy programme empowered people to understand banking regulations and benefit from the services offered by the banks in Tanzania. Lack of understanding of how banks operate is a big challenge Tanzanians face, because only 10% of Tanzanians have bank accounts (FinScope, 2006). That means that 90% of Tanzanian do not use bank services like getting loans, transferring cash or save their money, and even those who hold accounts usually don't understand banking systems. The researcher found that only 25 participants out of 45 had bank accounts. The remaining 20 knew very little or nothing about banking services.

Also, the participants held that TBC programmes on both radio and television had

an impact in educating them about micro credit services. They said TBC had been in the fore- front in motivating people to participate in forming small groups and establishing small businesses. Female participants claimed that micro credits liberated them from depending on their husbands. A single mother participant in focus group four, Neema, female, 32, with primary school education, who had no access to mobile phone or the internet, explained:

> I heard on TBC-TAIFA about people forming groups and joining SACCOS. The next morning I called my friends and shared the news with them and we decided to form our group of seven women. We went to a local creditor and registered ourselves with our referees. We got a loan and started a small cafe. Since we started the business in 2006 I have managed to send my four children to school and now I am working hard to complete my house. However, I have to mention that the interest we pay is too high compared with the money they give us. (Focus Group Four)

Nonetheless, the researcher found that there was a participant in focus group seven, Bahati, male, 38, with secondary education and had access to mobile phone, who took a loan but had failed to pay back the loan due to the lack of clear understanding of financial management. He was facing legal action whereby his collaterals could be sold to pay back the loan, something which would make him poorer.

Moreover, a participant in focus group one, Richard, male, 33 years old with primary school education and had access to mobile phone, said the Economy programmes enabled him to learn from the experiences of the participants on the programmes and apply that knowledge on his daily life and business. He learnt that he must invest in the education and health of his children for the better future. Further, he developed a project of selling bricks and sand for construction, thanks to the micro credit he received from a SACCOS. He said: "Now I am doing well! The programmes have helped me to participate fully in different economic activities, transform my life and become financially independent." The

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researcher found that the Economy programme encouraged people to form groups that made it easier for them to produce more; increase their income, and be connected easily to financial institutions, so that they could expand their business and lay a strong foundation for a better life. Additionally, the participants praised the programme presenter, identified as journalist P1 in this thesis, who challenged the government to invest more in educating people about financial management and banking services. A participant in focus group four, Mayeji, female, 45 years old, who hold a diploma but had no mobile phone or access to internet, commented:

> If that kind of challenge were posed to government in each programme - to be effective in implementing other policies at the grassroots level - there is no doubt that the government would take steps needed to make sure the pace of poverty eradication is increased at all levels more than now. (Focus Group Four).

Mayeji added that it is always difficult to build a saving culture in a grown up person and that is why most Tanzanians have no savings in the banks apart from having no access to banks. Likewise, journalist 'P1' argued that "the government must introduce a curriculum in primary and secondary schools to teach money management," so that the children grow up in the environment that teaches them to build a saving culture and realize the importance of having a bank account. Similarly, a participant in focus group five, Tereza, female, 23 years old with secondary school education who had access to mobile phone, argued that since the challenge of training financial management in children is for everyone, then before the government introduces it, "the parents should take some personal initiatives to learn more about financial management and use their knowledge and skills to train their children on making savings by opening bank accounts for them and involve them in businesses."

From the findings, it could be argued that the TBC programme on Economy was educative and informative, empowering the audiences to know how to: (a) establish a profitable business, (b) manage money and loans from banks, (c) choose priorities in life on where to invest -- especially on children education, and (d) save money for the future. Moreover, one could observe that the language used on the programme is simple and clear; the presenter of the programme is backed by the facts, data and statistics that give him an upper hand in guiding the discussions, which take place on the programme. The participants pointed out that the programme motivated them as audiences to study and understand banking systems and financial management so that they could invest wisely and become successful. Through the information they got from the programme, the participants revealed that, they were empowered to challenge the government and the banks to offer them trainings on entrepreneurship, money management and project management before starting a business. Finally the participants believed the programme equipped them with arguments that would enable them to challenge the local banks and creditors to revise their conditions of offering loans and interest to pay, in order to make it easier for the people to get cheap loans and benefit from them. Thus, as reviewed in chapter four, participatory communication can elevate the knowledge of audiences and empower them to know their rights and improve their wellbeing (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009; Melkote, 2002).

7.3.2. The Contribution of Agricultural Programme – PADEP (Participatory Agricultural Development and Empowerment Project)

The programme is produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and aired on TBC1 and TBC – TAIFA twice a week. The programme was aired on TBC1 on Mondays at 9.10pm to 9.35pm and on Wednesdays at 10.05am to 10.30am on TBC1 on the 13th and 15th July 2009. The programme was also was aired on TBC-TAIFA radio on Thursday, 16the July

2009 at 8.30pm to 8.55pm. The programme discusses a wide range of issues on agriculture, which employs 80% of the work force in Tanzania. PADEP is one of the government strategies aiming at reducing extreme poverty in the villages through establishing participatory agricultural and development projects (URT, 2003). The Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives used its administrators to supervise the implementation of its agricultural strategic policy in 24 districts out of 121 in Tanzania. PADEP programme on TBC focused on how to eradicate extreme poverty through agriculture in the rural areas. The results from the focus groups show that the participants understood the central messages of PADEP programmes. A male participant in focus group one, Juma, commented that, from the information and knowledge he acquired from the programme on the PADEP project, he managed to increase agricultural productivity, which in turn increased his income and improved his standard of living. He said, "The programme message encouraged me to collaborate with agricultural extension officers in order to improve my skills in modern agricultural techniques." Likewise, another participant in the same focus group, Lydia, added that "PADEP programmes help peasants to learn and plan what kind of agricultural projects are suitable in their villages, as one of the government strategies of eradicating poverty through the agricultural sector." Also, participants in other focus groups revealed that PADEP programmes encouraged peasants in the villages to meet PADEP goals, which are: first, to consolidate the peasants' ability in planning and implementing their own development activities like agriculture by using a participatory approach; second, people become involved in consolidating the ability of institutions responsible, like district councils, national institutions in supervising and empowering agricultural and livestock keeping activities; and third, the consolidation of the participation

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of the private sector in development activities (URT, 2003).

The results from the focus groups show that the participants were persuaded by the information carried on PADEP programme on how to implement these goals at the grassroots levels. The programme explained that people have to prepare plans in order to implement them and meet their targets. Then, through PADEP, they would be given guidance on how to plan agricultural projects and draw a roadmap for improving their lives through productive and beneficial agriculture. The participants said some plans revealed on the PADEP programme for building irrigation infrastructures were encouraging; to make sure that there is enough water for irrigation, which would lead to an increase in food production. Then people would be able to engage in agriculture throughout the year and reduce their dependence on rainfall. However, the participants said what was said on the programme has not been implemented by the government in Mwanza region. They said they had seen neither government officials nor PADEP project plan pamphlets nor guidance books.

In addition, a participant in focus group six, Abeli, male, 31 years old, primary school education with no mobile phone or access to internet, said that watching PADEP programmes helped him to gain essential skills and knowledge on how to start a poultry project. He said PADEP programme filled the gap of information he had on establishing a project. He added that, "Most of the peasants continue to live in extreme poverty without using the resources available in their surroundings because of not having skills and knowledge of how to use them." These views concurred with the views of a participant in focus group seven, Musa, male, 35 years old, who hold a diploma and had access to mobile phone and the internet, that, "PADEP's strategy of focus on educating and involving the

people on increasing their production and productivity was one of the better ways of eradicating poverty through empowering people to eradicate extreme poverty in their lives."

Moreover, Juma, a participant in focus group one, commented that the PADEP programme the participants watched in the focus group, "was helpful in mobilising people to use modern agricultural equipment technologies, which are catalysts in improving agricultural productivity." The use of modern equipment like plough, tractors and power tillers in agriculture leads to an increase in production per acre and facilitates the rapid growth and development of the agricultural sector. The programme also encouraged peasants to work together. All participants who were also in favour of the idea of working in groups in order to increase production as a team, as insisted on by Nyerere (1968, 1973, 1990, 2000), claimed that when the people work together in groups they become successful in terms of increasing productivity and efficiency in work as the Kiswahili proverb says: *Umoja ni nguvu* (Unity is strength). Also the participants revealed that the PADEP programme encouraged peasants to process their crops in order to increase their value. The programme's information on processing crops was very useful, due to the fact that an increase in the value of the crop products leads to an increase of peasant's income. With such information, the participants claimed that the PADEP programme would succeed in educating peasants to process their crops and sell them at a reasonably higher price. In 2010, for example, some groups in Southern Tanzania for example in Masasi district were empowered to process cashew nuts and cassava under PADEP project.

Further, the participants said the programme encouraged the audiences to invest and use wisely the money they earn from agriculture to improve their lives through applying the

principles of productive and beneficial agriculture, and open a bank account in order to make some savings. Moreover, the programme advocated that women could do better if they are given a chance, and men should be encouraged to be honest and treat their wives as equal partners. Thus, all participants accepted the idea of gender equality as one condition for poverty eradication. They also added that the programme provided very good information on how PADEP is helping people to modernise agriculture and use modern methods of farming. Abeli, a participant in focus group six argued that the agricultural programme was educative in the sense that peasants were advised:

> … most of the people in villages use seeds which give us very little harvest. I found that information very helpful, but the problem is that we don't get better seeds from the government, and we are still using local seeds because better cotton and maize seeds are not available. Again the programme has good educative information, but in reality what is happening on the ground is totally different. (Focus Group Six)

Further, Juma, said TBC programmes are very educative and do encourage people to use modern techniques of farming. He added that TBC programmes have helped him to increase some knowledge on how to produce high quality crops:

> TBC is doing a great job to educate people on how to use fertilizers, pesticides and other techniques. On programmes like *pamba yetu* (Our Cotton) TBC is persuading peasants to implement ethical methods of farming, due to the fact that the cotton price in the world market is falling because of the low quality of the cotton we produce. I learnt that low quality cotton is caused by the use of more than required pesticides, and how the cotton is picked from the farm and stored. (Focus Group One).

A female participant in focus group four, Adia, aged 36, with primary school education and had no access to mobile phone or internet, argued that: "For a person like me who has no capital, it will be difficult to implement the skills I have learnt. I have learnt a lot on farming but the problem is the capital." In addition, participants from focus groups three and six claimed the programme succeeded to show the village life and malnourished children on bare feet and some of them with no clothes living in mud huts. They said that in

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itself is the evidence that the problem of extreme poverty in Tanzania is too big -- beyond normal comprehension -- and the country is far from eradicating poverty. Thus, one can observe that there is a gulf between what is said on the media in terms of poverty eradication, diseases, illiteracy and human rights and what is actually happening on the ground – at the grassroots, in terms of arresting these problems in Tanzania.

Nonetheless, one could argue that PADEP programmes are not participatory as the name indicates. The Ministry of Agriculture produces them centrally. The World Bank through the International Development Association (IDA), which uses the local elite to extend its influence and domination of the world economy, sponsors PADEP. Thus, PADEP adapted the diffusion of innovations model, a modernization model, which sounds similar to participatory, but is in reality controlled from the top with uniform national/international programmes. PADEP programmes on TBC may involve people in villages to show some degree of grassroots participation in the programmes, but they are designed by experts to capture audiences' attention and leave them without constructive solutions. In Tanzania, peasants lack access to credit, good marketing, supply of inputs such as fertilizers, literacy, good roads and media communication, above all, strong cooperative unions. And without these a peasant becomes poor, regardless of the efforts he or she may put into working on the land.

7.3.3. The Contribution of Voice of Women Programme

The programme was aired on TBC1 and TBC-TAIFA on Monday at 4.05pm to 4.30pm, 13th July 2009 and repeated on Thursday at 12.00pm to 12.25pm, 16th July 2009. According to the participants, the programme revealed that domestic violence and gender inequality are among the major reasons which contribute to the wide spread of extreme

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poverty. The participants acknowledged that domestic violence and gender inequality were the challenges the Tanzanian societies need to overcome; otherwise the efforts to eradicate extreme poverty would be left in limbo. Because of strong traditions and cultural stereotypes, which were widely practiced in Tanzania, domestic violence and gender inequality were still taking place in Tanzania in 2010, though the scale and rate of abuse differed from one ethnic group to another. But all the same, violation of women's rights is the violation of human rights. Mara region in northern Tanzania was leading in domestic violence in the country (KIVULINI, 2009).

The TBC programme watched by the participants focused on one of the victims of domestic violence in Mugumu district in Mara region, Kadogo Marwa is an illiterate woman who was circumcised at the age of 13. Her father arranged her marriage in 1996 when she turned 16 and forced her out of school. She turned 30 in the year 2009. In 1998 she had her first born. In year 2000 her legs were amputated because of the injuries she sustained after being beaten by her husband. She earns little income of less than Tshs 1000 (70 cents US$) a day from running a petty business of selling bananas in a local market.

After watching the programme, a male participant in focus group two, Rwiza, 57 years old, who hold a diploma and had access to mobile phone and internet, argued that the programme had shown him how women are abused in three different ways:

> First, women have no say on the family income or the money they earn
> although they are the main producers and bread winners; second, women are
> marginalised by traditions and local customs like forced marriage,
> circumcision, which has negative health effects on girls including death; and
> third, domestic violence leads to permanent disability for some women. (Focus
> Group Two)

Thus, in such situation it is difficult for Tanzania to achieve poverty eradication because of the exploitation of women and domestic violence which is going in society.

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Similarly, Awa (1996) wrote: "Women are the chief food growers in the Third World, accounting for sixty to eighty per cent of agricultural work force, but their involvement in development planning and execution has been frustrated by ancient stereotypes" (p. 142). One can observe that women still are excluded from making decisions even about spending their own hard-earned money. It is normal in a village in Mara for men to take by force women's money and leave them helpless (KIVULINI, 2009).

Moreover, focus group participants learnt from the programme that Tanzania had no specific laws on gender and domestic violence; however, article 12 of the constitution guarantees an individual to be respected. Also, the marriage Act of 1971 as amended in 2002 explains that domestic violence is a sufficient reason to terminate marriage. Hence, the participants suggested that there is a need for the government to make a law on domestic violence and gender equality which guarantees more women rights. The participants said gender equality was a vital ingredient in promoting changes in society. They added that it is everyone's obligation to protect women's rights and end all kinds of domestic violence and gender discrimination in order to achieve sustainable development. A female participant, Hidaya, a 22 years old university student who had access to mobile phone and internet, argued that:

> The programme showed a clear link between traditional beliefs, domestic violence and violation of women rights on one side and an increase of extreme poverty on the other. And since the programme was recorded in a village, it represents the reality of domestic violence which is going on in the villages. (Focus Group Three)

Further, a male participant in the same focus group, Zakayo, 30 years old, with primary school education and did not have access to both mobile phone and internet, agreed with Hidaya's argument and added that: "Some men treat women as properties…

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something you buy and use it as you wish. But, this is not right and I would not like my daughter to be treated that way." The argument around domestic violence as one of main causes of poverty was resonated in all focus groups, especially among male participants who regarded the programme as a representation of what is going on in the society as well as a lesson on treating their wives as equal partners. From these findings one can detect that there is a wide recognition in the society as far as women rights are concerned and their role in improving the living standards of their families. For Nyerere (1968), women in the villages are the backbone of national development and that men should work as hard as women, as explained in the Arusha Declaration:

> The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work
> for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays.
> Women who live in villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But
> the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave
> for half of their lives (p. 30).

In addition, the participants revealed that the programme encouraged men to trust their wives and involve them in businesses. However, they acknowledged that the culture of men taking women's money by force is widely practiced in Tanzania. Some female participants in focus group four like Adia, 36 years old and Neema, 32 years old -- both with primary school education and had no access to mobile phones and internet -- revealed that it was almost impossible for women to refuse to give their money to their husbands for fear getting divorced. Interestingly, male participants in all focus groups commented that the programme created awareness that men should stop misusing women's hard-earned money in anyway. For example, a participant in focus group two, Makoye, 40 years old, with primary school education and had no access to mobile phone and internet explained that: "We were brought up knowing that your wife cannot refuse to give you anything, and if she refused you beat her. But we have come to realise that is not right … It should be

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stopped." Similarly, Regina in focus group five argued that, "men should be in the fore-front in ending domestic violence." Male participants in the focus group commented that women should also come forward and report domestic violence. However, Musiba, 35 years old, with primary school education and access to mobile phone, added that it is difficult for women to come out and report the abuse because they depend on their husbands for protection and status. Participants James and Faraji suggested that there should be more educational programmes and out-reach projects to empower women and society as a whole to eliminate domestic violence.

Scholars like Awa, 1996; Sachs, 2005; Thomas, 2008 and organisations like KIVULINI, 2009, have indicated that traditional believes act as a major obstacle in poverty eradication initiatives. Male participants in all focus groups confirmed that the programme motivated the male audiences to respect their wives and that together they share the responsibility of improving the standard of living of their family. They added the programme also encouraged men to break from traditional beliefs that women were supposed to stay at home to do domestic work. Participants in all focus groups agreed that raising children is a collective responsibility between a husband and a wife. Further, a female participant in focus group seven, Davina, 27 years old, who holds a diploma and had access to mobile phone, argued that:

> When women are in trouble or divorced they should not opt to give birth to
> more children because this leads to an increase of the number of children,
> while they don't have means to support them which leads to more poverty
> because the family has more mouths to feed. (Focus Group Seven)

She added that children born in such an environment hardly go to school; hence, a chain of poverty from one generation to another. Another participant in focus group seven, Idrisa, male, 63 years old, a university graduate with an access to mobile phone asserted,

the programme had a very strong message demanding "men to stop domestic violence and treat their wives as their equal partners in life…and the government to take more initiatives to introduce laws which protect women from domestic violence."

The participants in all focus groups confirmed that the programme was an awakening call on women's rights and domestic violence in Tanzania. The programme showed the suffering and the impact of domestic violence on a woman and the children who depend on her, and how similar violations of women's rights contribute in the increase of extreme poverty in Tanzania. A male participant in focus group five, Musiba, said the programme made everyone who watched in the focus group sympathise with the young woman who lost her legs after being beaten by her husband. He added that, "Women Voice programme is an eye opener to the government and society, showing them the suffering of the women." Other participants from all groups agreed with each other that the programme encouraged society, especially the government, to protect women's rights. They also agreed in principle that it is important to report domestic violence to responsible authorities as soon a person becomes aware that a woman is going through domestic violence; a vice that leads to life disabilities and demoralising women from working hard and makes them poorer. A female in focus group four, Prisca, 48 years old, who holds a diploma but had no access to mobile phone or the internet, shared her experience of the contribution of the Women programme on TBC1 in empowering women to become more creative and independent entrepreneurs:

> I watched the Voice of Women programme and learnt a lot which I shared with other women in my area. I saw two women washing cars. In our culture and upbringing, it is unusual for women to become car washers. The presenter asked them how they ended up doing such a job since car washing is regarded as a job for men. Those young ladies said they had their dreams and they could

not reach their dreams through the work they had been doing of cooking food, which is sometimes thrown away by government officials. (Focus Group Four)

Further, Prisca added that through washing cars, the young ladies were supporting their families, and most important, their husbands were allowing them to go to work since they depended on casual jobs, while washing cars is a guaranteed job because people wash their cars every day. Further, she said:

> I liked those women because they broke the gender boundaries and discrimination in jobs… a woman can do any type of job which is considered is for men…. I admired those women and to tell you the truth, if I had no job I would have started a car wash centre straight away. (Focus Group Four)

Conversely, some female participants in focus group four like Zawadi commented that, "women should not do men' job like driving trucks or washing cars because they don't fit into such jobs." Whereas, Mayeji, 45 years old, holding a diploma, but had no access to mobile phone or internet, suggested that, "women who do men's jobs like construction or mechanics are often harsh and cruel." Thus, there was a disagreement among female participants on whether women should do traditionally men dominated jobs.

Commenting on Voice of Women, Adam, a male participant, said the programme on women addressed key issues which were happening in Tanzanian societies. He explained:

> It is true women in societies are regarded as second-class human beings. In villages in Shinyanga women work like slaves and that is not right. They don't enjoy the fruit of their hard work. If programmes like this were on TBC every day, I tell you there would be much change in our societies. (Focus Group Two)

From the revelations above, one can observe that women in Tanzania are still suffering from domestic violence which has fatal consequences to their livelihood. In explaining the impact of women suffering as a result of gender inequality in their lives, Pettijohn (1987) argued that: "Behaviorally, they will stop responding. Cognitively, they

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will believe that responding is useless. Emotionally, they will experience anxiety and depression" (p. 264), cited in Awa (1996, p. 142). Consequently, women's status is subordinate to men, and their inferior status has many negative consequences for their education, health, nutrition and life prospects. The participants claimed that the sufferings of Kadogo Marwa represent what is happening everyday in different parts of Tanzania. They suggested that there is a great need of changing men's attitudes and behaviour towards women especially in the villages, where the culture that oppresses women is very strong. One could observe that the programme had an impact in delivering the message on domestic violence, which was found very useful by the participants in exposing the suffering of women and violation of their basic human rights. The programme showed that the people from remote villages in Tanzania and victims of violence were also given a chance to air their views and suffering through TBC, and there was a response from the government and non-governmental organizations on how they respond on issues such as domestic violence and women's rights in Tanzania.

7.4. Constraints to Participation on TBC Communication

For media to have impact in motivating people to participate fully in development activities, other conditions such as trust in the government bureaucracies and understanding of the basis of media authority, legitimacy and objectivity have to be present (McQuail, 2006). The findings show that TBC was controlled by the government, and operated within a centralised-bureaucratic system which did not give TBC enough freedom to function fully as a public broadcaster like the BBC. Hence, it was difficult, and sometimes impossible, for TBC to guarantee audiences' participation in programmes with comments considered 'sensitive' to the government but 'relevant' in empowering the audiences in their initiatives

towards eradicating poverty in their lives. The results from the focus group participants revealed that audience participation in TBC programmes depended on the nature of the programmes and the degree of sensitivity of the topic discussed. It was detected from the findings that if the topic discussed a programme favoured the government, then the audiences were given opportunity to air their views, especially those who supported the government's position or decision.

In addition, the focus group participants argued that that extreme poverty by itself severely limited access to information, because many people could not afford to buy radios or batteries, and electricity for television was often not available outside the major urban areas. Only 16% of the Tanzanian population have access to electricity. The most striking features of poverty in Tanzania as identified by the participants were the isolation and powerlessness of the poorest of the poor. One could observe that poor people lacked the means of communicating with the nation; even with their own immediate community authorities. Hence, there was very little flow of information from the rural areas to the centres of power. Also, because of extreme poverty there has been a wide spread of illiteracy, which limits the spread of the written press. The following are the constraints to participation in TBC communication from the perspective of the focus group participants and media and communication experts.

7.4.1. The Implication of Government Ownership, Media Laws and Policies on TBC Programme Production and Broadcasting

Broadcasting for poverty eradication is investigative in nature because it critically examines, evaluates and reports on the relevance of development and poverty eradication schemes for national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation, and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by

government officials and as it actually is. The results from both in-depth interviews and

focus groups show that TBC has not managed to come out with critical and well-

investigated programmes which expose grand corruption, failure of government institutions

to offer services to people, and the wrongdoing of government officials. Ng'wanakilala

explained:

> When you are the system you advance the course of the system. You can only
> propagate the system. I have been there. I know how it works. TBC exactly
> doesn't have a choice. You can follow certain issues only when those issues are
> obvious, like tracing a policeman getting a bribe from some drivers on the
> road.…and put that as a news item, and people would think that TBC is doing a
> good job. But you need to go further, for example, on the question of poverty.
> As TBC, you can't discuss poverty as a result of inequality. You will have to
> say and put more weight on what the government is doing to eradicate poverty.
> (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

The researcher found that investigating the successes and failures of poverty

eradication schemes is hampered by the fact that the government and media laws control

TBC (See Chapters 3, 4 and 6). Further, Ng'wanakilala pointed out that "TBC operates

under a legal and political environment which does not fully promote justice, social

security, equality and human dignity." Hence TBC has not managed to move a step farther

from traditional functions of information, education and entertainment to a critical stage of

questioning the policies and actions of all those who have social, economic and political

power over the lives of ordinary people. Due to this, the participants perceive TBC as part

and parcel of promoting bad policies and injustice in the country. Ng'wanakilala argued,

"TBC is part of injustice because it is part of the system and by being part of the system it

can't reject itself." Thus, TBC has to compromise, leave out some issues which it

considers, when reported, could harm the government. Thus, the government influenced

TBC coverage and contents of its programmes. This is due to fact that "the contents of the

media always reflect the interests of those who finance them" (McQuail, 2000, p. 198).

That is the position of the media in the world. As a rule any media plays within the rules of the owner (Mwakawago, 1986; Ng'wanakilala, 1981). It is very difficult for the media to become independent of the owner, which is very interesting. For Ng'wanakilala, if the government is doing what it did fifty years ago and it failed to eradicate poverty, it can't eradicate poverty now.

> Fifty years and you are still in poverty and you have TBC. It seems TBC is part and parcel of domination and injustice. It might inform, but it will be difficult for it to transform because transformation needs a radical change of the status quo. I am not sure if TBC can advance the course of good leadership and call for that. I have yet to see. But then I see the awkward position of TBC. It can only do certain things which are allowed within its mandate. Any director who tries to do more than that will forfeit his job. (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

Interestingly, participants in the focus groups and in-depth interviews were very sceptical on the relationship between the government and TBC as an independent PSB. Thus, one could observe that the relationship between the government and TBC affected the ability of TBC to function as a watchdog, since it had no editorial independence or freedom to access and broadcast information which is considered 'harmful' to the government. Further, the participants pointed out that, as long as TBC was under government control, its ability to serve, as a tool for participatory communication for poverty eradication remained highly questionable. Consequently, this raised a fundamental question on the credibility and accountability of TBC as a dependable source of information which could really help people to transform their lives. The participants added that lack of editorial independence and freedom left TBC incapable of investigating and exposing corruption and the wrongdoing of government officials. Thus, one could argue that TBC lacked the qualities of "altruism" and functioned as an egoistic tool – the self-interest of the political elite and the government who control it. For Lowe (2010) altruism

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is fundamental to the ethos of PSB since "its functions are essentially about giving services to the people as a collective, to benefit their social welfare as a commonwealth" (p. 21).

Further, Prof. Issa Shivji, a retired professor of law, argued that fighting poverty must go hand in hand with the struggle for democracy and free media in Tanzania. Shivji claimed, "Poverty eradication and sustainable development cannot be achieved without the active and voluntary involvement of the people in discussing freely and equally about the wellbeing and future of their country." Thus, "if we suppose there to be a 'right to communicate', then we also suppose an equal claim for all to hear and be heard" (McQuail, 1992, p. 67). Therefore, minority's views must be respected in order to have fair dialogue and discussion on the wellbeing and interests of the nation and its people (ibid.). Likewise, Voltmer (2000) argued that, "Mass media as public fora are expected to represent the whole range of political (socio-economic) perspectives and to give fair access to all political (socio-economic) actors who aim at addressing the public" (p. 3). Thus, it can be asserted that a free PSB facilitates the public in making their own collective, binding decisions, which are not imposed by dominant actors in the government. Prof. Shivji condemned self-censorship practised by TBC journalists who fear to lose their jobs for exposing the wrong doings of the government or some government officials. Shivji's argument is reflected in Karl Marx's argument when he wrote in 1842 that:

> The censored press has a demoralising effect. It is potentiated evil, from which hypocrisy is inseparable, and from which this fundamental evil flow all its other weaknesses. The government hears only its own voice, it knows that it hears its own voice, and yet fixes itself in the delusion it is hearing the voice of the people, and the demands of the people that they, too, affix to this delusion. But the people, for their part, sink into political superstition, partly into disbelief, or, totally turned away from statal life, become private rabble. By having to regard free writing as lawless, they get used to regarding the lawless as free, freedom as lawlessness. This is how censorship kills the spirit of state. (Quoted in Kunczik, 1988, p. 73)

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Moreover, both focus group and in-depth interview participants' views coincided in saying that domination of TBC by the political system in Tanzania translated into an unfavourable perception of the government and TBC itself and self-censorship of TBC journalists. Consequently, the negative perception of TBC by the participants raised a fundamental question among the participants of the credibility and accountability of TBC as a dependable source, since it was regarded as a mouthpiece of the government. Ng'wanakilala argued, "Partial presentation of reality which characterizes TBC content constitutes a weak political framework which hinders the effective function of TBC." He added that "the absence of a free and dynamic media system that can educate the growing population of Tanzania contributes enormously in the backwardness and deterioration of the quality and standard of living in Tanzania." Another participant, Privatus Karugendo, a freelance journalist and a Catholic priest, pointed out that "the government controls over TBC generate a weak, self interested and largely dependent journalistic status quo that perpetuates a sense of insecurity among the citizens." Thus, with the lack of editorial independence and freedom, the concepts of "accountable journalism" discussed in (Kilimwiko, 2002 and MISA, 2000) are inconceivable in the face of a manipulated TBC. The Director of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Joseph Butiku, argued that the absence of critical analysis and scrutiny on TBC "removes effective checks on the government wrong doings that paves the way - the express way -- to corruption, and mismanagement is flung wide open, leading to a devastated economy and rampant poverty."

Also, the participants in all focus groups felt that TBC was not free to air 'sensitive' issues about the government. From his point of view, a male participant in focus group one, Bakari, a 25 years old who holds a diploma and had access to mobile phone and the

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internet, argued that:

> TBC has its guidelines on how to cover events. And probably TBC fears to reveal the truth. For example on agriculture, there is a minister responsible for agriculture, and if TBC reveals what is going on in the agricultural sector that means TBC is exposing the incompetence of the minister responsible for agriculture. To avoid that tag of war with the minister, TBC shows success only. They fear that they might cause some trouble between them and the minister. Even our members of parliament are like that; they don't ask serious issues in the parliament. They are afraid of being accused of causing trouble to the government. (Focus Group One)

Most of the focus group participants believed that, since the government owns TBC, TBC couldn't go contrary to the wishes of the government and broadcast information which may humiliate the government. They said TBC couldn't expose the suffering of the people, which is not in the interest of the government, unless other media are used, but not TBC. A female participant in focus group seven, Tunu, 40 years with primary school education and had access to mobile phone, echoed the above comments when she said:

> TBC cannot broadcast what doesn't please the government. It is owned by the government. It is like my daughter undressing me. Therefore they ignore those sensitive issues in the villages. There are very few incidents whereby they broadcast what is happening in the villages; these incidents are very rare. For example, there was an environmental pollution problem in Nyamongo in Mara region. Only Star TV went there to broadcast the news. TBC commented nothing on that sensitive issue of spillage of chemical waste in the river from Barrick Gold mines. (Focus Group Seven)

Further, all focus groups participants believed that, since TBC is owned by government, it is not ready to cover government failures because it is part of government machinery. Therefore it cannot turn against its master. A male participant, Augustine, 28 years old, holding a diploma, with access to mobile phone and the internet, said:

> They report what they think is good for the government's image, but we don't get the true picture of what is going on in rural Tanzania at all. I believed that TBC must be censoring some programmes to make sure that people do not embarrass the rulers. (Focus Group Five)

Another participant, Kisendi, male, 65 years old, with primary school education and

had access to mobile phone, claimed:

> Most of the phone-in programmes are just a joke because no serious questions are asked. It seems there is some kind of censorship behind the scene which is taking place. They allow some people who they know will not ask difficult questions. For example in *Twambie* (Tell Us) programme if you have a very sensitive question, they don't give you a chance. Even if they give you a chance, if they sense that you are asking a very difficult question to a minister, they hang up the phone and they say, 'there is a bad network so we go to the next caller'. That is how they divert from difficult questions being asked of ministers and the president. (Focus Group Two)

Moreover, the researcher discovered programmes aired on TBC from the government departments were not reviewed at TBC to check their quality and relevance to the audience, simply because they were produced by government. This type of control implied that the government is always right. Okgibo (1995) argued that public broadcasting in Africa is controlled because of its potential as a political weapon and transformational tool. "Public broadcasting has been constrained by an insidious culture of political patronage, which adulated politicians and government officials, and discouraged any unfamiliar creative methods" (p. 163). Thus, by not checking the quality and relevance of the programmes from the government departments, TBC consolidated its role as government mouthpiece rather than a PSB, while turning a blind eye to its principles of serving the public with high quality programmes.

According to the UNESCO reports (2011 and 2006), democracy, freedom of information and the right to know are as important as development itself because the concepts are mutually supportive. Thus, in contemporary democracies the media have three functions which are interconnected and overlapping in practice: "They should: 1) safeguard the flow of information; 2) provide the forum for public discussion and about political ideas; and 3) act as a public watchdog against the abuse of power" (Stromback, 2005, p. 332). These functions are accompanied by three principles - freedom, equality and control

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that are used in an attempt to measure the performance of the media for democracy (Trappel, 2010). "Freedom consists of three types of rights: political, civil and social (socio-economic) rights" (p. 43). These rights which are considered as preconditions for citizens to actively participate in decision-making enable citizens to enjoy freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of association, and freedom of information (ibid.).

Thus, in this thesis, the concept of media freedom is not only about journalists airing their stories freely, it is also about the audience being free to access the media and enjoy their rights to communicate their views and express their needs. According to Ng'wanakilala most of Tanzanians have been denied the right to access and use TBC as their tool to influence decision-making. He said, "TBC is incapacitated by its own policy of serving the empire and forgetting the citizens." This was reflected in most of TBC programmes, which were urban-government oriented, with very few covering the rural areas. That means most of the rural population, where 80% of the population live, have been denied their right of accessing or participating in TBC programmes simply because TBC journalists could not reach them. The rural population don't have access to TBC like the powerful elite and officials who live in urban areas and enjoy the wide coverage of TBC. Ng'wanakilala insisted that for TBC to perform its role as tool for participatory communication for poverty eradication, people should have equal access to it. Thus, this thesis confirms that media freedom is also about the right of the audience to access the media to raise their voices as UNESCO (2006) asserted.

Equality in a democracy means equal status of all citizens before the law and in access to public services. In the context of TBC, "equality calls for an absence of discrimination in the amount or bias in the kind of access available on channels for all

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alternative voices, so far as practicable" (Trappel, 2010, p. 44). Also TBC and the people of Tanzania should have free access to information and utilise the advantages of participatory communication, which enhances political and socio-economic awareness. Ng'wanakilala stressed that the full participation of people in discussions and dialogues about their livelihood on an independent national media is a prerequisite for achieving sustainable development and poverty eradication, and "it is very unfortunate that TBC has not been in such position so far." Ng'wanakilala's argument concurred with the Bellagio symposium on media, freedom and poverty in a statement quoted in Deane (2005, p. 190-191), which reads:

> People living in poverty face particular obstacles to achieving freedom of expression and access to the media which are associated with the conditions of poverty. These obstacles include economic, social, educational, logistical, and political factors. Economic factors include the cost of equipment for production, distribution and reception, and the costs of operations; social obstacles include gender and language; educational obstacles include literacy and language; logistic obstacles include transport, physical access and electricity; political obstacles include repression and lack of many states to allow democratic expression and to give voice to the most marginalised groups, as well as censorship by government, commercial and social interests. The interests and concerns of people living in poverty are not sufficiently exposed in the media.

Finally, focus group participants wanted TBC journalists to work for the interests of the public by being the eyes and ears of the general public and act on behalf of the general public. They said they have the right to know what is going on in the government and the nation at large. They added that the government, which is a general public body, has no right to deny journalists, or the general public, the right to access information, which in one way or another affects the wellbeing of the public. A female participant, Mayeji, 45 years old, holding a diploma, but with no access to mobile phone or the internet, suggested that:

> The producers and presenters should not fear the leaders. They must be professional. They should reveal the truth because we rely on them to expose

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the wrong doing in our society. If TBC becomes biased and stops telling the truth, then it will make us stop listening to its programmes. If something has really happened it should be exposed, even if the leaders hate you because of being impartial. (Focus Group Four)

Academics and Tanzania Media Council have been encouraging TBC journalists to work with no fear so long that they don't violate journalism's codes of ethics. However TBC journalists revealed they that were not confident enough to work in such manner due to the fact that with current legal and political systems in place it is impossible for them to achieve impartial and honest journalism on TBC.

7.4.2. Centralisation of TBC Programming and Broadcasting

The findings from in-depth interviews show that the government departments prefer the centralised approach because it gives the government an upper hand in controlling the content of the programmes, which comes from its departments. The Director General of TBC, Tido Mhando, argued that, "TBC through the centralised approach has succeeded in getting poverty eradication messages to reach the audiences and in making the audiences aware of some basic facts and figures which trigger them to fight poverty." Nonetheless, Dr. Jacob Ilkiuyoni, an expert in communication for development, criticised the centralised approach for being "not effective in getting poverty eradication messages to reach target audiences and to create a conducive climate in which the target audiences could easily understand the messages, willingly accept their suggestions and demands, and readily and positively implement them." He said the centralised approach was neither participatory nor the best way to motivate the audience to engage in poverty eradication schemes. He argued:

Centralised programming has very little chance of achieving maximum effective communication, due to the fact that the process of producing and airing the programmes is based on the assumption that there are people to listen or watch whatever comes on radio or television….shooting in the darkness with no actual target. (Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th February 2010)

The relevance and usefulness of programmes on poverty eradication, one can argue,

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needs the active participation of target audiences at the disseminating end, and some form of organized action at the reception end, like radio forum and television forum, which do not exist at this moment in the case of TBC.

Traditionally, the PSB model is based on a commitment to universal dissemination of content services as a public good (McNair, 2005). Similarly, Tracey (1998) argued that the aim of PSB is not to maximise audiences or to please all of the people all of the time, but rather to guarantee diversity in the schedule, driven by a desire to make well produced programmes that "can please a lot of the people a lot of the time, and everybody some of the time" (p. 27). But for the case of TBC, Dr. Ilkiuyoni argued that, "The problem of agriculture, for example, is not the same all over the country; for example, Bukoba and Moshi talk coffee, Mwanza talks cotton and other areas could talk of other things." Hence centralised programmes on TBC are irrelevant to the audience, since they don't focus on the audience's needs. For example, the audience in Mtwara would want to hear more on the cashew nuts season but you would find TBC is dramatising sunflower farming in Singida, while it is not the sunflower planting season. Thus, one would observe that most of TBC's centralised programmes especially on agriculture do not meet the desires of the targeted audiences – the message is carried all over to the audiences and leaving no impact because of assuming that there is someone listening while there is none.

Further, Ng'wanakilala argued that, "Most of TBC programmes on poverty eradication are not effective in mobilising the mass because they are produced in Dar es Salaam, focusing on Dar es Salaam only, leaving out the rural areas." Hence TBC is reaching the rural population with Dar es Salaam material and thus alienating the rural population. Ng'wanakilala argued, "The audience is not general. Audiences are individuals,

and unless you isolate them from this mass of all these audiences you can't get them." It can be argued that the audiences are not one mass which is waiting for one message. They want to have different messages. This argument raises two questions; one was on TBC reaching audiences with relevant programmes which meet their needs; the second was on the decentralisation of the TBC broadcasting system, since TBC has studios which used to house RTD zone broadcasting stations in different parts of the country, which could stand on their own as radio stations. However, there are some programmes which are relevant to all segments of the audience, for example, health, women empowerment and financial management programmes which could be produced at the local level but still have great impact on the national level.

7.4.3. TBC Programmes are Too General and Urban Oriented

Most of the focus group participants claimed that TBC programmes are too general and don't offer in-depth analysis. They also pointed out that in Tanzania people's subsistence and economic activities are diverse, like agriculture, pastoralism and fishing in the rural areas, and civic and industrial workers in urban areas. As Bakari, a male participant in focus group one, pointed out: "Communication and information needs of these people are bound to be different and need a differentiated content as well…as is the case of TBC, broadcasts for one sector may alienate audiences in another." It was found in other focus groups that whenever there is a programme which is irrelevant to them, they either tune to other stations or switch off their receivers or just leave it on but pay no attention to the message on radio or television. This explains the need of establishing regional stations. Moreover, the participants claimed that most of TBC programmes are too urban oriented. This concurs with the revelations made by TBC Director General Tido

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Mhando that TBC broadcasting output was predominantly urban. He said Dar es Salaam

alone, for example, is the source for 41% of all domestic news items. The regions outside

Dar es Salaam account for 56% of news, which unfortunately, due to urban-based reporters,

are also urban-oriented. The rural areas and villages are rarely mentioned unless some

government minister from Dar es Salaam or the regional headquarters tours them. Thus,

one could observe that the rural population was neglected by TBC by not giving them

enough coverage on the national radio and television, which is contrary to PSB's principle

of universal access. This concurs with Raboy (1995) who argued that national PSBs have

"tendency to abandon local and regional needs as they entrench around high profile

prestigious national services" (p. 34).

7.4.4. Limited Time and Timing

The researcher found that TBC allocated limited time to broadcast programmes on

poverty eradication because of government pressure and commercial interests.

Ng'wanakilala believed that "TBC is incapacitated and can do little in terms of poverty

reduction. And thus needs other actors who will be there to help or introduce zone

broadcasting." He pointed out that TBC is dealing with everything from culture, music and

politics to international football, and when the election comes or when there is a state visit

or government function, TBC forgets poverty.

> They forget everything. They concentrate on elections and then they
> concentrate on the leader of the day. He has to be promoted, that is the role of
> TBC. Therefore it can't talk poverty at the same time. That is why I say that it
> could be the question of decentralisation. Even beyond that (decentralisation)
> because with decentralisation if they leave that policy (TBC dealing with
> everything) they mean nothing but just duplicating the same programmes, the
> same policy from the centre to the region to the village. (Interview with
> Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

Scholars like Okigbo (1995) and Raboy (1995) observed that most of PSBs in

developing countries spend most of their time in promoting their governments. Similarly, the findings in this thesis show that the government leaders in Tanzania were given more priority than the people, but what the populace do is more important, because that is an example in concrete terms of how people can eradicate extreme poverty. Ng'wanakilala revealed that if there were a parliament session, TBC would cover the parliament live from 9.00 to 17.00 without a break. He added TBC would have nothing else: "Because 70% (of time is used) on leadership, 20% on music and football, and only 10% is available for the other things and that is the reality. So much airtime is spent on promoting the empire…" Thus, one could argue that participatory communication on TBC is limited by the time allocated for programmes geared toward poverty eradication.

7.4.5. Content and Coverage of TBC Programmes

The participants in all focus groups criticised the content of some of TBC programmes on agriculture, which were produced by the Ministry of Agriculture, for showing the success side of the story rather showing how that success came about. A female participant in focus group one, Maimuna, 55 years old, with primary school education, and had access to mobile phone, said: "On PADEP programmes, we just hear that a certain village in Iringa has succeeded to harvest a lot of maize in the last season. But they don't tell us what that village did to achieve that big harvest." She claimed that the audience don't see how a traditional farming is transformed by using modern agricultural techniques. What is shown is the effect of using modern farming methods instead of the whole process from clearing a farm all the way to harvesting. Hence, the people learnt little from such programmes. Moreover, another female participant in focus group five, Regina, 40 years old, with primary school education, and had no access to mobile phone or the

internet, raised her concerns:

> Some programmes are for showing off only like this PADEP programme. They show people…who have sponsors. If Oxfam are in their area, it is the one, which organises, persuades and mobilizes the people to engage in agricultural activities. At the end of the day these people perform well and improve their lives. (Focus Group Five)

Further, all focus group participants blamed TBC for not going to the villages. A female participant in focus group one, Zuena, 28 years old, with primary school education and had access to mobile phone, commented: "TBC is supposed to raise the concerns of the people in the villages. It is very unfortunate that TBC doesn't reach the villages and talk to the poorest of the poor." Another female participant, Nyambura, 25 years old, holding a diploma, and had access to mobile phone, echoed these comments:

> The major problem of TBC is that most of its programmes are urban oriented…. What we are asking TBC to do is to visit the villages. I was watching the other day when they visited children with disabilities in Lindi and Songea.... That programme had great impact all over the country; people came forward and encouraged the disabled to go to school. If TBC visits people, it makes their problems known and those in charge accountable. We know TBC cannot reach every village, but showing us what affects people's life in one village can be a wakeup call to others who are suffering from a similar problem. (Focus Group Three).

When TBC journalists were asked why they don't go to the villages, they said that there was no money to travel to the rural areas. One of TBC journalists, P1, revealed that "normally TBC journalists go to villages when there is a government leader visiting a certain village or when NGOs like Oxfam, Caritas and World Vision have something to show them in order to create awareness in the country." Thus, TBC neglects the poor while knowing that its programmes could help to create awareness and give people a chance to question the government about their welfare.

7.4.6. Language Used on TBC Programmes

The findings from the focus groups show that some of TBC programmes, especially

those produced by the government departments, do not use a common language of communication -- Kiswahili. The presenters -- normally experts from the government -- mix English and Kiswahili. Kiswahili is the national language, which is widely spoken by 99% of the population in Tanzania. Very few Tanzanians in rural areas speak English. A male participant, James, 40 years old, a university graduate who had access to mobile phone and internet explained:

> The language used on PADEP and Economy programmes is too technical for a villager to understand. Most of presenters mix language. Most of the experts who are invited to discuss issues on development on radio or television also mix English and Kiswahili to show that they are educated people of high status but that does not help people. Actually the language they use, mixing English and Kiswahili, with technical terms, leaves the poor and illiterate out of the equation. So the targeted audience do not benefit from the experts on television and radio programmes. (Focus Group Five)

The issue of language use and the complications the audiences faced was a major concern of all focus groups participants. They argued that experts used technical terms, which were not understood by the rural and urban poor population, who are mainly illiterate. The participants said the information on the types of seeds or fertilisers to use for farming were complex and technical. Names of measurements like millilitres, centilitres, percentages, square metre, hectare and milligrams, just to mention a few, are unfamiliar to a majority of peasants and urban poor population. One could observe that due to the complexity of the information on radio or television the messages become irrelevant to the majority of the receivers -- the peasants and urban poor population. Thus, TBC programmes which used technical language, regardless of the relevance of the information, failed to motivate recipients to use the techniques communicated. Thus, knowledge sharing and effective participatory communication is all about reciprocal understanding between the senders and receivers of information by using simple, clear language that cuts across

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their demographic characteristics. The rationale underlying this argument is that "uniform and adequate comprehension of development messages is a necessary condition for effective decision-making by receivers" (Melkote, 1991, p. 259).

7.4.7. Lack of Audience Feed-forward and/or Feedback Mechanism

Lowe (2010) argued that knowing what is going on within and outside a company is vital in building a successful, competitive, stronger company; otherwise the company will become weaker, less competitive and collapse. "The firm must constantly mine information and develop into knowledge that is valuable, unique and difficult to imitate" (p. 22). Likewise, Dr. Ilkiuyoni argued, "Knowing the audience is an important aspect of broadcasting because it is just like the doctor who sees the patient." Usually the doctor asks the patient what is bothering him or her. The doctor makes a differential diagnosis depending on the disease the patient is suffering from. If the doctor discovers the disease, for example malaria, then the doctor administers treatment. The doctor does not simply conclude from the symptoms explained by the patient how to treat the patient because there are so many diseases which have similar symptoms. Knowing the disease is key to the doctor treating the patient effectively. Applying this analogy on TBC communication as a tool for poverty eradication, Dr. Ilkiuyoni argued that TBC does not know the patient, especially the rural audiences, because most of its TBC programmes on development are urban based, covering what the government and the elite are prescribing. He said, "Unless you know your audiences you cannot know their needs." One could argue that knowing the audiences makes it possible to broadcast programmes that open up on something pertaining to their needs and explaining to them where they could go for help to meet their needs. Moreover, one could argue that after knowing the audience you can give them what they

need, then you can continue building on what you know about your audience so that at the end of the day you know at least you have covered a certain area either by making the audience aware of their needs or by satisfying their curiosity. Consequently, you find that you have enabled the audience to try, and you have given the resources to all the avenues that the audience can use when they try this on their own.

Further, Dr. Ilkiuyoni cautioned: "…if you don't know your audiences, you don't know their level of understanding, interests, capacity to implement the programme message, and even their problems with the reception... Because of that, broadcasting becomes irrelevant to the audiences." For programmes on poverty eradication to be progressive, one would argue, TBC needs to have a feed-forward and/or feedback mechanism of getting information from the audience. Although the researcher found that TBC captured feed-forward and/or feedback information from the audiences through using text messages, phone, rarely emails and interpersonal contacts, it had no proper mechanism of coordinating and analysing feed-forward and/or feedback information in order to improve the quality of programmes. Therefore, it was difficult for TBC to measure and know exactly the impact of its programmes in transforming the audiences' attitudes. Due to funding problems, Tido acknowledged that, "even the mobile phone texts or calls which come in on live programmes like news have no coordinator to compile and analyse them," in order to come up with an upgraded programme, so that what goes on air next time is built on what was corrected from the previous programme. TBC journalists revealed that it came down to personal initiatives to get the feedback from their audiences. The revelation resonated with Dr. Ilkiuyoni's claim that TBC had no follow-up on the programmes to make them effective.

It is about assuming that the audience may like the programme. But the
question is whether you are helping the audiences to move one more step from
where they were yesterday. If it is a question of collection of what you have
deposited, that is just like throwing stones in a collection of stones without
order. They are not building a wall. The messages are not building a wall; they
are building a hill of problems or confusion. It is pollution. You are polluting
them with something which is redundant. (Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th
February 2010)

It can be argued that audiences are reluctant to tune to TBC because TBC has not

been listening to how audiences are receiving it, whether they are enjoying the certain

aspect of its programme, or what module do they want -- whether they would want TBC to

interview somebody in the village and present him/her on behalf of the village as cases of

success stories or cases of weaknesses, so that TBC would dissect the area and then show

the audiences what is happening and what the problems are. At the end of the programme

TBC would tell them, 'this is what we have covered.' One could observe that there is

nothing of that sort on TBC. Further, Dr. Ilkiuyoni added that TBC programmes do not

suggest the solutions towards poverty eradication in Tanzania in a sustainable manner

because no structures have been put in place by the government to empower TBC and the

people to make a follow up and implement what is said on the programmes. "In most cases

on TBC programmes, it is rarely mentioned what the next programme is all about" he said.

In broadcasting for development, the audiences want to know what is coming on air

tomorrow so that they can add on to what they have, and after some time they may go to

the government department responsible and get more help (Metcalf, Harford, & Myers,

2007).Further, the researcher found that TBC did not have forum follow-ups in the rural

areas which are catered for by the TBC. Dr. Ilkiuyoni argued that:

The question of how to build the groups, how to continue building on those
groups so they are strong enough to continue on their own, is out of question.
They don't do it. If they have it on paper, wonderful. May they please

implement these on the ground so that their talk can mean their walk.
(Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th February 2010)

Melkote (1991, 2002) cautioned that unless a communication strategy includes a two-way flow of messages, unless the communication strategy makes sure that rural people have access to adequate channels and express themselves in freedom, and unless the authorities are willing to listen to the messages which come from the country-side and to learn from them, the 'best' of such strategy will come to naught. Hence one could observe that the lack of audience forums in Tanzania has resulted in less impact of TBC programmes in motivating people to engage in agriculture in the rural areas, because there is no supplementary information and support from government administrators, which could be available in the forums to help people to transform their lives.

7.4.8. TBC Focuses More on Commercials and Entertainment

Market oriented PSB is increasingly becoming a vehicle for popular mass entertainment as audiences see radio and television "more as tools for entertainment rather than for purposive learning for development" (Okigbo, 1995, p. 276). Hence, there is a difficulty of balancing development communication and the pressure from the market as revealed in this study. The participants in all focus groups complained that TBC was airing more entertainment programmes than educational programmes. The participants revealed that it was a norm on TBC to remove development programmes from the schedule in order to broadcast the English Premier League until the end of the football season. The participants stated that soaps from USA and European football were irrelevant and do not help people to fight extreme poverty. However, the participants admitted that European football, soaps and movies from USA are very popular among the youth and thus attract more adverts on TBC. As the Director General of TBC's remarks revealed in chapter six,

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TBC received very little money from the government, hence selling as much air time as possible was the only way to generate funds. Consequently, one could observe that TBC had started to consider audiences not as citizens but as mere consumers to be delivered to the market. Thus, thesis contributes to knowledge by confirming that the concept of neo-liberalism embraced by the government has penetrated into the heart of the PSB concept in Tanzania and turned TBC into a commercial enterprise very eager to maximize profit through commodification of the airtime, which would have been used to serve the audience with educational participatory programmes. Like the Bellagio Symposium on media, freedom and poverty, this thesis confirms that the economic and market pressures on the media are de-prioritising investigative journalism and reporting on issues which affect people the most due the fact that "the poor do not constitute a viable market, issues of concern to them are increasingly and particularly marginalised (Deane, 2005, p. 191).

Further, one could argue that neo-liberalism in Tanzania has led not only to a mushrooming of media, but also to the emergence of a consumer-led and urban-centred public broadcasting system, which is less interested in the concerns of the poor people in both urban and rural areas. The poorest of the poor are marginalised and they are even denied their basic human right of expressing their opinions, guaranteed by Article 18 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977, as amended in 1998. This is contrary to the MacBride Report which suggested that the right to communicate "promises to advance the democratization of communication on all levels – international, national, local, individual" (MacBride 1980, p. 171). The participants also criticised most of the imported entertainment programmes that have lead to the deterioration of morals among the youths. Some participants said that normally their adolescent children awake after

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midnight to watch adult western drama series or movies, and due to that it could be argued

that TBC1 plays a big role promoting western culture in Tanzania.

7.4.9. The Impact of Lack Good Leadership and Government Inefficiency on the Contribution of TBC Programmes in Eradicating Poverty from the In-depth Interviewees' Perspective

The study findings show that the inefficiency of the government in supporting

poverty eradication schemes affected the impact of TBC programmes on poverty

eradication at the grassroots. Many studies on poverty eradication claim that lack of good

leadership, political will, good governance, rule of law and inefficiency of the governments

in addressing the causes and solutions towards poverty eradication with clear policies and

effective schemes are among the major obstacles to poverty eradication in the developing

countries (Friedmann, 1992; Watkins, 1995; Sachs, 2005; Townsend, 1993). Poverty

eradication needs good leadership and effective governance (Nyerere, 1968).

Equally,Ng'wanakilala, believed that "Poverty eradication and efficient government with

good leadership are two faces of a coin." An efficient government with committed-good

leadership, which can make right decisions at the right time and execute their

implementation, is what is needed to achieve sustainable people-centred development and

poverty eradication. He argued, "The Tanzanian government is not efficient in

implementing its policies geared towards eradicating extreme poverty." Similarly, the

Director of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Mr. Joseph Butiku, stated that:

> Our leaders, our rulers don't know why Tanzania is poor. How can the government eradicate poverty? The government has failed to combat grand corruption, reduce its expenditure, and set out banking regulations which empower the poorest of the poor to obtain loans from a bank for their projects in the villages. (Interview with Joseph Butiku on 29th July 2010)

Likewise, Prof. Shivji argued that, "If the government system is corrupt and

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inefficient, then it is difficult for the media messages to be effective at the grassroots while the government is not committed to implementing the messages." Equally, Dr. Ilkiuyoni argued that government inefficiency is caused by the government dependency on development policies from donor communities like IMF and World Bank. He explained:

> These policies, like Vision 2025 and NSGRP, do not reflect the reality on the ground and they are top down, not participatory. These policies do not aim at eradicating extreme poverty, but at reducing it, and because of that there has been deterioration in the standard of living. Most of people in the rural areas are suffering more than they were in 1990. (Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th February 2010)

Thus, one would argue that the lack of good leadership and good policies, which put people at the centre of development, affected the effectiveness of TBC participatory communication in mobilising people to implement government policies and programmes on eradicating poverty.

Moreover, the findings show that the ministry responsible for poverty eradication was not even communicating with the people, as revealed by the Director of Poverty at the Ministry of Finance and Planning, Mrs Anna Mwasha, saying that, "My department, which is responsible for reduction of extreme poverty, has no television or radio programme on poverty reduction." It makes one to wonder how on earth a government declares a war on poverty and yet its department responsible for poverty 'reduction' does not have a single programme on its own media about poverty 'reduction'! She also acknowledged that bad leadership, bad governance and lack of accountability of some leaders and government officials were responsible for making Tanzanians extremely poor. She explained:

> "You can have a very good system, but to some extent, if not all of you are committed, you end up in failure. We need to have a very strong leadership from every angle. Committed leadership, accountable and ethical, because in the department we just coordinate, but there are those who implement, for

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example, the local government. They have to be accountable." (Interview with Anna Mwasha on 4th March 2010)

Thus, Aristotle was right when he argued in his book, The Nicomachean Ethics: Book 1, The Good for Man" that "The science of the good for man is politics" (p.1).

Moreover, Aristotle explained:

> ...for it (politics) is that ordains which of the sciences should be studied in a state, and which each class of citizens should learn and up to what point they should learn them; and we see even the most highly esteemed of capacities to fall under this, e.g. strategy, economics, rhetoric. Now, since politics uses the rest of the sciences, and since, again, it legislates as to what we are to do and what we are to abstain from, the end of this science must include those of the others, so that this end must be the good for man (p. 2).

Further, Ng'wanakilala considered "poverty eradication as a war which Tanzanians have to win in order to attain economic independence." He said the TBC has a vital role to play in order to liberate Tanzanians from the shackles of extreme poverty. However, he warned that, "TBC participatory communication cannot be effective if the government is not on the frontline fighting poverty." In comparing how committed the government is in winning the current war against poverty using TBC with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, Ng'wanakilala argued that TBC did a very good job when it was called RTD during the liberation struggle for Southern Africa, because RTD was on the frontline. But then President Nyerere was also on the frontline, the country Tanzania was on the frontline. He explained:

> TBC had offered air space and time for all liberation movements in Southern Africa – Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Now you have a very interesting situation here; we are not fighting a 'liberation war', but to me poverty is a liberation war. When you want full freedom or full liberation then make your people less poor and would say that TBC would do. But then when I look at TBC as a medium of the leadership and business, now you are getting back to the old same mess. So what is given a priority are the leadership and those policies. And if policies are wrong, then that will be dramatised again and reinforced by TBC. (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

Thus a wrong policy so long as it comes from the government becomes the right

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policy, which is then reinforced to the listeners. Therefore, one can argue that TBC is doing more harm than good by simply propagating policies which are not helping the people. But then TBC has no choice because it belongs to the government. As reviewed in chapter two, the 21st century is witnessing a sharp increase in global wealth, as well as an alarming spread of global poverty and inequality because the World Bank acts as a bank by turning development into a powerful business fuelled by loans with huge interest rates (Thomas, 2008). Thus, the findings above contribute to knowledge by explaining why extreme poverty is increasing in Tanzania as well as showing how the government uses TBC to promote 'poverty reduction' policies from the World Bank -- a top-down communication from Washington to Dar es Salaam to the villages. Hence, people at the grassroots 'unconsciously' are mobilised to implement the policies, which make their livelihood worse. In fact, by promoting 'poverty reduction' policies, the government and TBC breach article 9 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 as amended in 1998, which states that:

> The state authority and all its agencies are obliged to direct their policies and programmes towards ensuring: (i) that the use of national resources places emphasis on the development of the people and in particular is geared towards the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease. (URT, 1998, p. 19)

Although Nyerere (1967, 1973) wanted to build a Tanzania which embraced a participatory model of people-centred development, one can observe that in reality political leaders in Tanzania of today are addicted to the modernisation model. One could observe that all policies on poverty eradication in Tanzania were formulated in Washington. The policies are not people-centred. The top-down communication approach is widely used by the government to communicate policies. Hence, the policies do more harm to the livelihood of the people in Tanzania, since they offer the solution of "reducing" extreme

poverty rather than "eradicating" extreme poverty, and that is why extreme poverty is increasing, as discussed in chapter two. White (2009) explained how modernization is still a dominant paradigm:

> The modernization model based on the political-economic power of local elites continues to impose itself. For every development problem, the answer which political leaders seek is not the empowerment of grassroots initiatives but one more massive monetary infusion from entities such as the World Bank, the IMF or other international investment agency. These funds obviously go into the hands of the modernizing elites, and little if anything trickles down to the people. (p. 206)

Consequently, the participatory model for development and communication is more of a dream than a reality in Africa, Tanzania in particular (White, 2009). This is because participatory communication poses a threat to the existing structure, and genuine participation in communication is not in the interest of the elite because it directly threatens their power positions (Servaes, 1996a). Thus, there is both overt and covert resistance from the elite, who ensure that grass-roots information, which exposes the abuse of power and government inefficiency, is not exposed on TBC. Thus, one would argue that the only fundamental solution to this problem is the people themselves at the grassroots to form and join a socio-political movement -- through ballot boxes -- which places power solidly in people's hands, and form a democratic government subservient to the people.

In showing a correlation between the efficiency of the government and the effectiveness of TBC programmes in poverty eradication, TBC journalist P1 argued that "TBC is trying its best to educate and encourage people to produce more, though in difficult conditions, but the government is not efficient in creating markets for agricultural products produced by the peasants in the villages." If the government is not working hard to improve the infrastructures and create markets, then one would argue that TBC's efforts

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in motivating people to produce more so that they could eradicate poverty in their lives by selling their crops and get money become useless. P1 cited an example that in 2008 there was a radio and television campaign mobilising people in southern regions of Tanzania to produce more rice and maize since the country was at a brink of facing hunger due to the forecast droughts. He revealed that people worked really hard and produced enough food, but there was no means for them to get a good market due to poor transportation system.

> In Dar es Salaam one kilogram of rice is 1500 shillings. But the price in Mbalali is 300 shillings. We don't have the infrastructures to support production and markets. The peasants are producing but have no market for their crops…what is produced rots in the farms…There is an investor in Korogwe who is exploiting people because he buys oranges at a very low price. Though there is an orange processing industry in Koregwe, still people have not benefited from it because of the low price they get…. When you look at the Ministry for Industry, Commerce and Markets which incorporates cooperative unions you see no proper plan of helping the peasants to get markets.
> (Interview with P1, on 2nd March 2010)

This concurs with Molony (2009), that many smaller farmers remain marginalized by their remoteness from good roads, which makes it difficult for itinerant traders to pick up their perishable vegetables. Further, P1 added that TBC has been in the forefront in propagating government policies on poverty eradication like Vision 2025, NSGRP and *Kilimo Kwanza* (a new policy on the green revolution), but what the government says is different from what it does on the ground.

> I was in Rome in the last two weeks with the Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda to attend IFAD meeting. IFAD has three projects in Tanzania supporting peasants to access markets for their crops. During the meeting, the Prime Minister was asked by IFAD officials to explain to what extent the government had facilitated the projects. The Prime Minister replied that 'the government had started a new programme whereby peasants sell their crops to cooperatives. The cooperatives were issuing fertilizers and seeds to the peasants, and the costs are deducted from when the peasants harvest and sell their crops to the cooperatives.' The sad truth is that the cooperatives are buying crops at a very low price, which cannot help a person to make some savings. Therefore, peasants will continue to be poorer. (Interview with P1, on 2nd March 2010)

Moreover, P1 pointed out that *Kilimo Kwanza* has not helped them, in the sense that

the peasants have not increased output per acre due to lack of fertilizers and no irrigation

infrastructures have been put in place. Hence, most of the people he had interviewed

criticized this policy. P1 also revealed that after Jakaya Kikwete became president in 2005,

he established the 'Jakaya Kikwete Fund' by giving one billion shillings (US$ one million)

to each region and convinced banks like NBC, NMB and CRDB to support small

businesses, especially women's groups from villages. Again TBC was given the task to

communicate the messages and motivate people to take loans.

> In a region, for example Morogoro, the target was supposed to be small
> businesses or a group of people who want to establish a small business. The
> allocation started at the regional level and did not reach the villages. Also,
> people failed to secure loans because they did not have project proposals
> detailing what they want to do with the money and how they will pay back the
> money. So the money ended up in the hands of well-established businessmen in
> the regional capital who are importing clothes and other products from Dubai
> and Thailand….The women in villages didn't get a coin. But these are the
> people who needed money the most. (Interview with P1, on 2nd March 2010)

He also revealed that the government had failed to issue a statement on the

achievements of the [above-mentioned] fund in helping people to improve their businesses

and life and "due to that, TBC censored itself and stopped talking about the fund." He

pointed out that, "poverty eradication has become like a song and leaders use it to gain

popularity, while in reality very little has been done by the government to eradicate extreme

poverty." This concurs with critics like Ng'wanakilala (2008) who argued that most

African states public media are used to advance political slogans which in real terms have

slowed down development and done a great deal of damage to the minds and ways of

thinking of many people. Further, P1 criticized the government for not implementing the

policies thoroughly and make the policies known to the people. P1 also argued that, "For a

policy to be effective and successful, there should be synonymous understanding of the

policy between the leaders and the people, but at the moment the understanding is

different." He complained that journalists have not been empowered to know the policies. He claimed most of TBC journalists report what they hear from the leaders without background knowledge of what the policy is all about, and the stories are always very short, about a minute, and do not cover everything the audience needs to know about the policy. Therefore, one could detect that the audiences were left without enough information which could help them to transform their lives.

Another TBC journalist, P3, believed that "the inefficiency of the government affects the effectiveness of TBC communication, the content and coverage of its programmes on the ground." He argued that, on implementing policies, "the government has failed to reach villages and work with people to solve their problems." One would observe that because the policies are not people-centred, as Nyerere (1968, 1973, 2000) emphasised, and the decisions to implement them are top-down, the implementation of policies reach a point whereby it stuck mainly within the government itself. Due to that, it could be argued that the government is not helping people to achieve the aims of its policies like Vision 2025, NSPRG and *Kilimo Kwanza*, because the policies are not people-centred and the government has not made enough preparations on how to implement them. Further, one could observe that Tanzania did not have enough extension officers, no fertilisers, and no seeds to support an agrarian revolution; hence, people could not increase productivity in agriculture, which could have helped them to fight poverty. That was the problem of the government inefficiency in implementing its policies, not TBC. Participatory communication by itself on TBC cannot provide the peasants with seeds or fertilisers.

> I was in Mtwara and interviewed the cashew nut farmers. They said they have neither seen extension officers nor received better seeds from the government. There is no close supervision on helping people to improve agricultural production. There is no accountability or follow up to make sure that what the people need in order to produce more is made available to the people. There are a lot of cars at the ministry head quarters but they are not used to visit the people in the village. In the districts there are a lot of cars, and you can identify them by reading on their door sides that they are for a certain project in the villages sponsored by the donors, but they don't reach the villages. (Interview with P3 on 1st March 2010)

Finally, the study found that most of government projects in the rural areas have failed because of lack of efficient participatory communication within the government itself and between the government and the people. One could observe that the government departments do not consult each other in analysing the progress made in eradicating poverty, and on top of that they don't consult the people to know their needs. The decisions made are always top-down, which is the major cause of the failure of poverty eradication schemes and development projects at the grassroots. Dr. Ilkiuyoni cited two examples on bee-keeping projects, to explain this problem of the government inefficiency in participatory communication in identifying the people's needs and priorities. He argued when people on the ground have a problem which they think affects them the most and the government ignores their problem and imposes its chosen project on them, the people use the resources provided to them by government to solve their problem.

> I remember the case in Musoma-Mara region when they were given beehives. After two weeks they tooled the beehives down and they made the beehives into windows for their houses because the need was safety in the village. Now they had raw materials for making windows. This is what they are telling us. They were not interested in beehives. We have other cases in Newala people were given beehives, but after three days all the beehives were tooled down because they needed boxes for their clothing material, because the problem is that there are a lot of rats around that area. When you go for beehives and they are telling you it not the beehives -- we have rats eating our clothes -- they are telling you something. So have a programme for that, how to get rid of rats. The beehives will be safe. (Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th February 2010)

Further, Dr. Ilkiuyoni condemned the lack of coordination and rigidity in the

government departments whereby each department prepares programmes independently without consulting other departments which deal with the similar problem. "Each department wants to show that it knows better and that leads to confusion among the people at the grassroots," he complained. The truth is that all government departments are interrelated (Mongula, 2008). Therefore there is a need for the government departments' officials to work together as a team not as competitors, learn from each other and communicate efficiently and effectively so that they can provide good services to the people.

7.4.10. The Impact of Lack of Good Leadership and Government Inefficiency in Poverty Eradication on the Contribution of TBC Programmes from the Focus Groups Participants' Perspective

Many scholars have argued that for poverty to be eradicated in any society there should be a political will pushing for reforms, with well defined policies and proper implementation mechanism and evaluation (Babu, 2010; Friedmann, 1992; Kothari & Minogue, 2002; Ng'wanakilala, 2003; Nyerere, 1968, 2000; Sachs, 2005; Shivji, 2009; Stevenson, 1988). Similarly, the findings from focus group participants revealed that TBC programmes on poverty eradication were not magic bullets, in the sense that they could automatically make people eradicate poverty, just simply by listening or watching them. The participants pointed out that the impact of TBC programmes relied on socio-economic and political structural conditions, like availability of markets, good infrastructures, extension officers and good education, just to mention a few, which would empower people to make money out of their crops, animals or businesses. The participants spoke about the socio-economic and political conditions to help them and other people use the knowledge and skills they acquire from TBC programmes effectively to make profit out of their labour

and production. They said the conditions are not conducive at the moment in most parts of Tanzania and sometimes do not exist at all. Thus, it is the responsibility of politicians and the government to make sure that people benefit from their hard work. However, it could be observed that so far the government's initiatives in implementing what was aired on TBC programmes were very far from becoming a reality.

The participants claimed that TBC programmes addressed the causes of extreme poverty and the solutions; however, most of people in Tanzania including themselves were demoralised and had no hope, because they had not received any support from the government and they had nowhere to run for help. A male participant Augustine said, "TBC programmes' effectiveness as a tool of mobilising people to engage themselves in economic activities is affected by the government, which does not facilitate and empower people in implementing what is being said on the programmes." Another male participant, Shija, 40 years old, with secondary school education, and had access to mobile phone, confirmed that TBC programmes were relevant, but behind the scene there is government inefficiency, which doesn't make TBC programmes effective and relevant at the grassroots, because people are ready to work but the government is not there to give them a helping hand. He added:

> The problem is the leadership we have, which has led this country into economic chaos. The government has left everything in shambles. That is why you have more football on TBC than educative programmes. TBC is doing its work properly but the implementation is in the hands of the government which has failed to make a real difference in the villages. Since there is no real difference taking place, people tend to ignore watching and listening to TBC programmes. What should be done is to resolve the government and start afresh. We need visionary leaders who are committed to the welfare of the villages. (Focus Group Six)

Further, the findings show that the inefficiency of the government had made poor people become cynical about TBC communication. Some participants had stopped listening

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and/or watching TBC programmes on poverty eradication. They watch entertainment

programmes only. Participant Kisendi argued that there is no implementation of what is

covered on TBC programmes:

> The chain of action is there – the government is useless, hence TBC is also useless. When TBC report news it may sound well, but at the end of the day we see the government taking no action. That is how TBC becomes useless…. There was a special report on TBC to reveal the names of the thieves in our community, especially those who use guns. I went to the Mwanza Regional Police Commander last year, 2009, to report some people I knew were thieves. But the following day, the thieves I reported to the police came to my house and told me that 'you will regret what you have reported to the police'. That means being a good, responsible citizen is to make enemies who may kill you. TBC did their work of educating me. I did what TBC asked me to do, but the consequence to me was worse. This also applies to agriculture, whereby I will work hard on the farm but won't get the market for my crops. (Focus Group Two)

One can observe that in some cases TBC is effective in mobilising people to work

hard, but the question is what is next after hard work. The government has no proper plan

of creating markets for our crops. Peasants end up being exploited by businessmen. So in

that "chain of action" [as participant Kisendi mentioned above] TBC facilitates the

exploitation of peasants, not their prosperity. He claimed that: "TBC is doing its job very

well, but what do we get out of agriculture? Literally we get nothing." Focus groups

participants revealed that since people have been demoralised they have ignored agriculture

as the backbone of Tanzanian economy. Consequently, most of the participants confirmed

that when it is time for educative programmes on TBC they tune to entertainment channels.

Moreover, the participants explained that the land is arable in Tanzania, but

government support to the people to make the land productive is necessary. What they need

is the government support to provide them with fertilisers, good seeds, extension officers

for technical advice, and to create markets for the crops. One could observe that little effort

had been made by government in the country to improve agriculture regardless of the

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Kilimo Kwanza initiative. People in the villages continued to use poor low-quality seeds with no fertilisers, which led to poor harvests. Although TBC programmes showed the importance of using better seeds, getting technical advice from extension officers and using fertilisers, the fact is that there were few or no better seeds, fertilisers nor extension officers reaching villages. Due to such circumstances the participants revealed that cash crops like cotton and coffee were dying because the production was very low. A female participant, Jane, 32 years old, with primary school education, and had no access to mobile phone or the internet argued that:

> TBC is good in mobilising. But when it comes to reality and application, everything ends there. The fertilisers are very expensive. There is no market for our crops. Although TBC may have good educative programmes I cannot do any miracle to increase productivity per acre with a hand hoe. (Focus Group Three).

She also revealed that lack of market contributes a lot in the falling of agricultural production, which is directly linked to the increase in extreme poverty, "You will find that a bag of maize of 100 kgs is sold at the price of Tshs 4000 (£1.60) in village Nyanchenche Sengerema, while in some other parts of the country like Musoma it is sold at Tshs 20,000 (£7.80)." In supporting Jane's argument, a male participant in the same focus group, Zakayo, argued that peasants couldn't access markets because of poor infrastructure in Tanzania and the lack of cooperatives, which could have helped people to get a reasonable price for their products. He added that:

> If you calculate the costs of producing 100kgs of maize in terms of labour, capital and land you find that a peasant spends more than Tshs 4000 (£1.60) to produce 100kgs. On average, the peasant spends Tshs 5000 (£2), which means he has a net loss of Tshs 1000 (£0.40)! How can we end poverty in such conditions? We will continue becoming poor and poorer. By not seeing anything good out of agriculture, the youth migrate to towns where they end up being burglars, thieves and doing petty unproductive jobs. (Focus Group Three)

This was mainly caused by the lack of well established systems of buying crops

from peasants, denying them the right of making profit out their hard labour (Chossudovsky, 2003; Nyerere, 1968, 1990). This concurs with Mefalopulos (2005), that the effectiveness of communication in development and poverty eradication is dependent on the efficiency of government machineries on the ground.

A female participant in focus group five, Nusura, cited an example that peasants do produce cotton, coffee, rice, vegetables and fruits in large bulk, but at the end of the day they don't get good market because the supply is higher than the demand during the harvesting season. Since they don't have storage facilities and technology to process their products, they end up making losses. In focus group five the participants claimed that lack of markets is one of the issues TBC should have raised, by telling those accountable to find the solution for the people like importing the technology needed, building new and modern infrastructure and processing industries which would support agriculture and provide employment opportunities, as Molony (2009) observed. One should acknowledge that there are some government initiatives to build markets and infrastructure like roads so that rural areas could be easily accessed. However, this process was surrounded by corruption and done at a very slow pace, which did not help peasants to benefit from their hard work.

Further, the participants in focus group six also revealed that there were always some reports on TBC that there was a good market for maize, rice, beans, cassavas, banana etc. in neighbouring countries like Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia and Burundi, but the government didn't allow people to sell food crops outside the country, while the prices were always good in these countries. One could observe that the price of 100 kilograms of maize in Mwanza is Tshs 20000 (£7.80), while in Kenya it was Tshs 40000 (15.60) in February 2010. Participant Abeli argued that:

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> In such a scenario the government has no moral right to claim that it is willing to end extreme poverty, while it stops the people from accessing good markets. Yes, there may be some concerns about the amount of food being sold outside and that may lead to hunger in Tanzania, but that is not a concrete reason. If we get a market we can produce more, but at the moment we can't. I am not ready to waste my time and capital for something I know won't pay back with profit. (Focus Group Six)

Thus, one could argue that what is needed is good management of food supply to the outside markets, but not to stop people from access to the markets in the neighbouring countries. Moreover, a male participant, Malimi, 40 years old, with primary school education and had no access to mobile phone or the internet, criticised the government for telling the peasants to look for the markets themselves:

> Peasants cannot afford to sell cotton in the world market…. Most of peasants are illiterate with no business or entrepreneurship skills and capital. Thinking to sell their products in the world market individually is a myth. The cooperative unions could have been useful but they have died a natural death because of mismanagement and corruption. So far there is no concrete programme or government policy on how strong cooperatives can be re-established in Tanzania. (Focus Group Two)

Finally, one can detect that all participants raised their concerns on marketing the agricultural products produced. Although it is possible for TBC to motivate people to increase crop production and identify where the markets are, TBC cannot create the markets. Without markets, there is no way a peasant can make money out of his back-breaking work. Therefore the question of the market to sell crops remains vital. It is the government's duty to create and identify markets for the crops produced. Commenting on the future of Tanzania in extreme poverty, participant Abeli argued: "There is no society which is as demoralised as the Tanzanian society. We have dropped in everything -- from being a well-respected country in the world with patriotic people to drug dealers and corrupt government." In all groups, the participants said Tanzanians are demoralised because they don't see improvement in their standard of living, due to the fact that extreme

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poverty is increasing while there is a sharp increase of inflation (URT, 2007). They said the

government slogan of 'better life for every Tanzanian' did not deliver anything promising

to the people, since the government has failed to deliver basic services to its people. They

claimed scandals like EPA, Richmond, Dowans and many others exposed how their tax

money has been plundered by the elite in the government. Participant, Prisca, in focus

group four concluded that "It is a shame that people are just given a packet of salt to vote

for some parliamentary contestants and when these corrupt politicians win, they forget

about the people simply because they bought the votes."

7.4.11. Cynicism on TBC Communication

The results from both in-depth interviews and focus groups show a gap between the

government inefficiency in implementing poverty eradication strategies at the grassroots

and messages on TBC programmes on poverty eradication. Consequently, there was

cynicism and pessimism among the participants towards both the government and TBC

programmes. Focus groups findings show that most people in their villages no longer have

the culture of listening to educative programmes on TBC because they think that they are

wasting their time. Participant, Juma, argued, "People have despaired because what is said

on the radio or television is not what is happening on the ground – in real life." He said

nowadays most people watch and listen to commercial and community FM radio and

television stations to be entertained with music and films. Another participant, Kisendi,

explained:

> I would rather watch music on other television or video than watching TBC
> programmes because they are useless and do not reflect our lives in the
> villages. People have no hope any more. People now opt to watch music videos
> rather than watching an expert on agriculture or education. If you are in a hotel
> or bar you will hear people shouting 'put it off-- we are tired of such nonsense
> every day'. In my house when TBC starts to show a person with a tractor

working on the land, I ask my children to change to the music channel. It is better to watch the girls dancing than an expert talking about something which does not reach the villages and help the people. (Focus Group Two)

Moreover participant, Idrisa, argued that government's inefficiency makes useful programmes of TBC sound useless to the audiences who have developed a cynical attitude towards TBC communication:

If I am told on a TBC programme to go to a bank to get a loan, while the conditions of getting a loan are so tight for a village person, then what is the point of having such programme in the first place? I know people who were very happy to learn from TBC that there are Kikwete Funds in the banks and people should go to their banks to apply for loans…I am one of them; we didn't get even a cent. We were frustrated. That is why people do not listen or watch these programmes any more. We know we are not going to benefit from what they say. Why should I waste my time? You just walk around the village -- no one is taking time to listen to these educational programmes. I remember under Nyerere what was said on the radio that is what was delivered to the people. We used to get seeds and fertilisers on time. Now it is the opposite. That is why agricultural production is falling. We like farming but we are not empowered by the government. (Focus Group Seven)

Further, one would argue that the above findings concur with Dahlgren's (2007) arguments on citizens losing interest in participating in civic activities. Dahlgren identified numerous reasons for civic disengagement ranging from:

… a sense of powerlessness and despair over one's life circumstances, to a sense of bitterness at having been abandoned or betrayed by the political elite…. Many people simply do not have enough time and energy as a result of stressful life circumstances; people can find it difficult to manage work life (or unemployment), leisure and the role of citizen. Moreover, these factors interplay with a dominant culture that emphasizes consumption and promotes it in various ways as a retreat from the public sphere into depoliticized enclaves (p. 56).

Although eradicating extreme poverty is the top agenda as far as Vision 2025 is concerned, the irony is that, as indicated in this chapter by the Director General of Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Joseph Butiku, there is a lack of understanding among government leaders on why Tanzanians are extremely poor. Here, one would argue that the inefficiency of the government to understand why extreme poverty persists in Tanzania

could be explained by its policies focusing on "Reduction" rather than "Eradication" of extreme poverty and aiming only at alleviating income poverty. This triggers a question -- how can poverty be eradicated while the strategies laid down are logically wrong and not people-centred? (See Chapter 2). In this respect, regardless of the efforts made by TBC, Tanzanians still have a long way to go to "reduce" poverty, leave alone to eradicate extreme poverty, since the leaders and the government are not on the front line in fighting extreme poverty. Thus, it is not good communication that makes good development but good development that contains good communication (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009).

7.5. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the findings from both focus groups and in-depth interviews were presented and discussed. The discussion focused mainly on TBC communication as an instrument for participatory communication, which generated dialogue and motivated people to participate in poverty eradication schemes. Further, the chapter discussed the evidence that suggests that the contribution of TBC participatory communication is affected mainly by four factors, which include government control, centralised broadcasting and media laws on the one hand – programme production and broadcasting; and on the other hand – lack of good leadership and government inefficiency in implementing of poverty eradication schemes at the grassroots.

Consequently, the results in this chapter have confirmed Alamgir's (1988) notion that meaningful participation of the people at the grassroots can be prevented by: "inhospitable political climate in the host society; inadequacy of local leadership and organization; an authoritarian structure that prevents democratic decision making; isolation and alienation of the poor and the powerless; unequal access to factors of production;

inadequate government policies or financial support; lack of support for participation of

women; and inadequate infrastructure for generating true participation, that is, horizontal

and vertical linkages between self-help organisations" (p. 99). Consequently, the

participants had some cynicism towards the government and TBC communication.

Similarly, the participants have lost trust in TBC because in principle PSB is supposed to

be universal and accessible to all but in practice TBC is not. Thus, this thesis confirms

Collins' (2010, p. 54) observations that "public service broadcasters' legitimacy has

declined" in many countries. The future prospects of TBC participatory communication

will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Eight

The Future Prospects of TBC as a Tool for Participatory Development Communication

This chapter attempts to draw from the findings and discussions in the preceding two chapters to discuss the future prospects of TBC participatory communication and its contribution as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania. The recommendations made in this chapter are based on both the participants' comments and the researcher's arguments. The discussion identifies some suggestions which may make it possible for TBC to become a true public broadcaster with an independent editorial policy. Other suggestions include: re-establishment of zone broadcasting stations which deal with local issues within the zones or regions; the use of an integrated approach in producing and disseminating programmes; audience forums; interactivity and feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms; audience research; internal regulators; training for producers; producing high quality programmes; coverage of rural and urban areas; new sources of funds; and government commitment to poverty eradication. Although some of the arguments may not relate directly to a participatory communication theory framework, nevertheless the perspectives on the roles and future of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania will help us to improve our understanding of the applicability of the participatory communication concept in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. The discussion will be presented in fourteen topics below.

8.1. TBC as a True PSB

As discussed in the preceding chapters: two, three, and six, the Tanzanian government embraces neo-liberalism, which has turned TBC into a commercial enterprise serving commercial interests. In media and communication industries, neo-liberalism intensifies the commercialisation process of communication including the PSB (Boyd-Barrett, 2002). Consequently, one can observe that TBC put efforts in producing or importing popular programmes like soaps and football which generate maximum profit by attracting larger audiences and exposing these audiences to advertisers. At the expense of the programmes on poverty eradication, TBC promotes the interests of predatory neo-liberal global capitalism. This concurs with Raboy (1995) who argued that "as the alternative to the state becomes the markets, the alternative to public service broadcasting is construed as private sector broadcasting; this is logically flawed as well as politically short-sighted" (p. 27). Thus, one can assert there is a need to take a fresh look at how TBC functions as a true PSB in a liberalised Tanzania. For Carey (1989) the concept of PSB is tied to the public. In this respect, for TBC to become a true PSB, it should cherish the principles of PSB (See Chapter 4). Thus, TBC should put the social agenda before the market agenda. This means that the applicability of the concept of participatory communication cannot bear fruits unless TBC is freed from commercial interests, state control and draconian laws.

The former Director of RTD, Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, suggested that for TBC to become a true PSB people should demand democratic reforms of broadcasting in Tanzania, and the civil society should oppose government control and bureaucracy which make TBC partial and commercial. He explained:

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In order to make TBC a true public service broadcaster, an independent panel should be selected to form the TBC governing board. The board should not include those holding public office, political party officials or employees, or those with direct or indirect financial interest in the media industry or political interests with political parties. The applicants should undergo a public hearing before the final selection is made. The best way to enhance the credibility of TBC as a public broadcaster is to ensure the appointment of an autonomous board representing the diverse interests of the public at large. (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

The TBC DG, Tido Mhando, tried to make TBC function as a true PSB -- free from government control in the 2010 general elections, but he was shown the exit door after allowing the opposition parties to air critical views against the government. Tido believed that, "TBC belongs to the citizens of Tanzania. Therefore TBC should serve the public. It should be organised in the interests of the public and should be accountable to the public." It can be argued that TBC under Tido transformed Tanzanian politics in terms of fair access of politicians to TBC; hence the opposition parties increased the number of direct seats in the parliament from 26 in the 2005 elections to 53 in 2010. The winning margin of the ruling party CCM's presidential results dropped from 80.2% in 2005 to 62.8% in 2010. Thus, it can be argued that, as a true PSB, TBC will play a crucial role in the democratisation of Tanzania -- serving the public rather than the elite -- which will trigger socio-economic and political reforms, transparency, and accountability in the government.

8.2. Editorial Independence and Amendment of Media Laws

Although TBC is owned and controlled by the government, it does not mean it must be submissive to the government. Rather TBC should act on behalf of the citizens as a watchdog holding government officials accountable (Norris, 2000). In this respect, TBC should "act as an independent, fair and impart critic of powerful interests to inform citizens about abuses of both political and economic power" (Trappel, 2010, p.45) in the government. This implies that TBC programmes on poverty eradication should go beyond

the provision of information and become more analytical and critical. Surely, this does not contradict the government's agenda of addressing the poverty problem. Rather it enhances the understanding of the problem and offers alternative-pragmatic options for eradicating poverty. Thus, TBC and government can complement and reinforce each other.

Under normal circumstances, one can argue, the agenda of the government and that of the public media are similar (See Chapter 3), though not necessarily identical. As an independent PSB, the task of TBC will be to advance the agenda of poverty eradication without suffering any compromises to its position -- an institution of development that believes in the public as the catalyst of development, rather than individual leaders in a government structure. The main problem in Tanzania at the moment is not only poor leadership but also lack of good leadership, one can observe. These problems can easily be dealt with by TBC exposing the wrongdoings of corrupt leaders. TBC should be revealing to the public why the cost of living is skyrocketing and poverty is increasing due to deep corruption in Tanzania as Ng'wanakilala explained:

> TBC should have been on the frontline in covering and critically examining the Richmond and EPA scandals in Tanzania. But it was the foreign and privately owned newspapers that stood guard. On the same score, TBC should not wait for scandals. It has the primary responsibility of unearthing them, precisely because TBC is a torchbearer for the people and they pay for it. So long as TBC is given life by the taxes of the people … it has to give back some of that life to the people. The best way to pay back is to be vigilant against those who have chosen to live off the sweat of the poor people. TBC should hang on them. Expose them and, in doing so, TBC will be doing justice to the people of Tanzania and indeed to TBC. (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

Similarly, there should be a statute guaranteeing the right of freedom of information for all citizens, which the state shall be obliged to comply with, except when the state is able to prove in a Court of Law that the release of such information would endanger the security of the nation; such Freedom of Information Acts should replace all Official Secret

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Acts (Masha, 2002), which squeeze TBC's freedom (See Chapters 4, 6 and 7). The Information Acts will pave way for the media to be legally recognised as the fourth pillar in Tanzania – operating within the parameters of law - which bar the media from being influenced by the government. The Tanzanian government needs to change the laws mentioned in chapter six which make it difficult for TBC and other private media to play their role as watchdogs.

8.3. Zonal and Regional Broadcasting for Reaching Villages

Because of the need for specificity and localisation of the programmes on poverty eradication, participants in this research suggested that TBC should re-establish zonal or regional broadcasting stations and television viewing centres in the villages. Zuena, a female participant in focus group one suggested that, "regional stations and television viewing centres would provide access and opportunity for the participation of the poorest of the poor, especially in the rural areas, in the production of programmes on poverty eradication at local level." Such grassroots participation, one can argue, would stimulate a sense of belonging, self-confidence and involvement, as well as commitment to decisions. Schramm's argument is valid for TBC:

> An efficient use of mass media for economic and social development implies that they should be as local as possible. Their programmes should originate no further than necessary from the audiences; the programmes should be prepared by persons who understand the culture to which they are speaking, and means should be available for the audiences to report back to the media. (1964, p.123)

Similarly, Tereza, a female participant in focus group five suggested: "TBC should establish regional broadcasting, so that people in the region can also talk among themselves, coherently. Each region in Tanzania is unique in its own sense." Her argument resonated with a point presented by Abel, a male participant in focus group six, who argued that:

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> Through zonal and regional stations we can talk among ourselves at a regional level, talk to and listen to the authorities, and participate fully in the planning, production and presentation of sustainable development messages meant for making our life better. (Focus Group Six)

Such a participatory atmosphere, based on a correct interpretation of the needs and aspirations of the people, would create an understanding climate in confidence, trust, credibility and willingness of people to make personal and community contributions and sacrifices at their best for their development. Further, Dr. Ilkiuyoni explained:

> In 1970 to 1980, this was in the plan (Zonal broadcasting). I don't know why it evaporated. We had centres in Arusha, Mbeya, Mwanza and Dar es Salaam. The centre in Mwanza could cater for programmes meeting needs for Mwanza, Mara, Kagera regions. You could cater for these needs locally. Therefore, it could be easier for TBC to do the same... If the government went on with the programme by which Mbeya would have been catering for southern regions with the programmes specific for that particular area, and TBC-TAIFA catered on the problems for the other general areas, we could do something by being local and motivate the people in the rural areas.(Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th February 2010)

TBC has got eight zonal broadcasting stations, but at the time of the study only four zone stations were active namely: Dodoma, Lindi, Kigoma and Songea. The Zonal stations in Mwanza, Morogoro, Arusha and Mbeya were inactive because of funding problems. Tido Mhando revealed that the stations were in bad shape and could not operate the way he would like them to operate. He added that, "those (zonal stations) which are active are working very well and are quite popular when their time comes they detach from TBC-TAIFA…. for two hours daily in the afternoon." From these revelations, one can argue, there is a need for TBC to renovate all zonal stations and equip them with new technologies; and this should go hand in hand with more and further decentralisation of stations from zonal level to regional level. Likewise, Ng'wanakilala argued that:

> Zonal Broadcasting should be expanded and regional stations should eventually develop into fully-fledged radio stations. What people want is to participate in their development effort and at the same time record what they do. What a better record than their own radio station operating in their locality and

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discussing issues which are pertinent and common to those areas? In fact, TBC
regional or local stations would provide feed forward and feedback, for more
effective planning and development intervention. What TBC needs to do more
is to cover the countryside – villages. This is where the people are. (Interview
with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

The recommendations made above concur with scholars like Carmen (1989) and

Metcalf, Harford and Myers (2007) who argued that localisation of broadcasting increases

audience participation and liberates the audience from being passive recipients and allows

them to become an active citizenry, which is the essence of the new concept of social

development. Therefore, one can assert that TBC should re-establish zonal stations in order

to increase the level of participatory communication for poverty eradication in Tanzania.

The stations would make it possible for TBC journalists to work directly with the local

communities in the regions, know the communities well, know their problems, and enhance

listenership. Further, these stations should not operate in isolation. They should be linked to

the main station in Dar es Salaam, to avoid alienating the regions from the capital city, its

businesses and the headquarters of the government. This would keep alive the bond

between policy makers and people in the regions.

8.4. The Use of Integrated/Multiplicity Approach in Producing and Disseminating Programmes

Although the TBC DG and producers argued that TBC put audience at the centre of

the production of its programmes, there is much compelling evidence from research

participants that TBC programmes remain largely content – centric, putting the audience at

the end of receiver rather than involving the audience in the production of the programmes.

Programmes are centrally produced either by TBC journalists or government officials in

their respective departments (see Chapter 6). Consequently, "using broadcasting for

development has been proved difficult, partly because of different approaches," (Okigbo,

1995, p. 276) used in production and dissemination of programmes. One can observe that pseudo participatory communication approach of diffusion of innovations is still practiced by TBC and government departments. Thus, one can suggest there is a need for TBC and government departments to adopt an integrated approach of programme production advocated by scholars like Moemeka (1989). This embraces the concept of multiplicity (Servaes, 1996c, 2008) by incorporating interpersonal communication, traditional channels and new media in order to spearhead communication at the grassroots. Most importantly, they should learn from the people and build trust and the ability to listen to them (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). From Dr. Ilkiuyoni's experience, integrated approach is very effective in rural areas in enhancing participatory communication between people, extension officers and government officials in the villages.

> The integrated approach makes it possible to create a balance between the rural communities and the development communicators. Through establishing forum**,** TBC will make it possible for other players in poverty eradication to meet people and speed up the process of changing attitudes between the experts and people at the grassroots. (Interview with Dr. Ilkiuyoni on 9th February 2010)

Thus, the use of integrated/multiplicity approach would make TBC programmes more participatory and increase interaction and knowledge sharing among the audiences, TBC producers, government officials and other development partners. Each stakeholder in poverty eradication would participate fully in enhancing the messages on poverty eradication. Ng'wanakilala argued: "TBC needs to become more integrative by showing the example of who among us has worked hard and eradicated poverty. They can do that by interviewing and going to the actual people who have done something." In this respect, Dr. Ilkiuyoni suggested that depending on the information available, TBC and government departments "must know what to do and how to do it through communication and

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education, be willing to do it through communication and facilitation and have the resources to do it through inputs from the government." Similarly, Kisendi, a male participant in focus group two argued that, "The government needs to refocus on national communication priorities and strategies on poverty eradication. This should go hand in hand with the government encouraging commercial and community radio and television stations to join government initiatives of eradicating poverty." He advised the private broadcasters to be encouraged and involved in the production of participatory programmes on poverty eradication. This approach will end the current trend of the government and TBC being the only major producer and broadcaster of programmes on poverty eradication, while the private broadcasters concentrate on commercials and entertainment. In fact, one can argue that it is in the interest of the private broadcasters to promote poverty eradication initiatives because an increase of the audience's income creates demand for the products advertised on private stations. Further, entertainment programmes and advertisements involving grassroots population could be used as another way of delivering a very effective message to the audience on issues like wealth creation, time management, division of labour, women rights, job opportunities and markets for agricultural products produced by peasants.

8.5. Audience Forum

Although Dr. Ilkiuyoni acknowledged that mass media were important tools in disseminating information about new possibilities and practices and creating awareness, he insisted that interpersonal communication should be used alongside mass communication since the former is more influential in motivating people especially at the stage where decisions are being made about whether to adopt or not to adopt. Thus, it can be argued

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that, in playing its role as a tool for poverty eradication, TBC should use audience forum to enhance the integrated-multiplicity approach, which involves interpersonal communication, traditional media and new media. Also, the government should introduce audience forum groups which would be organised by grassroots populations in collaboration with government field officers and TBC.

Moreover, one can suggest TBC to enhance school broadcasting, to supplement the deteriorating standard of education, poor attendance and early dropouts. This contribution is a noble task for TBC as a national institution. Further, the contribution of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication could be enhanced by the establishment of television viewing centres, even telecentres, in rural areas to enable people to watch or listen to TBC programmes in schools and forum groups. Telecentres provide increased access to information for communities and reduce both information poverty and digital divide for the poor population in urban and rural areas (Etta & Parvyn-Wamahiu, 2003). Audio CDs, DVDs, even mobile cinema vans could be sent to schools and forum centres for people to watch and listen. These school and forum centres can be used to achieve "transactional participatory communication" (Melkote, 1991) on TBC. With the increase of internet accessibility and coverage in Tanzania, TBC programmes could be viewed online on a TBC website in groups in schools or in telecentres in the villages. Also the internet could be used for online interaction among TBC producers, government officials and the audiences as discussed in the next section.

8.6. Digital Technology, Interactivity, Feed-forward and Feedback

The information and communication systems in the world are moving at supersonic speed from analog to digital technologies. Thus, one can posit that TBC needs digital

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technology in order to reach larger audience with high quality programmes as well as investing in online journalism. Establishing an online department, which does not exist at the moment, could achieve this. The department could be responsible for upgrading and updating the TBC website. The website should give a visitor a wide array of options and choices, depending on their interests, from video clips on rural poverty eradication schemes to critical analysis articles on education and economic policies. This website would function as a platform for dialogue and the BBC (2004) report titled "Building Public Value" can shed light on online audience participation:

> We look forward to a future where the public have access to a treasure-house of digital content, a store of value which spans media and platforms, develops and grows over time, which the public own and can freely use in perpetuity. A future where the historic one-way traffic of content from broadcaster to consumer evolves into a true creative dialogue in which the public are not passive but active, inspired participants (p. 5).

Further, a TBC website would also be an effective tool for audience research and participatory communication and open a door for the Tanzanians in the world to participate in public discussions and dialogues on policies and development of Tanzania. Heinrich (2008, p. 14) argued, "interactive features and collaborative media practice are not an additional extra, but a necessity to be included in the news gathering, production and dissemination practices today." Thus, TBC could use the internet to offer and enhance a dialogic capacity and attract more public participation. Public participation is a vital concept among media theorists like Habermas (1989), who saw the importance of the public sphere for the survival of democracy, and indeed poverty eradication. In turn, honest and open participatory communication on a TBC website would build more public trust in TBC. As Mantymaki (2010) put it, "new digital networks will help mainstream media regain their lost authority" (p. 79) of reaching the wider public and being accessed by

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everyone through Skype, emails, Facebook and Tweeter. This would make it possible for

what Beckett (2008) called "citizen journalists" to participate in producing TBC

programmes and online content. Thus, the new information and communication

technologies, one can posit, create the atmosphere of integrating knowledge from different

sources -- audiences, experts and government officials -- and the new acquired knowledge

"can be usefully applied in contexts other than those in which such knowledge was

generated" (Okigbo, 1995, p. 280) (See Chapters 4, 6 and 7).

8.7. Audience Research

From the revelations made in chapters six and seven, one can argue that TBC needs

to establish an audience research department to analyse the feed-forward and feedbacks

from the audiences and respond to them. The department would work hand in hand with the

internal regulatory board to suggest some changes needed on the programmes, depending

on the audiences' needs. This would help TBC to produce programmes, which meet

audiences' expectations. Surely, TBC could penetrate and reach the remote areas of

Tanzania, but would need to know the audiences' experience with the programmes. This

type of information is needed to build on what TBC knows of the programmes' weaknesses

and strengths. Then TBC could say 'on our side this is what we wanted to do, and this is

what we did, and there is something more to be done, but this is what we have done.' It was

found in this study that TBC journalists use personal initiatives to capture audiences'

responses by using mobile phone calls, text messages and sometimes emails. The audience

research department would capture audiences' responses professionally and conduct

audience research. For example, TBC would be able to identify why there is a gap between

its programmes and the implementation of the ideas promoted by the programmes, in

relation to falling of the audience rates on development programmes. Also the department would help to address the problem of schedule and time allocated for development programmes, which would help to reach the targeted audience. Consequently, TBC would be able to measure its audience ratings, which is not the case at the moment.

Further, through the audience research department, it can be argued, TBC could discover that in the rural areas money has many other purposes for the audiences. They may need money for something else and therefore can't afford to buy batteries for the radio. With an audience research team, TBC could do something about this problem. The team could find out if the problem falls in an area where TBC could even tip the responsible government department that these problems are somewhere, so that the programmes which are aired are coordinated in a manner that what is happening to a certain programme target group could be related to what is happening to another target group meeting somewhere else. And maybe the audience may enjoy another programme, for example, an entertaining drama on agriculture, rather than an instructional programme on agriculture, which sadly takes the form of a teacher and a pupil. If TBC coordinates its activities, it will essentially know the capacities and limitations of the audiences. By knowing the audiences' capacity, TBC would for example, therefore change the approach of its programmes to make them more entertaining, and so in the course of entertaining it would be giving the audience the real stuff that it needed to. But the issue at the moment is that TBC does not know its audiences and their capacity (See Chapters 6 and 7).

8.8. Internal Independent Regulator
It was found that TBC had no internal regulators, whose job would be to evaluate the quality of TBC programmes and receive comments or complaints on the programmes.

This job was done partially by editors and individual journalists. TBC journalists P1 and P3 pointed out that some of TBC journalists are neither objective nor honest enough in criticising themselves or a colleague. Therefore, one would suggest TBC to establish an internal independent regulatory board, which would be responsible for evaluating the quality of the programmes before and after airing them. The board would help TBC to assess its ability and weaknesses in programme production. To make the board function smoothly, all programmes would be graded into categories. Each category would have its own performance regulator, a senior journalist/producer specialised in that area of production. The performance regulators could help determine the suitability of programmes on TBC channels.

8.9. Training for Programme Producers

Broadcasting for poverty eradication in Tanzania, among other reasons, is affected by what Okigbo (1995) referred to as a "civil servant mentality" of serving the government and the ruling elite rather than the public in Africa (see Chapters 6 and 7). He argued, "The civil servant mentality which pervades public broadcasting is not conducive to an expanded employment of the media to address the problems of development on the continent" (p. 276). To overcome this mentality, one would argue, a new attitude of serving the public needs to be cultivated among the producers through training. Further, one would argue the BBC and SABC are the best examples to follow when it comes to training their workforce. Their strength and power is not only driven by their professionalism, but also by deploying and maximising their resources in training and encouraging innovation of new ideas. In the case of TBC, Tido Mhando revealed that: "The broadcasters we have at the moment, I can't say that they are not well educated but they are not up to the standards. This means training

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them so that they could become good broadcasters." Thus, programme producers need to have training on how to produce investigative, critical and analytical programmes on socio-economic and political development in Tanzania, which can help the public and the government to move forward the poverty eradication agenda. They also need to have profound knowledge and understanding of socio-economic and political issues they are reporting about, since this has a direct impact on the programmes they produce. Also TBC employees should undergo training on new technologies like web design and operating equipment like HDV professional video cameras and digital audio recorders and software used in television and radio production.

Moreover, one can suggest, the producers should be trained on how to prime and frame why people are extremely poor; how they manage to feed themselves; and what kind assistance do they need to move a step ahead. This kind of training could be organized within TBC in order to form and shape the minds of journalists to look at poverty eradication with a critical perspective rather than a mere journalistic perspective. Further, programme producers in government departments should attend these training sessions at TBC, which would enhance their skills in programme production on poverty eradication (see Chapter 6). It should be remembered that the audience is not general -- it has segments. In that audience, there are some who are very poor indeed and in bad shape. How can we bring them on board? That is what TBC misses because no airtime is allocated to reach them. According to Ng'wanakilala:

> Time management is an indicator of the policy of the one who is being covered
> and have influence on TBC. They (TBC) will look at the influence
> (government leaders) to allow them (TBC) to cover other problems so poverty
> to them (TBC) does just become another problem to look at.

This argument takes us back to the whole idea of TBC becoming an independent

PSB in order to serve the interests of people rather than the interests of the government and the few elite who run it. Conversely, Tido admitted that it is a big challenge to train the broadcasters because they are so many and given the fact that TBC has a shortage of funds (see Chapter 6). Most important, is to train producers to become more listeners than tellers (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) who will let the people speak for themselves, express their needs and experiences. Thus, one could argue that there is no way TBC could escape from training journalists if it wants to achieve its role as a tool for eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania.

8.10. Producing High Quality Programmes

People watch programmes, not channels, consequently creative educational programmes are useful instruments in motivating people to participate in development activities; and successful public broadcasting must be programme-driven, aiming at touching people, moving them, and changing them (Raboy, 1995). This, one can argue, could be done through programming which is the central phenomenon in broadcasting, simply because what you programme in terms of the duration, schedule time and timing -- the-right-moment to air the programme, content, coverage, style and mode of presentation have a direct influence on the impact of the programme to the audience in terms of their time to watch the programme and what to retain. Thus, participants in all focus groups urged TBC to improve the quality and timing of the programmes in order to attract more audiences to listen and watch educational programmes. They suggested that the producers should have enough knowledge on what they are presenting, be it agriculture, poultry, health issues, or culture. A female participant, Davina, suggested that:

> TBC should air programmes on agriculture and poverty eradication after the news. That is the peak time, and most of the people are at home watching television and listening over the radio at that time. It should be clearly understood that in the afternoon people are working on their farms and they cannot follow the programmes on radio or television. (Focus Group Seven)

Furthermore, the participants suggested that both programmes produced by TBC and government departments should show the reality of life of Tanzanians in the villages in order to reveal the challenges facing the nation and the extent of extreme poverty in Tanzania. Musiba, a male participant suggested that TBC should air more programmes which highlight:

> … why we are still backward economically and TBC should show how we can liberate ourselves from poverty, instead of highlighting successful stories, which don't educate poor Tanzanians on how to get loans and what it takes to make my loan a success story. They should show us programmes in a comparative approach whereby they show a success story and failures and use the success story as a motivation. (Focus Group Five)

Also, other participants in focus group five -- Augustine, Tereza and Regina -- argued that because of cultural and traditional values most people in society tend to fear to do something even before trying. They said lack of confidence makes people fail to use their potentials, and some people cannot express themselves in a public meeting or in a job interview. They urged the government and TBC to introduce a programme which would help people to build their confidence and motivate themselves in order to be successful in life.

8.11. Coverage of Rural and Urban Poor Population

As revealed in chapters six and seven, the rural areas are less covered on TBC. Thus, one would suggest that there should be a balance in TBC coverage between the rural and urban areas. Involving poor people in the production processes of TBC programmes could increase the coverage of the marginalised population in both rural and urban areas. If surely TBC goes down to the rural areas and comes up with the programmes from the rural

areas and airs them at the right time, people are going to respond. The fact is that TBC

could not do everything by itself due to a number of constraints and challenges discussed in

this thesis (see Chapters 6 and 7). Therefore, TBC needs to reach a stage of having

programmes like "iReport for TBC" or "Your News" which would be produced by

audiences for TBC. The programmes would bring in a fresh look because somebody who is

not a broadcaster would produce them.

The findings from the focus groups show that 40 out of 45 participants were willing

to produce the "iReport for TBC", if given an opportunity to do so. These creative

audiences (Castells, 2009) would be the new sources of information and partners of TBC in

programme production. The government is the source, but it is not certainly the best source,

particularly if the government loses credibility, as is the case for the Tanzanian government

from the perspective of the focus group participants and most of the interviewees. The fresh

source could be the villagers themselves, not the government. There is a lot of effort being

made in the villages to eradicate poverty. These people -- 80% of the population in villages

-- are feeding themselves. They are not asking for government subsidy. They are not

leaving their homes unless there are floods or other natural calamities. If they are doing

that, it means that there are some initiatives going on to make their livelihood better. What

TBC needs to do is to promote these efforts, one can posit. Journalist P3 suggested that:

> We need to put people at the centre of our broadcasting. We need to go to the
> villages more often and work with the people at the grassroots…. People are
> not happy about most of TBC programmes being about Dar es Salaam and
> other major cities…. There are some regions which have been forgotten as if
> they don't have any news, while there are a lot of activities which are going on
> in these regions and people all over the country would like to know what is
> really happening there. We need to expand our sources of news. We need to
> bring new faces. (Interview with P3 on 1st March 2010)

Involving more participants in the communication process leads to achieving transaction

participation of the audience and gains benefit whereby both the sender and receiver of information become active participants in sending and responding to each other (Melkote, 1991). Moreover, one can suggest to TBC to look for sponsorship from private companies which will be willing to sponsor programmes on poverty eradication. Instead of promoting European football, TBC can actually promote poverty eradication schemes, and the programmes would be of use not only for the audiences but also to the sponsors like Vodacom and Serengeti beer without any contradiction. This is what TBC should do more of.

8.12. New Sources of Funds

Appropriate funding of PSB is essential for its independence. Funding is the major problem in the developing countries, but even in the heartland of PSB in Western Europe especially in the UK, where the government is cutting down the budget for the BBC. In the case of TBC, which receives very little money from the government (See Chapter 6), one can suggest that there is a need to find new ways of funding. Apart from running commercials, TBC came up with an idea to adopt digital satellite technology, which would make it possible for TBC to monopolize the digital transmission system in Tanzania. The system would empower TBC to allocate channels to local television stations which want to go digital and make them pay a certain fees in order to be allowed to broadcast. The digital changes would make it easier for people who want to invest in television because they won't need to have a lot of money to set up studio, transmitters and their own network of transmission. Also the audience would be paying subscription fees. Tido explained:

> In the past, you had to have a lot of money to set up your own network because you had to have the studios for content and transmitters for transmission. But with this new change, what you have to do is to come either to talk to us… so the transmitting part is not a problem. We will take care of it…. Every other

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network (each television company)…will come to us and we will take their signal all over the country. So we have this company which is dealing with the transmission of digital signal to the country. (Interview with Tido Mhando on 5th March 2010)

With this new digital technology, television stations which want to reach the whole country will enter into an agreement with TBC to transmit their contents. Tido revealed that TBC would make around 25 billion (£10,000,000) shillings a year. If this money was added to revenues from adverts, which was around 15 billion shillings (£5,891,000) TBC would be operating with enough funds within its actual budget of 40 billion shillings (£15,710,000) a year. Most importantly, TBC would be in a position of becoming an independent public broadcaster. He added, "The question of us getting out and being on our own or having that editorial control is slowly getting onto track and we have done a lot." Conversely, this has not happened yet.

8.13. Broadcasting Partners

Many PSBs like the BBC use freelance broadcasters, programme producers, and scriptwriters to produce quality programmes as one way of creating a relationship and form a partnership with the public (Norback, 2010). The BBC World Service uses local broadcasting partners all over the world to reach larger audience. Similarly, one can suggest to TBC to look for new broadcasting partners who will offer more challenging opportunities and alternatives. Currently, the main partners are CCTV of China and RT of Russia. However the ties with African broadcasting agencies like SABC of South Africa or NBC of Namibia and other SADC countries would make much more sense than collaborating with RT as far as poverty eradication is concerned. There are cross cutting issues in the SADC region that could be handled in a 'combined way', like agriculture, HIV/AIDS, women and youth programmes, and unemployment. People will be able to

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learn from the experience of neighbouring countries. Also, TBC could enter into agreements with community radios in Tanzania to broadcast its programmes in order to increase its audience and coverage.

8.14. Government Commitment on Poverty Eradication

In this thesis (see Chapters 6 and 7), the participants claim that most of the government leaders and officials lack understanding of why half of Tanzanian population live in extremely poverty and why extreme poverty persists in the country. They also assert that the impact of TBC programme in poverty eradication needs the pragmatism of the government in implanting its poverty eradication policies. Thus, political environment and government commitment on the welfare of its citizens have strong positive and negative influences on the potential for meaningful participation of the people in socio-economic and political activities in terms of creating awareness, giving people education, empowering them to know their rights and rising their consciousness about their welfare (Freire, 1983). Further, Wignaraja (1985, p. 4) pointed out that if people at the grassroots are organised and linked sustainably in terms of exchanging ideas, sharing knowledge and experiences "they could contribute to the eventual emergence not just of a new consciousness, but a new kind of state structure." Wignaraja explained:

> Within which such a state structure, decentralisation of power and mass participation in economic/social decision-making could become a real possibility. In the short run, grassroots experiments and people's movements could act as sources of countervailing power to the mechanisms of inequality and repressive control. In the long run, when structural changes at the macro level could occur, such organisations would form the institutional basis of developing a collectivist consciousness and unleashing the creative potential of the people for sustainable development (ibid.).

Here one sees that the government uses TBC to motivate people to participate in poverty eradication schemes (see Chapters 2 and 3). TBC would tell its audience that the

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government would give one million dollars to every region to support small-scale businesses, but the reality at the grassroots is that the money goes into the bank. In order to access that fund one needs to know how to write a project plan. How many Tanzanians can write a project plan? The people we are talking about are in the villages where 80% of the population live and most of them can't write or read. They need somebody to do that for them. According to the participants, what is happening is that those project plans were being sold (see Chapter 7). People who wrote those plans used the money. They would collect about twenty villagers with a plan, and it was this clever person with a plan who would get the money from the bank in collusion with bank officials. Therefore, if the developer were given two hundred thousand dollars, only ten thousand would go to the twenty villagers. The rest would be divided between the developer of the plan and the bank officials. You are going back to corruption; even that money does not go to the right people -- injustice again because the corrupt people have the avenue, and they have the money. But again, the banks do not lend to the poor people. You need to have a title of a house. How many houses are eligible for titles in the villages? It is straw and mud huts. What kind of value will you put on the house? How much does that house cost? How can a bank have confidence in the borrower? How much would the bank recover if there were a failure in repayment? That is really the poverty we are talking about. The government should empower the poor people to be seen as credit-worthy: make them seen as able to re-pay the loans. Interestingly, the findings from focus groups show that most of the participants had joined micro finance credit unions, whereby villagers could collect together and form a credit union; it is like a bank. Ng'wanakilala pointed out that in India and Bangladesh have a bank system based on personal values, "that this is a guy who will return the money." An

individual is given a hundred thousand rupees and would repay the money notwithstanding not having a decent house.

> They don't care about a business plan. They would ask you what you want to do, give you the money and ask you to return the money within a period of time. It is based on trust, and that is how they are solving the problem of poverty in India and Bangladesh. You trust your own people. Because they can't run away; there is nowhere to run. (Interview with Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala on 8th February 2010)

Thus, one can argue, Tanzania needs to reach that stage where a Tanzanian can be trusted. He/she doesn't own a house, but he/she can repay the money the bank has given him/her to improve his/her efficiency gear. That kind of arrangement based on trust is not in Tanzania but can be cultivated through TBC to empower people to eradicate poverty. Most importantly, Tanzania needs to go back to the principles of the Arusha Declaration, which identified the prerequisites of development as "People, Land, Good Policies and Good Leadership" (Nyerere, 1968, p. 243), guided by "hard work" and "intelligence" which gave people hope of seeing a bright future. In implementing the Arusha Declaration Nyerere established strong cooperative unions, built industries, schools, hospitals, invested heavily in education and managed to build a united, peaceful nation where a person had hopes of seeing a brighter tomorrow.

Further, it is argued in this study that participatory communication for development would help to raise incomes for the poorest of the poor, provide better health and education services, and help the economy to grow and increase employment opportunities. Through empowerment, the poor can control the social, economic, political and psychological power resources and end their suffering. For Servaes (2009, p. 53), the pursuit of sustainable development requires the following conditions, which hardly exist in Tanzania today but can be found in Nyerere's writings:

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• A political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making

• An economic system that provides solutions for resolving the tensions arising from disharmonious development and growth

• A production system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development

• A technological system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance

• A legal system that favours the right to free expression and the emergence of free and pluralistic information systems

• An administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction

• An education system that encourages critical and creative thinking

• A communication system that gets the development programme organised and accepted by all parties concerned, at all levels of society.

Finally, it is argued in this thesis that persistence of extreme poverty is due, in great part, to a power structure, often inherited from a colonial regime and maintained by ruling elite in developing countries as Thomas (2008) indicated, currently enhanced by neo-liberalism (see Chapter 2). What Tanzania needs, one can assert, is pragmatic leaders who understand that poverty eradication can be achieved only through good development policies – political, social, economic, cultural, communication - which emerge from the initiatives of the people at the grassroots. More than ever, Tanzania needs leaders and journalists who have a loving dedication and commitment to the better livelihood of the marginalised-exploited poor people. Justice, dialogue, unity, peace, accountability and above all rising consciousness are essential ingredients for achieving the goal of eradicating

poverty. The media have an important role to play in achieving each concept by giving the poor access to the media to raise their concerns. Otherwise, in the current trends of corruption and embezzlement, extreme poverty discussed in chapters six and seven won't be eradicated in Tanzania as projected by 2025. Actually, extreme poverty is increasing in the country as shown in chapter two.

8.15. Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the future prospects of the impact of TBC participatory communication in poverty eradication in Tanzania. The recommendations made here emerged from the research participants and the researcher. The chapter discussed how TBC could be freed from the clutches of government political pressure and commercial interests. The chapter emphasized the idea of TBC becoming a true PSB with an independent editorial policy. It underlined the establishment of zonal and regional broadcasting stations to achieve participatory communication at regional levels. In addition, the use of an integrated approach to produce and disseminate programmes and the establishment of audience forums were considered as the best ways of enhancing transactional participatory communication at the grassroots. Moreover, the chapter discussed the importance of training producers of TBC programmes from both TBC and government departments and to equip them with new skills and technology; improving the quality of the programmes; the need to establish an internal independent regulatory board; to balance coverage between urban and rural areas; to find new sources of funding and new broadcasting partners within Tanzania and Southern Africa. Finally, the chapter suggested that the government become more efficient in implementing poverty eradication policies and supporting people's

initiatives at the grassroots, which in turn would make TBC participatory communication

pragmatic.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

In this final chapter, the concluding remarks on the study of the role of TBC participatory communication as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania will be given in six sections. These are: research design; the conceptual framework of the study; the two research methods used in the study; the outcomes of the study; the limitations of the study; the contribution to knowledge; and finally the areas for further study.

9.1. The Design of the Study

This study aims to make a significant contribution to the study of the role of public broadcasting in poverty eradication in Tanzania. The research evaluated the contribution of TBC programmes aired in July 2009. The study employed the participatory communication concept as a framework, which offers a useful and enlightening approach that furthers our understanding of communication for development in developing countries. The study will furnish important data for future studies on broadcasting for poverty eradication using the participatory communication concept. The underlying objectives of this study were: first, to find out what were the approaches used in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication and identify the constraints which affect the production of the programmes; second to find out whether TBC programmes on poverty eradication were useful to the audiences in relation to their initiatives to eradicate poverty in their lives; and third, find out if there was evidence of interaction between TBC producers and the audiences. This research was organised around three main research questions: First, how are poverty eradication programmes on TBC produced, and what are the constraints on production of such programmes? Second, how do audiences of TBC programmes on poverty eradication

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receive them? Third, is there any evidence of interaction between the producers and the audience in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication? In order to achieve the objectives and answer the research questions, this qualitative study employed two research methods of unstructured in-depth interviews and focus groups. Utilising these two research methods has helped to obtain answers for all the research questions of this study (See Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

Also, the intention of this study was to make a contribution to the contextual understanding of the development of PSB in Tanzania from the colonial era 1951 to 2009. The findings of this study not only provide historical information of TBC and the challenges it faces, but also suggest some solutions to these challenges which hinder TBC from becoming a true PSB. Further, it can be argued that this thesis is beneficial for studying the contribution of PSB and participatory communication in poverty eradication in Tanzania. The information obtained from this study about the role of TBC in poverty eradication will help to understand the functions of TBC communication in the present as well as predict its future trends.

This study applied the concept of participatory communication to understand the different approaches used in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. Three arguments surfaced from this study with regard to participatory communication on TBC: First, participatory communication is essential in the processes of feed-forward and/or feedback involved in the production of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. This is due to the fact that audience participation in the production of media content and interaction with media producers play an important role in amplifying the voices of the poorest of the poor by making their concerns and problems public and reaching those who

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have power to solve them and make them accountable (Huesca, 2002; Melkote, 1991, 2002; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009; Servaes, 1996c; Wilkins, 2002,). Second, new technologies of communication - mobile phones and the internet empower the public to participate in debates and dialogue carried on TBC and speak for themselves on a national broadcasting media. Third, the role of TBC in empowering people to share knowledge and ideas on poverty eradication depends on media laws and government control, and the efficiency of the government in terms of implementing its policies on poverty eradication. Thus, the praxis of participatory communication on TBC by itself cannot eradicate poverty in Tanzania. The concept of participatory communication in this study went beyond the boundaries of mass communication and technology, and touched government inefficiency in implementing poverty eradication policies as a main obstacle towards the transformation of the livelihood and improvement of the standard of living of the people in Tanzania. Finally, it is hoped that the information and findings from research participants will offer some implications for further study in this area, which will be presented later in this chapter.

9.2. The Main Conceptual Framework of the Study

It can be argued that the emergence of the studies on development communication after the second world war have contributed enormously in understanding the contribution of the media in development of communities and nations in the Third World. Although scholars like Lerner, 1958; Mefalopulos, 2005; Melkote, 1991; Metcalf et al. 2007; Ng'wanakilala, 1981; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009; Rogers, 1962, 1983; Schramm, 1964; Servaes, 2008, advocated different development communication approaches, like modernisation, diffusion of innovations and participatory communication, one would

acknowledge that their contribution in the field of development communication helped the developing countries and the United Nations development agencies to take advantage of using media as instruments for development to facilitate the process of transforming the livelihood of the poorest of the poor and the formulation of development communication policies.

This study used the participatory communication theory to study the role of TBC in poverty eradication in Tanzania. The theory encourages people to interact and share knowledge, skills, experiences and information. The main premise of participatory communication is that it is based on democracy – the right of the people to participate in making decisions about their lives (Freire, 1983; Melkote, 1991; Nyerere, 1973; Servaes 1996c; Uphoff, 1985). Thus, in radio and television stations which use a participatory communication approach in programme production, producers are expected to involve the audiences in the planning, producing, disseminating, evaluating and consolidating the quality and quantity of development programmes (Moemeka, 1989). To paraphrase the definition of democracy, participatory communication in broadcasting can be defined as producing and disseminating programmes of the people, by the people and for the people. Thus, participatory communication is not only about bottom-up communication within the mass media, but rather it involves feed-forward and feedback processes (Huesca, 2002; Melkote, 1991, 2002; Servaes, 1996a, 2009; Tehranian, 1999; Mefalopulos, 2005).

As a major conceptual framework for this study, the concept of participatory communication was used in a specific way by looking at the involvement of the audiences in the production processes of TBC programmes on poverty eradication. The concept of participatory communication was also applied in evaluating how the audiences received the

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programmes and established whether there was some evidence of the contribution of the programmes in empowering the audiences to achieve their initiatives of making a better livelihood. This study not only investigated operational aspects of audiences' participation in the production of TBC programmes as an end-in-itself, of motivating the audiences to actively articulate their views on their wellbeing, but it also explored the obstacles which hindered the audiences from participating in the production of TBC programmes. Other antecedents of a participation process, for example, in government communication, whereby people participate in socio-economic and political activities at community, district, regional and national levels were not the main goal of this research. Further, the participatory communication concept offered a concrete foundation and guideline for conducting this research. In addition, the concept helped the researcher to construct an essential framework for the study of the production of TBC programme samples and the interaction between the producers and audiences. Also, the participatory communication concept made it possible for the researcher to understand how knowledge and information was shared between the sender and receiver (feed-forward and/or feedback processes) in a "transactional manner" (Melkote, 1991). Consequently, the concept helped this study to establish the extent of the contribution of TBC programme samples in empowering the audiences to fight poverty in Tanzania.

9.3. Research Methods Employed in this Study

This study employed two research methods -- in-depth interviews and focus groups. The researcher's values influenced his selection of participants (see Chapter 5). The in-depth interviews obtained information on the programme production, dissemination and evaluation processes from TBC management and journalists. The data from the interviews

with TBC Director General and four TBC journalists presented TBC policy as a tool for development communication and its role in poverty eradication. In-depth interviews with nine experts in the fields of development communication, economics and journalism provided a critical professional perspective on the role TBC plays as an instrument for poverty eradication in Tanzania. The interviewees also identified the constraints which affect TBC participatory communication.

The results from focus groups helped to address the contribution of TBC participatory communication in motivating and promoting the audiences' initiatives of eradicating extreme poverty in their lives. Forty-five participants in focus groups listened and watched three purposively selected TBC programmes in order to give their verdict on how the concept of participatory communication was employed in the programmes. The use of in-depth interviews and focus group techniques in collecting data gained sufficient information to answer the research questions and support the three arguments which surfaced from the study and were stated above. The results from in-depth interviews with experts obtained the data not only about the role and future trends of TBC as a public broadcaster, but also the data to support the arguments that surfaced in this study that participatory communication on TBC by itself cannot eradicate poverty in Tanzania. It needs an empowering hand from the government and other development partners like NGOs to make people's effort in poverty eradication at the grassroots productive, meaningful, successful and fruitful. At the same time, the results of focus groups helped to address the impact of the programmes on the audiences.

However, there were some concerns in relation to conducting the two research methods, which will be discussed as follows: The main concern is about the construction of

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questions for in-depth interviews and focus groups to achieve the study goal. Some of the interview questions were not related to the precise research aims of the study, which means that not all of the data collected from interviews could be analysed in relation to these aims. For example, some of the interview questions to the experts on political economy, economics, media and communication in this research were mainly designed to find out their perspectives on why poverty persists in Tanzania and its impacts, and the future of Tanzania regarding poverty (at the time of the study in 2010). Although this set of questions might not be directly related to programme production and dissemination or the participatory communication framework and the future trends of TBC, the results from these questions helped the researcher to gain additional information about the role TBC played in poverty eradication in Tanzania at the time the research was conducted. This is also significant for this thesis and may benefit further studies undertaken in this study area. Other than that, the two research methods have obtained the significant outcomes of the study, which will be discussed in the next section.

9.4. The Outcomes of the Study

A number of interesting findings emerged through the study and were discussed in themes in a comprehensive manner in the preceding chapters. The findings concur with the argument that participatory communication is essential in facilitating social changes in a society (Melkote, 2002; Mongula, 2008; Servaes, 1996a). The findings also contribute to an understanding of the role of public broadcasting in poverty eradication in Tanzania, which is one of the developing countries characterised by underdeveloped communication and information infrastructures like roads, telephone lines, the internet, railways and airline services. In Tanzania, radio and television are very popular means of transmitting

information and sharing knowledge. The advent of new communication technologies like mobile phones, which are widely spread all over the country, and the use of the internet, have enabled people from different parts of the country, who could not have dreamt to be heard on the national radio or television, to access TBC and raise their concerns. Thus, the audiences previously considered passive recipients of information are now active participants in TBC communication, acting as sources or senders of information.

The findings of this thesis offer evidence that may support the findings from several valuable studies in participatory communication for social change and sustainable development such as Huesca (2002), Mefalopulos (2003, 2005), Metcalf, et al. (2007) and Mongula, (2008), and the use of ICTs such as Braman (2004); Jensen (2010), Logan, (2010), Slater and Tacchi (2004). Further, the thesis shows that new technologies of mobile phones and the internet have made it possible for two-way participatory communication to take place on TBC, so long as people are given an opportunity to share their information, knowledge and experiences.

The findings revealed how TBC programmes on poverty eradication were produced, disseminated and evaluated, either with or without audience participation on TBC. The data in the research show that the programmes were produced by using two approaches, namely, a decentralised approach and a centralised approach. The approaches had direct consequences on the level of audiences' participation in the processes of programme production and sending feedback to TBC, as the findings in chapters six and seven indicate. The decentralised approach involved TBC journalists and the audiences. In this approach, TBC journalists kept their role as the producers and controllers of the programmes to maintain professionalism, but the input from the audiences participating in the production

of the programmes was highly valued. There were two different ways on how audiences could participate in programme production and dissemination in collaboration with TBC journalists. First, is when TBC journalists go to the field to produce a live or pre-recorded programme, meet people (participants) in their locality, and together they share ideas on the information or experiences they would like to share with other audiences. Then they start producing the programme, either live or recorded. Most of the programmes produced by TBC journalists are produced in this manner – face-to-face interviews with the people in the streets and villages. The second way is when producers use landlines, mobile phone and text messages or emails in producing live programmes or pre-recorded programmes. In discussion programmes, participants are well prepared in advance by being provided with the topic to be discussed and a panel of experts involved. The audiences also are told in advance to prepare for the discussion so that they can participate actively. The in-depth interview findings show that it was not common among TBC journalists who participated in this study to produce programmes without involving the audiences. Also it was found that, when the audiences received information on their radio and television sets, they would send feedback to TBC normally to the programme producers.

Further, the findings from both in-depth interviews and focus groups show that programmes produced by government departments using the centralised approach did not employ the participatory communication concept. The programmes were produced without consulting the audiences. Using an analogy, one would argue that TBC is like a hunter shooting in the dark expecting to hit his target. The producers in the government departments hardly move away from their offices in Dar es Salaam. They have very limited and sometimes no knowledge of what is happening at the grassroots. In addition, they have

inadequate skills in producing programmes on development and poverty eradication, as the TBC Director General revealed. One can detect that there is no direct feed-forward and/or feedback from the audiences to the officials in the government departments; and there is no interaction and feedback between TBC and the departments. Again, this is because TBC does not have a department which deals with audiences' feedback and engage production partners in the government. Hence, there was no mutual interaction between the government departments and TBC. Although the audiences sent their comments to TBC, their comments reach nowhere, even within TBC itself. Therefore TBC programmes from government departments, to borrow words used by Melkote (1991, p. 262), have not done, "the job of bridging the communication gap between the technical specialists with expertise in specific areas of knowledge such as health matters and agriculture, and the users who may need such knowledge and its specific application." This is due to the fact that, as the findings indicate, programmes from government departments use technical language, which is not comprehensible to users in the villages. And because of government inefficiency there is no one at the grassroots that people can turn to, like health officers and extension officers, in order to get clarifications; and if they are there, they are very few and can't meet people's demand. Also there is a fallacy, which is widespread among government officials that poor people know nothing, therefore they must be directed and told everything they are supposed to do. Hence, the message from the government departments normally aims at shutting out the ideas and perspectives of the receivers. This makes the idea of participation and participatory communication dysfunctional (Melkote, 1991). The government officials have not expanded their role to facilitate people's participation and action required for the poverty eradication in both rural and urban areas.

Moreover, the findings from both in-depth interviews and focus groups show that there was a direct interaction between the audiences and the TBC journalists. Through feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms the audiences and TBC journalists talked directly to each other. That by itself created confidence and a sense of being valued among the audiences. The findings show that TBC journalists used their direct interactions with the audiences to help the audiences to get the support they need in their initiatives of fighting poverty. TBC journalists who participated in this study had created some networks with NGOs and with people who were willing to help the needy poor people. Examples from P1, P2 and P3 show that the participatory communication approach empowers people to access help and make their problems known to the government. Although the TBC Director General claimed "there is always feedback from the audiences to TBC", the researcher found that TBC as an institution had not established a proper department to receive and analyse audiences' feed-forwards and/or feedbacks. The findings from in-depth interviews with TBC journalists revealed that within TBC itself, it almost impossible for the journalists to get feedback from the management or programme production department on the comments or issues raised by the audiences on the programmes they produce. That is why every journalist has his/her own network. Nonetheless, it can be argued that interactive communication through these networks made it possible for TBC producers to apply the concept of participatory communication by involving people in the production processes of the programmes.

With regard to the involvement of the audience in sharing knowledge, TBC journalists were in the forefront in motivating the audiences to participate in poverty eradication schemes in their localities and share their experiences of the initiatives they

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were undertaking in fighting poverty. However, there was no programme on TBC which was produced by the audiences themselves which would give an opportunity to the "creative audience" (Castells, 2009) to produce programmes for TBC.

In addition, the findings show that the new interactive technologies of mobile phones and the internet have revolutionised participatory communication in Tanzania. The technologies, especially the mobile phones, offered a two-way reciprocal communication through TBC between the audiences, TBC journalists, experts and government officials. Conversely, the study shows that TBC did not fully utilise the capacity of interactivity that was available at the time of the study. Thus, it is acknowledged that the use of the internet and mobile phones for interactive broadcasting was not fully developed at TBC, but it was dramatically improving. Interactive broadcasting was not fully utilised on TBC due to a high level of illiteracy and poverty in Tanzania. Adult literacy is just above 69.4% and very few can read and write in English, the language of cyberspace and interactive technologies. Poverty makes it impossible for a poor peasant to buy a mere mobile phone, let alone a smart phone like blackberry and iphone because of the cost involved. However, mobile phones are easy and fast ways of sending information and sharing knowledge in Tanzania (Molony, 2009).

In general, research participants considered the internet and mobile phones as a benefit, which could be used in enhancing participatory communication. Thus, TBC should train its staff on how to use new media technologies and reap the benefits. The greatest positive impact of the Internet could be on the education of Tanzanian students. If the Tanzanian government could provide a sufficient number of computers and access to the Internet at an affordable rate, students, even people in villages, could access TBC

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programmes via the internet. This could broaden people's participation in dialogue about their livelihood on the TBC website, which could empower people to transform the lives of people in their localities.

In the end, the study has found a number of constraints which affected the contribution of TBC programmes in poverty eradication. The findings show that government control, media laws, the culture of secrecy among the sources of information, lack of funds and equipment, lack of highly trained journalists and government inefficiency in implementing its policies on poverty eradication schemes at the grassroots acted as obstacles to both TBC and the poor population to make a real change in terms of poverty eradication at the grassroots. The findings also show that the impact of TBC programmes is limited by a number of factors including: first, centralisation of the production of the programmes which are produced by government departments; second, TBC programmes are too general and more urban oriented; hence, rural populations feel left out; third, the timing and limited time of airing the programmes on poverty eradication; fourth, the language used in programmes is too technical for illiterate audiences to understand; fifth, lack of feed-forward and/or feedback mechanisms and audience research, which made it impossible for TBC as an organization to know exactly what were the needs and wants of the audiences; and sixth, because of having not enough funds, TBC found itself trapped in focusing more on generating money than promoting development and fighting poverty. In discussing media freedom in Tanzania, research participants revealed that TBC was not free to air sensitive political or socio-economic issues because its freedom is limited by a number of laws, and by both visible and invisible direct intervention from the government and tight checks. Consequently, TBC journalists opted to censor themselves to protect their

jobs whenever they thought that their programmes would be sensitive to the government interests. Thus, the focus group participants were cynical and pessimistic on the role of TBC as a tool for poverty eradication in Tanzania.

The discussion on the future prospects of TBC identifies some suggestions on the challenges which hinder TBC from becoming a true public broadcaster with an independent editorial policy. Other suggestions include: amendment of laws which infringe on press freedom; the introduction of zonal or regional broadcasting stations and the use of integrated broadcasting in order to offer more precise and analytical information, provide faster and fresher news and educational programmes; creating two-way communication via interactive systems and reducing the information gap between urban and rural population; training for TBC journalists and government department information officers in order to improve the quality of programmes; introducing an internal regulatory board; improving quality and coverage of both rural and urban poor populations; adopting new digital technologies; creating new sources of funds; establishing audience forum and audience research; finding new broadcasting partners; and, most importantly, making the government more efficient in implementing development policies.

In conclusion, the outcomes of this study show that TBC programmes on poverty eradication which are produced by TBC journalists were effective in empowering the audiences with knowledge needed to fight poverty and make their livelihood better. There is evidence that the programmes helped to motivate the audiences to share their experiences and skills. Through TBC participatory communication, focus group participants were motivated and empowered to transform their lives by implementing the new ideas which were shared on TBC. Although TBC participatory communication motivated the audiences

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to fight poverty, the research participants claimed that they were pessimistic about applying the ideas shared on TBC at the grassroots, due to the gap between what is promoted on TBC and what is actually happening at the grassroots, because of government inefficiency in implementing its policies on poverty eradication and eliminating corruption.

9.5. The Contribution to Knowledge and Advancement of Academic Theory and Research

This thesis contributes to knowledge in seven ways. First, it shows that participatory communication is not only designed to study community media and communication at community level, rather the concept of participatory communication can also be used to study mass media with a national or global reach (see Chapter 4). This is due to the democratic nature of participatory communication which encourages reciprocal interactive dialogue of people at all levels. Further, the thesis shows that there are similarities between the concepts of participatory communication and PSB. Both concepts focus on amplifying the voices of people from all walks of life; promoting reciprocal and interactive dialogue amongst diverse groups in society; ensuring that the general population has access to a broad spectrum of views on issues of public concern; and facilitating people's participation in decision-making around issues of interest to the public in a nation like development, poverty eradication, peace and human rights. Thus, this thesis shows that participatory communication is an ideal theory to study traditional mass media since audience participation -- feed-forward and/feedback -- in mass media is not subject to distance, face-to-face communication or physical presence of participants in a dialogue in the same geographical space. It is concluded here that the soul of a successful PSB is participatory communication.

Second, the thesis confirms that participatory communication as-an-end-in-itself must be recognised as a basic human right which empowers people to become active participants in development projects by contributing ideas, take initiatives, articulate their needs and problems and assert their autonomy in decision making (Diaz-Bordenave, 1989; Huesca, 2002; Melkote, 1991; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Servaes, 1996a,b, c, 1999; and Tehrenian, 1985). Also this thesis affirms that through participatory communication people's needs can be identified, expressed, defined and fulfilled.

Third, scholars like (Melkote, 1991 and Servaes, 1996b,) have shown that the evolution of communication for development has taken place in a linear form -- from modernisation and diffusion of innovations (1945 to 1965) to dependency theory (1965 to 1980s), and participatory approach (1970s to the present; that is, another development from 1975 to the present and multiplicity from 1980s to the present). Hence, one would expect that the modernisation approach ended in 1965. This notion of chronological model of approaches to communication for development is not accurate as the data in this thesis have indicated. The dominant paradigm of modernisation continues to dominate communication for development. In this thesis, the findings show that top-down communication is the main approach used by government departments and some TBC journalists in producing centralised programmes.

Fourth, the thesis contributes to knowledge by confirming the argument posed by Freire, 1983; Servaes 1996b; White, 2009 that the elite in the developing countries are not in favour of participatory communication that engages people in dialogue about their welfare due to the fact that genuine participatory communication threatens directly the power positions of the elite – it makes the elite accountable to the people under a

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democratic government. Similarly, the elite in Tanzania use media laws and government power to control universal access to TBC which is contrary to the principles of PSB and participatory communication.

Fifth, although scholars like Lerner, 1958; Schramm 1965 and Rogers, 1983 on one hand and Funglesang, 1975; Melkote, 1991; and Servaes, 1998, 1999, on the other differ on their theoretical views about development communication. The former argued in favour of top-down approach while the later argued for bottom-up approach – participatory communication. Nonetheless, these scholars, all of them, agree that the media have the power to shape how people think and perceive reality. Likewise, this thesis confirms that media, in this case TBC, plays a major role in shaping people's understanding on the causes of extreme poverty and the solutions which may lead to the eradication of poverty in Tanzania. Consequently, one would expect TBC communication to have changed people's behaviours and attitudes, which would have automatically led to poverty eradication like a magic bullet. Conversely, the thesis contributes to knowledge by revealing that TBC operates in a dynamic, complex and interconnected context with invisible activities which hinder the initiatives advocated in its programmes on poverty eradication, as discussed in chapters six and seven. This concurs with Quarry & Ramirez (2009) who have shown that the context in which communication for development operates in is the key to either success or failure of participatory communication. Similarly, McLuhan & Fiore (1967, p. 68) asserted that: "environments are not passive wrappings, but are, rather, active processes which are invisible. The ground rule, pervasive structure, and overall patterns of environments elude easy perception."

Thus, this thesis makes a significant contribution to knowledge by confirming that

there is a visible relationship between the context and the role of media communication in development. Government inefficiency in terms of bad leadership, bad policies and corruption, creates a gap between what TBC communicates and what is actually happening at the grassroots as far as implementation of development policies is concerned. Therefore this thesis challenges the notion that media communication alone can lead to improvement of the standards of living without being supported by the government in terms of providing education and health services, markets for agricultural products, employment opportunities and infrastructure, just to mention a few. This concurs with Quarry & Ramirez (2009) who argued that the efficiency of government in delivering good policies and good development projects which put people at the centre of development is in a driving force for good communication which empowers people to eradicate poverty.

Sixth, this thesis advances to another level the premise that 'it is not good communication that makes good development but good development that contains good communication' (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009), by concluding that the prerequisite of good communication, good PSB and indeed good government is the people themselves. It is the people who form a democratic people-centred government, which promotes people-centred development and people-centred PSB – guaranteeing equality and universal access as Reith (1924) indicated. Thus, the change of the direction of the development communication agenda should be initiated by the people themselves and done by the people themselves, the media can only act as a catalyst – supporting and reflecting people's initiatives. This starts with counscientization of the masses as Freire (1983) asserted. Therefore, people in poor countries like Tanzania should make participatory communication-as-an-end-in-itself a progressive permanent activity in order transform their government structures through a

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peaceful democratic movement - the ballot boxes that place power solidly in the hands of the people at the grassroots and the leaders who are committed to the welfare of the people. This is a big challenge, which needs good leadership and above all a peaceful raising mass consciousness and mobilisation for the change. Otherwise, poverty is here to stay and it will become worse day after day regardless of media communication.

Finally, the thesis confirms what scholars like Braman (2004); Jensen (2010); Logan (2010); Lowe (2010); Mantymaki (2010); Melkote & Steeves (2001) Molony (2009); Morley (2000); Singh (2002); Slater and Tacchi (2004) and White (2009) have indicated that new communication technologies of mobile phones and the internet have transformed both interpersonal and mass communication and made it possible for horizontal and bottom-up communication to take place via radio and television stations both on line and offline. Consequently, PSB stations like TBC are becoming more accessible -- a key principle of PSB. Mobile phones and the internet fit well in the process of feed-forward and/or feedback in participatory communication on traditional mass media in terms of addressing and responding to the immediate needs of the people. Thus, it can be concluded that mobile phones and the internet are potential tools in facilitating participatory communication for development and transformation of the socio-cultural, economic and political structures in the developing countries like Tanzania.

9.6. The Limitations of the Study

It is important to note the limitations of this study. This study is a qualitative phenomenological study and thus, its ontologies and epistemologies emerged from the subjective understanding of the social world from both the researcher and participants. Thus, data in this qualitative thesis were subjective; hence contexts, situations, events,

conditions and interactions can neither be replicated in any scope nor can generalizations be made to a wider context than the one investigated. Further, studying the contribution of television programmes in the country where the rural population and the urban poor population hardly own television sets is another limitation. However, television is a very popular medium in Tanzania and the findings show that those who don't own a television set would go to their neighbours to watch or go to the local grocery or cafe to watch TBC and other national stations like ITV and StarTV and international stations like the BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera and China's CCTV. During the period of the study, January to July2010,TBC had three years of establishing itself as a public broadcaster since it was launched in 2007. Both TBC-TAIFA and TBC1 were using the old analog broadcasting systems, but the infrastructures for TBC digital television were in the final stages of construction. Moreover, the TBC website was not fully developed; hence it was not used by the audiences to raise their concerns. Also the website would take even a month without being updated. Thus, digital TBC and online TBC were not part the analysis of this study. Therefore, there is a potential for further study of digital TBC and TBC online and their changing role in participatory communication for development support and poverty eradication, which will be introduced in the next section.

Another concern of this study is that, although there was an advantage to studying TBC, its history and the impact of the laws of the land on TBC freedom and editorial independence, the data collected might lack details and in-depth analysis of the general broadcasting industry in Tanzania. Conducting an up-to-date study will be a solution for this limitation. Finally, in the academic sense, this study could have investigated in detail the application of the participatory communication concept in the broadcasting industry in

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the age of mobile phones and the internet, and the era of mass self-communication in

Tanzania. Conversely, the limitations of the study mentioned above have offered the

opportunity to present some recommendations for further study in this area in the next

section.

9.7. Areas for Further Research

This study attempted to explore the role of TBC communication in poverty

eradication in Tanzania and applied the concept of participatory communication to establish

evidence on how the audiences were involved in the processes of programme production.

The study was conducted when TBC was undergoing significant changes in terms of

introducing digital broadcasting technology and structural management from RTD and

TVT to TBC. The construction of the infrastructures for TBC digital television was

finished in 2011. Therefore, there is a potential for further study about TBC as public

broadcaster in the digital age. Questions for further studies may include issues like what is

the impact of the introduction of digital technology on TBC as PSB; how digital technology

may change or has changed the traditional concept of public broadcasting in Tanzania; and

in which ways does digital technology affect participatory communication on TBC.

Although these are early days of public participation on TBC using new

technologies of digital communication, one can observe that these technologies are making

it possible for audiences to have opportunities "to contribute to concept design, format

creation, production processes, strategy formulation, or critical discussion and

brainstorming" (Lowe, 2010, p.10) on TBC programmes. Nonetheless, a study is needed in

the area of ethics in participation, for example, on the role of TBC journalists in moderating

discussions that might be going on the TBC website or in deciding and verifying a video

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clip that might be uploaded by the audience. In addition, the use of mobile phones to call into radio and television stations is an area of participatory communication which is evident, but needs much more research. Frontline messaging -- a two-way system which allows users to interact and its application in broadcasting is also another area for further research. There might be a further study on the impact of websites and blogs as the alternative sites which provide the public with a forum to contest the domination of broadcasting and print media as the tools for development. This would be a challenging area for research. Also, a study on media laws and the regulation of online participation would be of great importance in the scholarship of participatory communication and the new media in Tanzania.

Further, participatory communication for poverty eradication is a subject which needs longitudinal studies for follow-up. The reason for this is that the longitudinal studies will offer a more comprehensive examination of the changes occurring in the processes of producing programmes on poverty eradication in Tanzania; and how the audiences receive them. Moreover, longitudinal studies will help us to understand the trends and changes of practice of TBC journalists and government department officials who are involved in the production and dissemination of programmes on poverty eradication. Also, what are their views on programme production, and what are the changes in their roles in integrated programme production and online broadcasting? These can be interesting topics for further studies. It is argued in this research that TBC should create a fair balance between the public interests and political pressure and commercial interests. But fairness and balance are difficult to achieve in an environment in which TBC operates. This is a vital challenge, which may be answered in another study. The study may focus on how TBC deals with

both political and commercial interests in relation to PSB principles and public interests.

Linked to all the above would be the need to closely research issues of appropriate funding models for public broadcasting that can best serve the public sphere. These would help to transform Tanzanian democratic institutions into a better patriotic democracy which will truly serve the interests of people and work towards "eradication of extreme poverty", rather than "poverty reduction" as it is now. Finally, it is also hoped that this research will attract more Tanzanian scholars to the study of broadcasting and participatory communication for development in the era of digital technologies.

Appendix I

A Guide for In-depth Interview with TBC Producers and Experts in

Socio-Economic Development, Media and Communication

1.   Why are Tanzanians poor?

2.   Why does extreme poverty persist in Tanzania?

3.   Who is responsible for the increase of poverty in the country, the
        government or individuals or external or global factors?

4.   What are your comments on the government policies on poverty
        eradication?

5.   With the current economic crisis in the world it is not realistic to expect a
        faster eradication of absolute poverty in Tanzania, what measures should be
        taken by the government to make sure that it eradicates extreme poverty by
        2025?

6.   Describe the general contribution of TBC programmes on eradication of
        extreme poverty in Tanzania?

7.   What are the approaches TBC uses in producing programmes on poverty
        eradication?

8.   How does TBC involve the audience to participate in its programmes aiming
        eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania?

9.   To what extent can TBC programmes on poverty eradication be described as
        participatory?

10.   Explain the strengths of TBC programmes in addressing the causes of

extreme poverty in Tanzania and the measures to be taken to fight and

eradicate extreme poverty in country?

11.   What are the challenges TBC faces in its contribution towards eradicating

the poverty rate in Tanzania?

12.   What are the major factors influencing the role TBC plays as a tool for

eradicating extreme poverty in Tanzania? And why?

13.   What are your comments on the presence or absence of press freedom in

Tanzania?

14.   How do the government ownership, media laws and policies influence the

content, coverage and relevance of TBC programmes on poverty

eradication?

15.   How do you describe the quality of TBC programmes on poverty eradication

in Tanzania?

16.   Why are TBC programmes quality and content on eradication of extreme

poverty in Tanzania criticised by the audience and media experts?

17.   How do you judge the programmes in terms of professionalism and meeting

the audience needs and expectations?

18.   What should be done to improve the quality and content of TBC

programmes on eradication of extreme poverty in Tanzania?

N.B: Only relevant questions were asked to the relevant participants with

supplementary questions to get more information from the interviewees.

Appendix II

A Guide of Focus Group Interview Questions

1. Why are Tanzanians poor?

2. Why does poverty persist in Tanzania?

3. Who is responsible for the increase of poverty in the country, the government or individuals or external or global factors?

4. What are your comments on the government policies on poverty eradication?

5. What should be done in order to eradicate extreme poverty in Tanzania?

6. What are your comments on the role the TBC programmes play in enlightening and educating you on how to fight extreme poverty in your lives?

7. How do the TBC programmes address the reasons why Tanzanians are poor?

8. How do the TBC programmes suggest the solutions and measures to be taken by Tanzanians to eradicate extreme poverty in their lives?

9. To what extent do the TBC programmes carry relevant information on how to fight extreme poverty which meets your needs and expectations? And how relevant (irrelevant) is this information to you?

10. How do you describe the quality of TBC programmes on poverty eradication in Tanzania?

11. To what extent can TBC programmes on poverty eradication be described as participatory?

12.   What are your suggestion on how the TBC programmes can be improved to

        meet your needs and expectations?

13.   With the current economic crisis in the world it is not realistic to expect a

        faster reduction in absolute poverty in Tanzania, what measures should be

         taken by the government to make sure that it eradicates extreme poverty by

        2025?

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